

Stucco Reliefs of the First and Second  
Centuries still extant in Rome

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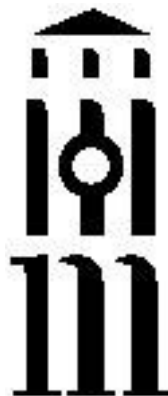
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STUCCO RELIEFS  
OF THE FIRST AND SECOND CENTURIES  
STILL EXTANT IN ROME.

EMILY L. WADSWORTH.

(PLATES I—XLIX)

HISTORY OF STUCCO DECORATION.

STUCCO decoration, which is essentially a subsidiary art, lending itself to given architectural surfaces, developed at an early period in the history of architecture. Walls made of reeds, and clay, rubble and clay, or even the sun-burnt brick of a more advanced age, could not withstand the elements without such protection as a hard, close-grained coat of plaster or stucco offered. Eventually, the aesthetic value of a smooth, fine stucco, covering inaccuracies of construction as well as coarse, unsightly materials, established its use for all time, even when it was no longer structurally necessary. Early architectural remains in Egypt illustrate the use of stucco at this its second stage. It was there applied to brick or limestone walls, on interiors as well as exteriors, and sometimes served as a surface for painted decoration. Stucco reliefs are a still later development, belonging to a more advanced period in the history of art. It is logical that they should develop in a country where stucco work was common but marble was lacking for sculptural purposes. The earliest of these reliefs are Egyptian — of the eighteenth dynasty. Flinders-Petrie<sup>1</sup> describes some of them, of which the chariot of Tahutmes is an example, where the stucco was laid on a flat canvas base stretched over wood and then modelled. The relief itself is low, smooth and full of detail. In other cases, where this decoration was on a stone

<sup>1</sup> FLINDERS-PETRIE, *Arts and Crafts of Ancient Egypt*, p. 144. See also *A History of Egypt*, II, p. 40, by the

same author, for a description of the coffin of Aahmes Nefertari, made of stucco on layers of linen.

background<sup>1</sup>, the latter was roughly carved in relief or in intaglio before the plaster was applied and given its final modelling<sup>2</sup>.

In Crete, in the Late Minoan II period, which is roughly contemporary with the eighteenth dynasty, stucco relief decoration was well developed. In the excavations of the Palace at Cnossus many fragments<sup>3</sup> have been found. In addition to such architectural details as pilaster capitals and cornices, there were remains of a ceiling design of spirals and rosettes, and some striking representations of human and other figures in high relief. All the former appear to represent men and possibly form part of a procession of youths bearing tribute. Sir Arthur Evans<sup>4</sup> has drawn an analogy between this procession and that of the Keft tributaries of Tahutmes III on the Rekhmara tomb. Among the Cnossan fragments, there are portions of the fore-part of a sphinx, a right shoulder and fore-arm of a man, a left fore-arm holding a long pointed cup<sup>5</sup>, the back and ear of a male head crowned with fleurs-de-lis, and a male torso<sup>6</sup> with an ornamental chain of the same flower motive around the neck. Another relief contained bulls and a tree. One bull's head<sup>7</sup>, in life size or over, shows spirit and animation to a high degree of naturalism<sup>8</sup>. The modelling of the human figures, although dry and hard, shows an accurate knowledge of anatomy. The stucco itself is extremely hard, in many instances outlasting the slabs of gypsum used in the construction of the palace. The reliefs were colored in the same naturalistic manner that is displayed in the frescoes. While they have several points in common with those of Egypt and may have been influenced by them<sup>9</sup>, the spirit and technique are purely Minoan. Evans describes others<sup>10</sup> found in the Queen's Megaron in 1902, which have an entirely different technique and approach more nearly to Roman relief decoration of the Augustan Age. A good illustration of this class is a fragment<sup>11</sup> of a bird of brilliant coloring on a white ground. Instead of being in relief on a plane surface, the wing was partly cut in intaglio in the background. As Evans says, "it looks as if an artist accustomed to the technique of gem engraving had transferred the process to moulded gesso duro".

<sup>1</sup> WILKINSON, *The Ancient Egyptians*, II, pp. 286 f.

<sup>2</sup> In the tomb of Akhenaten (XVIII dynasty), FLINDERS-PETRIE, (*A History of Egypt*, II, p. 220), has described the main chamber as being carved and painted on a stucco coating. The stucco had dropped off, leaving traces of the carving on the limestone wall, where the artist cut through the stucco. The question is raised as to whether the stone background was cut *before* or *after* the stucco was applied.

<sup>3</sup> *B. S. A.*, VI, pp. 43 f.; VII, pp. 15 ff.

<sup>4</sup> *B. S. A.*, VI, pp. 13 ff.; VII, p. 15.

<sup>5</sup> *B. S. A.*, VII, p. 89, Fig. 29; H. G. SPEARING, *Childhood of Art*, Fig. 283.

<sup>6</sup> *B. S. A.*, VII, Fig. 6, p. 17; SPEARING, *op. cit.*,

Fig. 284.

<sup>7</sup> *B. S. A.*, VI, p. 52, Fig. 10.

<sup>8</sup> R. S. SEAGER, *Excavations on the Island of Psira, Crete*, Univ. of Penn., 1910, Pl. V, gives part of a plaster relief representing a Minoan lady in richly embroidered dress. Unfortunately, the relief was not deeply buried, so the surviving fragments are very rotten. However, the modelling seems to be bold, without the vigor of the Cnossan reliefs.

<sup>9</sup> H. G. SPEARING, *The Childhood of Art*, p. 344 (note to Fig. 283). It is here suggested that the better Egyptian art of the XVIII dynasty was influenced by the Cretan.

<sup>10</sup> *B. S. A.*, VIII, p. 51.

<sup>11</sup> *B. S. A.*, VIII, Fig. 26, a, b, and c.

In Greece during the Classical period, stucco reliefs do not seem to have been used. The ordinary coating of stucco was applied to walls, especially to those of coarse or porous stone when standing in exposed places, but excavations have revealed no evidence of its being modelled. Pausanias<sup>1</sup>, in his description of the old sanctuary of Artemis at Stymphalus, says: " At the roof of the temple are represented the Stymphalian birds. It was difficult to distinguish clearly whether they were made of wood or of gypsum, but so far as I could judge, they seemed to be of wood rather than gypsum ". In this sense, Blümner's<sup>2</sup> interpretation that this passage refers to reliefs is highly conjectural. Pausanias seems rather to have in mind figures in the round. Other literary references to stucco reliefs in Greece are lacking, and accordingly, although negative evidence is by no means conclusive, we may infer that they were at least very uncommon if indeed used at all. As a matter of fact Greek architecture would seem to have no place for them. Private houses, usually constructed of sun-dried brick, have scarcely survived at all, and it is doubtful if such simple and unpretentious constructions as we know that the Greeks used as dwellings, would have had elaborate stucco decoration. In Solon's time, a law<sup>3</sup> was passed prohibiting the use of even plain plaster in tombs. On the other hand, the temples and other public buildings were made as gorgeous and rich as possible. Their splendor, however, depended on sculpture in marble and upon brilliant polychromy. The one place where stucco reliefs might have been expected was in their coffered ceilings, but all evidence seems to lead to the conclusion that the coffers, with their enriched mouldings and rosettes, were carved out of marble, or where the span was too great, out of wood, which was then painted and gilded<sup>4</sup>.

On the other hand, in Etruscan art, we have one excellent example of stucco relief decoration in the Tomba degli Stucchi at Cervetri<sup>5</sup>. Here the walls and pillars are covered with representations of various household utensils, armor, domestic animals, and, in the most prominent place, opposite the entrance, a Scylla and a Cerberus. Having the same hard and smooth quality as the Egyptian and Cossan reliefs, but lacking the life and spirit of the latter, they have the appearance of plaster casts of real objects, fastened to the walls.

Among the Romans, the use of stucco does not seem to have been common until a comparatively late date. Livy<sup>6</sup> mentions the fact that M. Aemilius Lepidus in 179 B. C. gave the temple of Jupiter Capitolinus its first coat of this material and Plutarch<sup>7</sup>

<sup>1</sup> PAUS., VII, 22, 7, Trans. by J. G. Frazer.

<sup>2</sup> BLÜMNER, *Technologie und Terminologie der Gewerbe und Künste bei Griechen und Römern* (1875), II, p. 143.

<sup>3</sup> CIC., *de Leg.*, II, 26, 64, 65: ne quis sepulchrum... opere tectorio exornari liceat.

<sup>4</sup> FOWLER and WHEELER, *Greek Archaeology*, p. 118.

<sup>5</sup> G. DENNIS, *Cities and Cemeteries of Etruria*, 3d

ed., I, pp. 249 ff. For illustrations, *Lo Stucco*, Pls. I, II.

<sup>6</sup> LIVY., 40, 51, 3: aedem Jovis in Capitolio columnasque circa poliendas albo locavit.

<sup>7</sup> PLUT., *Cat. Mai.*, 4, 4: τῶν δὲ ἐπαύλεων αὐτοῦ μηδεμίαν εἶναι κεκοσμημένην. See also, GELL. XIII, 24, (23), 1: M. Cato, villas suas inexcultas et rudes, ne tectorio quidem praelitas fuisse dicit ad annum usque aetatis suae septuagesimum.

gives as an example of the simplicity of life of the elder Cato that not one of his cottages had plastered walls. *Reliefs* in stucco first began to be used for decoration during the last century before our era, probably after the subjugation of Campania by Sulla.

The Campanian cities, of which Pompeii and Puteoli are good examples, had reached a more luxurious and artistic plane of life than had Rome. This was partly due to the temperament of the people, but more, perhaps, to their closer communication with the East, especially with Alexandria. At this time Alexandria, under the last Ptolemies, was at her zenith. In addition to being the most powerful center of Hellenism in the Greek world, she was the great trade center, from which grain, cloth, carpets, glassware, paper and other luxuries were embarked for Italy. The main Italian port of entry, before the dredging and improvement of the harbour of Ostia by Claudius, was Puteoli. Along with the merchandise, there poured into Campania a horde of Orientals bringing with them their religions, customs and culture. The excavations at Pompei have shown how profoundly they affected the life of that region. The first two styles of wall decoration apparently originated in Alexandria<sup>1</sup> and the last two<sup>2</sup>, whatever their provenience, are full of Alexandrian influence. In the landscapes of the second and fourth styles, the architecture, vegetation, animals and human figures display Egyptian characteristics. There are crocodiles, hippopotami, pygmies and the countless grotesque creatures in which Alexandrian art delighted<sup>3</sup>. Mosaics, sculpture (especially the small bronzes), household utensils and furniture were under this same influence. It is natural to conclude that stucco reliefs, which exemplify the same spirit and technique, have the same motives, and are used in conjunction with so many objects of Alexandrian derivation, had a common origin, or at least received in that city the main impulse of their development<sup>4</sup>. To be sure, no stucco reliefs like those of Pompeii or of Rome have been actually found in the excavations at Alexandria<sup>5</sup>, and literary proof is lacking for this theory of their origin; but the internal evidence is strong.

The close of the Republican period at Rome saw the beginning of this invasion of foreign art. Under the Flavian palaces on the Palatine, there are several Republican houses<sup>6</sup>, which have stucco relief decoration in connection with wall paintings of the second style. One room has lunettes with a polished red ground, on which are large animal grotesques of white stucco in high relief. One of these lunettes, remarkably well preserved,

<sup>1</sup> MAU, *Geschichte der dec. Wandmalerei in Pompeii*, p. 123. See also M. ROSTOVITZ, *J. H. S.*, 1919, pp. 144 ff.

<sup>2</sup> IPPEL, *Der dritte Pompejanische Stil*. This contains an argument for an Egyptian origin for the 3<sup>rd</sup> Style.

<sup>3</sup> HERODIAN, IV, 8, 7, 9.

<sup>4</sup> R. PAGENSTECHER, *Landschaftliche Reliefs*, p. 50, declares stucco reliefs originated in Alexandria as deco-

ration for walls.

<sup>5</sup> This information was given me by Dr. Rudolph Pagenstecher of Rostock.

<sup>6</sup> The finds in these houses, discovered in 1912, have not as yet been officially published. See: *Year's Work in Class. Studies*, 1912, p. 10; 1913, p. 22; BONI, *J. R. S.*, 1913, pp. 247 ff.

has two spirited griffins in heraldic opposition on either side of a conventionalized plant motive. Several vaults also have stucco reliefs, but in every instance, they are subsidiary to the color scheme. Mouldings and small cameolike figures were modelled on colored backgrounds, and then covered with gold leaf. The purpose in using stucco was to secure effects of light and shade which its plastic qualities make possible. These houses contain the only examples which we have of stucco reliefs of the Republican period.

The period of Julius Caesar belongs rather to the Empire than to the Republic. With closer contact with Egypt, Rome became acquainted with Eastern luxury without the use of any intermediary. In 46 B. C., Cleopatra came to Rome with her retinue and was established by Caesar *trans Tiberim in hortis*<sup>1</sup>. In this connection it is interesting to note that the most beautiful and technically perfect of all Roman stucco reliefs were found in a house, dated by Miss Van Deman<sup>2</sup> as belonging to the period of Julius Caesar, and situated, moreover, on the right bank of the Tiber where once lay the gardens of the Caesars. These reliefs, and the wall paintings found with them, contain more Alexandrian characteristics than do the other examples of wall and ceiling decoration found in Rome and its vicinity.

From this period on, the position of stucco reliefs in Roman interior decoration was established. Under the Early Empire, with its great impetus in building and remodelling, Rome was transformed from a more or less provincial town into an imposing capital, and Hellenistic Art became Roman Imperial Art, with the set purpose of glorifying Rome. Eastern artists and workmen flocked to the Capital or were brought as slaves, to create with their more advanced skill and technique objects to adorn the city. The emperors were among the most enthusiastic patrons of this new art, and it is to the remains of their buildings that we owe much of what we know about stucco reliefs.

The spacious and lofty halls of the Imperial villas, palaces and baths, were spanned by huge vaults of concrete. Wherever it was structurally possible, marble veneering was used, arranged to display to the best advantage the natural beauty of the stone in its veining and color. But, for vaults, this material was hardly practicable, because of its weight, and because it did not easily lend itself to curved surfaces. On the other hand, stucco, either painted or in relief, glass mosaics, or combinations of all these, offered a decoration adaptable to the architectonic surface. It was easily applied and could be made highly ornamental. The simplest decoration was painted stucco or fresco; but the most artistic and effective was that in relief. That the latter variety was the usual decoration for vaults of baths, we know from Vitruvius' instructions<sup>3</sup> and from extant remains. The

<sup>1</sup> E. MEYER, *Caesars Monarchie*, p. 515.

<sup>2</sup> *A. J. A.*, 1912, p. 248, note 5.

<sup>3</sup> VITR., 5, 10, 3: inferior pars (camerarum)... opere

albario sive tectorio poliatur. Also, PLIN., *nat.*, 36, 189: Agrippa .... in thermis .... figulinum opus encausto pinxit in calidis, reliqua albario adornavit.

Baths at Pompeii furnish the best examples, but those of Caracalla, and of Hadrian's Villa show traces in a more or less fragmentary condition. The various structures on the Palatine, Nero's Golden House, Hadrian's Villa at Tivoli and Domitian's Alban Villa give us further examples from Imperial buildings. Tombs and columbaria of the private citizens are still another source for stucco reliefs. From the numerous examples which are still extant, and the drawings made of others which are now destroyed, it would seem that this decoration was very popular for sepulchral purposes. It was probably in vogue also for the private house, although we have but few and fragmentary remains as testimony to this fact. However as stucco reliefs were primarily used for vaultings, and as vaults are less apt to withstand the ravages of wars, fires and time, we may well be surprised that so many are still extant.

Literary references in Classical authors to this form of decoration are few, scattered and not always clear. The terms gypsum and stucco seem to be confused<sup>1</sup>. The former was probably more like our plaster of Paris, while the latter was a plaster which dried more slowly. *Opus tectorium* or *tectorium*<sup>2</sup> alone, means the covering of the walls and ceilings. It might be a simple coat of plaster or a more complete foundation required for frescoes and reliefs. It is therefore the general term for interior wall and vault decoration which may be compared to the modern one of plaster or plastering. Vitruvius, however, seems to use it of fresco decoration<sup>3</sup>. *Albarium*, or *opus albarium* was originally the white slip of hard, close-grained stucco simulating marble that was used on stone or brick. In Vitruvius it is used with reference to cornices and white stucco decoration such as would include that in relief. The technical term for stucco reliefs was *sigilla*<sup>4</sup> or *signa aedificiorum*<sup>5</sup>, but from the rare occurrence of these words in the authors, it would seem that the looser expression of *opus albarium* was more commonly employed.

After the Antonines, stucco reliefs with other branches of decorative art entered upon their decline, gradually to become forgotten and buried among the ruins of Rome. About a thousand years later, at the end of the fiftieth century, when an interest and desire had arisen among the princes of the Church and the State for ancient marbles to decorate their palaces and villas, the titular Cardinal of San Pietro in Vincoli started to excavate on the site of the Baths of Titus in search of statues<sup>6</sup>. He found several, among which

<sup>1</sup> BLÜMNER, *op. cit.*, II, 143 and notes, says that gypsum like clay was used for relief decoration although stucco was a more useful material. He gives as an example of these gypsum reliefs, the decoration of some tombs outside the Porta del Popolo, which were inaccessible to him and which are now no longer in existence. From pictures by Cabbott (*Stucchi figurati esistenti in un antico sepolcro fuori delle mura di Roma*, 1795), and their analogy to other Roman tombs it seems more likely that the reliefs were of stucco.

<sup>2</sup> See DAREMBERG and SAGLIO under *tectorium*. See also BLÜMNER, *op. cit.*, for *opus tectorium* and *opus albarium*.

<sup>3</sup> VITR., 5, 10, 3; 6, 7, 3.

<sup>4</sup> PLIN., *nat.*, 36, 59, 2 (183): *usus gypsi in albariis, sigillis aedificiorum et coronis gratissimus*. Also, DIG., VII, 1, 13, 7; XXXIII, 7, 12, 23.

<sup>5</sup> ISID., XVI, 3, 9; XIX, 12.

<sup>6</sup> For a history of the excavations in Nero's Golden House, see F. WEEGE, *Jahrb.*, 1913, pp. 137 ff.

was the famous Laocoon group, and, incidentally, as he broke through into rooms belonging to the Golden House of Nero, marvelous wall and vault decorations in fresco and stucco in almost perfect condition. Admiration and wonder spread at once among the artists and art-lovers of the day. Thus the "grotesques" of the ancients became the inspiration of many of the greater artists of the Renaissance, who imitated them in their own interior decorations. Among such artists were Raffael and his pupil, Giovanni da Udine, who were among the first visitors<sup>1</sup> to the Golden House and who used it in designing the Loggia of the Vatican and the Villa Madama. In Vasari's *Life of Giovanni da Udine*<sup>2</sup>, we read: "cavandosi da San Piero in Vincola fra le ruine ed anticaglie del palazzo di Tito per trovar figure furono ritrovate alcune stanze sotterra, ricoperte tutte e piene di grotteschine, di figure piccole e di storie, con alcuni ornamenti di stucchi bassi". Moreover, Giovanni was so enthusiastic, that besides paying frequent visits to the grotte or subterranean rooms, and making drawings, he experimented with the stucco itself until he found a composition very like that which the Romans had used. Because of his success, he was appointed by Raffael, who did the designing, to have charge of the stucco work in the Loggia of Leo X.

Interest in the Golden House did not wane, but other and later artists visited it, making copies or designs. Many of these have been preserved<sup>3</sup>, (among which, the drawings of Cameron, Mirri and Piranesi are the best known), and have helped materially in preserving knowledge of the delicate stucco decoration to posterity.

It is astonishing that in spite of the important part Roman stucco reliefs have played in interior decoration since their discovery in the Renaissance, so little has been written<sup>4</sup> about the originals. Renaissance and modern work in this material has been discussed, but with little or no mention of what was really the foundation. It is for this reason that I have attempted to describe the development, technique, use and motives of Roman stucco reliefs, drawing my illustrations from the specimens now extant in Rome and its vicinity. Several of the larger examples have been previously published but repetition seems justifiable in an effort to make the list complete, and in view of the fact that the descriptions, in different languages, are often difficult of access, and are in many cases inaccurate or incomplete.

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<sup>1</sup> For a list of visitors who scratched their names on the walls, see WEEGE, *op. cit.*, pp. 141 ff.

<sup>2</sup> VASARI, *Life of Giovanni da Udine*, VI, 551 f.

<sup>3</sup> WEEGE, *op. cit.*, pp. 158 ff.

<sup>4</sup> DAREMBERG and SAGLIO (s. v. *tectorium*) devote nine brief lines to stucco reliefs. The only exception is

the new *Manuel d'Archéologie Romaine* (1916) of Cagnat and Chapot, which has a brief chapter with bibliography and several illustrations. Also, GEO. P. BANKART, an architect and craftsman, in his book *The Art of the Plasterer*, devotes several chapters to ancient stuccoes with numerous illustrations.

## TECHNIQUE AND COMPOSITION.

An examination of the composition of the stucco reliefs in and near Rome shows many points of difference as well as certain underlying principles of similarity. The best stucco is that, dating from the early Empire. It is firm, close-grained and white, and when pulverised and rubbed between the fingers, has the fine, smooth consistency of talcum powder. Reliefs made with this stucco are delicate and clear with a peculiarly fluid quality as we see, for example, in the Farnesina vaults. About the time of Domitian much of the stucco becomes coarser and heavier. It is hard, almost with the hardness and durability of concrete, is no longer pure white, but rather creamy in color, and is gritty enough to show the separate grains of its composition. The stucco of the Antonine period, and especially that which is still later, is apt to be very friable and have an uneven texture.

These statements are merely rough generalizations of tendencies revealing themselves in the different examples I have examined. Unfortunately, there is not an unbroken line of dated stucco decoration from which conclusions can be drawn nor is it always possible to determine the period to which the examples we have belong. The earliest date for a given piece of stucco, when found in situ, is that of the wall to which it is fastened, but in some cases, much time may have elapsed between the construction of the wall and its decoration, or the wall may have been redecorated at a later period. Moreover, like wall paintings, there are variations in compositions of the same period. Some were made by artists; others were done carelessly and with cheaper materials. Some were intended to be seen by artificial light only, or from a distance, while others were for the more intimate decoration of a private house. A third factor which influenced the texture of the stucco was whether it was to be colored and gilded or to be left in its natural state.

All stucco has lime for a base, to which is added sand and powdered marble or some such gritty substance to give it body. Other materials may be added to quicken or retard the setting, to increase its adhesive qualities, or to affect its color. The problem is to produce a stucco which will set slowly, in order that the modelling may be done while it is still soft, and which will at the same time present a pleasing surface when dry, and yet be hard and durable. The Roman stucco had all of these qualities, perhaps because the utmost pains were taken to get just the right materials, and to prepare and mix them properly.

The lime, which serves as a base, does not appear in a free state but in a combination such as the calcium carbonates, chalk, marble or calcite. Lime, or to be exact,



quick lime, is obtained by calcining one of these carbonates. If the resulting powder is mixed with its equivalent of water, it slakes, that is, it throws out heat, swells to two or three times its bulk, and subsequently falls to a powder known as slaked lime or hydrate of lime. Its affinity for carbonic acid is thus restored. After being mixed with water and the other ingredients in stucco, it hardens by absorbing carbonic acid from the air.

The quality of the lime depends largely on the choice of material and the method of slaking. Vitruvius says<sup>1</sup>: "With regard to lime, we must be careful that it is burned from a stone which, whether soft or hard, is in any case white. Lime made of close grained stone of the harder sort, will be good in structural parts: lime of porous stone in stucco". As for the slaking, he says<sup>2</sup>: "Stucco work will be all right if the best lime, taken in lumps, is slaked a good while before<sup>3</sup> it is to be used, so that if any lump has not been burned long enough in the kiln, it will be forced to throw off its heat during the long course of slaking in the water, and will thus be thoroughly burned to the same consistency. When it is taken not thoroughly slaked but fresh, it has little crude bits concealed in it and so, when applied, it blisters. When such bits complete their slaking after they are on the building, they break up and spoil the smooth polish of the plaster. But when proper attention has been paid to the slaking and greater pains have thus been employed in the preparation for the work, take a hoe, and apply it to the slaked lime in the mortar bed, just as you hew wood<sup>4</sup>. If it sticks to the hoe in bits, the lime is not yet tempered; and when the iron is drawn out dry and clean, it will show that the lime is weak and thirsty; but when the lime is rich and properly slaked, it will stick to the tool like glue, proving that it is completely tempered".

The second ingredient in stucco was pulverized marble, according to Vitruvius, for we read<sup>5</sup>: "Marble is not produced everywhere of the same kind. In some places the lumps are found to contain transparent grains like salt, and this kind when crushed and ground is extremely serviceable in plaster work. In places where this is not found, the broken bits of marble or "chips" as they are called, which marble workers throw down as they work, may be crushed and ground and used in plaster after being sifted. In still other places, — for example on the borderland of Magnesia and Ephesus — there are many places where it can be dug up all ready to use, without the need of grinding or sifting, but as fine as any that is crushed and sifted by hand". Professor Venturini, director of

<sup>1</sup> VITR., 2, 5, 1. (The translations are those of M. H. Morgan, 1914). See also PLIN., *nat.*, 36, 174, who agrees with this passage.

<sup>2</sup> VITR., 7, 2, 1-2.

<sup>3</sup> PLIN., *nat.*, 36, 176: "inrita quoque ea quo vetustior eo melior, in antiquorum aedium legibus invenitur ne recentiore trima uteretur redemptor".

<sup>4</sup> PLIN., *nat.*, 36, 177: In Graecia tectoris etiam harenatum quo inducturi sunt prius in mortario ligneis vectibus subigunt. experimentum marmorati est in subigendo donec calx rutro non cohaereat, contra in albario opere ut macerata ceu glutinum haereat. macerari non nisi ex glaeba oportet.

<sup>5</sup> VITR., 7, 6.

the School of Applied Design in Rome, has analysed and experimented on stucco until he is now able to produce a perfect imitation of the stucco of the Augustan age. Instead of pulverized marble, he uses calc-spar (calcite spatica), a calcium carbonate, made up of transparent white or yellowish crystals in a rhombohedral system. It is still found in abundance near Tivoli<sup>1</sup> and Venturini has pointed out the fact that crystals of it can be distinguished in much of the Roman stucco. He concludes, therefore, that it was probably to this mineral that Vitruvius referred by "marble with transparent grains like salt".

Gypsum is another material which is sometimes mentioned as being used in stucco. It is a calcium sulphate and when calcined and ground to a powder becomes plaster of Paris. If mixed with water to form a thin paste, it sets rapidly and expands at the instant of setting, a peculiarity which causes it to take sharp and delicate impressions from a mould. Pliny<sup>2</sup> says that gypsum, when moistened, must be used immediately, as it hardens rapidly; but that it can be repulverized if so desired. He further states: "It is very useful in stucco work and gives a very pleasing effect when used for reliefs and cornices". Vitruvius<sup>3</sup>, on the other hand, is emphatic against the use of gypsum in cornices, "lest, by setting too quickly, it should keep the work from drying uniformly". In view of these opposing opinions, it seems probable that gypsum was used—and, moreover, used frequently, for Vitruvius would not have been so dogmatic, if he had not thought that what he considered a serious defect in interior decoration was all too prevalent. Cornices or reliefs cast from moulds, when made of gypsum, would be cheaper, and could be more easily and quickly executed. At the same time, they would produce much the same effect as those made by more laborious methods. Its greatest defect was its comparative fragility and it is doubtless for this reason that the Romans avoided using it in their stucco work. Some of the later stuccoes show a percentage of gypsum and they are accordingly friable and less well preserved.

Several other materials are mentioned by classical authors as being used in stucco. In some instances, its setting qualities were regulated and toughened by milk<sup>4</sup>, as in the Temple of Minerva at Elis. Milk was also used with Selinusian earth<sup>5</sup> to whiten the

<sup>1</sup> Prof. Venturini has called attention to the fact that crude lumps of this calc-spar have been found in large quantities in a house in Pompeii (new excavations).

<sup>2</sup> PLIN., *nat.*, 36, 183. A question arises concerning Pliny's use of the word gypsum. His description of it—that it is kin to alabaster, and sets rapidly—implies that he knew to what he was referring. But he also says in this passage that it sometimes has a grain like marble and is very hard, and that the very best for stucco is that which is specular. It is possible that he here confuses calc-spar or some other calcium carbonate with gypsum. See also ISID., XVI, 3, 9, where it is said that gypsum is

allied to limestone and especially valuable for reliefs and cornices, and that the best kind is that which is specular.

<sup>3</sup> VITR., 7, 3, 3: in hisque (coronis) minime gypsum debet admisceri . . . uti ne praeciando non patiat unum tenore opus inarescere.

<sup>4</sup> PLIN., *nat.*, 36, 177: Elide aedis est Minervae in qua frater Phidiae Panaenus tectorium induxit lacte et croco subactum. However, this passage refers more specifically to plaster than to stucco.

<sup>5</sup> PLIN., *nat.*, 35, 194: lactei coloris haec et aqua dilui celerrima, eadem (terra Selinusiana) lacte diluta tectoriorum albaria interpolantur.

composition. Another whitening was paraetionium<sup>1</sup>, which Pliny says was the most unctuous of all white colors and the most tenaceous as a coating for plaster because of its smoothness<sup>2</sup>.

The proportions for these various ingredients are not given by Vitruvius, and it is more than likely that they could not have been given with exactness. He only says<sup>3</sup> that the material should be so tempered that when mixed it does not stick to the trowel, but the iron comes out freely and clean from the trough. Doubtless, the man who made the stucco, like many a cook, took a little of this and a little of that and mixed it " until it looked right ". Professor Venturini gives the following as his formula for stucco<sup>4</sup>:

one part old lime  
two parts calc-spar.

It is also from Vitruvius<sup>5</sup> that we learn how a room was prepared before the stucco was applied. First, the vaultings were constructed, unless a flat coffered ceiling was preferred. To the lower side of the vaulting, a rendering coat was applied—then a sand mortar, and finally the plaster or stucco made with marble dust. After this last coat had been polished, the impost mouldings were set along the spring of the vault. " Then ", he says, " having finished the mouldings, apply a very rough rendering coat to the walls, and afterwards, when the rendering coat gets fairly dry, spread upon it the layers of sand mortar, exactly adjusted in length to rule and line, in height to the plummet, and at the angles to square. The plaster will thus present a faultless appearance for paintings. When it gets fairly dry, spread on a second coat, and then a third. The better the foundation of sand mortar that is laid on, the stronger and more durable in its solidity will be the plastering. When not less than three coats of sand mortar besides the rendering coat have been laid on, then we must make the mixture for the layers of powdered marble. After this powdered marble has been spread on and gets dry, lay on a medium second coat.

<sup>1</sup> PLIN., *nat.*, 35, 36: e candidis coloribus pinguisimum et tectori tenacissimum propter levorem.

<sup>2</sup> GEO. P. BANKART (*Art of the Plasterer*) mentions the use of rye dough, juice of figs, hog's lard, curdled milk and blood by the ancients in regulating the setting qualities of their stucco. He gives Pliny as his authority (without references). I can find no evidence for his statement. PLIN., *nat.*, 36, 180, in mentioning *medicinal remedies* derived from lime, gives instructions for using hog's lard, liquid resin, honey, as well as vinegar and oil of roses. In 36, 181, he mentions Maltha, a *cement*, which may have been used for sealing, made with hog's lard and figs. Whatever the object of this cement, it was not used on walls, for the substance on which it was used had to be rubbed with oil first. In 35, 181, he

says that bitumen mixed with barley meal makes a peculiar kind of plaster, but this is surely not a stucco plaster.

<sup>3</sup> VITR., 7, 3, 6.

<sup>4</sup> TITO VENTURINI PAPARI, *La Pittura e l'Arte degli Stucchi al tempo di Augusto*, Lecture, etc., Rome, 1901; BULARD, *Monuments et Mémoires, Fond. E. Piot*, XIV, 1908, p. 180, gives as the analysis of the stucco at Delos:

|                          |           |
|--------------------------|-----------|
| calcium carbonate . . .  | 90.09 gr. |
| silica . . . . .         | 4.7 "     |
| aluminium and iron . . . | 2.4 "     |
| magnesia . . . . .       | 1.51 "    |
| water . . . . .          | 1.3 "     |

<sup>5</sup> VITR., 7, 2, 2, and 7, 3, 1 ff.

When that has been applied and well rubbed down, spread on a finer coat. The walls being thus rendered solid by three coats of sand mortar and as many of marble<sup>1</sup>, will not be liable to cracks or to any other defect. And further, such walls, owing to the solid foundation given by thorough working with polishing instruments, and the smoothness of it, due to the hard and dazzling white marble, will bring out in brilliant splendor the colors which are laid on at the same time with the polishing<sup>2</sup>.

It is interesting to note that three coats only are prescribed for vaults, while seven are for walls. Stucco reliefs were used primarily on vaults, and those which are broken so that they can be examined, do not show more than three layers. The majority of the painted wall decorations also do not have more than three and sometimes only two. Venturini argues that during the Augustan age a three coat standard, in preference to the more complicated seven coat one of Vitruvius, was used for frescoes and stucco reliefs alike. This may have been actually the case, but it seems likely that the seven coats were considered, by the best authority, to be preferable, but *only* for wall paintings. This would be necessary because of the hard and highly polished surface which was desired. Stucco reliefs, on the other hand, would need merely a rendering coat and the final coat, with an intermediary one if the stucco worker so preferred, for vaults were not subjected to the same wear and tear as the walls, neither were they polished. The same would be true also if the vaults were decorated with frescoes instead of reliefs<sup>3</sup>.

As for the relief decoration itself<sup>3</sup>, whether on vault or wall, it was made directly upon the top layer of plaster, while the latter was still damp and soft. It was applied in one of two ways, which differed slightly, according to whether the background of the reliefs was plain or colored. In the first case, which seems to have been the more usual one, the outlines of the general design were sketched upon the surface, in most instances from a pattern or cartoon. This was especially true when the design was formed by means of mouldings. As for the mouldings, they were applied upon the sketched lines, before the larger spaces and panels were decorated. Mouldings with a simple profile were run, while enriched ones — the egg and dart, wave, water-leaf, etc. — were applied in strips from moulds or else a mould was pressed upon the plain mouldings which had previously been run. Sometimes they were retouched by hand or by tools. In a few cases the design may have been made by hand without the use of a mould. However, the regularity of the patterns and the numerous cases where the imprint of the mould can still be detected<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> PLIN., *nat.*, 36, 176: Tectorium, nisi quod ter harenato et bis marmorato inductum est, numquam satis splendoris habet.

<sup>2</sup> On the few painted vaults I have been able to examine, there is no indication of a polish, let alone a highly waxed polish.

<sup>3</sup> BLÜMNER, *Technologie u. Terminologie*, II, pp. 139 ff.

The bulk of my information has been gained from studying the stuccoes themselves and modern methods of modelling.

<sup>4</sup> In the Farnesina reliefs, the imprint of the moulds can be clearly seen, even in the photographs. See Pl. II, Fig. 1.

argues against the latter supposition. Separate ornaments, especially the smaller ones used in repetition, such as rosettes, masks, swans, centaurs, griffins, amphorae, etc., were also formed in moulds, applied and pressed while damp into the stucco<sup>1</sup> background by hand and tools. They were likewise retouched, especially if they were rosettes or would occupy prominent places in the decorative scheme. In this way, each motive, though seemingly unimportant, was individualized and lost the appearance of mechanical reproduction which it would otherwise have had.

Landscapes, mythological scenes, grotesques and the other elements in the decoration were then sketched in the spaces designed for them. Stucco was applied by hand to fill in and cover these sketches<sup>2</sup>, and modelled free-hand as a sculptor does to-day, by tools and fingers. The reliefs might be high or low. At times the background itself was modelled, or a part of the design was merely sketched upon it, to give the effect of perspective or very low relief. This is particularly the case with landscape backgrounds<sup>3</sup>, winged figures, delicate arabesques and draperies of bacchantes. Incised lines were sometimes made on the reliefs themselves<sup>4</sup>, but this was a short cut method to avoid delicate modelling, and was not done in the best work.

The artist worked surely and swiftly, for mistakes could not be easily rectified after the plaster was dry. If by any chance, the plaster had dried before the reliefs were applied, the surface of the background was scratched or pitted to give a purchase to the stucco. In several instances<sup>5</sup>, the reliefs have not adhered, but in the majority of cases, it is as difficult to break off a figure in relief as it is to break the whole layer of plaster.

The process differed slightly when the reliefs were applied to a colored background. In that case, the surface was first painted and, if on a wall, polished. The hard, dry ground had to be thoroughly roughened to receive the wet stucco. The latter was modelled as described above, but with the difference that it could not be worked in with the background. The figures, which could not be very elaborate, and were usually merely single motives like amorini, animals, or conventionalized designs, had to be clear-cut like cameos, and in comparatively high relief to offset the colored background. There are fewer of these reliefs on colored grounds than there are of the pure white.

<sup>1</sup> BLÜMNER, *op. cit.*, pp. 150 f. says forms of wood or some other material were probably pressed into the stucco surface while it was still damp and for this reason so many figures and ornaments are alike in some buildings. After the impression was made, the ready and dried relief was fastened to the surface by mortar. The surface of the moulded relief which was pressed to the wall was left rough so that it would adhere better.

There is no evidence for this in the stuccoes which I have examined. Instead, the retouching of the relief

after it was pressed into the wall shows it was applied while damp.

<sup>2</sup> In several cases, these sketches were not covered entirely by the plaster; in others the plaster has dropped off, revealing the lines beneath in the stucco background.

<sup>3</sup> See Farnesina reliefs especially, Pls. I, ff.

<sup>4</sup> See Tomb of the Valerii, Pls. XX, ff.

<sup>5</sup> See reliefs of the Farnesina and Underground Basilica, Pls. I, ff., and XXXVI, ff.

Color and gold leaf were often applied to the stucco reliefs and also to the backgrounds, after they were completed and dry. Naturally the gold leaf has disappeared, but excavation records and a few minute patches<sup>1</sup> along with places where relief and all have been hacked off to obtain the gold<sup>2</sup>, prove its popularity and substantiate to some degree Pliny's extravagant remark that vaults and walls in his day were like so many gold plated vases<sup>3</sup>. The color has been better preserved, especially in underground or buried rooms. It was applied by brush or, as was often the case when very small details had to be colored separately, was mixed into the composition itself. This latter method saved time and gave greater precision.

In combination with the stucco reliefs are found, at times, marine shells, glass mosaics, enamels and even semi-precious stones. The first two are common in Pompeii and seem to have been very popular for the niche fountains in private dwellings, and in vaults of public or private baths<sup>4</sup>. The mosaics were also probably used in the vaults of palaces and villas, as we read in classical literature<sup>5</sup>. Precious stones or enamels and pastes imitating them were evidently used more sparingly, but when they were, they must have eclipsed the simple relief decoration and have produced a gorgeous effect<sup>6</sup>.

Stucco cornices, although made of the same material as the reliefs, can not be classified with them as they are primarily architectural. They often form a transition between the reliefs on the wall and those on the vault, or between reliefs and frescoes. Sometimes, they are elaborated by small ornaments in relief<sup>7</sup>, such as rosettes, dolphins, bucrania, amorini, etc. These motives, when used on cornices, can not be considered as reliefs, but merely as enrichments, in the same category as eggs and darts, dentils or water leaf designs. There are hundreds of examples of these cornices in Rome and Pompeii, of excellent workmanship and high artistic quality, but they are outside the scope of this article.

<sup>1</sup> This is true of the Republican houses on the Palatine.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>3</sup> PLIN., *nat.*, 33, 57. See also, HOR., *carm.*, II, 18, 1:  
Non ebur neque aureum  
Mea renidet in domo lacunar.

<sup>4</sup> Baths of Caracalla, MIDDLETON, *Remains of Anc. Rome*, II, p. 162.

<sup>5</sup> PLIN., *nat.*, 36, 189. In speaking of mosaics the author says that since the time of Sulla when they were

first introduced they have left the ground for the arched vaults of buildings.

<sup>6</sup> In one of the vaults under the Flavian Palace on the Palatine, there are rounded bits of lapis lazuli inlaid in the stucco.

<sup>7</sup> See cornices in the Villa of Livia at Prima Porta (Pl. X, Fig. 1), Tomb of the Pancratii (Pls. XXV, ff.), and the Tomb of the Valerii (Pls. XX; XXI, Fig. 1; XXIV, Fig. 2).

## THE FARNESINA RELIEFS.

In 1879 during the construction of the right embankment of the Tiber, the remains of a Roman house were uncovered in the grounds of the Farnesina Villa. Its elaborate ground plan and interior decoration showed that it had once been the home of a person of unusual wealth and artistic taste, while its construction of opus reticulatum with corners and doorposts of rectangular blocks of tufa date it during the period of Julius Caesar<sup>1</sup>. Unfortunately, the house had to be destroyed, but the wall paintings were carefully removed and the thousands of fragments of stucco reliefs found among the debris of three sleeping rooms were carefully gathered together and set in beds of plaster of Paris of the same dimensions as the original vaults. Both wall paintings<sup>2</sup> and reliefs<sup>3</sup> are now on exhibition in the National Museum in Rome. For convenience, the latter are in six cases, each case containing half of a vault, the division being longitudinally along the crown.

The stuccoes show a beautiful light cream colored surface with no traces of polychromy, and have a smooth, close-grained texture such as is found in no other example. The modelling is delicate and restrained, yet full of life and spirit.

The three vaults<sup>4</sup> are similar in design and technique although one is larger and more elaborate than the others. The artist made the divisions of the design subservient to the decoration of the compartments themselves by using fine mouldings of low and delicate profile. The main emphasis rests on the pictorial reliefs and decorative ornaments of these compartments. The former, that is, the pictorial reliefs, are given prominent places in the general scheme near the spring of the vaults where they would easily catch the eye of the observer, while the latter, varying in phantasy and importance, from victories and busts to candelabra and plant motives, fill the intervening spaces and make a gradual transition to the center of the vault which is the weakest point in the design. In this last respect, these vaults are almost unique, for, except in cases where a rhythmic pattern is used, there is usually a central field or medallion, which, whatever its size or shape, stands out with isolated clearness. The various fields and their ornaments are symmetrically arranged in respect to the longitudinal axes of the vaults, but rigidity is

<sup>1</sup> VAN DEMAN, *A. J. A.*, 1912, p. 248. See above p. 13.

<sup>2</sup> R. PARIBENI, *Guida, Museo Nazionale Romano*, 3<sup>d</sup> ed. No. 700 ff. MAU, *Ann. Inst.*, 1882, pp. 301 ff.; 1884, pp. 307 ff.; 1885, pp. 302 ff.; *Mon. Inst.* XI, Pls. 44-48; XII, Pls. 5-8, 17-34.

<sup>3</sup> R. PARIBENI, *Ibid.*, No. 434 ff.

<sup>4</sup> LANCIANI, *N. S.*, 1879, p. 267; 1880, p. 127, suppl. Pls. 32-36; LESSING-MAU, *Wand und Deckenschmuck eines Römischen Hauses aus Zeit des Augustus*; BARNABEI, *N. S.*, 1895, pp. 39 ff.; ROSTOWZEW, *Röm. Mitt.*, 1911, pp. 34 ff.; K. RONCZEWSKI, *Gewölbeschmuck im Römischen Altertum*, pp. 25 ff.

avoided by variety in treatment and irregularities of minor details. So we find in all three vaults examples of unfinished ends of ornamental friezes and across the middle of the larger and of one of the smaller ones, a composition which is architecturally impossible.

The large vault is perhaps the most interesting as well as the most decorative (See Pls. I-V)<sup>1</sup>. Along the lower edge of each side of the vault, just above the cornice line, runs a frieze, approximately 3.50 m. long and .55 m. high which is treated independently of the rest of the vault. It is divided into three panels of which the middle one is a little more than half as long as the ones which flank it. All three are bordered by a delicate wave moulding. The central panels have additional plain mouldings, set within at a distance of 5 cms. which emphasize the importance of the reliefs they frame.

In one of the middle panels (See Pl. I, Fig. 1 and Pl. II), we have a group of three figures in higher relief than the rest of the vault. On the right, seated on a throne, is a male figure of heroic size, clothed in a long chiton of heavy woolen material with an Oriental note in its long sleeves. He wears a plain diadem and sandals, and has his right hand raised with index finger outstretched in an attitude of authority. The upper part of his body is gone and all attributes to identify him are lacking, but from his size and attitude he must represent a god. Before him stands a youth, with easy pose, holding out his right hand as if in supplication. He is nude except for a chlamys over his shoulders, which falls down behind him in graceful heavy folds. In his left hand he holds a staff or a spear. His head, with its short thick locks and clean cut profile, is distinctly Greek in character. At a short distance behind him stands an elderly, bearded man, resting heavily on a long staff which he holds in both hands. He wears a short Doric chiton, opening at the right side, and a simple chlamys, and on his feet high laced sandals. He also holds in his left hand what seems to be a sword and a belt. His features are so full of life and so realistic that one can feel the intensity of his interest in the scene before him. The modelling of his body is excellent, giving the impression of age with muscular activity in contrast to the firm round flesh of the young man. The drapery of the figures is exceptionally good with a distinct feeling of reality and texture. The modelling of the human form is very well done, although there are a few awkward places, such as the uplifted arm of the god. The scene is dramatic in its simplicity. The actors stand on the lower frame of the compartment and there is no background, except for the faint suggestion of a column above and between the two standing figures. Petersen has identified this relief in connection with the others from the same vault as being a scene of the Phaethon myth<sup>2</sup>. He interprets it as Phaethon accompanied by a servant or armor bearer begging his father,

<sup>1</sup> See also GUSMAN, *L'Art Décoratif de Rome*, II, Pl. 72 (a).

<sup>2</sup> PETERSEN, *Röm. Mitt.*, 1895, pp. 67 ff.; OVID,

*met.*, II, 19 ff.; WILAMOWITZ, *Hermes*, XVIII (1883), pp. 400 ff.



Helios, for the chariot of the sun. The only difficulty in this interpretation is that in none of the versions of the story is there evidence for such a servant.

The corresponding panel on the other side of the vault is badly mutilated (See Pl. I, Fig. 2), but traces of two female figures and a horse and chariot can be made out. With the above myth in mind, this may be identified as the sisters of Phaethon preparing the chariot for him.

The larger panel to the left of the former relief is more complicated in subject (See Pl. I, Fig. 1 and Pl. V, Fig. 1). At either side, in the foreground, there is a projecting cornice supporting a winged, bearded sphinx, resembling the Serapis type, on whose forehead is the lotus bud common in representations of Isis. The cornices are supported by nude male figures in high relief, representing Zeus, carrying small calyx shaped capitals on their heads. Both of the figures are damaged, but as they were evidently replicas, they can be restored by comparison with each other. Each stands in an easy attitude with the weight on the leg nearer the spectator. In the nearer hand which hangs at his side, is a fillet. The other hand is outstretched, carrying an eagle with outspread wings as if on the point of flight. The heads, which are bearded and have long hair knotted at the napes of the neck, recall Serapis heads rather than the regular Zeus type. Behind each Zeus, there hangs from the cornice by a ribbon, a tamborine with tassels dangling from the rim. In the background, at right angles to these cornices, there is a second pair of cornices in lower relief. They rest on herms with bearded heads of the Serapis type and support two large fluted jars with a tall handle. From the center of the upper frame of the panel hangs a pipe of six graduated reeds and delicate festoons of oak leaves and acorns draped to each of the main cornices.

All this is merely a foreground and frame for the main part of the relief, which is purely pictorial and pastoral in character. It evidently represents a sacred shrine consisting of two towers and several porticoes crowning the top and sides of a very steep hill. In the background is a twisted and gnarled sacred tree. Before the left hand tower of the shrine, a woman is feeding or patting an animal resembling a dog. To the right of the shrine, a man, hooded and with a short tunic, girt about his waist, is leaning forward as if to welcome the woman who is ascending the hill to the shrine. The foreground is damaged, but two realistic bulls and a third animal may be distinguished.

The corresponding panel (Pl. I, Fig. 1) on the right end of the frieze is too badly damaged to determine its content. Only the top of one cornice is left with a winged griffin crouching on it instead of a sphinx, as we had in the previous panel.

The left hand panel (See Pl. I, Fig. 2 and Pl. III) of the other half of the vault is the clearest one of the series, although it, too, has not escaped injury<sup>1</sup>. The cornices

<sup>1</sup> ROSTOWZEW, *Röm. Mitt.*, 1911, p. 36.

are supported by Hermes figures, gracefully standing on small bases with no indication of the weight they are supposed to be carrying. Each holds an elaborated caduceus with a winged handle in his further hand. This is the only attribute by which one can identify the god. From his shoulders hangs a heavy cloak, weighted at the corners and brought across his chest in a loose fold. The head recalls the portrait busts of the Julian family in type. In the center of the panel, on a slight eminence, we have another rustic shrine. There is the usual sacred tree and in a small circular enclosure, a sacred column with an Ionic capital and with a shepherd's crook fastened to the center of the shaft by a fillet. Beside the column is an elaborate round tower and an open portico with festoons and acroteria. The former is three storied, having merely a door in the first story, two narrow windows in the second and five in the top. The tower is also decorated by plain mouldings between the stories and is surmounted by a conical roof with an ornament shaped like a pine cone at the apex. Above and to the left is another group of buildings composed of a tall square tower open on one side, and flanked by propylons on two of the others. The two towers are connected by a covered passageway, very lightly modelled. Three people are climbing the steep flight of stairs leading up to the round tower from the left: the first, a woman, bears on her head a mystic vannus or winnowing fan; behind her follow a second woman and boy. In the central foreground there are three bulls and a goat, similar to the animals in the first panel of the series.

The fourth and last panel (Pl. I, Fig. 2) is very fragmentary. The cornices were supported by female figures recalling the Caryatids of the Erechtheum. Each wore a long chiton and held a spray of wheat in the further hand, and therefore may have represented Demeter. The thumb and forefinger of the other hand held the skirt slightly lifted. Fragments of a semicircular colonnade, a sacred tree and several human figures show that the center of the relief was similar to the others in style and subject.

The design and arrangement of the compartments above the lower friezes are more complicated. Instead of waves, the mouldings are decorated with eggs and darts. Near the corners of the vault are large square fields containing sun faces with radiating fluted rays, a motive suitable to the Phaethon subject. The angles around the suns are filled by a conventionalized palmette and scroll design. Proceeding upward, we have a band which crosses the vault and is bent around three sides of the sun compartments. Its vertical sections are filled by candelabra motives, alike in general design but differing in minor details. Over the suns are sphinx grotesques facing away from a small central figure, a female figure bearing a patera and poised on a plant calyx. The long horizontal section in the center is decorated with a graceful and symmetrical design of sphinx grotesques combined with plant arabesques. In no place is the skill of the Roman stuccateur more evident, or the delicate reliefs more exquisite than in this band. A pattern was evidently

followed for each side of the vault, but different workmen interpreted it, each in his own way and according to his own skill. Consider, for instance, in Pl. I, Fig. 1, the three sections around the right hand sun. In the two candelabra the artist inserted touches which were not required by the pattern. Two birds, perhaps cockatoos, are introduced into the general design as well as bell shaped flowers and extra little curling tendrils. Such little touches would scarcely have been evident in the whole decorative scheme and show artistic exuberance on the part of the modeller. The same thing is true of the corresponding part of the other side of the vault (Pl. I, Fig. 2). Here we have two birds of a different species, but as charmingly graceful as the others, if not more so. Then, above the sun, we have a curious hybrid resembling a griffin, but with a human bearded head and long curling horn.

Above the center of each side of the vault, there is a small square panel with a woman's head and shoulders in comparatively high relief, making it stand out as one of the important features of the vault. The one in Pl. I, Fig. 1 is realistic enough to be a portrait. Her hair is rolled back to the nape of her neck in a small knot and a cloak is wrapped about her shoulders in many folds. The second bust is different (Pl. I, Fig. 2 and Pl. II, Fig. 2). The hair of the woman is gathered in a loose knot over her forehead, somewhat after the fashion of the Apollo Belvedere<sup>1</sup>. In her right hand she holds a conventionalized flower in the manner of representations of Persephone.

At either side of the heads, are tall narrow panels with armor bearing Victories (Pl. II, Fig. 2 and Pl. IV, Fig. 1)<sup>2</sup>. With their long graceful wings and their tunics swirling about their ankles, they stand on their toes like some of the figures in the Campana reliefs<sup>3</sup>. The Victory on the right holds a crested helmet before her with both hands, while her companion on the left is sheathing a sword. The modellings of the bodies is generally good and convincing, with the exception of the right arm of the first figure and the clumsy feet and ankles of the second. As usual, there is the individual touch in the bracelet and variety in arrangement of hair and draperies of the former. The Victories on the other side of the vault were evidently meant to be replicas of the first pair, but they are unfortunately badly damaged.

On either side of these latter panels, there were T shaped fields, the horizontal bars of which were formed by two griffins or sphinx grotesques on either side of a tall candelabrum similar to those mentioned above. These candelabra also served to form the stem of the T.

The crown of the vault is missing for the most part, so the design is merely conjectural, but there seems to be no evidence for a real central panel or motive. In Pl. I, Fig. 2 we see in the extreme upper right hand corner, the fragmentary remains of a winged Victory seated

<sup>1</sup> GUSMAN, *L'Art Décoratif de Rome*, II, Pl. 36.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, Pl. 36.

<sup>3</sup> CAMPANA, *Antiche Opere in Plastica*, I; ROHDEN, *Die Antiken Terrakotten*, Pls. IV, 2, X.

on a plant volute, and pouring a libation into a patera. There was doubtless a corresponding figure facing her on the other side of a central conventionalized plant design, an arrangement often found in terra cotta reliefs<sup>1</sup>.

In examining the reliefs of this vault, it is interesting to note the evidences of different workmanship, which has already been suggested. Some of the modelling is heavier and duller, as for instance, in the candelabrum motive behind the left hand Victory of Plate I, Fig. 2. All of the work around and near this field is less well done and less artistic than that on the right end of the vault. It would give the impression that an apprentice or less skilled workman happened to be assigned that section. The more important lower frieze seems to have been modelled by a third man with real artistic feeling as well as technique. His versatility is manifest in the fact that he could do either high or low relief, animals, human figures or landscapes.

In the second and third vaults there are different motives and a different arrangement of panels. The general spirit of the decoration is Bacchic in character and less dignified but fully as charming and attractive. In the first of these vaults (Pls. IV, Fig. 2; V, Fig. 2; VI, Fig. 1), we have a narrow lower frieze of arabesques in which the Bacchic pine cone has a prominent place, flanked by Cupid grotesques. These latter figures are the simplified expression of the same motive we find in a frieze in the Lateran, belonging to the Antonine Period, where similar Cupids are pouring libations on either side of an amphora<sup>2</sup>. Above this frieze there are two shorter ones separated by a large panel. The frieze on the left has a continuous design of Arimaspi grotesques fighting griffins<sup>3</sup>, while the one on the right contains griffins alternating with stylised Victories standing between plant scrolls<sup>4</sup>.

The large panels are very interesting, giving landscapes in relief with architecture similar to the many wall paintings and mosaics of Hellenistic origin. Dr. Rostowzew has discussed this subject at length, with excellent illustrations, in his *Hellenistisch-römische Architecturlandschaft*<sup>5</sup>. One of these landscapes is badly damaged, showing merely fragments of towers, sacred trees, gates and columns. The other is almost entire (Pl. IV, Fig. 2). On the right, upon a steep hill, we have a building with two towers, in the doorway of which is a figure leaning forward as if in welcome to a second figure ascending the hill. At the foot of the slope, there is a large sacred tree and a plain column surmounted by a round object. Before the tree and column stand two women, one bent forward as though receiving a blessing from the other. Then, in the middle of the relief, stands a tall, plain tower with only one opening — a door — to the right. Connected with this there is a peculiar structure, with a very steeply

<sup>1</sup> ROHDEN, *op. cit.*, Pls. VIII, CXVIII b.

<sup>2</sup> GUSMAN, *L'Art Décoratif de Rome*, Pl. 105.

<sup>3</sup> ROHDEN, *op. cit.*, Pl. XCIII a, XXII, for similar

motives in terracotta.

<sup>4</sup> ROHDEN, *op. cit.*, Pl. CVII b, LXVIII, CXLII a.

<sup>5</sup> *Röm. Mitt.*, 1911, pp. 1 ff.

sloping roof of one plane which does not go architecturally with the building. Two faces of the latter are represented, one plain, the other with two very long and narrow openings. Two women are approaching this building from the left and a third from the right. Behind the building, there is a sacred enclosure with tree and column surmounted by a Priapus herm. At the extreme left of the relief, on another height, there is another sacred tree and a gate with a figure leaning forward from the opening. In the foreground are sheep, plants and a woman worshipping a herm.

The modelling of the landscape has the simplicity of Japanese sketches but is not intended for minute inspection. The purely landscape features are calm and quiet in contrast to the movement of the human figures.

To the left of this relief and above the frieze of griffins and Arimaspi, there is a panel of the same size (Pl. V, Fig. 2). In this case, the landscape is subsidiary to the characters. Two women, possibly nymphs or maenads of the Bacchic cycle, are advancing from a tree on the left towards a Priapus herm to which they are bringing garlands and offerings. The herm is on a high garlanded pedestal and on the platform before it is a third woman holding a fillet in one hand, and in the other, a mystic vannus laden with fruits. Her dress, which has long close-fitting sleeves, is gathered about her waist in a knot. A thyrsus tied with a fillet leans, head down, against the platform at her feet. The pose and modelling of the figures is full of spirit.

In the corresponding panel to the right, there is a second Bacchic relief (Pls. V, Fig. 2; VII), which illustrates either a part of the ritual or a simple sacrifice. First comes a youth, with a cloth knotted about his waist, playing the double pipes. Before him, a woman, dressed like the third figure in the last relief, is lighting two torches at a blazing altar. The altar, of rough stone, is filleted and stands before a column decorated in like manner. A third torch leans unlighted against the altar. At the left are the spectators; a fat Silenus, with his thyrsus, leaning drunkenly against a large base, and behind it, a veiled woman pensively resting her chin in her hand.

In the other half of the vault (Pl. VI, Fig. 1), there are two corresponding reliefs, of which the one on the left is very fragmentary. Portions of three women and a garlanded base show that it also was a scene with sacred significance. The last picture of this group — the relief on the right — is very interesting. On the right, is a garlanded column set on a base of two steps. Before it stands a figure, which, though lacking a head, appears to be a woman. She has a queer dress<sup>1</sup>, with long sleeves, gathered in around the waist and puffed over the hips in bustle fashion. Beside her is a large box-like structure decorated with fillets. With

<sup>1</sup> In a terracotta relief in the National Museum, at Rome (ROHDEN, *op. cit.*, Pl. XLVI), there is a Bacchic scene with a woman attendant in a similar dress, holding

a vannus over a veiled youth. From the repetition of the knotted garment about the waist, one would assign to it ritual significance also.

both hands she holds out a triptych, displaying its contents — a cult picture, no doubt — to two women under a tree at the left<sup>1</sup>. One of these women is seated on a ledge, the other is standing with her himation wrapped around her and draped over her left arm. The modelling of this figure, with its dignity of pose, reminds one of Attic grave stelae. The subject of the relief, however, is not funerary, but doubtless represents a cult scene or a rite of the Bacchic mysteries. There are no cult objects to determine this, unless one considers as such the column — an aniconic form under which the god was sometimes worshipped<sup>2</sup>.

Above the central landscape reliefs were small squares with portrait heads. The one in Pl. V, Fig. 2, may have been a woman or an effeminate type of Dionysus, but all that now remains is the hair, which, tied back with a fillet at the nape of the neck, falls in wavy locks over the shoulders. All that is left of the head in Pl. VI, Fig. 1, is the nose and lightly bearded chin of a man.

Near the middle of the vault were large fields containing two winged Victories pouring libations from a raised hand into a patera held in the other. Between them stood a candelabrum motive on a three footed base. Their original charm and effectiveness can be seen in Pl. V, Fig. 2. Poised tip-toe on flower calices, they served as fanciful caryatids to the moulding of the panel above them. The swing of their archaistic draperies and their long drooping wings are remarkably graceful as well as very well modelled. Their attitude recalls several of the terracotta reliefs, as for example, Rohden, VIa, IX and others.

The extreme ends of the vault are decorated by plant arabesques in candelabrum style. Those on the left in Pl. V, Fig. 2, and on the right in Pl. VI, Fig. 1, show special artistic merit. Small square compartments left between the larger ones are filled by various conventionalized designs of rosettes, flowers and buds connected by scrolls.

The third and last vault<sup>3</sup> is so much like the preceding one that a detailed description is unnecessary. The arrangement of the panels is identical with the exception that the third vault lacks the long frieze of Cupid grotesques along the lower edge. The reliefs in the larger panels are different though corresponding in style and spirit, while the subordinate decoration has slight variations, especially in arrangement.

The two landscape reliefs are companion pieces to those in the second vault in spite of the fact that the one in Pl. VI, Fig. 2 is heavier in modelling and on a larger scale. In this (Pl. VIII, Fig. 1)<sup>4</sup>, we have a rocky landscape and a stream spanned by a bridge with a slight arch. On the bridge, there are two women carrying water, one of whom is giving a

<sup>1</sup> In a marble relief in the Louvre (SCHREIBER, *Hellenist. Reliefbilder*, Pl. LXXa), depicting a scene from the Bacchic rites, there is a column in the background with an open triptych set upon its capital.

<sup>2</sup> FARNELL, *Greek Cults*, V, p. 240.

<sup>3</sup> GUSMAN, *op. cit.*, Pls. 72b, 73.

<sup>4</sup> ROSTOWZEW, *op. cit.*, pp. 36 f.

kneeling man a drink from her jar. At either side of the bridge there is a group of buildings; on the left, a sacred precinct bounded in front by a roughly hewn stones and in the rear by a high wall; on the right, an open sanctuary with a sacred pillar and tree. In the center of the former grows a tree, realistically portrayed with the stump of a large branch on the left side of the trunk. Another branch on the right has grown through a sacred gate formed by a column and a pilaster joined by a lintel. This latter carries a large ribbed egg-shaped jar. To the left of the tree stands a tall building seen from the right front corner — a modification of a tower, with massive lower part and open upper story covered by a slanting roof. Against the front of the building is an open lean-to shed with three posts as support for the roof. To the right of the gate there is a similar tower, massive below and open above with two windows in the middle story. Further on, we see a circular enclosure with a tree and a pillar or baetyl. The enclosure has three openings in the front and is decorated with fillets draped over the edge. The other structure to the right of the bridge Rostowzew describes as being triangular<sup>1</sup>, with the architrave concave on two sides and convex on the third. Traces of a pilaster or pillar may be seen in the rear and it seems reasonable to think that the sanctuary was meant to be square, but viewed from one angle and from below and that the present form was produced by an artist struggling unsuccessfully with his perspectives. The sacred column has large flutings and supports a large egg-shaped, covered jar.

The fourth relief<sup>2</sup> of this series (Pls. VI, Fig. 3; VIII, Fig. 2) resembles more closely in style those in the second vault. Again we see a rolling, rocky landscape cut from top to bottom by a stream which is delineated merely by the bridge above and the fishers in the foreground. There are three groups of buildings in the relief. On the left, on a rocky hillock, there is a tower seen from the left front corner. The lower part is massively built without windows and with only a tall narrow doorway opening upon an open area between two jutting walls with window-like openings at the front. On the front posts of these walls stand two round jars with covers and single handles. The upper part of the tower, profiled by mouldings at top and bottom, has two window openings in each wall, while the top is covered by a thatched pent roof, supported by posts at the four corners and open on all sides. Garlands are festooned around the tower from the lower cornice line. Behind the building grow two trees, one resembling a date palm and the other with large spreading branches. In front of the building, on a natural rocky base stands a Priapus herm. In the center of the panel there is a more complex group of buildings standing upon a podium with two projections. Upon the latter, rests a propylon closed at the sides and with a gable roof. This propylon leads into a circular structure, the upper part of which is pierced by windows at regular intervals. Above and below

<sup>1</sup> ROSTOWZEW, *op. cit.*, p. 37.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 35.

the windows are cornices, from the lower of which hang garlands. This circular building is open at the top and from the center protrudes a plain column with the customary egg-shaped vase. Behind the building grows a large leafy tree. On the right the podium projects as a broad low platform to the bank of the stream. At each of the outer corners stands a herm. From behind, a low arched bridge swings across the stream to the third group of buildings. An awning is stretched from the circular structure to the center of the bridge. A woman and child are crossing the latter towards the right hand bank. The building on this side, which is also on a rocky foundation, is composed of a square tower similar to the first one mentioned in this relief, but lacks the top story. Instead, there are small ornaments as acroteria resting on the four corners. A propylon, open at the sides and with a gable roof, projects to the right. Again there is a tree in the background. In the foreground of the relief there are several figures beautifully modelled and full of animation. One, a woman, is leaning pensively against a corner of the podium of the central structure, recalling in her attitude the figures found in Attic grave reliefs. Nearer in the foreground are two women sacrificing at a rude, blazing altar. On the other bank of the stream are two anglers on a rock. One, seated on the edge, is leaning over intent on his rod and line. The other, with short tunic, hat and pouch, stands quietly, carrying his rod over his shoulder.

The Bacchic scenes are similar in technique and spirit to those in the second vault. In the first, the left hand one of Pl. VI, Fig. 2, among the few remaining fragments can be distinguished, on the left, two women. One holds the mystic vannus while the other raises the veil with both hands. All that remains of this latter figure is her right hand and wrist, with a trace of her long sleeve, and her feet. On the other side of the relief, we have a low altar piled with objects not easily identified. Before it kneels a woman on one knee. Her back is bared and her garments are brought loosely around her hips. Close behind her stands a fourth woman, who seems to be facing the front, as far as the damaged condition of the vault can be interpreted. In this relief, which he compares with a scene from the frescoes of the Villa Itern at Pompeii, Prof. Rizzo<sup>1</sup> sees an illustration of an expiatory or lustral ceremony connected with initiation into the Dionysiac Mysteries.

In the other relief of the same half of the vault, we have in the center a typical fat Silenus leaning against a column with his legs crossed and his arms folded behind his back. He wears high boots, a cloak thrown loosely about his shoulders and, about his waist, a cloth knotted in the fashion referred to previously. Beside him crouches a panther, which a woman kneeling on one knee is petting. Behind the Silenus are the fragmen-

<sup>1</sup> G. E. Rizzo, *Dionysos Mystes*, in *Memorie della reale Accademia di archeologia, lettere e belle arti*, Napoli, III, 1918, pp. 90 ff.



tary traces of a woman who is raising or dragging to one side the limp form of a youth. Near the column a branch reveals the fact that there was also once a sacred tree.

The third relief, the left hand one of the other side of the vault (Pl. VI, Fig. 3 and IX), is well preserved. Before a column and sacred tree, stands a Silenus holding a large mystic vannus which is covered with a veil. In front of him stands a child with veiled head, representing, perhaps, the young Bacchus. He wears high buskins and a cloak wrapped around him much like a toga. In his right hand he bears a thyrsus, tied with a fillet. Behind him stands a woman with the cloth knotted around her hips. Her right hand is gone, but it evidently rested on the child's head. She looks behind her, however, at a second woman who is approaching with outstretched right hand, while carrying a tamborine in the other. Between them lies a mystic cista on the ground, and behind it, faintly scratched in the background, can be distinguished the outlines of a kneeling woman although all the relief has fallen away.

In the fourth relief, we have in the center, beside the ever present column, a youthful Satyr, seated on a rocky throne over which a fawn skin has been thrown. His head is now gone, but he was evidently looking upward and backward at a leafy bough of the sacred tree which he is pulling down with his right hand. It is impossible to tell whether he is picking something, or merely bending the branch over the head of the small boy behind him. This boy stands erect, holding in his right hand a thyrsus planted firmly on the ground before him. From his bent left arm hangs a tamborine or similar object. He is nude, but an ivy leaf on his head shows that he originally wore a crown of this vine. In front of him stands a woman carrying in her right hand a cup or patera, the outline of which is still preserved in the stucco. At the right of the relief, before the seated satyr, another of that tribe is pouring wine from a large skin into a mixing bowl. At the extreme right, rises a rocky altar against which has been placed a thyrsus decorated with a ribbon fillet.

These last two reliefs Prof. Rizzo has interpreted most convincingly as belonging to cult scenes illustrating the initiation of the young god into his mysteries, in other words — we have here the "Dionysos Mystes"<sup>1</sup>. The women are the nymphs who nursed and reared the god in his infancy. The former relief would therefore portray his introduction to the mystic vannus and cista, into the presence of which he is brought veiled<sup>2</sup>. In the last relief, the bending of the bough over the head of the young Bacchus has also a ritual significance of some sort, probably that of purification.

Of the two portrait busts above the landscapes, one (Pl. VI, Fig. 2) is badly mutilated but it evidently represented a woman. The other (Pl. VI, Fig. 3), which is beau-

<sup>1</sup> RIZZO, *Mem. della Acc. arch.*, Napoli, II, 1918, pp. 46 ff.

<sup>2</sup> See J. E. HARRISON, *Prolegomena to the Study of Greek Religion*, Cambridge, 1903, pp. 521 ff.

tifully modelled and purely Greek in spirit and restraint, represents a man of the Indian Bacchus type with long hair and beard. It resembles very closely the head of a priest in a Bacchic initiation scene on a terracotta placque (Rohden XLVI). This suggests that the two portraits carried out the Bacchic idea of the vault. If that was the case, the woman's head may have represented Ariadne Kore or someone else connected with the cult.

At the top, in the decorative band crossing the vault between the two heads, there is a winged Gorgon head resting on a plant calyx. This is the only clue in the two vaults as to the central design. The band itself, which has a distinct top and bottom, is structurally impossible in its position across the crown of the vault.

In studying these vaults one is struck by the mixed character of the style and decoration. The larger figures of the individuals — those in the reliefs relating to the Phaethon myth — and those which act as caryatids in the larger vault are reminiscent of Greek fifth or fourth century art although the subjects seem to be taken from the cycle of legends popular in Alexandrian times. The Zeus and Hermes figures, in particular, are ideal and full of Greek restraint. Then, the eight Bacchic scenes are comparable to the genre scenes found in Pompeian wall paintings of the second style. In many respects, but especially in subject and pictorial background, they approach the so-called Hellenistic reliefs<sup>1</sup>. There are also the stylized Victories resembling figures which appear in the Neo-Attic reliefs<sup>2</sup>, although they are not quite as stiff in treatment. The libation-pouring Victories, on the other hand, are almost exact replicas of figures appearing in the Arretine vases<sup>3</sup>. The pure landscapes, which are very like the painted ones found in the second style of wall decoration, remind one, by their pastoral quality, of the Idylls of Theocritus and other Alexandrian literature. The grotesques, which are highly decorative, illustrate the delight the Romans had in phantastic figures. The plant arabesques, candelabra and other minor motives recall the marble reliefs of the period of Augustus, such as the Ara Pacis<sup>4</sup>, Fons Juturnae<sup>5</sup>, and if one makes exception of their illusionistic treatment, those of the Tomb of the Haterii<sup>6</sup>.

The clever handwork and quality of the style would seem to indicate a Greek artist, and it is more than probable that this was the case, for on one of the walls of this house is scratched the phrase: "Seleukos did this"<sup>7</sup>. One feels certain that the mind which directed the decoration of the walls did that of the vaults also, for the same motives and character appear in both.

<sup>1</sup> SCHREIBER, *Die Hellenistischen Reliefbilder*, Pls. I, II, ff.

<sup>2</sup> HAUSER, *Die neu-attischen Reliefs*, pp. 128 ff.

<sup>3</sup> G. H. CHASE, *Catalogue of Arretine Pottery*, Nos. 1, 3, 29, Pls III, VI, X, and, pp. 23 ff.

<sup>4</sup> GUSMAN, *L'Art Décoratif*, 25, 99.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, Pl. 90.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, Pl. 15.

<sup>7</sup> LESSING-MAU, *op. cit.*, p. 5.

## VILLA OF LIVIA.

Chronologically, the Villa of Livia at Prima Porta comes next, as it dates from the period of Augustus <sup>1</sup>, but the remains of the stuccoed vault found in one of the rooms are almost too fragmentary for discussion (Pl. X, Fig. 1). A cornice of the waterleaf pattern, in white on a blue ground, separated the vault from the walls and outlined the lunettes at the ends of the room. Above the cornice, along the sides of the room, there was a row of square compartments bordered by egg and dart mouldings. Every second square had a scene in white relief on a white background. Several of these show traces of a seated female figure with a standing male figure. The alternating panels had winged Victories poised on candelabra in white on blue backgrounds. The stucco is too badly damaged to give any idea of what the style and technique really was, but the composition seems to be as fine and firm as that of the Farnesina vaults.

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<sup>1</sup> FRIEDRICH LOHR, *Trans Tiberim* (1915), p. 15; VAN DEMAN, *A. J. A.*, 1912, p. 390.

## TOMB OF LUCIUS ARRUNTIUS.

On the Via Praenestina, just inside the Porta Maggiore, was once situated the tomb<sup>1</sup> constructed by L. Arruntius, the historian of the Punic Wars and consul in 6 A. D., for his slaves and freedmen. Unfortunately, although it was destroyed fairly recently<sup>2</sup>, proper drawings and photographs were not made, so we have to rely on the design made by Ronczewski from the drawings of Piranesi<sup>3</sup>. The design reminds one of the Farnesina vaults, although it is much simpler and the panels are larger and fewer in proportion. The mouldings seem to have been run with no attempt at enrichment. Naturally, we can know nothing about the modelling or texture of the stucco, but the design itself is valuable and is therefore included among the extant examples.

Along the lower edge of the vault there was a series of compartments containing winged griffins and similar fantastic animals alternating with diamond shaped motives in smaller fields. The central panel was twice as long as the larger fields, and was decorated with two winged sphinxes heraldically placed on either side of a candelabrum motive. Above this frieze there was a wider band divided into five panels. The first from the outer edge was smaller than the others and merely contained a double palmette design resembling certain ones found in the Underground Basilica. The second, bordered by triple mouldings and a narrow line set within at some distance, held a scene, the significance of which is not now known. There were two men, one nude and seated on a stool, and the other, dressed in military garb and carrying a spear, standing before him. The central panel of this band was divided into three sections, the middle one of which was T shaped. This had the not unusual motive of two women pouring out libations on either side of a candelabrum, which was supported by a female caryatid standing on a plant calyx. In the vertical sections of the L shaped fields on each side, there were winged Victories serving as candelabra, while in the horizontal sections there were Victory grotesques holding double pipes. The decorations of the remaining fields were repeated in the reverse order. The next band in the vault design, which also happened to be the central one, was divided into seven fields. The first had a conventionalized design based on the rosette with palmettes; the second, a stylized Victory set within an oblique diamond frame; the third, a conventionalized scroll design; the fourth and central one a rape scene in a circular medallion. The

<sup>1</sup> MIDDLETON, *Remains of Anc. Rome*, II, p. 273. This has been dated by Miss Van Deman as belonging to the period of the early Empire (*A. J. A.*, 1912, p. 390 and p. 398).

<sup>2</sup> Dr. Lugli, informs me it was destroyed about

twenty years ago to make room for houses in the Esquiline district.

<sup>3</sup> RONCZEWSKI, *Gewölbeschmuck in Römischen Altertum*, Pl. XIV, p. 27; PIRANESI, *Antichità*, II, Pls. VII-XV.

frame of this was evidently in high relief with an elaborate profile but without enrichments. The central relief <sup>1</sup> consisted of a figure with a flying cloak, carrying another across his hip, possibly representing the rape of one of the daughters of Leucippus. This relief, as well as the various Victories and the griffins of the lower border, are strongly reminiscent of similar motives in the Underground Basilica. If it were possible, it might be most interesting to compare these two monuments, especially as they were not far apart geographically.

According to Piranesi, some of these fields were painted and others were in relief, but it is difficult to tell from drawings which was which. The motives used are often found in stucco reliefs, so it is possible that the colors, which are described as porphyry red, giallo antico and serpentine, were used only for backgrounds, and the diamonds in the lower frieze.

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<sup>1</sup> Mrs. ARTHUR STRONG, *Apotheosis and After Life*, pp. 209 f.

## COLUMBARIUM OF POMPONIUS HYLAS.

This columbarium was discovered by Pietro Campana in 1831 in the former Vigna Sassi between the Via Latina and Via Appia, immediately inside the Porta San Sebastiano. Dr. Ashby has dated it, from its brick facing<sup>1</sup> and inscriptions<sup>2</sup> found in situ, as belonging to the period of Tiberius. Two niches<sup>3</sup> opposite the entrance, more elaborate than the others, are decorated with stucco reliefs and polychromy. In the pediment of the first, as one enters the columbarium, Chiron is represented as teaching the young Achilles to play the lyre. The relief is in white on a red ground, and although on a small scale, is accurately modelled and full of spirit. Below the pediment there was a yellow frieze with white reliefs, but all that remains at present is a figure of Cerberus at the extreme left, and another of Ocnus twisting the rope while his ass is eating the other end, at the extreme right. The rest of the niche, the cornices, pilasters and capitals, as well as the whole of the second niche, are merely architectural details carried out in stucco with elaboration in color.

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<sup>1</sup> *B. S. R.*, V, p. 465.

<sup>2</sup> *C. I. L.*, VI, 5540-5554.

<sup>3</sup> See Pl. XXXVIII *B. S. R.*, V.

## THE GOLDEN HOUSE OF NERO.

The Golden House of Nero offers the only examples of stucco reliefs which can be ascribed with any degree of certainty to the time of that emperor, but unfortunately it has passed through many vicissitudes which have all but destroyed the lavish and splendid decoration for which it was once famous<sup>1</sup>. It was destroyed in part to make room for the Baths of Titus, and, a quarter of a century later, for the Baths of Trajan. The precious stones and portable pieces of decoration were probably removed in antiquity, but the frescoes and stuccoes of some of the apartments were left behind in rooms cut off from light and relegated to the service of the huge establishments above them. In that way, the ceilings and upper parts of the walls seem to have escaped serious injury until the palace was discovered and opened in the Renaissance. The numerous graffiti<sup>2</sup> scratched promiscuously on the surfaces at that time and since, have done as much towards destroying the stucco and paintings as natural causes of damp and time.

At present there are two rooms of which the barrel vaults are decorated with a combination of color and stucco, but they are practically inaccessible because of the accumulated debris which reaches above the springs of the vaults. One of these rooms is the famous one of the "volta dorata"<sup>3</sup>. Originally, as its name implies, the reliefs were richly incrustated with gold leaf. Now, all that is left of its former glory are the stucco mouldings and figures, and the faded frescoes. The general design, which is a decorative system of round and rectangular fields arranged symmetrically to the axes of the room, resembles that of the Tomb of the Pancratii, although it has more refinement and artistic excellence. Color, mainly red and blue, was the dominant note, with the stucco figures and mouldings playing a minor part. The mouldings, egg and dart, or bead and reel, and the consoles, are of firm, closegrained stucco of very fine workmanship. They are in low relief, with delicate profiles, and give every evidence of having been stamped by moulds with great accuracy and care. The border of the vault illustrates the rich effect that could be gained by combining various mouldings and color<sup>4</sup>. Around the outer edge there is an egg and dart of classical form and proportions. Within it are two bead and reel mouldings separated by a narrow strip of green. Next comes a band of delicately shaped consoles separated by blue, diamond-shaped losenges, outlined by stucco on a red ground. Each diamond has a small ring of stucco in the center. The inner band of the border is edged by a

<sup>1</sup> PLIN., *nat.*, 36, 111; SUET., *Nero*, 31.

<sup>2</sup> WEEGE, *Das Goldene Haus des Nero, Jahrb. des Inst.*, 1913, pp. 141 ff.

<sup>3</sup> For illustrations, see WEEGE, *op. cit.*, Pls. 4-9, pp. 165 ff.; SPRINGER, *Kunstgeschichte*, I, Fig. 932.

<sup>4</sup> WEEGE, *op. cit.*, Pl. 5, d.

narrower egg moulding and is decorated by semicircular medallions outlined by stucco in relief. The latter show the imprints of small stucco figures representing, in most cases, candelabra motives flanked by animals. The various compartments of the vault are bordered by similar mouldings and contain fresco paintings. A few of the subordinate panels — the rectangular ones near the corners of the vault — had reliefs of tiny human figures, now too damaged for identification <sup>1</sup>.

The other vault is in the room numbered 80 on Weege's plan <sup>2</sup>. In this case <sup>3</sup>, the design is simpler and the mouldings and reliefs are more prominent, although gold and color were also lavishly used. The design is geometric and arranged in bands around a central square field, suggesting several vaults from Hadrian's Villa which are given among Cameron's old drawings <sup>4</sup>. The outer band had a pointed design between borders of double egg mouldings outlined by plain ones. The latter are a distinctive feature of this vault and frame all the panels. The second band is wider and more complicated. It contains a row of square compartments set in from the borders and at a distance from each other. The angle fields are L shaped with a border of consoles resembling those of the Palatine cryptoporticus. The intervening spaces are filled by erect or inverted T shaped fields decorated with painted arabesques. The square compartments contained small stucco figures and painted borders of various designs. The outer border of the third band is especially attractive and an unusual one for stucco work, although common in marble sculpture. It is a simple Greek fret in squarely cut relief in the refined, classic style. The rest of the vault is badly damaged and therefore requires no discussion <sup>5</sup>.

In both vaults, the stucco reliefs, that is, the small figures, have disappeared leaving merely their impression in the stucco background. The outlines thus left show a great deal of spirit, but of the modelling and technique, we know nothing, except that, if they are compared with the mouldings and similar details, they must have been in the class of the very best stucco decoration.

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<sup>1</sup> WEEGE, pp. 178 ff., gives a list of the subjects, from comparison with old drawings.

<sup>2</sup> WEEGE, p. 127.

<sup>3</sup> WEEGE, pp. 200 ff., Pls. 19, 20.

<sup>4</sup> RONCZEWSKI, *Gewölbgeschmuck*, Pl. XX.

<sup>5</sup> Restoration can be made by comparisons with old drawings. See WEEGE, pp. 178 ff.



## COLOSSEUM.

Middleton says<sup>1</sup> that "stucco reliefs were used in the Colosseum to decorate the raking vaults under the various staircases and the vaults of the ambulacra and vomitoria, or the concentric passages and exits". To-day, all that exists of such decoration is concentrated in a few patches under the three arched passageways of the main entrance on the side towards the Baths of Titus, and in an underground passage leading in the direction of the Caelian.

The reliefs now visible in the superstructures are in the soffits of the third row of arches, and in the barrel vaults of the passages between these arches and the next inner ambulacrum. The construction of this part of the amphitheater belongs to the end of the reign of Vespasian<sup>2</sup>. The stucco may be contemporaneous with the walls, or may have been added by Titus for the formal opening of the building in 80 A. D., or, what seems more likely, by Domitian in 94 A. D., when he connected this entrance with the Baths of Titus by a colonnade. The stucco itself and the style of decoration compares very favorably with other examples of this later period. Originally, the stucco must have been covered with color and gold leaf, but all traces have long since disappeared and the plaster has darkened from dust and time to the color of the travertine walls. The designs are unusual, combining deeply sunken coffers with coarse profiles, and delicate, small figures of amorini in various attitudes.

The decoration of the middle soffit (Pl. X, Fig. 3) which happens to be better preserved than is the case in the other two vaults<sup>3</sup>, is based on the coffered triumphal arch. The design, however, is more complex and the small square coffers which form the foundation are replaced, to a great extent, by large square compartments, occupying the space of four, and narrow rectangles occupying the space of two coffers. In the center, there is a large square with a cluster of four small ones below it on either side, which are in turn followed by rectangular panels. From this point to the cornice of the piers, the decoration is gone. Along the sides of the arch there is a row of the rectangular panels combined with the regular coffers. These coffers are formed by two bead, or debased egg mouldings and are separated by beads and reels. The other compartments have a different profile, of only one bead moulding and a wider plain one and seem to have lacked the bead and reel. There are no traces of rosettes in the coffers, but close

<sup>1</sup> MIDDLETON, *Remains of Ancient Rome*, II, p. 91.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 79; VAN DEMAN, *A. J. A.*, 1912, pp. 407 ff.

<sup>3</sup> See LEMONNIER, *Rev. Arch.*, 1917, p. 228, and

Fig. 7 which reproduces a drawing of this by Desgodetz, of the year 1676. The author did not know (p. 229) that the stuccoes are still visible. [Ed.].

examination shows, in several, the outlines of two small, nude figures of the putti type. The rectangular panels contained half a dozen or more of these tiny figures, but it is now impossible to tell what they represented. They are on such a small scale and so crowded that their decorative effect must have been lost to the spectator passing below. The decoration of the central field is gone, but with close inspection, one can pick out the outlines of two more of the small figures.

The other two soffits are so much like the one just mentioned that description is not necessary. Some of the compartments are arranged in a different order but the mouldings, decoration and general design are the same.

The vault of the central passage is also in better condition than are its neighbors. The decoration was planned from the viewpoint of a person leaving the theater rather than of one entering. The design is again arranged in coffers, two rows of which remain in part, at the end near the soffit just described (Pl. X, Figs. 2, 3). The coffers are narrow but so large that it would only take four to cross the vault. The mouldings are correspondingly coarser in detail and profile. The inner one is a debased waterleaf and the next one an egg without the dart, while around the top edge runs a bead and reel. The coffers, which were decorated by two winged Cupids on either side of an object that seems to be a tripod, are separated by broad bands on which was applied a relief decoration, still fairly well preserved. At the intersection of these bands, there is a simple rosette of five petals. Between, there is a central motive held by two minute, nude figures in a reclining position, and behind each one, another in a swimming attitude. In pose and arrangement, they recall the many Roman sarcophagi with Cupids holding a wreath or similar object<sup>1</sup>. On the broad bands, at the ends of the vaults, there were originally large consoles widely separated.

The decoration of the first vault is practically gone but that of the third shows a different arrangement of panels. The vault was divided into large square coffers, with the same profile as those in the central vault. The decoration of the coffers is gone, but the bands between them were like those in the first vault.

The lunettes under the vaults are now bare of stucco. Beneath them, however, and along the spring of the vault, there is part of a narrow continuous frieze of small figures separated at regular intervals by bead and reel mouldings into rectangular panels. Below the frieze, down to the cornices of the piers, the walls were decorated with low reliefs imitating the second style of wall paintings. The archways cut deeply into the wall space, so there was very little of this decoration. The relief is very low and delicate in profile, contrasting strongly with the coffered vaults. There are traces of coffers seen in perspective and slender columns, which can still be seen in the right hand corner of the passage (Pl. X,

<sup>1</sup> REINACH, *Répertoire de Reliefs*, III, p. 110, etc.

Figs. 2, 3). Only in the central passage are there evidences of this wall decoration, but that does not exclude the possibility of its presence elsewhere originally.

The subterranean passage usually ascribed to the Emperor Commodus<sup>1</sup>, passes beneath the main entrance of the amphitheater on the minor axis leading toward the Caelian Hill. An examination of the brick work<sup>2</sup> shows that it belongs rather to the Flavian period, and in particular to the time of Domitian. The stucco also compares favorably with the earlier date, resembling closely the decoration just described. It is not as coarse in detail or as deeply undercut, but that is doubtless due to the lower and more intimate vault. The composition has the same coarseness, and the mouldings are similar.

At the entrance of the passageway, there is a broad band of stucco with a coffered design. In spite of being badly weathered, the coffers show a deep profile in relation to the size of the vault, and are outlined by a debased waterleaf within the usual egg moulding. Small holes in the centers of these coffers show that they were originally decorated with metal rosettes. In the center of the vault a large square compartment is inserted in the design. It contains three figures in medium relief, drawn and modelled in a lively manner, as one can judge in spite of the present damaged condition. In the center, there is a man, wrapped in a cloak, seated on a square stool with straight legs. He was evidently bearded and muscular, but no distinguishing attributes can be found to identify him. He sat easily, with one foot bent behind the other, and his left hand was raised. On either side of him, there is a figure, undoubtedly female, in a dancing attitude and carrying a round shield. Their dress, short chitons, girded beneath the breasts, with cross bandings in front, resembles that of Artemis figures, while in pose and attitude, they are like the Corybantes in the marble plaque of the Louvre<sup>3</sup>. The subject of the relief is very difficult of interpretation because of its damaged condition.

Further along the passage, there are a few pieces of stucco still adhering to the vault at the cornice line. Egg mouldings evidently formed a design based on large circular medallions, connected by straight strips at the ends of the vertical and horizontal axes. All that remains now is the lower arc of several medallions, but between these and the cornice, as decoration for the triangular space thus formed, there are traces of conventionalized dolphins. The dolphins are heavily modelled, and were arranged so that their tails curled up in intertwining volutes.

<sup>1</sup> MIDDLETON, *op. cit.*, p. 108.

<sup>2</sup> For this information, I am indebted to Dr. Lugli, who

has made a special study of Domitianic constructions.

<sup>3</sup> REINACH, *Répertoire de Reliefs*, II, p. 238.

## PALATINE, CRYPTOPORTICUS.

On the Palatine, in the cryptoporticus connecting the House of Livia with the Palace of Tiberius, there are evidences of elaborate stucco decoration. Whether it covered the entire length of the vault is questionable. It would seem, rather, that there were alternating bands of stucco reliefs in white and frescoes in color, although only one of these bands remains as proof. At various points in the main corridor there are fragments of stucco relief work but they have the appearance of having been set up by the restorers. At another place, near the House of Livia, where the vault has been destroyed, there are traces of stucco now coated with a deposit of lime, but still showing the original pattern. Facing the House of Livia, on the wall of the Palace of Tiberius, there is a border of stucco mouldings, and also small panels similar to the decoration in the main corridor. This would apparently show that there was once a branch of the cryptoporticus at this point.

The band of stucco<sup>1</sup> which is in the short section near the House of Livia, crosses the vault between two of the window openings which appear at regular intervals along the side towards the Flavian Palace. This band seem to be a unit in design with no evidence of relief decoration immediately next to it, although it is difficult to be positive, as this part<sup>2</sup> of the cryptoporticus has been damaged by later constructions which cut through it. The decorative system is reminiscent of the coffered soffit of a triumphal arch. The coffers are square, seven being allowed to the width and fourteen to the length of the band. However, three large rectangular panels, each occupying the space of fifteen coffers, are placed in the middle of the band and on each side in such a way that they (the panels) appear to be the main feature, and the coffers serve only as borders around them.

The profiles of the coffers are like those found in stone construction, but flatter, as is suitable for a more delicate material. The mouldings (Pl. XI, Figs. 1, 2) have the usual enrichments, the egg and the waterleaf. The coffers are further decorated by plant scrolls, and floating amorini in the place of rosettes. The two rectangular panels on the sides of the vault are elaborately framed. First come the egg and waterleaf mouldings, and then a wide frieze of conventionalized dolphins and foliage forming lyre and palmette shaped motives among which are placed swans and amphorae. Within this frieze there is a narrower one, bordered on the outside by the waterleaf and on the inside by the

<sup>1</sup> MIDDLETON, *Remains of Ancient Rome*, I, p. 182; *Lo Stucco nell'arte italiana*, Pl. III; RONCZEWSKI, *Gewölbeschmuck*, Pl. V, p. 21; GUSMAN, *L'Art Décoratif*, Pl. 86.

<sup>2</sup>The cryptoporticus itself shows evidence of seve-

ral building periods. Miss Van Deman has dated the part where the band of stucco still exists as being of the period of Domitian. See WEEGE, *Das Goldene Haus des Nero*, *Jahrb.*, 1913, p. 229.

egg mouldings, while between lies a plain flat member decorated at regular intervals by modillions pointing outwards. All this frame occupies over two thirds of the panel's surface. In the center are four chubby amorini photographed, as it were, in the midst of a game. The attitudes and grouping of these amorini are different in the two panels but the same spirit and action is present. The central panel, which is less well preserved, was similar, with several variations in the border. Here the wide frieze has a trellis, formed by a double egg moulding, through the alternate square openings of which can be seen tiny swans and rosettes. In addition to the modillions, the inner member of the frame has small round bosses and leaf shaped decorations. The center of the panel is too badly damaged for interpretation.

The perpendicular faces of the window openings were decorated by draped female figures in a dancing attitude, one of which held a lyre while the other had a similar object. They are in larger scale than the figures of the vault and were in correspondingly high relief. Egg and waterleaf mouldings framed these side panels and the window openings as well.

The mouldings were run and the enrichments were pressed into the damp stucco with a moulding tool. They are in low relief with no undercutting. The other decorative features, such as the swans, dolphins, scrolls and amphorae were undoubtedly cast in moulds and well retouched by tools and by hand to take away the appearance of reduplication. Hence, no two are exactly alike although very similar. The small amorini as well as the larger ones of the rectangular panels are in slightly higher relief than the rest of the vault. They seem to have been added last to the vault when the stucco was nearly dry, for they have not adhered as well as the other motives. In one case (Pl. XI, Fig. 2) practically all of the relief has fallen off, leaving only the wings which were modelled in the background, and the outlines of the bodies.

The band as a whole is designed with a great deal of taste and skill. The workmanship has the careful and accurate perfection of a cameo but somehow just missed attaining the gracefulness and spirit one naturally expects from the palace of an Emperor. The motives in the borders of the rectangular panels are dull and lifeless, although modelled with care and skill. This is due, perhaps, to their comparatively wide and flat profile. The fluttering amorini with their butterfly wings, in both the small coffers and the larger panels, are full of charm and spirit. The ensemble is delightful and resembles the Farnesina reliefs in the finish of modelling and technique, and in the choice of delicate and unusual motives.

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## SO-CALLED BRIDGE OF CALIGULA.

In the north-west angle of the Palatine, to the right as one ascends the Clivus Victoriae, there is a complicated mass of constructions of various periods, among which stand out the remains of a gallery or loggia. For a long time, it was supposed to belong to the famous Bridge of Caligula<sup>1</sup>, by which that emperor connected the Palatine and the Capitoline, but it has now been shown to date from the reconstructions made by Domitian on this side of the hill<sup>2</sup>. This loggia, supported by a series of low, brick-faced concrete arches springing from corbels resting on piers, was once richly decorated along its exposed face and on the soffits of the arches with stucco reliefs, colored and gilded. The gold has long since disappeared and with it almost all of the color, leaving the stucco a creamy white. The soffit and side of one arch are fairly well preserved and there are several other arches whose soffits still have stucco decoration in a more or less fragmentary condition.

The decoration which appears over one arch (Pl. XII, Fig. 1) of the side of the loggia facing the Clivus Victoriae, has unfortunately suffered much. No stucco is left in the spandrels; all that we have is a narrow frieze immediately below the floor level of the "bridge". This frieze is divided into a series of small square or rectangular panels outlined by fine bead mouldings. The central panel, which was narrower than the others and had a pointed top, shows no traces of decoration. To the right, in the space between this panel and the next one, there is a small caryatid figure resembling those in the theater of Domitian at Castel Gandolfo. The second rectangular panel has traces of at least two small stucco figures, both nude, seated facing each other. After a small plain space, which was probably colored, comes the last panel, a square, with faint traces of relief decoration now undecipherable. To the left of the central panel, after the space where the caryatid figure should be, there is a square panel with a nude seated figure and what seems to be the outline of another one standing. The last panel on this side was a rectangle and shows no evidences of relief decoration. The arrangement and general effect of this frieze recalls that in the theater at Castel Gandolfo, although on a much smaller scale, and likewise the small frieze in the passageway of the Colosseum.

In the case of the soffits, we are more fortunate, for stucco reliefs appear on several in a much better state of preservation<sup>3</sup>. The design of the one under the arch which we have just discussed (Pl. XII, Fig. 2) is based on a coffered arch, although so many variations have been introduced that fact is scarcely noticeable. Coarse egg mouldings,

<sup>1</sup> MIDDLETON, *Remains of Anc. Rome*, I, p. 194.

<sup>2</sup> Mrs. ARTHUR STRONG, *B. S. R.*, VII, p. 118.

<sup>3</sup> RONCZEWSKI, *Gewölbeschmuck*, Pl. XIX, p. 30.

of a debased form, without the dart, and deeply cut, are laid with the bead-like edge inward to outline all the panels. Along the outer edge of the soffit there is a continuous band of five hexagonal coffers, with a half coffer at each end, which is not related to the rest of the decoration. These coffers are formed by two or more rows of mouldings — the outer an egg and dart, the inner a bead. Although the central, that is, the third coffer, and the two half ones show no traces of decoration now, they may have been colored originally. The hexagons flanking the central one, contain an additional bead moulding set within the others, and a large stucco rosette. The other two coffers show the imprint of human figures arranged in pairs, of one seated with the other standing. The spaces left between the coffers and the edges of the band are filled with triangles outlined by egg and dart mouldings and have small stucco rosettes in their centers.

The remainder of the soffit (Pl. XII, Figs. 1-3), which is about 2m. wide by 3.80 m. long, is divided into a geometric pattern of T shaped fields and two sizes of squares. In the center of the arch, and at either end, there are large squares, each surrounded by a wide frame composed of plain mouldings and decorated with round bosses and consoles pointing inwards. Along the inner edge of this frame there is an egg moulding. A narrow strip of stucco forming an inscribed circle, leaves triangular spaces between it and the square, which were tinted red. The central circle shows no traces of relief or other decoration, but those on the sides of the vault had two figures in high relief — one seated and the other standing. The modelling seems to be careful and accurate and the scene is well arranged.

There are eight of the small squares, each of which contains a smaller one formed by a plain strip of stucco connecting the middle points of the inner moulding. In the center of each there is a large rosette on a red field. The four T shaped fields are framed by a double row of mouldings. In the center of each T there is a ring of stucco in high relief and very substantial in outline. It had a red field and shows traces of an attached decoration, possibly a metal rosette which served as the point of attachment for a suspended lamp. The branches of the T, which were colored blue, show the imprint of stucco figures added after the background had dried. We can distinguish victories, grotesques and putti in one of the vaults (Pl. XII, Fig. 3).

In general, the same scheme of decoration is used for all the soffits, but there are minor differences such as in the number of modillions around the large squares. The stucco itself is coarse and granular but very hard. Except for the real reliefs, that is the figures of victories and the like, all the work was done mechanically. All the outlines are clear cut and with no subtleties, for the arches were intended to be seen from a distance, in rooms which were not well lighted.

In the next story, in the series of rooms through which one passes in going from

the main staircase to the loggia, the vaults show evidences of similar decoration. The rooms are very high and narrow and consequently very dark, so it is impossible to see if color was used. The designs of the vaults are practically the same as those in the floor below, with a few exceptions. The band of hexagonal coffers is lacking, but in two of the vaults there is instead a row of square coffers adorned with rosettes. Also, all of the T shaped fields lack the central ring.

The walls of these small rooms were decorated in the second style which is found so frequently in monuments of the Flavian period<sup>1</sup>. The architectural forms, the columns and gables, as well as the frames of the pictures, are of white stucco. Several small fields used in alternation with frescoes, contained stucco reliefs on colored backgrounds. In the corners, for example, there are graceful candelabra, with amorini on a light blue ground. These wall decorations are very fragmentary, but enough remains to show us that the original effect was very pleasing. The technique is much like that found in Domitian's Villa at Castel Gandolfo, while the style recalls that of the lunettes of the Tomb of the Pancratii.

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<sup>1</sup> Mrs. STRONG has described these wall paintings in Vol. VII of the *Papers of the Brit. School at Rome*, pp. 118, ff.



## DOMITIAN'S VILLA, CASTEL GANDOLFO.

One of the most interesting examples of Roman stucco relief decoration is to be found at Castel Gandolfo in the grounds of the Villa Barberini, which is built over part of the ancient site of the Alban Villa of Domitian<sup>1</sup>. The reliefs are in the emperor's theater, where they form a continuous frieze along the upper part of the outer wall of the semicircular corridor. Only about a quarter of the original frieze is visible, for a part has been destroyed and the rest is as yet unexcavated. The barrel vault of the corridor was originally plastered and colored red<sup>2</sup>. The inner wall was pierced by the entrances so the theater proper and now shows no traces of decoration. The outer wall had probably one doorway opposite the center of the stage, but except for that was unbroken. To a point about 2.30 m. above the floor level it was veneered with slabs of marble which have long since disappeared<sup>3</sup>. Only the holes for the pegs which fastened the slabs to the wall are now visible. At the top of this socle ran a marble cornice. The remainder of the wall surface from the cornice to the spring of the vault was decorated by a continuous frieze of stucco reliefs 1.50 m. high.

For several reasons, this frieze is very important in a study of stucco reliefs. For one thing, it can be more closely and accurately dated than most of those we have. It is known from reliable literary sources<sup>4</sup> that Domitian completed his Alban Villa in the early part of his reign. An examination of the layers of stucco and its attachment to the wall, which is of the regular Domitianic construction<sup>5</sup>, shows that the reliefs were contemporaneous with the building. The frieze is also unique in its style and application. There are few examples preserved to us of stucco reliefs used as wall decoration, and where there are, they are either on a large scale, combined with and subsidiary to a color scheme, or else are merely used for filling in architectonic surfaces such as lunettes or spandrels. This is the only case of a continuous frieze of stucco decoration. Its practical and decorative value as used for a corridor in combination with a marble veneered socle is so great that one can not help wondering why other examples have not been found.

<sup>1</sup> These reliefs, as well as the theater itself are fully discussed and described by Dr. G. LUGLI in *Studi Romani*, 1914, pp. 21 ff. In *Bull. Arch. Comm.*, 1918, pp. 43 ff., he gives a description of additional panels excavated after his first article was written. In the near future, he expects to publish the entire results of his study on this site.

<sup>2</sup> LUGLI, (*Bull. Arch. Comm.*, 1918, p. 47) says that the socle was painted red, but a close examination of the pieces of plaster so colored, which were not found

in situ but among the débris in the corridor, and which were set up on the wall by the excavators, shows that they have the same curve as the vault and not that of the wall.

<sup>3</sup> It is possible that the inner wall of the corridor was similarly decorated.

<sup>4</sup> Cass. Dio, 67, 1, 2. See LUGLI's articles for other references.

<sup>5</sup> VAN DEMAN, *A. J. A.*, 1912, pp. 411 ff.; LUGLI, *Bull. Arch. Comm.*, 1918, p. 46.

The design belongs to the architectural or second style with the columns, cornices, and decoration of the resulting panels in comparatively low relief. Color was not used and advisedly, for the corridor must have required artificial illumination most of the time. All the effect had to be gained from the light and shade of the modelling. The frieze itself<sup>1</sup> (Pl. XIII, Fig. 1) was divided into groups of five panels, each group imitating a stage front, resembling several of the wall paintings combined with reliefs in the Naples Museum. Each group of panels was conceived as a unit seen in perspective from in front of the larger central panel. This latter evidently contained a representation of a character from Greek or Roman drama, for in one of the groups we see a figure which, in spite of its mutilation, resembles the well-known Pompeian painting of Medea meditating the murder of her children<sup>2</sup>. The panels on either side of the central ones are somewhat smaller. They have single seated figures which Dr. Lugli has identified as Muses<sup>3</sup>. The end panels are taller and narrower, with standing figures seen, as it were, behind a low trellised railing. Dr. Lugli considers these as spectators<sup>4</sup> such as often occur in the "stage scenes" of the second and fourth styles of Pompeian wall decoration. There are intermediary panels between the various groups which are divided into several compartments. At the bottom there is a rectangular field with several figures in relief; at the top, there is another similar to it, while in between, there are two smaller fields, side by side, also with reliefs. At the present date, there are thirteen panels, that is—two full groups, two intermediary panels, and the first panel of a third group. The main features of the frieze, the human figures, are at the bottom, while the upper part, which has suffered the most from destruction, is given over to various ornamental designs.

The base of the frieze, which projects slightly above the other surfaces, is broken at intervals by the bases of the columns and pilasters which it supports. The base itself is composed of a series of mouldings, the lower ones simple and unenriched and the upper ones with the egg, like those found in the soffits of the so-called Bridge of Caligula on the Palatine. Between the upper and lower mouldings there is a plain band with modillions at regular intervals. All the architectural details are very simple. The columns on either side of the intermediary panels are the most elaborate, being of a candelabrum form and supported by small caryatids. The others are plain fluted, with simple bases and no capitals. The mouldings which give the effect of the perspective to the panels, are merely run. Debased egg mouldings without the darts are used to outline the various fields and coffer.

The first panel (Pl. XIV, Fig. 1) one sees on entering the corridor is badly damaged. Behind a lattice composed of four strips crossing diagonally with small round bosses at

<sup>1</sup> LUGLI (*Studi Romani*, 1914, Pls. 1, II) has placed the photographs of this frieze in one continuous strip to give the effect of the original arrangement.

<sup>2</sup> LUGLI, *Bull. Arch. Comm.*, 1918, p. 52.

<sup>3</sup> LUGLI, *Studi Romani*, 1914, pp. 43 f.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 44.

the points of intersection, stands a female figure. Only the lower part of her body is visible, but she had a long chiton of light material which fell in many folds, and over it a himation of heavier cloth, evidently caught up over her left arm.

The next panel is divided into two stories. In the lower, we have a woman seated in an easy restful attitude on a four legged stool. Her head is gone, but from its imprint in the plaster, we know it was turned to the right, and looking at the object she holds on her lap with her left hand. This object resembles the lower part of a zither and therefore seems to identify the figure as the Muse Terpsichore. Her himation is thrown carelessly over her left shoulder and arm, brought across her lap and tucked under her so that one end of it hangs down over the stool in several folds. The treatment of this drapery is exceptionally successful, especially in the way it is drawn across her lap so as to reveal the form of her right leg beneath it. It also contrasts well with the soft modelling of her right arm and her torso, which are left bare. The way in which this arm rests on the edge of the stool, and the way the legs of the figure are arranged so that the left foot is brought back and the other is stretched out, gives an effect of gracefulness without any hint of artificiality. The upper story of the panel was separated from the lower one by a cyma moulding. It was decorated with a design made by two large acanthus volutes unfolding from a central motive and ending in rosettes. On each volute was lightly perched a fantastic bird with outspread wings and facing towards the sides of the panel. In this instance we have only the left hand spiral and bird, because of the break in the plaster, but reconstruction is easy by comparison with similar panels in the frieze.

The third panel, the central one of the first group, is larger than the other two and is seen in perspective from the front. It imitates a niche with a slightly vaulted roof. The sides are represented by a fluted column at the outer corners and a plain, run pilaster at the inner, connected by several unenriched horizontal mouldings drawn perspectively. The roof is divided by egg mouldings into five coffers further decorated with rosettes. Above them, along the top of the panel there is a row of small round bosses at regular intervals. The angles between the vault and the walls are filled by cornices of egg and plain mouldings. The inner outline of the niche takes the form of a three sided frame, with an egg moulding at the edge. In the center of the panel stands a male figure, unfortunately in a fragmentary condition. The lower part of his body, from just above the knees, is entirely gone and the relief of the upper part, from his waistline up, is broken away. He stood easily, with his weight on his right leg and on a tall staff or thyrsus which he held with his right hand. His left hand rested on his hip. A long cloak clasped upon his right shoulder, fell behind him in heavy folds, held back by the position of his arms. We probably have here a representation of Dionysos with his thyrsus. The modelling of the body is soft and effeminate which is in keeping with the character of this god.

Dr. Lugli describes the cloak as being a skin of a feline animal<sup>1</sup> but I have been unable to identify this. To me it looks like cloth.

The fourth panel, (Pl. XIV, Fig. 2) which is a companion piece to the second, is in better condition. It is divided into two stories by a cyma moulding. We have a woman seated on the same sort of four legged stool. She faces towards the left and sits up more erectly. Her head is gone, but the rest of her body is preserved. She wears a Doric chiton fastened on her shoulders and arms, and held in by a girdle beneath her breasts. Over that there is an himation which is brought from behind her and thrown over her lap. Her left arm is bent in a position which is not easily explained. It is as if it were resting on the invisible back of a chair, or as if the woman were arranging the gathers of her chiton beneath the girdle. There is a certain restlessness about the pose and when one takes into consideration the position of the legs, with the left one bent back, one can almost imagine the figure is about to rise. In her right hand she holds out a mask, probably a tragic one, and accordingly, Lugli has identified the figure as the Muse Melpomene. The upper story shows the right hand volute and bird and part of the central motive which seems to be a conventionalized plant or a vase.

Above the panel, there are traces of the upper part of the frieze. On close examination, putti with garlands can be distinguished but they are so faint that they do not give very much of an idea of their original effect.

The fifth and last panel of this group is seen in perspective from the right. Like the first one, it contains a woman standing behind a low trellis. Fortunately it is practically intact so that it can serve as a model for the other panels which correspond to it. The enclosure is in the form of a niche similar to that of the third panel, although narrower and viewed from a different angle. Only the left side of the niche is indicated. The roof, slightly arched at the front and straight at the back, contains only two coffers which have, however, the same profile and the same rosettes for decoration. There is no inner frame edged with an egg moulding, but there is an added feature in a shield or similar round object, tied at either side with fillets, and projecting slightly below the lower edge of the roof. The woman of the panel stands with her back to the spectator, with her right arm hanging at her side and clasping what appears to be part of a fillet. Her left arm was raised, but the stucco has fallen off, leaving only traces of the hand. It is impossible to tell what she held in this hand, but its position is the same as it would be if she held a spear or staff. The position of her head is not clear but from the shape of the mass of stucco, it seems to have been turned sharply to the right. She is dressed in a thin chiton which is practically hidden by the voluminous folds of a large himation. The latter is brought under her right arm and thrown over her left shoulder in such a way

<sup>1</sup> *Bull. Arch. Comm.*, 1918, p. 49.

that the end falls down behind in large heavy folds. The figure is not quite as successful as some of the other figures of the frieze, due, perhaps, to the unusual pose. The drapery is not bad, but the right arm is awkward and unnatural.

The sixth panel is the intermediary one between the first two groups and has nothing to do with the stage front arrangement. At the bottom, there is a rectangular field treated as a picture set in a frame. There are two figures on a smaller scale than those of the former panels. On the left, we have a woman, half reclining on a bank or rock which is not clearly indicated. She rests on her right elbow, while her left hand is raised behind her head. Her himation, which is caught up by her raised left arm, falls down loosely at her left side, and covers the lower part of her body. Her body is completely relaxed and her head has fallen back as though she were asleep. Before her, is a nude man on a still smaller scale. His legs are spread as if he were running; his left arm is raised, and his right hand grasps what appears to be the prow of a ship. His head is gone but from its outlines in the plaster, it seems to have been turned back towards the woman. Lugli has aptly identified this<sup>1</sup> as Theseus in the act of abandoning Ariadne on the island of Naxos. The modelling of the figures is excellent, the nude being especially well handled. The softness and delicacy of Ariadne's body with its complete relaxation is admirably contrasted with the muscularity and action of Theseus. In several places the outlines of a first sketch, which was later changed, are visible. An example of this is seen in *Studi Romani*, 1914, Fig. 9, where the right arm of Ariadne was bent at a different angle. The lines along the legs and body of Theseus (Pl. XIV, Fig. 2) show that the figure was originally planned on a larger scale.

Above this panel there are two smaller ones nearly square except that their upper edges are slightly arched. Between them, there is a pillar to which two oblong shields have been fastened so as to cross each other. The panels, which are badly worn, contain animal figures of a purely ornamental character. The one on the left, resembling a panther or another of the feline species, seems to be worrying a bundle of some sort. The other animal is less distinct but is represented as rising on its hind legs. Beneath one of its forefeet there is a round object like a shield.

At the very top of the frieze there is another fragment of the upper zone. Its decoration is very indistinct, but again Cupids with festoons may be distinguished.

The seventh panel, the first of the second group, resembles the first and fifth of the first group. The figure, however, is that of a man without a head, due to a break in the plaster. He is clad in the classic himation, wrapped around his body, under his right and over his left shoulder. The end is thrown across his left forearm. His other hand is extended as though he held an object of some kind, but whatever it was is not

<sup>1</sup> LUGLI, *Studi Romani*, 1914, pp. 46 ff.

now known. The modelling of this figure is rather sketchy but full of life and gives the impression of muscularity and strength. More clearly than the other figures, in the corresponding panels, this one recalls the so-called spectators in representations of stage fronts in Pompeian wall paintings.

The eighth panel contains a seated muse, facing to the right. Her face which is seen in profile, is turned towards an object she holds in her left hand. From comparison with the figure in the fourth panel, this is probably Thalia with a comic mask. Her body is turned three quarters towards the spectator, with her right elbow resting on the back of her chair. She wears a chiton and himation like those of the muse in the fourth panel, but the folds are arranged differently and more sketchily. Her hair is arranged in Greek fashion with a knot at the back of her head. The upper part of the panel is lacking.

In the ninth panel, we have the figure which resembles Medea<sup>1</sup> although only the lower part of the body is left. She wears a chiton, and over it, a himation, which hangs over her left forearm in two long ends. With this hand she held a long narrow object resembling a sword. This was visible when the frieze was first photographed (See *Studi Romani*, 1914, Pls. I, II), but the stucco has since broken off at this point. In a section of wall decoration from Pompeii, there is a woman with a similar pose, who holds a distaff in a like manner. Our figure might almost as well be compared with her as with the picture of Medea<sup>2</sup>.

The tenth panel is gone, but it also must have contained a seated muse<sup>3</sup>.

In the eleventh, (Pl. XV, Fig. 1) we have only traces of a figure standing behind the lattice. If it corresponded with the seventh panel, the first of this group, it must have been that of a man, but the stucco itself is too damaged to verify this.

The second intermediary panel is arranged like the former one, although the contents of the various fields are different. In the lower compartment there are two figures, whose arrangement balances that of the Theseus and Ariadne group. On the right, there is a reclining figure and on the left, one standing. The former is that of a nude man of a large heavy build. His left arm rests on an altar-like block which serves as the back of his seat. In the hollow of this arm rested a curved pedum or a light club the sketched outline of which still shows in the plaster. His right hand is stretched out extending some sort of an object towards the woman. His head which was turned away to the right, is damaged, but traces of a full beard can be distinguished. Beneath him, a skin or cloth is spread over the seat. The woman is nude also except for a bit of drapery which hangs over her left arm and blows out behind her in a curve. She is slightly turned away from the spectator so that only her back and a side of her face is

<sup>1</sup> See above, p. 50.

<sup>2</sup> For illustrations, see Fig. 8, *Studi Romani*, 1914, p. 45.

<sup>3</sup> From the ninth panel on, descriptions and illustrations will only be found in the article in the *Bull. Arch. Comm.*, 1918.

visible. She is stepping forward with her left foot, and her left hand is held high before her as if she were pouring from a pitcher into a cup held in the other hand. If her hands did hold these or similar objects, there are no evidences of them now. Dr. Lugli has called attention<sup>1</sup> to the similarity of this relief to scenes representing Hercules with Hebe on Olympus, where the goddess is bestowing nectar on the hero after all his labors. This seems to be a very good interpretation, especially as the man is of the Hercules type and the skin and club seem to be present. The modelling of the figures is excellent. Hebe is especially charming and graceful, and makes a delightful contrast to the burly, sinewy form of Hercules.

The two compartments above are decorated with animals, as was the case in the corresponding panel. The one on the right is badly damaged but shows the two forefeet of an animal. The other compartment contains the legs and body of a panther or similar beast in motion.

The thirteenth panel starts a third group, and ends it, for this is as far as the excavations extend. The niche is also seen in perspective from left to right. A woman stands behind the lattice with her back to the spectator. She wears a chiton and himation like the other figures in the frieze. Her right arm is raised and rests against the right wall of the niche. Her head is barely distinguishable, but it seems to have been turned towards this hand. The figure is much more successfully treated than is the similar one in the fifth panel, and the draping of the himation across her back is more realistic.

The characteristic of the frieze as a whole which most impresses the observer is its simplicity and calm dignity. There is no overcrowding. Excepting the intermediary panels, there is only one figure in each compartment, and it has an air of detachment. In spirit as well as in dress, the figures are purely Greek. The modelling is full of restraint, and in connection with the facility with which the drapery is treated, betrays a skilled hand. All of the outlines which have escaped injury, show a sharp, clean-cut edge, due to the firm hard stucco as well as to care in modelling. The various figures, taken from subjects compatible with the theater, and the adaptation of a stage setting for a background is in complete harmony with the purpose of the building. Taken as a whole or in part, the frieze is one of the most decorative and successful pieces of stucco relief work which have survived.

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<sup>1</sup> *Bull. Arch. Comm.*, 1918, pp. 53 ff.

## VAULT UNDER SAN CLEMENTE.

Another one of the few examples of stucco decoration in private houses is found in the home of a Christian saint. Under the fourth century lower church of San Clemente, there are three rooms belonging to a Roman house of the Flavian period, which De Rossi<sup>1</sup> and others have identified as that of the martyred saint, Clement, to whom the church was dedicated<sup>2</sup>.

The rooms of the house are commodious, well built, and seem to have been tastefully decorated, if one can judge from the scanty remains in situ. In one room, the barrel vault was covered with a simple design of stucco reliefs probably in pure white without the addition of gold or color. Once, they must have been comparable to those in the cryptoporticus on the Palatine, but now they are broken, roughened and darkened from damp and time. In design, they also resemble the reliefs just mentioned, although they covered more surface and were consequently more elaborate. Large square fields and long narrow panels, separated from one another, and bordered by single rows of small square coffers were arranged symmetrically. Along the central curve of the vault there were three large squares, each taking up the space of nine small coffers. At either side, parallel to the large compartments, were the long narrow ones, as wide as one coffer and as long as three.

The mouldings (Pl. XVI, Figs. 1, 2) which outline the compartments are the usual ones — egg mouldings of the debased type without the dart or other refinements — and are deeply undercut in comparison to the very low relief of the decoration as a whole. The square coffers contain two additional mouldings beside the outer one, each with a slight depression below the next outer one, thereby simulating in profile their prototype the real coffer. In the center of each square there is a rosette with four radiating conventionalized sprays in very low relief in each corner. The rosettes are of two types, with five rounded or pointed petals, placed in the alternate squares. In Pl. XVI, Fig. 1, we have a portion of one of the large square fields with its elaborate border taking up just eight ninths of

<sup>1</sup> DE ROSSI, *Bull. Arch. Crist.*, 1870, pp. 129 ff.

<sup>2</sup> MULLOOLY, *St. Clement and His Basilica in Rome*, pp. 148 f.; L. NOLAN, *Basilica of S. Clemente in Rome*, 2d, ed., 1914, pp. 233 ff.

According to the tradition, St. Clement belonged to a noble Roman family, possibly the Flavian. His father, a certain Faustus or Faustinus, had a home in the region of the Caelian. Clement was martyred in the Crimea in 102 A. D. where he had been banished

by Trajan, and his body was brought back to Rome by St. Cyril in the ninth century to the church which had been erected in the fourth over his "memoria". It is an interesting fact that there was a T. Flavius Clemens, cousin of the Emperor Domitian, and consul with him in 95 A. D. who was accused of impiety and treason by the latter in this same year because of his Jewish proclivities.



the space allotted to the whole compartment. The first member of this border is composed of a band of hexagons with octagons at the corners, formed by narrow lines of stucco. The hexagons are decorated with rosettes, smaller in scale than those mentioned above and apparently all of the same type. In the corners there seem to have been the more elaborate motives of winged amorini but they are no longer very plain. After a plain narrow band outlined by egg mouldings, there is a second elaborated band, decorated on the sides perpendicular to the cornice line of the vault with candelabra motives, and on the other two with conventionalized grotesques and arabesque. It is unfortunate that the stucco is so damaged for the faint traces left in this band show charming ornamental qualities. The candelabra were composed of small nude stylized figures combined with conventionalized plant motives. The inner border of the compartment contained modillions rather closely set together, but whether there were bosses or not, it is impossible to tell. Within all this frame there was a scene in higher relief, but it is now in so fragmentary a condition that it is impossible to make out the subject. In Pl. XVI, Fig. 2 we have one of the long narrow panels which is in a better state of preservation. It is filled by an elaborate candelabrum, set on a small vase-like base. Small Cupid and animal grotesques are placed in balanced positions on either side of the main stem, which is composed of various conventionalized motives such as human figures, and a mask.

So far as one can judge from the reliefs now, they seem to have all been made by moulds with little retouching if any. However, the work was careful and accurate and judging from the fine clear details, a very good quality of stucco was used. The details in the ornamental hands of the borders and the candelabra are charming and are in the same spirit as those in the Palatine cryptoporticus. There is a precision about the whole design which betrays a close adherence to a set pattern. Of course the reliefs in the larger fields must have been very different, modelled free hand and with the utmost pains because of their being the main objective points in the decoration.

In another room of the same house the barrel vault shows traces of painted decoration supplemented by stucco mouldings of the same type as those in the above room. This vault, however, is very badly damaged and shows only a few fragments of the plaster around the edges. There are no evidences of reliefs, merely the mouldings to outline the fields of the fresco decoration.

## VAULT OF UNKNOWN ORIGIN.

At this point, I have included the photograph, (Pl. XV, Fig. 2) of a stuccoed vault which I have been unable to locate. The photograph, which was bought at Moscioni's shop, was taken some time ago and labelled " Stuccoes in the subterranean rooms of the house of Tiberius—Palatine ". After a careful but vain search throughout the Palatine in all the holes which are now accessible, and with the help of various guides and of Dr. Lugli, who has just finished writing a guide book to the Palatine in collaboration with Dr. Ashby, I have come to the conclusion that the picture was wrongly labelled, or else that the room the stuccoes were in has been destroyed or reburied. Moscioni himself does not seem to remember where he took the picture, but insists that it was on the Palatine.

The photograph is very interesting as it gives a part of a vault with a design resembling very closely that of the one just described. There are the same small square coffers, outlined by egg mouldings, but with only one additional moulding within, and a simple rosette set in a sunken square. From the photograph, one would judge that the profile of the coffers was deeper and heavier than was the case in the former vault. A corner of a large square compartment shows a band of hexagons, the rosettes of which have all been knocked off—probably because they were gilded. The octagon in the corner has a small winged amorino also. On either side of this band, however, we have another decorated with modillions alternating with round bosses. At the left of the photograph, a long narrow panel can be faintly seen, likewise bordered with a band of modillions and bosses, and containing a scene with figures, two of which can just be distinguished. Before them there is a queer object, resembling an ostrich with outstretched neck.

From the similarity of the general designs and a few minor details, one feels justified in coming to the conclusion that if the two vaults were not made by the same hand, they must have been made, at least, at about the same time. It also seems evident that the interior decorators had stock patterns from which their patrons could chose, and which might be varied to suit the individual taste.

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## CATACOMBS OF SAINT PRISCILLA.

Stucco reliefs were seldom used for decoration in the Roman catacombs, and therefore the few which exist in the Catacombs of St. Priscilla are worthy of attention. These stucco reliefs are found in and near the Capella Greca<sup>1</sup> which dates from the end of the first or beginning of the second century of our era<sup>2</sup>. In its present form, the chapel consists of a vaulted room measuring 5.62 by about 2.50 meters, an apse at the end, and two side niches, roughly rectangular in shape, which correspond to transepts. The main part of the vault is divided into two sections by an arch, on the soffit of which there is a rinceau of acanthus leaves in fine white stucco on a white ground. This rinceau, which resembles the stucco frieze in the Apodyterium of the Forum Baths at Pompeii, is in high relief<sup>3</sup>. It has a rounded stem, and branches from a cauliculus in the center of the arch into loose scrolls, winding alternately on either side of the stem, and terminating in simple rosettes. The branching is concealed by a wrapping leaf. The relief is delicately handled and the details are as exquisite as they are in some of the marble friezes of similar style in the Lateran. The edges of the arch were outlined by egg mouldings in the same good taste, but they have suffered more from time. Over the opening<sup>4</sup> of the left transept and on an arch immediately inside the entrance to the chapel<sup>5</sup>, there are similar bands of rinceau decoration.

To the right of the Capella Greca and parallel to it, there is a small chamber or cubiculum which was once decorated with stucco reliefs. The construction and decoration of the chamber are of the same period as the chapel, and may have been done by the same hands. In the angle at the right of the entrance, there is a floral design of acanthus leaves unfolding in large volutes<sup>6</sup>. In the corresponding angle on the left, there is a similar bit of decoration, which higher up on the wall near the doorway, changes into a grapevine pattern. The scrolls and vines enframed three large panels in low relief, also in white stucco. The panels originally contained scenes with human figures, faint traces of which can still be made out in several places.

<sup>1</sup> A. PROFUMO, *Un Battistero Cristiano, Studi Romani*, 1913, pp. 71 ff.

<sup>2</sup> MARUCCHI, *Nuov. Bull. Arch. Crist.*, 1914, p. 117, thinks this chapel originally belonged to the substructures and reservoirs of the Villa of the Acilii Glabrones. M'. Acilius Glabrio (Suet. *Dom.* 15; Cass. Dio LXVIII, 14) was a Roman senator who was consul with Trajan in 91 A. D. and later martyred by Domitian for being a Christian. At the beginning of second century or possibly at the end of the first, the reservoirs were dried out, re-

modelled and made into catacombs with the Capella Greca reserved for liturgical uses. At that time, three apses were made and the walls covered with stucco and decorated.

<sup>3</sup> See Pl. X, *Studi Romani*, 1913.

<sup>4</sup> *Studi Romani*, 1913, Pl. X; *Nuov. Bull. Arch. Crist.*, 1914, p. 110, Fig. 2.

<sup>5</sup> WILPERT, *Die Malereien der Katakomben Roms.*, Pl. 13.

<sup>6</sup> *Studi Romani*, 1913, p. 84, Fig. 2.

Opposite this cubiculum, there is a small niche<sup>1</sup> in which there are fragments of grapevines in relief at the back of the arched opening. They are similar in technique and design to those mentioned above.

The most noteworthy example of stucco decoration in the catacombs however, is to be found over a grave not far from the Capella Greca. It is dated by Wilpert<sup>2</sup> as belonging to the first half of the second century. It combines stucco with painting in a most unusual way and is distinctly Christian in sentiment. There is a Good Shepherd, with a short full tunic girded in at the waist, carrying a lamb across his shoulders. At either side stands a sheep, looking up at his master. So far, the figures have been in white stucco relief. But at the feet of the shepherd there is a plant with green leaves and red flowers painted on the background, and in back of each sheep there is a tree, with stucco trunk and large branches while the twigs, leaves and flowers are merely painted. Some of the stucco has fallen from the sheep and the shepherd, and beneath, are traces of painted lines. These may have been to guide the modeller, or else the scene was originally a fresco and the stucco was added as an afterthought. The modelling is crude and on a par with Early Christian paintings, although the sheep are full of spirit and realistic.

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<sup>1</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 82 f.

<sup>2</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 10; Pl. 21; p. 123.

## HADRIAN'S VILLA.

For stucco decoration in the time of Hadrian, there are still a few examples in that emperor's villa at Tivoli. These, along with the others still in situ during the Renaissance and now only known to us through the drawings of Ponce and Piranesi, indicate that many of the vaults were originally covered with reliefs. The most considerable example is on a barrel vault in the so-called Palaestra. The stucco has suffered much from the numerous visitors who have scratched their names on it, but the design is practically intact. A groined vault in the Apodyterium of the Larger Baths has been more unfortunate, for the stucco has fallen off in large patches, so that one has to depend on the early drawings to complete the design. In both instances, the stucco is of a firm, close-grained, white composition, which gives sharp contours and details. There are now no evidences for color on either of the vaults, although it is quite possible that there was some originally. The emphasis is laid on the lines of the design rather than on the modelling and accordingly, one feels that the work was not necessarily done by an artist but merely by workmen capable of accurately and carefully following a pattern assigned to them.

The design of the vault in the Palaestra (Pl. XVII, Fig. 1) is purely geometric<sup>1</sup>. It is carried out largely by fine lines in low relief, clearly cut and regularly drawn, with the effect of engraving rather than of relief work. There is a central square field, surrounded by a series of borders separated from one another and finished by double egg mouldings in slightly higher relief, between the regular narrow lines. The decoration of each border is different, consisting of rhythmic patterns of various geometric figures and conventionalized plant designs. There are none of the putti, swans, dolphins or other graceful little figures so common in stucco reliefs. In the outer border, which is doubled at the ends of the vault, the main characteristic is an attractive banding of a simple Greek fret design which forms C or double H shaped motives. Within and between these latter, there are diamonds, squares or rectangles, decorated with rosettes and conventionalized plants. The second border is plain but the third contains a series of geometric fields enclosing rosettes and plant motives differing in design but similar in spirit and effect to those of the first border. The next border is very simple and unusually attractive. There is a continuous frieze of anthemions set in a broad acanthus cauliculus with branching scrolls that intertwine and so unite the motives. The fifth border resembles the third, although the fields and their ornaments are again different, while the sixth and last

<sup>1</sup> RONCZEWSKI, *Gewölbeschmuck*, Pl. 21, 22.

is composed of anthemions like the fourth. The anthemions are framed and set on scrolls ending in flower rosettes, which branch out and doubly intertwine. The central square is decorated with an ornate rosette surrounded by an elaborate scroll and palmette design.

The plant motives are exceptionally pleasing and in their delicacy and fancifulness resemble those of the Farnesina vaults, the only difference being that here we have a patterned regularity which the others lack. This regularity is due not only to the use of a mould, for the marks of the modelling tool used in retouching them can be seen in several places, but to the strict adherence to the pattern. The rosettes were cast from moulds and the narrow lines and mouldings were run and stamped in the damp plaster.

The groined vault of the Apodyterium (Pl. XVII, Fig. 2) of the Larger Baths was also decorated with delicate patterns of fine lines and conventional motives in low relief. The design, which is architectonic, was formed by bands crossing at right angles so as to leave large square compartments, small squares and rectangles. The large compartments were decorated, as we know from Piranesi's drawing<sup>1</sup>, with figures in higher relief, representing victories, nymphs riding sea monsters and similar motives. The smaller squares contained circular medallions with busts, possibly real portraits, while the rectangles were filled by cult implements, armor, and the like. There is still in situ a part of the decoration on the lower angles of two groins and on a strip of stucco across the vault, which gives a very good idea of the bands of the design. These have a diamond latticed pattern made of fine stucco lines with the interstices alternately decorated with rosettes and masks surrounded by four conventionalized plant motives. The triangular spaces at the edge have small trefoils. Where the bands cross on the flat surface, there is a square space filled by two tiny Cupids with a candelabrum. On the groins, there is an irregular field with a winged thunderbolt for decoration.

As can be seen from the photograph of one of the groins, a latticed band outlined the edge of the vault. Above it came a wider one with squares and rectangles separated by the same band. In the extreme angle a five sided kite-shaped field is left which is outlined by an egg moulding. Set within this there is a similar field, formed by a simpler egg moulding and containing a trophy which lends itself admirably to the irregular space. The plain surface between the two egg mouldings is decorated in the angles by lyre-shaped motives formed by dolphin grotesques. Next above this angle field, on either side, comes one of the small square fields with bust medallions. Two of these are represented, but the subject of the bust is not recognizable. After these, there is a rectangular compartment, one of which is partly preserved. A row of army equipment — shields, spears, trumpets, coats of mail and helmets — is laid in well ordered confusion along the center. After another latticed band, there is a large compartment, altered

<sup>1</sup> RONCZEWSKI, *op. cit.*, Pl. 7, 8, 9; P. GUSMAN, *Villa Impériale de Tibur*, pp. 231 ff.

from its square shape because of its position on the groin. It is decorated by two winged Victories bearing cornucopias and standing on either side of a tall candelabrum. The thin fluttering drapery of these graceful figures is exceptionally well represented, and so is the modelling of their bodies through the transparent material. Below this large compartment, there is a small diamond which fills in an extra space left on the groin. It contains a tiny figure, half man and half herm growing out of a plant calyx. It holds a draped garland with pendants and has wings which fill the unusual shaped field.

The conventionalized plant and animal motives are lovely, recalling in their delicacy some of the former vault. The victories and the tiny Cupids reveal the art of the stucco worker at its best, and resemble in that respect, the Farnesina vaults. It is hard to visualize the decorative effect of this vault, which must have been exceedingly artistic and attractive, as the latticed bands which happen to be so prominent in the remaining fragments, were merely the framework for the main features — the Victories and other human figures in higher relief.

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## TOMBS UNDER SAN SEBASTIANO.

For many years, the interest of Christian archaeologists has centered around the church of San Sebastiano at the third milestone of the Via Appia, because of its historic connection with the Apostles Peter and Paul. During the dark days of the reign of Valerian, when not even the dead were safe, the bodies of the two most revered Christians were removed from the Basilica of St. Peter's and temporarily hidden in a well on the Appian Way, "ad catacumbas", a place associated traditionally with the region near San Sebastiano. To find evidence for the so-called "memoriae" of the saints, excavations were started in 1914 under the sixteenth century pavement of the present church<sup>1</sup>. First there came to light a layer of Christian graves, of the fifth and sixth centuries, according to epigraphical evidences. Continuing, the excavators found near the right wall of the church, five pagan columbaria of the Flavian period<sup>2</sup>, well constructed and decorated. At a lower level appeared the remains of a Roman villa with wall paintings and a mosaic floor. Under the central part of the church was another building with an open cortile and a loggia, the walls of which were covered with graffiti invoking Peter and Paul. The excavators thought they had reached the lowest level when they struck the pavement of the cortile, but digging further, they found a group of three tombs. These had been cut out of the natural rock and soil and were at a distance of 9.20 m. below the floor of the church. Fortunately they had been completely buried so that their decorations were preserved intact and without discolorations<sup>3</sup>.

The first tomb is decorated with well executed frescoes of two different periods<sup>4</sup>. It was built for incinerary burials and was later adapted for inhumation ones.

The second and third tombs are richly decorated with pure white stucco reliefs, and it is therefore with them that we are especially concerned. Immediately inside the entrance of the first of these, there is a passageway with a flight of stairs descending to the main sepulchral chambers. It has a barrel vault which is very irregular, but many of its defects

<sup>1</sup> The initial excavations were made by Fra Damiano, one of the monks attached to the church. After he had found several inscriptions, or rather graffiti, relating to the two great martyrs, he succeeded in gaining the attention of the proper archaeological authorities. A vast amount of literature has been written during the past few years concerning this site and the results of the excavations in so far as they are connected with the history of the church. In one volume alone of the *Dissertazioni della Pontificia Accademia*, (1920), there

are four articles, one of which, by Lanciani, gives a lengthy bibliography (pp. 57 ff.). The official account is that by P. STYGER, *Diss. Pont. Acc.*, serie II, 1918, pp. 3 ff., (ill.).

<sup>2</sup> MARUCCHI, *Diss. Pont. Acc.*, 1920, p. 302.

<sup>3</sup> MARUCCHI, *op. cit.*, p. 302.

<sup>4</sup> PARIBENI, *Rassegna d'Arte*, 1920, p. 6, (ill.).

The official publication of these tombs will appear in a number of the *Diss. Pont. Acc.*, in the near future.



have been covered or lessened by the thick coats of plaster and the stucco reliefs (Pl. XVIII, Fig. 1) which decorate it<sup>1</sup>. In what is supposed to be the center of the vault, there is a large square compartment framed by two egg and dart mouldings on either side of a plain band decorated with modillions alternating with round bosses. The mouldings, like all those in the vault, are in very high profile, the modillions are heavy with accentuated curves, and the bosses are dented in the center. Within the square, there is a circle outlined by double egg mouldings. The space between the square and the circle is filled by conventionalized plant designs which unfold from caulicoli in the angles. These arabesques are in lower relief than the other details and therefore have by comparison an appearance of delicacy. In design, they seem to be quite original and different from other arabesques found in stucco decoration. The circle, in turn, contains an inscribed hexagonal figure formed by consecutive arcs. The arcs are formed by single egg mouldings and with the circumference of the circle enclose fluted shells of stucco. In the center of the whole design there is a large rosette with crinkly petals and bud-like center. The remainder of the vault is covered by an all-over pattern of hexagonal coffers formed by double egg mouldings of two types, the outer one being heavier and wider than the inner one. The coffers are decorated by rosettes set within rings made by a narrow bead moulding. The rosettes either have crinkly petals, or smooth ones with a central rib and from their regularity and similarity, one judges they were cast from moulds. Around some of them, incised lines have been made in the background to represent another layer of petals in perspective. The coffers with their hexagonal form do not fit closely around the square compartment. On one pair of sides of the square they leave small triangular spaces which are left undecorated. On the other, they form trapezoidal fields which contain a conventionalized flower design. Similar spaces along the spring of the vault and at the ends, are disposed of in like manner. At either end of the vault there is a large shell of stucco. The one just inside the doorway is plain, fluted with its valve part away from the door. It resembles closely a stucco shell over the window of a bathroom in the House of the Labyrinth in Pompeii. The second shell is at the foot of the passageway (Pl. XVIII, Fig. 2) and faces in the opposite direction. It is more elaborate, for in the flutes there are conventionalized vine or candelabra motives, in medium low relief, rather crudely but effectively done. In the center of the shell there is a peacock with outspread tail, facing the person descending the stairs. The body of the bird is in very high relief, while the tail, outspread in a fan, is very low with the details merely picked out in color. The moulding used around the shell has a guilloche design, the first example of its kind found among the Roman mouldings. It is very faint and delicate and has the appearance of having been incised by hand

<sup>1</sup> PARIBENI, *op. cit.*, p. 7.

rather than stamped from a mould as it really was. Over the shell, there are remains of a high rounded ridge of stucco with an incised imbricated pattern, which evidently extended around the whole arch.

Along the sides of the vault there is a cornice formed by combining several egg and plain mouldings, with a flat member decorated with modillions to which leaf-shaped pendants of stucco have been attached.

Just below the vaulted passageway, the stairs make a turn to the left and lead down to the sepulchral chambers which do not contain stucco reliefs. However, there is a niche for an inhumation burial cut in the wall at the top of the lower flight of stairs, which is decorated with a rude conventionalized plant design from which a volute unfurls on either side. In spite of crude workmanship, the effect is very decorative and when seen by the dim light of candles, quite striking.

The entrance of the second tomb is to the left of the former one. In this case, also, there is a large fluted shell just inside the doorway. The passage descending to the main chambers is covered by a roughly constructed barrel vault, which has been widened in several places because of niches cut in the side walls near the cornice line. The all over pattern of circles (Pl. XIX, Fig. 1) which covers the vault, has no central motive and is not laid on the vault symmetrically. It runs vertical and horizontal to the axes of the vault, but gives the appearance of having been started at one side and of not coming out even on the other. The circles are outlined by a double row of egg mouldings of the same type as those used in the above tomb, but are flatter in profile. They, also, contain smaller circles formed by a narrow moulding and rosettes similar to the hexagonal coffers. The circular medallions are set apart from each other but are connected by plain strips of stucco at the ends of their vertical and horizontal axes. The cross-shaped fields thus left are decorated with rosettes from which radiate four stiff conventionalized plant motives made up of a long stem with three small leaves and ending in a berry or button. The technique of this vault is like that of the former one and both were undoubtedly done under the same direction. The rosettes and mouldings are the same in both cases and it is only in design and minor details that they differ.

At the lower end of the passageway there is the rim of a lunette decorated by a band of palmettes or anthemion ornaments joined by short straight strips of stucco. The anthemion is of the very simplest form, with only three petals framed in a rounded shield design.

The main sepulchral chamber is at the end of the passage, although to reach the floor, one has to descend another flight of stairs on the right. The room is two stories high and roughly rectangular in shape. One long side is taken up by the stone staircase, and an entrance into a second sepulchral chamber of smaller dimensions. The opposite

side has two tiers of three long niches for inhumation burials, or *arcosolia*. Each end of the room has a tier of these niches also. The vault of the room is irregular, partly because of unskilled workmanship and partly because of the four top niches which cut into it and give it a groined effect. In order to make a transition from the barrel vault of the descending passage, the ceiling was rounded off so that it bulges over the entrance of the chamber (Pl. XIX, Fig. 1). The design chosen for this vault is admirably fitted to its irregularities and is also very unique for stucco work. Large grapevines, laden with bunches of grapes in very high relief (Pl. XIX, Figs. 1, 2), grow out from large amphorae modelled on the lower part of the groins just above the cornice. They spread freely over the entire vault, evidently without any set pattern. The leaves of the vine are rather scanty and all are seen from the flat side with no attempt at perspective, just as in a marble frieze from Trajan's Forum <sup>1</sup> which is now in the Lateran. The stem of the vine is heavy and carelessly modelled, while the tendrils are merely incised in the background. All of the modelling was done by hand without the use of moulds, and has the appearance of having been done before the various parts were applied to the background. Thus there are no transitions, and the whole effect is rather that of appliqué work. The bunches of grapes were made by rolling lumps of stucco into balls and then sticking them together. At the beginning of the vault at the foot of the stairs (Pl. XIX, Fig. 1) there is an artistic and attractive touch in three leaves which partly protrude over the edge. The design, with its freedom and gracefulness, is very striking and in spite of minor crudities in details, makes a rich decoration.

The flat surfaces between the *arcosolia* are decorated by various scroll designs in stucco relief. Several have that of two dolphins whose tails end in plant arabesques which intertwine in the center of the space. Two others have merely a long spray with blade-like leaves which has been consequently identified as a palm branch. Below one niche, one can distinguish traces of heads of wheat among the long blades of the design. The other *arcosolia* seem to have a simple plant scroll with loosely curling volutes. The narrow panels left between the tiers of niches are decorated with fluted pilasters which have bases and elaborate Corinthian capitals supporting a cornice like that in the first tomb.

The inner chamber which lies under the entrance passageway is not at present accessible, but one can just see a design of small square coffers on the vault by crouching down on the top step of the second flight of stairs <sup>2</sup>. These coffers are more crudely modelled than are the other reliefs, and are heavy in proportion to their size. They are framed by the same egg mouldings and contain small rosettes.

<sup>1</sup> GUSMAN, *L'Art Décoratif*, Pl. 118.

<sup>2</sup> The floor of the tombs is covered with a layer of water about a half meter in depth. The dampness, inci-

dently, is ruining the reliefs, for in the second tomb several bunches of grapes have already fallen off.

The date of these tombs has not yet been settled, but will be probably when the official publication comes out with all the details<sup>1</sup>. Paribeni<sup>2</sup> makes the statement that they can not be earlier than the second century as the wall of one of them cuts into a columbarium used in the Flavian period. One thing that complicates the question of dating is that there are no inscriptions. Moreover, the tombs at first sight seem to be Christian. The inhumation burials, the Greek word for "fish" scratched on one of the walls, and the motives of peacock, vine, and wheat would seem to indicate that. However, peacocks are found on pagan monuments and the grape-vine is found<sup>3</sup> as vault decoration in other Roman tombs. It is probable that we have here pagan tombs into which Christian symbols were introduced.

The stucco is white and fine and might belong to an earlier date, but the modeling and designs might belong to any period after the first century. The work was not done by the best artists and is not as delicate as that in the tombs on the Latin Way, and therefore gives the impression of a date later than the Antonine age. This can not prove their date however, and it is necessary to await external evidence.

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<sup>1</sup> See above, p. 64.

<sup>2</sup> *Rassegna d'Arte*, 1920, p. 6.

<sup>3</sup> The Tomb of Pomponius Hylas has a frescoed

vault with a similar design (*B. S. R.*, V. Pl. XLII). Another is to be found in the catacombs of Domitilla (*WILPERT, Malereien der Katakomben Roms*, Pl. 1).

## TOMB OF THE VALERII.

In december 1857, during his excavations on the Via Latina, Fortunati discovered the so-called Tomb of the Valerii. There is no authority for the name and it is not known to whom it belonged, but a brickstamp<sup>1</sup> of 159 A. D., the only piece of epigraphical evidence, dates it as belonging to the period of the Antonines.

Originally, the tomb consisted of two stories, one on the ground level and the other subterranean, but only the latter has survived. This is approached by two flights of stairs leading into an antechamber which served as the vestibule of the sepulchral chamber proper. Between the stairs there is a large niche or small cell with a vaulted roof, the soffit of which is covered with a plain stucco surface, probably once decorated with frescoes.

Facing the niche is the main chamber<sup>2</sup>, entered by a short arched passageway or wide doorway, the vault of which, like that of the inner chamber, is decorated with white stucco reliefs on a white ground. Its design, which is strongly reminiscent of the soffit of a triumphal arch, is divided by egg and dart mouldings into two rows of four square coffers each. In the center of the vault, another square is superimposed upon the four central coffers so as to change them into L shaped fields. The two whole coffers at each end are decorated by single dancing figures of satyrs and maenads. The L shaped fields are filled with graceful arabesques, similar in spirit and design, but differing in minor details. The central square, to which the rest of the decoration is subordinated, is occupied by two winged amorini holding an oval shield with both hands. This corresponds in its significance to the wreaths or shields containing portraits of the deceased or inscriptions held by genii or amorini on a large group of Roman sarcophagi<sup>3</sup> of the first and second centuries of our era. Along the spring of the vault, on either side of the passageway, there is a frieze of dolphins with long graceful fins.

The barrel vault (see Pl. XXII etc.) of the sepulchral chamber, richly yet simply decorated with some of the most delicate and charming stucco reliefs which have come down to us, is covered by an allover pattern of circular medallions, outlined and joined to one another by egg and dart mouldings in such a way as to leave intermediate cross shaped fields. The circular medallions, of which there are twenty-five, contain two figures each, in comparatively high relief. The central medallion contains (Pl. XXIII, Fig. 1) a veiled female figure borne on the back of a winged griffin. Of the others, six have

<sup>1</sup> C. I. L. XV, 1368.

<sup>2</sup> The earliest descriptions of this tomb are those by HENZEN, *Bull. Inst.*, 1858, pp. 36 ff., and PETERSEN, *Ann. Inst.*, 1860, pp. 348 ff. For illustrations and later

articles, see. *Mon. Inst.* VI, Pls. 43, 44; *B. S. R.* IV, pp. 61 ff.; GUSMAN, *L'Art Décoratif*, Pls. 50, 51; *Lo stucco nell'Arte Italiana*, Pls. IV-VIII, X-XII.

<sup>3</sup> REINACH, *Répertoire*, III pp. 210, 254, 339, etc.

Bacchic figures (a satyr and Maenad each); six, Nereids carried by marine monsters, and the remaining twelve Nereids on sea animals. The subjects are all connected with Bacchic rites but it has been a fantasy of the artist or the owner of the tomb to give them a marine character.

The central medallion, which may be an allusion to the soul of the departed being transported to the other world<sup>1</sup>, is full of dignity. The features of the woman are very realistic and may well be meant for a portrait of the deceased. Closely wrapped up in her mantle and veil, she is seated sidewise on the griffin, steadying herself by a hand placed on the left wing of the animal. The latter has the head of an eagle and body of a lion with two long pointed horns or ears growing from his forehead, while his wings have an archaistic curl at the tips. The modelling of both figures was done with a sure and steady hand which knew how to draw, and is full of life and spirit. Incised lines are used to supplement the modelling and the finish of the surface is not smooth as in some of the earlier reliefs.

It is hardly necessary to describe each medallion as there is a sameness in character and treatment in all of them. The figures have not the finish or dignity of those in the Farnesina vaults, but they are in some ways more lifelike and attractive. They were not intended for close inspection; they were made in an underground chamber by means of artificial light, and would have been seen only under similar circumstances. Even now, when one visits the tomb with a lantern, the general effect is exceedingly striking and artistic. A close study of the reliefs, however, reveals many sketchy and impressionistic qualities, especially in the treatment of the draperies, for the latter are rarely modelled, but are mostly incised in the background. The parts of the body and various objects represented in perspective are similarly treated. This is very well illustrated in Pl. XXIII, Fig. 2, in both of the large medallions. Yet the nymph on the sea-monster is particularly charming. She has a difficult position, twisted as she is and seen from the back, but there is no awkwardness and the modelling of her body is exceptionally good. The artist or artists of this vault were skilled in portraying the soft curves of the female form, which they could render in any angle and position. The fantastic sea monsters, imaginary as they are, are treated in such a lively manner that they seem almost real. Their long feathery fins are particularly graceful.

Between the circular medallions, there are small square compartments bordered by a single egg moulding, and containing alternately, a rosette or a small chubby amorino with fluttering drapery. The former are of the same design and were made by moulds, but so cleverly retouched that they have an individual character. The amorini are very successful as one would expect from the other figures in the vault. Each one is in a

<sup>1</sup> Mrs. A. STRONG, *Apotheosis and After Life*, p. 206 f.

different attitude and is represented with some sort of an object, a plate of fruit, a trumpet, a tamborine, or the like. In one instance (Pl. XXII), we have a small Psyche for additional variety. The space around the square compartments is filled with delicate foliage arabesques in keeping with the charming simplicity of the whole decorative scheme. As the stucco was worked free hand, no two of the arabesques are alike, but they may be divided, on the whole, into two designs.

At the sides of the vault, there are five semicircular fields decorated by single figures of swans and flying or floating figures in alternation. The edge of the vault, over the lunettes, at either end is decorated by a band composed of a continuous garland of leaves and berries, bordered by egg and dart mouldings.

There is a lunette at each end of the chamber, with similar decoration. The semicircular edge is decorated by a band of marine animals, dolphins and winged amorini. In the lunette opposite the entrance (Pl. XX), there is a rectangular frame enclosing a group of three dancing women, possibly the Fates, holding a long garland of flowers. The stiffness of this frame is relieved by the graceful arabesques encircling and supporting it, which grow in two branches from the calyx of a flower at the bottom of the lunette. Standing between these branches and holding one in either hand, is a youthful nude figure over whose shoulders hang the folds of a chlamys and on whose head there is the wreath characteristic of representations of the youthful Bacchus. The arabesques are delightfully fresh and graceful and although the lines are symmetrical in general, there is much freedom and variety in the details. Animal grotesques grow out of the vine at intervals and on either side of the rectangle a graceful nymph is seated. Standing upon the upper frame of the rectangle there is a draped figure which is holding out objects to some sort to winged sphinx grotesques on either side.

The lunette over the entrance (Pl. XXI, Fig. 1) is different in several particulars, due partly to the arched doorway which cuts into it, and partly to the artist's desire for variety. In the rectangular panel there is a large sea monster, the forepart of which is that of a griffin, on whose coiled tail is seated a nymph holding a trumpet or a scepter. At the bottom of the panel there are three dolphins to represent the water through which the pair are moving. There are almost too many incised lines in this relief, crinkly draperies and a multitude of fins giving a restless effect. The arabesques filling in the rest of the lunette are in one continuous vine and the grotesques and female figures are differently placed. Over the rectangle there are two dolphins whose tails form arabesques on either side of a central palmette.

Nothing can give a better idea of the decorative talent of the Roman artist than these motives soberly and gracefully filling given architectonic surfaces. The arabesques as well as the other ornamental elements are found in marble reliefs of the same and earlier periods but they have not the spontaneity which we find in those of stucco.

Both Petersen <sup>1</sup> and Mrs. Strong <sup>2</sup> see deep symbolic significance in the reliefs of this tomb. Petersen interprets the figures as symbols connected with the death of the occupant of the tomb or with his life in the next world. Virtue is recompensed after death, in the Isles of the Blessed to which the souls are transported. Their lives are represented by the pleasures of the Bacchic cortege. Petersen also thinks that in this tomb are reunited the two elements in which the lives of the departed are passed — air and water — as illustrated by the marine animals. Mrs. Strong believes the contents of the circular medallions are emblematic of the After Life, that the marine monsters form a mystic escort of the dead to the Islands of the Blessed and at the same time carry an allusion to the purifying power of water <sup>3</sup>.

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<sup>1</sup> *Op. cit.*, pp. 356 ff.

<sup>2</sup> *Op. cit.*, pp. 206 f.

<sup>3</sup> *Op. cit.* p. 215.



## THE TOMB OF THE PANCRATII.

In April 1858, Fortunati discovered on the left hand side of the Via Latina, across from the so-called Tomb of the Valerii, a second tomb of the same period, to judge from its construction and decoration<sup>1</sup>. It also had two stories originally, of which only the lower one has survived. This is subterranean and consists of two chambers, built at different times and therefore unlike in decoration. The outer and later chamber belonged to the Pancratii, the name being not that of a family, but of a guild of grave diggers or of a burial club which existed as late as the fourth century of our era. There is no evidence that the Pancratii had any connection with the earlier tomb in spite of the fact that it is called by their name.

The inner room, of the period of the Antonines, is richly decorated on the groined vault and four wall lunettes with a harmonious combination of stucco reliefs in white with polychromy. The design of the vault, which is more or less geometric, is indicated by bands of color emphasized by stucco mouldings of the usual bead and egg and dart varieties. The most conspicuous elements and the most decorative are the white reliefs on the white backgrounds. Subordinate are the smaller motives of Bacchantes, sphinxes, griffins, birds, animals, etc., in white relief on backgrounds of red, blue, violet or yellow. As a foil to the stucco reliefs and the flat tones of color, there are panels of fresco painting and small painted motives sprinkled about in the general decorative system. All the elements are arranged symmetrically to the axes of the room, every design or ornamental section being balanced by a corresponding one.

In the vault there are nine of the reliefs in white on white grounds. The central one (Pl. XXV), of circular shape, is devoted to Jupiter borne on the back of an eagle. Jupiter, with a voluminous mantle billowing out behind him, holds a scepter in his right hand while his left rests on one of the eagle's outspread wings. The eagle which is unfortunately badly mutilated, carries a thunderbolt in its talons. This is a subject often found on Roman lamps<sup>2</sup> and in Pompeian wall paintings. In each of the four sections of the vault, in the most conspicuous positions, are reliefs depicting scenes from classic mythology. Two are taken from the Trojan cycle, but the other two have not been interpreted with certainty. The subject of the relief nearest the door is "Priam before

<sup>1</sup> H. BRUNN, *Bull. Inst.*, 1858, pp. 81 ff.; HENZEN, *Bull. Inst.*, 1858, pp. 17 ff.; PETERSEN, *Ann. Inst.*, 1861, pp. 190 ff.; PETERSEN, *Monumenti Inediti*, VII, Pls. 49-53; ASHBY, *B. S. R.*, IV, pp. 62 ff.; GUSMAN, *L'Art*

*Décoratif*, Pls. 45, 84, 85.

<sup>2</sup> CAGNAT and CHAPOT, *Manuel d'Archéologie Romaine*, p. 683; *Brit. Mus. Cat. of Lamps*, Nos. 1046-49.

Achilles " (Pl. XXVI). Achilles, seated on the right, with a Greek soldier on either side, is confronted by Priam who is just on the point of prostrating himself before him. Behind Priam there is the chariot laden with gifts, drawn by two horses and guided by two Phrygians in their native costumes. The subject is common in classical art, but this relief is unusual in placing the action at this particular point in the drama. Priam has not yet begun to plead with Achilles, but has just arrived and the chariot has not quite reached its destinations as the raised whip of one of the drivers shows. The scene is intensely dramatic and full of movement and feeling, resembling in these respects a sarcophagus in the Capitoline Museum with the same subject <sup>1</sup>. Achilles, touched with emotion, has put his right hand up to his face, while his soldiers look on with interest. The movement is all in one direction and, although there are six persons and two horses in the scene, there is no sense of crowding.

The opposite relief represents the Judgment of Paris (Pl. XXVII). Paris in Phrygian costume, is seated on the right, with a dog at his side and two goats on the rocks behind him. His position and attitude remind one of those of Achilles in the former relief. Before him stands Hermes, indicating with his right arm the three goddesses on the left. First comes Aphrodite with staff and diadem. To the wrist of her right hand, raised to her head, is fastened her mantle so that it falls behind her in graceful folds. She has an affected, self confident air of realizing her own charms and power. Next comes Minerva with helmet, shield and spear. She is looking back at Juno with perhaps a fellow feeling of chagrin. Juno, however, with crown and staff, and seated on a stool, appears not to be taking any interest in the proceedings. In this relief dramatic feeling also predominates but it is less complicated and emotional.

In the third relief of this series, we have Hercules (Pl. XXVIII), identified by his lion skin and club, seated and playing on a lyre. On his right, a seated satyr is playing on a double flute, while on his left are the youthful Dionysus, Athena and Artemis with their respective attributes. The burly form of Hercules and the energy with which he is playing is in strong contrast to the effeminacy and quiet, graceful pose of Dionysus. Athena, who is looking with pride at her favorite, shows her energy and warlike character in her pose, while Artemis looks her part — that of an indefatigable huntress. The satyr intent on his task, is outside the drama. The atmosphere of this relief appears to be humorous, whether the artist intended it that way or not. Hercules, not meant for parlor accomplishments but for feats of strength is trying to be soulful. Dionysus appears amused while the goddesses are more politely surprised. What episode in the life of the hero is here being represented is not known, but the arrangement of the figures is reminiscent of a pediment group.

<sup>1</sup> *Brit. School Catalogue of the Capitoline Museum*, Pl. 16.

The fourth panel is even more of an enigma (Pl. XXIX). On the right we have a man seated on a throne, recalling Jupiter or Pluto in pose and attitude, but with no distinguishing attributes to identify him. In the background on one side is a veiled woman who appears to be looking at him beseechingly. Before the throne, with one foot on the lowest step, stands a youthful figure of an Apollo type. He is indicating a team of animals — a lion and a boar — pulling a chariot driven by a woman with a short tunic and resembling representations of Diana. On the other side of the animals there is a young man, crowned with a garland, and carrying a shepherd's crook. Petersen<sup>1</sup> has interpreted this scene as belonging to the myth of Alcestis, who was promised by her father to be given in marriage to the man who could yoke a lion and a boar to his chariot. According to some versions of the legend, Apollo aided Admetus to accomplish this and that would account for his presence. The seated figure would then be Pelias, and the veiled woman Alcestis. Diana's presence might be explained as being the ruler of wild beasts and therefore interested in this task imposed on Admetus, or else as the assistant of her brother. The man in the background, holding on to the lion, would then be Admetus.

These four reliefs are very Greek in feeling and may well have been copies or reproductions from memory of Greek originals, on the part of the designer. The grouping of the figures is very well arranged, even in the scene of Priam and Achilles, where the large number of figures would tend to make it crowded and complicated. The drawing of the human figures is excellent, although the modelling seems at times to be rather careless and sketchy. This latter impression is due to the frequent use of incised lines for representing folds and wrinkles in the draperies. However, one must admit that every essential detail is rendered with a steady and sure hand, and with a dexterity that produces the effect of a perfectly finished piece of work.

The four L shaped fields on the groins of the vault are similar to each other in decoration, the only variations being in details (Pls. XXX-XXXII). In the lower angle of each there is a plant on which rests a baluster entwined by a vine, and supporting a flat dish. In general effect this motive resembles the balusters found in the reliefs from the Tomb of the Haterii<sup>2</sup>. A vine grows out from either side of the plant in such a way as to enfold loosely a centaur fighting with a wild beast a lion, lioness or a panther. The centaurs are rushing away from the central motive and differ from each other in pose and method of warfare. The anatomical and muscular treatment of the figures in these fields is excellent and shows great animation.

As for the subordinate plastic decorations, one finds the usual motives; dancing Maenads and Amorini; stylised Victories; sphinxes, unicorns, and other fabulous creatures

<sup>1</sup> *Ann. Inst.*, 1861 pp. 227 ff.

<sup>2</sup> GUSMAN, *L'Art Décoratif de Rome*, Pl. 15.

placed in balanced positions on either side of a lyre, candelabrum or vase; Jupiter Ammon heads, and conventionalized scrolls. When one examines these, one finds many defects in modelling but from a distance or from a casual glance, the effect is very decorative. The dancing Maenads and Amorini are especially spirited and recall those in the so-called Tomb of the Valerii. The scrolls are very simple and rely entirely for their effect on their contrast with a colored background.

As the general design of the vault is planned on the principle of superimposed squares, and as the room is 4.28 by 5.45 meters in size, a border is required on two opposite sides to complete the decoration. These borders are filled by a large guilloche of stucco mouldings and colored bands, the interstices of which are decorated with white rosettes on white backgrounds, alternating with Amorini, masks or single animal figures on colored backgrounds.

The decoration of the lunettes, although closely allied with that of the vault, is more subdued and simple. The design is architectural, imitating a stage front seen in perspective from the center, and arranged in such a way as to leave three large vertical panels for the main decoration — figures of gods and heroes in relief. Practically all of the architectural features are in relief although the coffers over the large panels are merely painted. A few compartments with frescoes are interspersed among the reliefs and some of the latter are modelled on colored grounds.

In the lunette opposite the entrance of the tomb (Pl. XXXIII) there are, proceeding from left to right, an Indian Bacchus, a Victory and an Apollo. Bacchus, in a long chiton, betrays his Oriental character in his long sleeves and full effeminate drapery. On his bearded head framed with long luxuriant curls, there is crown of ivy leaves. In his right hand he holds a drinking horn, from which he is pouring wine, and in his left a sort of combined thyrsus and pine cone, for it is short and thick like a club, but wound with ivy and lamellated. The Victory who is crowned and winged, carries a large palm branch over her left shoulder while her other hand rests on the edge of a round shield at her side. The Apollo is also crowned, but clothed only in a mantle which hangs behind him from his shoulders to his feet. A quiver is slung from his shoulder by a narrow strap, while he holds the lyre in his left hand and the plectrum in the right. This is clearly intended to represent a statue, for the square basis on which he stands is plainly indicated.

The central panel of the lunette over the entrance (Pl. XXXIV) is occupied by a window, but to the left there is a Hermes and to the right a youthful Bacchus. The two figures are almost identical in pose and modelling. Soft and effeminate in form, they stand easily with the weight on the right leg and with the right hand raised to the back of the head in a careless attitude. Each one wears a mantle merely hung on the

left shoulder and carries in the left hand the attribute, the one an elaborate caduceus, the other a thyrsus tied with fillets.

The lunette on the right contains two warriors, armed and clothed as hoplites (Pl. XXXV, Fig. 1) and between them a young hero. The former with crested helmet, spear and large round shield, resemble the two attendants of Achilles in the panel relief in the vault. The central figure, nude, with his himation draped so that it hangs over his left arm and over his right thigh, stands with his right foot resting on a slight, box-like structure before him. In his right hand which leans on this raised leg he carries a staff, and under the other arm, a sheathed sword.

In the fourth lunette (Pl. XXXV, Fig. 2) we return to the Trojan cycle. In the center, there is a youth, sword in hand, carrying a palladium, who has therefore been identified as Diomedes. On the right, there is the wounded Philoctetes, seated on the ground, rubbing his knee with his right hand while he clasps a spear with his left. Beside him lie his bow and quiver. The third panel contains a man in his prime, bearded, strong and muscular, and carrying a sheathed sword. It is possible that this is Ulysses for we read in Pausanias that in the picture gallery of the Propylaea, there were paintings of Diomedes and Ulysses, the former carrying off the bow of Philoctetes and the latter with the image of Athena. We seem to have the same three heroes connected in this lunette.

The modelling of the figures on the walls is more careful and more finished. The draperies are not incised to such an extent, and emphasis seems to be laid on the nude form. It is interesting to note how the artist used figures of the same pose and type in two or more places. We have already mentioned the similarity between the Bacchus and the Mercury in one lunette, but they also resemble the Venus in the Judgment of Paris and the Dionysus in the third large relief. All of these single figures seem to have been copies of real statues or paintings.

At the top of each lunette, on either side of a panel containing a fresco of a mask with two marine animals, there are two triangular compartments decorated by white reliefs on colored backgrounds. The reliefs are companion pieces — that is, they are in heraldic opposition to the panel fresco. In the two lunettes at the sides of the chamber, there are two Amorini holding a shield or a quiver up to the central panel. In the other lunettes, we have Tritons with aplustra and small Nereids or Amorini floating behind them.

Over the center of the first pair of lunettes there is a large inverted shell of stucco, a motive found again in the tombs under San Sebastiano. In the second pair of lunettes there is instead a very graceful ornamental scroll on a colored ground. The remaining details of the decoration are very subordinate in character. It might be well to mention the beautiful and elaborate border, composed of various stucco mouldings, which surrounds

the lunettes and forms a transition from them to the decoration of the vault. The cornice which supports the lunettes is very interesting and attractive with its combination of mouldings and small stucco ornaments. In each angle of the room, standing on this cornice, there was a female figure, modelled in stucco but in very high relief, so as to be practically in the round. They are badly injured but were probably representations of the four seasons, motives not unknown in sepulchral decorations <sup>1</sup>.

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<sup>1</sup> P. S. BARTOLI, *Le Pitture Antiche del Sepolcro de' Nasoni nella Via Flaminia*, 1680, Pl. XXI.

## THE UNDERGROUND BASILICA.

The most important example of stucco decoration, as far as magnitude and variety of design is concerned, may be seen in the so-called Underground Basilica, a monument recently discovered on the Via Praenestina, a short distance outside the Porta Maggiore<sup>1</sup>. The monument has aroused great interest among the archaeologists, for various reasons, but especially, perhaps, because it is more or less of a mystery. Its form, its purpose, its date, as well as its extraordinary decoration, will probably be the subject of learned discussion for some time to come.

The monument, which was always underground, and orientated exactly east and west, comprises: a) a long inclined corridor, which served as the ancient means of entrance; b) a small ante-room, 3.62 by 3.50 m., lit by a light well in the center of the ceiling; c) the large main chamber constructed in the form of a Christian Basilica, containing a central nave with a semicircular apse, and two side aisles. Nave and aisles are covered with barrel vaults, supported by archivolt resting on large rectangular piers of concrete<sup>2</sup>. By the nature of its construction, the main chamber depended for its illumination on two sources: first, on the reflected light which came in from the antechamber, through the doorway and the large window in the lunette above it; second, on the supplementary help of hanging lamps, traces of which may be seen under the arches between the nave and side aisles. It is possible that the first method was the one originally planned in relation to the decoration. In Pl. XXXVII one notices how the window is adjusted so that the light from the vestibule just strikes one of the important reliefs of the vault. Moreover, when visiting the basilica, one is astonished by the added beauty of the reliefs as a whole, when seen only by means of the reflected light. The floor was covered with a fine white mosaic of good quality with a double black line as

<sup>1</sup> E. GATTI, *Notizie degli Scavi*, 1918, pp. 30 ff., gives an account of the spectacular discovery of this monument made in April 1917, while investigating a slight sinking of the ground beneath the Rome-Naples railroad tracks. He also describes the building from an architectural point of view, while F. Fornari, in the same number, pp. 39 ff., briefly deals with the relief decoration. The full publication, amply illustrated, will appear in the near future, as the result of Dr. Lugli's and Dr. Bendinelli's careful study and investigation.

<sup>2</sup> E. GATTI, *op. cit.*, pp. 36 ff., has the theory that the construction was carried out by hollowing out from above, the ground the walls and piers would occupy, and by then pouring concrete into the cavities. The

vaults were centered on planks laid on the rounded earth. Finally, all the earth was removed from within, leaving the building in its present form. This explains the many irregularities in the structure. To make the place waterproof against the natural seepage of moisture which is gradually softening and staining the stucco, the authorities have decided to excavate from above and repair and protect the room from without. This will necessitate a great deal of labor and expense, for the railroad tracks over which several express trains pass, must be provided for. This proposed excavation may also settle several important questions regarding the construction, date and purpose of the monument.

border. The remainder of the chamber — the walls, piers and vaults, are covered with stucco reliefs in pure white, arranged in variously shaped compartments and panels. The subjects of these reliefs embrace almost every style and variety of Classic art, excluding only Oriental and Christian themes.

At some period in antiquity, the place was thoroughly rifled of all furniture, reliefs, mosaics, inscriptions and the like, which might have aided materially in its identification. It has been suggested because of its reliefs and mysterious atmosphere, that it may well have been the secret meeting place of some religious sect <sup>1</sup>, or of a philosophical society <sup>2</sup>, and recently that it was a tomb <sup>3</sup>.

The question of date is still a matter of discussion. A parapet of opus reticulatum of good workmanship was found around the light well in the antechamber, a fact which caused it to be dated during the Augustan age <sup>4</sup>. Other authorities are inclined to assign it to much later period because of the unusual form of the building and the style of decoration <sup>5</sup>.

The designs of the three vaults are composed of panels in various sizes and shapes, arranged symmetrically in respect to the axes of the room. The central vault is more elaborate as well as larger than the other two (see Pls. XXXVI-XXXVII). The technique and method used in decorating these vaults are quite evident. Each vault was blocked off into small squares, 23 to the length and 9 to the width of the central one, which served as the units of the decorative system. The mouldings were run along the lines so as to include one, two or more of these squares, and an egg pattern of a debased type, without darts, was pressed into them lightly. These mouldings are comparatively low in profile and show no undercutting. They were not retouched, for the imprint of the stamp is visible after every third egg (Pl. XXXIX). It is very interesting to see the incised lines of the squared background in several places. In the small compartments decorated by Medusa heads (Pl. XLII, Fig. 1) we can also see the lines drawn diagonally and vertically to locate the centers of the squares.

The panels in the central vault (Pls. XXXVI-XXXVII), being the more important and conspicuous, were more carefully modelled. The central panel, and a few others along the crown of the vault are orientated with reference to the person standing

<sup>1</sup> GATTI, *op. cit.*, p. 39.

<sup>2</sup> CUMONT, *Rev. Arch.* 1918, pp. 52 ff: *Rassegna d'Arte*, 1921, pp. 37 ff. In these articles, Cumont assigns the monument to the Neo-Pythagoreans, to whose doctrines he finds allusions in the reliefs.

<sup>3</sup> HUELSEN, *Berl. Phil. Wochenschr.*, 1919, pp. 259 ff., suggests it may be the tomb of Antinous. Dr. BENDINELLI, in a lecture before the Italian Archaeological Society, gave as his theory that it was meant for a tomb.

He also bases his conclusion on the reliefs, many of the motives of which are found in Roman sepulchral decoration. No sarcophagi, urns or other tomb furniture have been found, though they may have been there before the place was ransacked.

<sup>4</sup> FORNARI, *op. cit.*, p. 46.

<sup>5</sup> LANCIANI, in the *Bull. Arch. Comm.*, 1918, p. 83, puts it in the period of Hadrian; G. BAGNANI, *J. R. S.*, 1919, p. 84, dates it at the end of the first century.



at the entrance of the chamber, but the others are arranged along the sides, so that they are vertical to the cornice line. In the center and midway between it and the ends of the vault, there is a large square (nine square units) containing a so-called rape scene. Smaller squares (four square units) with various mythological reliefs are scattered symmetrically throughout the design. Long narrow rectangles along the sides of the vault contain genre and humorous scenes. Other panels have purely ornamental motives such as candelabra with Victories, Gorgon heads, and conventionalized palmette designs. It is impossible to describe these reliefs fully, first because the publication by Dr. Lugli and Dr. Bendinelli will shortly be issued, and second, because to do them justice, would take more space than this paper permits. We may, however, discuss a few of the characteristic panels in the three vaults.

The central relief in the nave (Pl. XXXVIII, Fig. 1), whose importance is indicated by its position and by the extra plain moulding set within the frame, probably represents the rape of Ganymede. Ganymede, nude except for a light scarf over his shoulders, carries a pitcher in his right hand and a large blazing torch in the other. Instead of the customary eagle, a winged Genius holds him clasped around the waist. This winged figure wears a short tunic and, if the uneven modelling on his legs and arms is meant to represent wrinkles, trousers and long sleeves. Behind his head, which is now destroyed, a cloak bellies out in the wind. His outspread wings are uniquely modelled, being composed of large broad-tipped feathers, separated from one another, and heavier in relief at the ends than at the roots. In arrangement, modelling and technical skill, this relief excels all the others of the monument. Ganymede is especially attractive and there is a most natural swing to his beautiful, passive body from the motion of the flight. The Genius is full of action; his very legs, the perspective treatment of which is very cleverly done, show that he is the propelling power of the pair. The folds of the drapery are somewhat affected in arrangement, but only add to the gracefulness of the group.

Less successful in drawing is the rape of a Leucippid by one of the Heavenly Twins, although as a piece of decoration it is admirably adapted to the compartment (Pl. XXXVIII, Fig. 2). The body of the youth is quite contorted; his legs are seen in profile to the right, his head is sharply turned in the opposite direction, and his body is facing full front. He wears a conical cap and a scarf which, in spite of its four weighted corners, blows out in artificial curves. He holds the body of the girl quite naturally with one arm under the small of her back and the other around her thighs. She is rigid, with both arms extended and her head thrown back so that her loosened hair hangs realistically downward in wavy locks. Her long full garment of some transparent material is opened down an entire side in order to reveal the curves of her body.

The pinwheel effect of arms, legs and drapery in the group gives an impression of motion and rapid flight, but one feels that the pose is unnatural. The modelling of the bodies and drapery is good in spite of the crude head of the girl and the awkward position of the man.

The mythological subjects treated are almost infinite in their variety and seem to have no connection with one another. They were probably selected at random by the decorator from the store of legends popular in Rome at the time. Among the subjects represented, we have the Rape of Helen by Paris, the Freeing of Hesione, Jason and Medea, Heracles and a Hesperide, the Punishment of the Danaids, Flaying of Marsyas, and Chiron and Achilles. In addition, there are a number which are not easily identified and doubtless illustrate obscure incidents in the lives of the mythical heroes. The workmanship of these reliefs is inferior to that of the two discussed above, and varies in the separate panels. Several of the scenes are amusing enough to be caricatures but the humor is doubtless unconscious.

The relief of Jason and Medea with the Golden Fleece (Pl. XXXIX) is very naive because of its crude drawing and modelling. In the center of the compartment stands a gnarled tree trunk to which the fleece is fastened. The serpent, twined about the same tree, has abandoned its watch to drink of the potion which Medea, standing stolidly and stiffly on the left, is offering it in a saucer. Meanwhile the undersized hero kneels on a platform, which he has mounted by means of a box placed upon a stool, about to cut down the prize. There are no subtleties in modelling and no attempt at perspectives. The draperies are stiff and the artist did not know how to represent the form of the body beneath except by drawing lines upon the surface as he did in the case of Medea's leg. It is interesting to note in this relief, and in all the others of a similar character, the attempt at a realistic foreground.

Another relief, more difficult of interpretation, possibly represents Helen and Menelaus (Pl. XL, Fig. 1). On the right, a woman is seated on a step-like arrangement, with her head bowed and resting on her right hand. On her left arm she carries a palladium. The torso of the woman, which is nude from the waistline up, is hard and dry in modelling but the drapery over lap and legs is more successful. Before her stands a man, bearded, nude and strong, with one foot planted on a block in front of him. He is leaning forward with both arms resting on his raised knee. Over his knee hangs a cloak of heavy material and just under his elbow there is an object which might be the paw of a lionskin or a human hand crudely drawn. In the latter case, which seems the most probable, it seems to hold a sheath. The right hand of the man holds a fillet or necklace towards the woman. According to one version of the legend<sup>1</sup>, after the

<sup>1</sup> ROSCHER, *Lexikon*, I<sup>2</sup>, pp. 1971 ff.

fall of Troy, Helen fled to a sanctuary to escape the wrath of her rightful husband. Sometimes she is represented with the statue of the goddess, the xoanon of Athena. She is partly nude to show the change of heart she inspires in Menelaus by her physical charms. There is a mirror<sup>1</sup> representing Helen seated on some steps while Menelaus presents her with a necklace. From the way in which the stucco has fallen off, it looks as if a coating was added after the relief had once been modelled. This may have been done to cover up poor modelling or to change the character of the scene.

There is another relief illustrating an episode in the life of Helen, which shows the workmanship of another hand (Pl. XL, Fig. 2). While there is more freedom and naturalism in the composition than there was in the relief of Jason and Medea, the drawing is sketchily done. Paris is represented, identified by his Phrygian costume of pointed cap, long sleeved, bloused tunic and trousers, and by the shepherd's pedom he carries in his left hand. From his shoulders hangs a plain cloak with no folds. He is walking along toward the right, looking back at Helen whom he is leading by the right hand. Helen wears a tunic and himation, modelled in a rather impressionistic manner, and a light gauzy scarf around her neck. Her hair is gathered at the nape of her neck carelessly, with a large lock escaping over her shoulder. She is barefooted and has just taken a step with her right foot. There is more dramatic feeling and human interest in this scene than in most of those in this monument, and in that respect, it is comparable to the mythical reliefs of the Tomb of the Pancratii.

The contents of the long narrow panels with genre scenes are interesting because of their subject matter and originality. In spite of defects in modelling and drawing, the scenes are very animated. There are races in the presence of a trainer, a pedagogue with his pupils, athletes, tightrope walkers, jugglers and the like.

The one of the pedagogue with three of his pupils is given in Pl. XLI. The former, wrapped in his cloak, is seated on the right, with a rod in one hand and his chin resting on the other. He is watching intently a small nude boy standing before a post on which is fastened a queer object resembling a grotesque idol. The boy carries a writing tablet in one of his hands which are crossed in front of him. Beyond the post there is a second boy, also nude and carrying a tablet. A third boy is stealing up behind the master on tiptoe with both arms outstretched. The effect of the relief is very realistic in spite of the fact that the modelling is sketchy and does not bear close inspection.

Below this panel, there is another similar in subject and spirit. (It may be seen by piecing together Pls. XLII, Fig. 1, XLI and XLII, Fig. 2). Seven figures at wide

<sup>1</sup> OVERBECK, *Gallerie*, 12, 7.

intervals, but connected by their relation to one another, are strung out to fill the long narrow space. On the left, there is a young boy in short tunic running forward to the right with both hands outstretched as if to catch the ball the second boy holds in his left hand. This second figure is nude and stands with his right leg slightly bent and his arms outspread. The third figure is also nude and is seen from the back. His face is turned towards the second boy and his left hand is outstretched in the same direction as if he had just tossed the ball back. These figures form one complete group as do the others a second one. The fourth boy stands at ease holding a large round shield on the ground before him. He is nude, but in front of him there are two small boys clad in tunics who have the same pose. Each is advancing with the right foot, brandishing a short sword in the right hand and carrying a round shield on the left arm. At the extreme right is their trainer, wrapped in a toga in such a way as to leave his right arm and shoulder free. In this hand, he holds a short stick with something hanging from the handle. This may be a cat o' nine tails or similar means of chastisement. He gazes intently and sternly at the two boys and is very evidently directing their movements. The two boys are on a smaller scale than the other figures in the panel because they are meant to be considered in the background, or because the artist wished to give variety to his composition.

Another series of genre reliefs are distinctly Alexandrian in origin. One of these, which evidently depicts a mimetic dance, is illustrated in Pl. XLIII, and resembles a scene on a bronze oenochoe in Paris<sup>1</sup>. We have a group of three men and a woman between an upright amphora on the left and a scraggly tree or shrub on the right. The first figure on the left, a man, clad merely with a loin cloth and a conical cap, is standing with both legs together, body bent forward, and arms outstretched towards the second figure. Between the two there are several objects on the ground which resemble a couple of sticks leaning against a low post. The second figure wears a long himation wrapped around him leaving his right arm and shoulder bare. His head which is bald on the top, with short curly hair at the sides, is turned back towards the third figure. On his left shoulder he carries an amphora, steadied by his raised left hand. The third figure, a woman, is clad in a long full garment of transparent material, caught up on one shoulder and belted in at the waist. She is bent forward with her hands outstretched towards a low table as if she were making mesmerizing "passes" over it. The table is three legged with various objects placed upon it, resembling cups, and a wand with a knob. Beside it there is another amphora and a jug. To the right of the table there is a third man with a conical cap and loin cloth like the first figure. He carries

<sup>1</sup> DE RIDDER, *Les Bronzes Antiques du Louvre*, II, No. 2765, Pl. 99, p. 115.

a long narrow wand in his right hand and holds out the other towards the woman. The modelling is sketchy, but with intention, for the life and spirit of the scene and the drawing of the human form show that the artist was not unskilled.

In the side vaults, there is a series of reliefs, also bordering on the genre. They show very rough technique, for even the background does not seem to have been properly smoothed. In one of these reliefs (Pl. XLVII, Fig. 1), we have two women and a blazing altar. The woman on the left is blowing the double pipes while her companion on the right is laying a garland on the altar. Both wear long chitons girded at the waist, and crudely modelled. The faces are so poorly represented that very little can be told about them. In Pl. XLIX, Fig. 1 we have a seated youth with a large lyre, possibly Orpheus therefore, and a woman standing before him. She is leaning against a short column and holds out her right hand (very badly drawn) towards the man. Pl. XLVII, Fig. 2 illustrates a dance or orgy, with two women with long swirling garments and flying hair. One holds a Gorgon's head and a sword which she is brandishing wildly. A third woman, standing more peacefully on the left, is clasping a round object which may be some kind of musical instrument. This last scene in spite of its deficiencies is full of life.

The various ornamental motives on the vaults are successful, on the whole, and at times quite original. There are Gorgon heads (Pl. XLII, Fig. 1 and 2), with waving locks, and grotesque men's heads with curling hair and large protruding animal ears, tied with ribbons. The latter are especially decorative and recall similar motives found in Renaissance art. The Victory figures (Pls. XXXIX and XLIV) crowning candelabra are also present, although they are not used in pairs in this case. An unusual motive is that of the small Attis figures used in connection with a conventionalized palmette design. Other compartments are decorated with small amorini or palmettes.

The design in the semicircular vault of the apse (Pl. XLV) has been very satisfactorily explained by Mr. Curtis<sup>1</sup> as Sappho taking her Leucadian leap. On the right, we have Sappho, veiled, carrying her lyre in her hand, in the act of stepping off the cliff, while a winged Cupid seems to be urging her from behind. Opposite, on another cliff stands a statue of the youthful Apollo with his bow. Below, in the water, which is represented by large wavy lines, there are two Tritons, one with a rudder and the other holding out a net to break the heroine's fall. A young man seated on the rocks below the Apollo has been identified as the unhappy Phaon.

Under this relief there is a splendid figure of Victory between two Orantes. The former stands erect on a pedestal, facing to the left, with long drooping wings on the

<sup>1</sup> C. D. CURTIS, *A. J. A.*, 1920, pp. 146 ff.

right. Over her left shoulder she carries a long palm branch, and in her outstretched right hand holds a wreath tied with a fillet. This is the Victory of certain coin types<sup>1</sup> and probably depends on a statue for a prototype. The body of the Victory and the two Orantes are badly damaged but all seem to have been more carefully modelled.

The walls, with the exception of the apse, are divided into panels forming a high dado. These panels are decorated with rustic shrines of various types. In one, we have a statue of Diana under a sacred tree, flanked by a dog and a deer. Although the tree resembles those of the Farnesina vaults, the technique and spirit of the scene is entirely different.

An interesting feature in the decorative scheme is seen in the portrait busts in high relief on the piers towards the side aisles. Of these only one (Pl. XLVI, Fig. 1) is fairly well preserved. It is seen in profile and has the thick lips and elongated skull of negroid types.

The walls and vault of the vestibule were also decorated with reliefs. The socles and a strip under the spring of the vault, were colored red with scenes in various colors, the remainder of the surface was divided into panels with rustic shrines. The vault around the light well is divided into variously shaped compartments (Pl. XLVIII) part of which are pure white while the rest have colored backgrounds. Two circular medallions stand out from the general design. Both are decorated with Maenads riding panthers (Pl. XLVI, Fig. 2). They are stiff and awkward in comparison to the similar motives in the Tomb of the Valerii. Among the other panels, one sees Cupids, treated as single motives or driving tiny chariots, catching butterflies, etc. There are also stylized female figures, Juppiter Ammon heads with long curling horns, resembling those in the vault of the Tomb of the Pancratii, and conventionalized flower designs.

The vault of the corridor must have been decorated with stuccoes and paintings for fragments were found in the earth when it was excavated<sup>2</sup>.

Prof. Cumont<sup>3</sup> finds much religious significance in the reliefs as a whole. The Victories allude to the triumph of the initiated over death. The mythical subjects, rape of Helen, freeing of Hesione, punishment of the Danaids, etc., are allegorical of the soul freed from earthly bonds and taken to heaven. The small Attis figures are emblems of immortality, while the gorgoneia are prophylactic. These interpretations fit in with his theory that the monument was used by the Neo-Pythagoreans. In a like manner, those who think the building was a tomb, can see funerary significance in the decoration. In considering the reliefs collectively, they seem to have more decorative and illustrative

<sup>1</sup> See legionary coins of M. Anthony, for instance, *Coins of Roman Republic*, *Brit. Mus. Cat.* II, p. 531 Nos. 227-8, Pl. CXVI, 16, 17.

<sup>2</sup> GATTI, *op. cit.*, p. 36.

<sup>3</sup> CUMONT, *La Basilique Souterraine*, *Rev. Arch.*, 1918, pp. 52 ff.

value than allegorical. Similar motives are found on all sorts of objects which have no funerary or religious meaning. The genre scenes, in particular, are found in terra cottas, metal work, vases and the like. The mythological scenes are comparable to similar subjects found in wall paintings.

From a study of the reliefs, which has been necessarily very cursory, it would seem from the style and technique, which vary greatly, that the decoration is much later than the Augustan age and must belong to the end of the first century of our era, at least. The texture of the stucco is coarse, especially in the side vaults; the surface lacks the finish and the clear cut modelling of the early work. The relief has the effect of having been applied upon the background without being worked in with it. Delicate details like wings, hair and the like are not modelled in the background or represented by incised lines but are applied and in that respect resemble the barbotine work on Italic vases. Many workmen must have had a share in the decoration, as one judges from the great variety shown in the modelling. Although some of the reliefs show an astonishing carelessness, on the whole they are executed with a remarkable surety of touch.

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## TOR DE' SCHIAVI.

On the ancient Via Praenestina, about two and a half miles from the Porta Maggiore are the picturesque ruins of the Villa Gordianorum, popularly called, the "Tor de' Schiavi". The periods shown by the construction vary from before Gordianus III to the Middle Ages. The lower part of the large octagonal hall, of which less than half now remains, belongs to the time of the Gordiani<sup>1</sup>. The hall had originally alternating rectangular and semicircular niches, and on the soffit of one of the former there still remain traces of the stucco decoration (Pl. XLIX, Figs. 2 and 3). The design is an all-over pattern of intersecting circles of bead mouldings. The centers of the circles were decorated with winged animals or marine monsters, while the smaller segments contained a motive formed by a flower rosette between two conventionalized buds or leaf sprays. The outer edge of the soffit has been destroyed but there are traces against the rear wall of the niche of a graceful border of leafy scrolls. A very good idea of the original decorative scheme may be gained from the design by Ronczewski, based on Piranesi's drawings<sup>2</sup>.

There are no traces of color, and if there ever were, time and weather have effaced them. The design is graceful and refined, and the work is accurate and delicate, showing no signs of decadence in technique or taste, as one would expect of such late decoration. The stucco composition shows a large proportion of plaster of Paris.

This completes the list of stucco reliefs of the Classical period which are still extant. There are various pieces of stucco decoration scattered around in the museums, and doubtless in private possession, which have not been included, mainly because of their very fragmentary character. In the Antiquario, there are a few bits, one of which shows a stylized female figure, which came from a Roman house excavated on the Esquiline<sup>3</sup>. In the Vatican, there are several large coffers with a curving surface which came from the vault of a tomb in the Vigna Moroni<sup>4</sup>. One represents Venus and Adonis and the other Jupiter, Neptune and Pluto. The workmanship is careless and doubts have been expressed as to the genuineness of the reliefs. In the National Museum, there are the fragmentary remains of a vault excavated at Castel Porziano, which are therefore outside the jurisdiction of the list<sup>5</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> ASHBY, *B. S. R.*, I, pp. 156 ff.; LUGLI, *Bull. Comm.*, 1915, p. 156, p. 165; Mrs. STRONG, *Apotheosis and After Life*, p. 210.

<sup>2</sup> RONCZEWSKI, *Gewölbeschmuck*, Pl. 23; PIRANESI, *Antichità Romana*, II, Pls. 29-30.

<sup>3</sup> HELBIG, *Führer*, 3<sup>d</sup> ed. I, p. 577.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.* I, Nos. 460-461.

<sup>5</sup> These have not as yet been published or catalogued.



## DESIGNS.

VAULTS.

The designs of stuccoed vaults are generally made by the mouldings which divide the surface into fields, panels or medallions of various sizes and geometric shapes, and they may therefore be classified according to the way the latter are formed and arranged<sup>1</sup>.

The simplest and most common designs are those based on their earlier prototype, the raftered ceiling, where wooden beams and cross beams formed a network of square compartments or coffers. The decorative quality of these coffers made them popular at an early date and they were eventually transferred in a variety of forms to vaults and ceilings where they had no structural justification. In the vaults and domes of monumental constructions, the coffers were sunk into the concrete itself and then decorated<sup>2</sup>. Stucco, which lent itself to this purpose remarkably well, was the ordinary medium used. A layer of it covered the surfaces, and enriched mouldings, rosettes, and other ornamental features of the same material were applied from moulds. On smaller vaults and ceilings, real coffers were not made but were simulated by means of painted bands or by stucco mouldings<sup>3</sup>. The profiles of the latter might be wide and heavy as in the vaulted passage under San Sebastiano, or very fine and delicate if the emphasis was to be on the ornamental motives rather than on the framework of the ceiling. Rosettes, simple or elaborate, were at all times the natural and popular decoration for the centers of the coffers, but as substitutes, we sometimes find dancing putti, maenads, animals, scrolls, etc. In many vaults, large panels or fields covering the space of several of the coffers are placed at symmetric intervals in order to gain larger and more convenient surfaces

<sup>1</sup> RONCZEWSKI, *Gewölbeschmuck*, pp. 11 ff., classifies vault and ceiling designs under four heads; the *architectonic*, *decorative*, *geometric* and *rhythmic*. "The architectonic is based on coffers. The decorative includes those designs which cover the surface in fields, the form and arrangement of which is thought to be sufficiently decorative without presupposing a coffered design. The main object of this class is to present relief pictures of various content, which stand in close connection with the division of the surface, so that without the reliefs in question, the form and size of the fields would have no justification. The geometric class is similar to, yet different from the above. The fields, generally of geometric form, are bordered as separate units and combined according to a preconceived plan. Those designs are

rhythmic which are composed by the rhythmic repetition of certain field motives. This is true also of the first class, but the fourth class includes only those fields which can not be assigned to the coffer group". This classification does not seem entirely clear and logical, and at times is too complicated for convenience.

<sup>2</sup> An example of such coffering may be seen in the lofty rooms on the Palatine near the south western corner of the Stadium.

<sup>3</sup> ISID., *Etym.*, XIX, 12, describes such coffers: "Laquearia sunt quae cameram subtegunt et ornant, quae et lacunaria dicuntur quod lacus quosdam quadratos vel rotundos ligno vel gypso vel coloribus habeat pictos cum signis intermicantibus".

for decoration. In some instances, so much elaboration and so many variations have been effected that it is difficult to recognize the underlying coffer designs.

A system of square coffers decorates the vault of the inner chamber of the third tomb under San Sebastiano, while an hexagonal coffer design covers the passageway of the second tomb. Unless one includes the vaults of the Colosseum, which are so damaged that one can not be positive about the designs, these are the only examples of the use of pure coffers without intruding panels. The arches in the Colosseum, the crypto-porticus on the Palatine, and the vault under San Clemente are based on coffers but the larger panels which have been inserted cover most of the space. The arched entrance to the Tomb of the Valerii and the arches along the so-called Bridge of Caligula belong to the same class, although nearly all resemblance to a coffered design has been lost.

A second class of vault designs, resembling at times the first class, but developing from a different origin, includes the circle all-over patterns. These all-overs, which are also found earlier in Egyptian and Cretan art, enjoyed a long popularity in Roman and Pompeian decoration. In one of the Republican houses under the Flavian palace on the Palatine, there is a good example of such a pattern where the design is formed by tangent circles of painted scroll motives<sup>1</sup>. In the centers of these circles there are smaller ones, outlined by stucco mouldings and decorated by small stucco figures on a colored ground. In Pompeii in the House of the Amorini Dorati, there is a flat ceiling with the design of intersecting circles made by simple stucco motives. In the Stabian Baths, a more complicated decorative scheme of circular medallions framed by several rows of plain and elaborate mouldings and connected by interlaces, covers a barrel vault. Medallions and intervening spaces are decorated by floating nymphs, swans etc., in stucco, while the interlacing bands and the borders are accentuated by colors.

In Rome, during the period to which we have limited our study of stucco reliefs, there were similar designs executed without the use of color. In the passageway of the third tomb at San Sebastiano, the circles are connected by short strips of stucco. Both the circles and the spaces between them are decorated simply with rosettes. In the Tomb of the Valerii, the design is more ornate and delicate, as well as on a larger scale. The circular medallions have a finer profile and frame nymphs riding sea monsters, bacchantes and the like. The cross shaped interstices contain rosettes in square compartments which are surrounded by elaborate scroll designs. The only example of intersecting circles is to be found in the soffit of the niche of the octagonal hall at Tor de' Schiavi. Here the larger spaces are filled with winged animals while the smaller ones have a

<sup>1</sup> RONCZEWSKI, *Gewölbeschmuck*, p. 34, Fig. 21.

conventionalized flower motive. The effect of the designs of this class is particularly charming, especially when combined with ornamental figures as in the Tomb of the Valerii.

A third series of vaults has a decoration which may be called the carpet style. The prototypes of these were no doubt the ceilings of the East where real carpets or rugs were stretched across for decoration. The designs interpreted in stucco reliefs, with or without the use of color may be thought of as imitating a single rug, or even several rugs placed across each other at right angles. The single rug is composed of a central medallion, usually square, surrounded by concentric borders. We have examples of this in the two vaults of Hadrian's Villa, and in one of the vaults of Nero's Golden House. In the more complicated rug designs, the borders are highly ornamental with various geometric fields inserted symmetrically, and color often has a prominent place. Very good examples of these are found in the Tomb of the Pancratii and in the Volta Dorata of the Golden House of Nero. These are striking in their gorgeousness, but less artistic than some of the simpler designs.

The fourth group, which may be called the decorative, includes the Underground Basilica, the Farnesina vaults and the Tomb of the Arruntii. The designs of these vaults are composed of variously shaped fields, the sides of which are contiguous to one another and perpendicular or horizontal to the cornice line. The design in each case is symmetrical to each of the axes of the room, taken separately, but not to both axes at the same time. The division into compartments is subsidiary to the decorative scheme although the reliefs are all chosen with an idea as to their adjustment to the shapes of the former. Since the effect depends on the choice of motives and on their modelling and arrangement, it is natural that we find the richest variety and many of the most interesting reliefs in such designs.

The vault of the third tomb at San Sebastiano, with a free design of grape vines does not come under any of these categories. It is the only one of its kind in stucco decoration, although we find similar ones in fresco, as in the Tomb of Pomponius Hylas, and in a vault of the Catacombs of Domitilla. There is another in mosaic in a section of the vaulted ambulatory at Sta. Costanza. If there were more of these designs in stucco reliefs, they might be classified under floral decoration.

In the majority of these vault designs, we find a central medallion or panel which is emphasized by size, shape or elaborate border, and contains the most important relief. From its central position, which requires a form symmetrical to both axes of the room, such as a square or a circle, the medallion demands a motive which has no real orientation, or top and bottom. A flying or floating figure with wings and loose drapery can be made to fill the space artistically and at the same time without offending one's sense of appropriateness.

In the Tomb of the Pancratii we have the eagle of Jupiter, clutching a thunderbolt in its talons, and carrying the figure of a man, possibly Jupiter himself. The subject is a common one on lamps, coins and other objects. The central medallion of the Tomb of the Valerii is no different from the other circles of the same vault, except that it contains a veiled woman borne aloft on the back of a winged griffin. In the Underground Basilica we have a youth, identified as Ganymede, carried in the arms of a winged genius.

Mrs. Strong<sup>1</sup> interprets these so-called rape scenes as symbolic of the transit of the soul of the deceased to the Isles of the Blessed, or as an allusion to the resurrection of the soul. Such explanations for what are obviously the main motives in a sepulchral monument, are possible, the only difficulty being that similar scenes are found in buildings which have absolutely no funerary intention. For instance, among the stucco reliefs in the vault of the Tepidarium of the Forum Baths at Pompeii, there are two circular medallions, one of Ganymede and the eagle, and the other of a youth on the back of a griffin. In Nero's Golden House, the Volta Dorata<sup>2</sup> had as decoration in its central medallion, Jupiter seated on an eagle with a nude woman or a Ganymede. Were any of these in a tomb, symbolic significance would be attached to it. It seems reasonable, therefore, to suggest that this symbolism in the motives found in tombs, was by no means a controlling factor in their choice, and in many cases may not have been consciously present in the mind of the designer. This would be especially true in the cases where the rape scenes, dolphins, or allegorical myths have subordinate places in the design and are used for purely decorative purposes.

We also have a few instances where the central motive is filled with a conventionalized design, as in the second tomb under San Sebastiano, and the palaestra at Hadrian's Villa, and probably also in the Farnesina vaults. Unfortunately, the central medallion in many of the vault designs is damaged or lacking, which deprives us of valuable comparative material.

### WALLS.

An interesting and logical use of stucco relief work is found in its adaptation to wall decorations of the Second Style. Stucco had already been used in the First Style to imitate blocks of marble cut with beveled edges, so it was but a natural step to interpret the columns, cornices and other architectural features of the Second Style by

<sup>1</sup> Mrs. STRONG, *Apotheosis and After Life*, pp. 207 ff.

<sup>2</sup> WEEGE, *Jahrb.*, 1913, p. 176.

means of the same material. This Second Style, moreover, sought to represent a "real" architecture with true perspectives as contrasted with the fanciful and structurally impossible decoration that developed later. By treating the architectonic divisions which were represented as projecting from the main surface, in a material which actually did project and give the right effects of light and shade, the realism was intensified. Stucco used for such purposes was easily applied and required no particular skill. Only mechanical labor was necessary to run the columns and the mouldings which formed the architectural framework. The intervening spaces could be decorated by frescoes, by stucco reliefs, or by a combination of both, and could be as elaborate or as simple as the patron desired.

On the walls of the Palaestra and on the lunettes of the Men's Apodyterium of the Stabian Baths in Pompeii, this use of stucco for the architectural elements, combined with color and real stucco reliefs, is quite complicated and ornate. In Rome, however, it is more simple and refined and accordingly more charming. This may be seen especially on the walls of the small rooms along the so-called Bridge of Caligula on the Palatine, in spite of the fact that the original colors are badly faded, and the reliefs are badly damaged. Other examples in Rome of this architectural style of wall decoration supplemented by stucco reliefs, are to be found in the lunettes of the Tomb of the Pancratii, the frieze at Domitian's Alban Villa and the entrance of the Colosseum.

In the Tomb of the Pancratii, the architecture is real, but subdued and dignified and appears subsidiary to the color scheme and the three stucco figures which decorate the main panels. The slender columns, fluted and adorned with composite capitals, support a cornice formed of several simple mouldings, seen in perspective. In the frieze of the theater of Domitian's Alban Villa, the architecture is less substantially supported but is realistic and has excellent perspectives. The arched niches are especially convincing. No color was used in this case, so the architecture is practically as prominent in the decorative scheme as are the figures. The imitation of a stage front, which is very evident, is remarkably well adapted to the purpose of the building. The stucco on the walls of the entrance passageway of the Colosseum is unfortunately too damaged and discolored for one to determine whether color was used or not, or what the design, as a whole, was. The details are fine and on a small scale but more elaborate than in the above examples.

## MOTIVES.

These stucco reliefs which we have examined were influenced by the contemporary phases of Roman culture, and we therefore find many of the same motives that appear in the other branches of art of the same period. It is not possible to determine in all cases the ultimate source from which the stucco worker drew his inspiration. For instance, one can not tell whether the stuccoes were influenced by the terra cotta plaques, which they often resemble, or whether the terra cottas were influenced by the stuccoes, or even if both had no connection with each other and depended on some other factor. We must therefore confine ourselves to a consideration of the more immediately comparative material, the characteristics of which the stucco worker may well have copied or imitated. A careful study of his art reveals the fact that the majority of his designs, whether ornamental or decorative may be traced back to classical sources, Greek or the later Hellenistic and Alexandrian.

There was a strong tendency in classical art to imitate the designs of one material in another. This was particularly true in the Augustan Age, when we find the same styles and compositions appearing in marble reliefs, terra cottas, vases, wall paintings, and stucco work. In general this was because they were imitations in turn of well known works of art of the Hellenistic period. None of our stucco reliefs can be identified as exact copies but many are obviously adaptations of previous works of art.

Hellenistic Reliefs with their genre and idyllic scenes, attempting realistic landscapes<sup>1</sup>, full of vigor and freedom, are prototypes for certain reliefs in the Farnesina vaults. Landscape elements were also absorbed from wall paintings, especially from those of the Second Style depicting a terrain more Alexandrian than Roman. The Neo Attic reliefs<sup>2</sup>, with their tendency to archaism, show their influence over the graceful but somewhat affected poses and draperies of many of the figures as well as over the more stylized Victories. These figures consequently often resemble motives found on Arretine vases<sup>3</sup> and the terra cotta plaques<sup>4</sup> which had a common origin. The mythical scenes were determined probably as much by the literature of the period and by the Hellenistic religious cults as by Greek paintings and sculpture. Dionysiac subjects, Attis figures, mythical representations which could be given allegorical meanings and obscure incidents from legendary lore are illustrations of this. Certain designs seem to have come from

<sup>1</sup> SCHREIBER, *Hellenistische Reliefbilder*, Plates.

<sup>2</sup> HAUSER, *Die Neu-attischen Reliefs*, pp. 1 ff.

<sup>3</sup> OSWALD and PRYCE, *Terra Sigillata*, pp. 238 f.

<sup>4</sup> ROHDEN, *Die Antiken Terrakotten*, IV, 2, Pls. XXXIV, XXXV etc.

the metal work popular at the time, and others were probably derived directly from plant and animal life.

The problem of the stucco worker was to choose designs and motives which could be adapted to the various compartments and at the same time harmonize with each other and the main decorative scheme. Thanks to the medium he worked in, and to the employment of a method both expeditious and practical, working free hand quickly before the plaster could dry, the result was full of spirit, freedom, and originality, although certain motives were used over and over again. Some of the more important decorative features will now be discussed.

#### LANDSCAPES.

The landscapes which appear in our stucco reliefs may be divided into two classes: those which are treated as independent pictures, and those which serve as backgrounds. The landscape relief is a development of the Hellenistic age although the idea of it appears earlier in Greek art. At first the Greek artists were concerned only in representing the figures of their gods and heroes with the attributes which served to identify them. There was no attempt at a background, although, occasionally, as in the Monument of Lysicrates, a tree or similar object appears as an accessory or a means of localizing the scene. It was but a matter of time for rocks, trees, a religious shrine or enclosure wall of a building, to appear as real backgrounds, such as we find in the Hellenistic pictorial reliefs. Then a further development occurred<sup>1</sup>, or rather a separation of ideas. We get one group which has become a pure landscape with rural shrines, sacred enclosures, columns and trees. The other becomes purely architectural and we see facades of temples, walls, or house interiors as backgrounds, and although it does not entirely leave the field of relief, it becomes more important in painting and a regular part of pictures or the Second and Fourth Styles. Alexandrian art, with its love of the genre and idyllic, recognized the possibilities of the landscape as such, and brought it forth from its subordinate position as background.

In stucco work, the first class of landscapes — the pure landscape, appearing as an independent picture, is very much under this Alexandrian influence<sup>2</sup>. The emphasis is on the terrain and the figures of human beings and animals are merely accessories. In spirit and effect, these landscapes are far from relief work and closely allied to frescoes. It is probable that they are based on painted originals, and in turn served as models

<sup>1</sup> ROSTOWZEW, *Die hellenistisch-römische Architektur-landschaft*, *Röm. Mitt.*, 1911, p. 107.

<sup>2</sup> R. PAGENSTECHER, *Über das landschaftliche Relief bei den Griechen*, 1919, pp. 23 ff.

for certain of the marble reliefs<sup>1</sup>. The comparison between the landscape reliefs of the Farnesina vaults and some of the wall paintings of Rome is worthy of attention. The yellow frieze of the right ala of the House of Livia<sup>2</sup> on the Palatine, is merely a continuous landscape in monochrome, with the same characteristic scenery and accessories that we find in the stucco reliefs. Certain landscape scenes from the wall paintings of the Farnesina<sup>3</sup>, the frieze from the columbarium in the Villa Pamphili<sup>4</sup>, and another in the Villa Albani<sup>5</sup>, are also of the same type. In the frescoes, the artist has usually sought to render nature by a detailed and careful imitation rather than by the skilful suggestion of natural effects. In the stucco reliefs, the problem was different, because of the material. Due to the small scale and very low relief, details had to be suggested rather than drawn and the effect is accordingly more realistic. The presence of water is merely indicated by a bridge, or by a fisher, and the ground merges into the sky without any horizon line. Trees, shrines and people are sketched in, rather than drawn, so as to produce a picture resembling a Japanese water color in spirit and effect.

Although based on Alexandrian originals, there is little Egyptian influence in the stucco landscapes unless one considers as such the straw roof on one of the buildings and the palm trees. Pygmies, camels and other objects of a tropical nature which appear in Pompeian paintings and in some of the landscape mosaics, are not present. The rocky hilly landscapes are more suggestive of Sicily, Magna Graecia or Greece proper than of Rome and the Campanian cities. The predominant feature in all the reliefs is the sacred and idyllic character. The sacred tree is ever present and with it are sacred columns, gates, schola, shrines, statues of the gods, altars and porticoes. The idyllic note is struck in the cattle peacefully grazing in the foregrounds, and in the fishers or country people treated as accessories.

The technique of the modelling is very good and the perspectives are excellent in most cases. The human figures are very lifelike in spite of their sketchy treatment and the small scale on which they are made. They are nearly all in motion but without the effect of restlessness. The cattle are especially fine, and are cleverly handled, and

<sup>1</sup> J. Sieveking in discussing plates 621-630 of BRUNN-BRUCKMAN's *Denkmäler griech. u. röm. Skulptur*, suggests that the Hellenistic reliefs with the emphasis on the landscapes were based on plaster models. PAGENSTECHER *op. cit.*, pp. 45 ff. goes even further and says that the plaster reliefs were not only models for the marble reliefs, but were the originals themselves. He calls attention to the great part plaster played in Alexandria and thinks such reliefs as the "Farmer driving the cow" (SCHREIBER, *Hell. Reliefbilder*, Pl. LXXX) can only be explained by assigning them to a stucco original. This

would also explain why these Hellenistic reliefs are all copies, and why no originals have been found.

<sup>2</sup> MAU, *Geschichte d. dec. Wandmalerei in Pompeii*, pp. 204 ff; ROSTOWZEW, *Röm. Mitt.*, 1911, pp. 12 ff., Pls. I-III.

<sup>3</sup> LESSING-MAU, *Wand-und-deckenschmuck*, Plates.

<sup>4</sup> SAMTER, *Röm. Mitt.*, 1893, pp. 105 ff.; ROSTOWZEW, *op. cit.*, pp. 26 ff.

<sup>5</sup> HELBIG, *Führer*, 3<sup>d</sup> ed., II, 1893; ROSTOWZEW, *op. cit.*, pp. 25 f.



the architecture, although fanciful is convincing. An air of peacefulness and simplicity is suggested which combines to give the landscapes an indescribable charm.

Closely connected with the Farnesina landscapes is the series of rustic shrines which appear as a socle decoration in the Underground Basilica. Here the relief is higher and on a larger scale, and one motive, isolated, serves as a decoration for a single panel. The large scale of the relief requires a different treatment and the modelling is not as well done, nor by as good an artist. Thus the effect is different, even though the technique employed in modelling the trees, for example, is the same.

The landscapes of the second class—those which serve as backgrounds, also appear in the Farnesina vaults in the eight Bacchic scenes. The emphasis is laid on the figures and the landscape elements, which are therefore subsidiary, are simplified. They are of the same type as those described above, but seen from closer at hand, so that the effect, though sketchy, is slightly different. There are practically no architectural details, no sacred enclosures, or porticoes. A sacred tree, a column and an altar with perhaps a herm, serve to localize the scene at a rustic shrine. In this respect, this class resembles some of the Hellenistic pictorial reliefs. One of these in the Naples Museum<sup>1</sup>, for instance, has as a background, a sacred column and a tree, and a natural rocky altar decorated with fillets, topped by a Priapus herm and a cista. These features in modelling and treatment are very like those of the stucco reliefs, discounting of course, the difference in materials.

#### HUMAN FIGURES.

When human figures appear in stucco reliefs, they usually become the most important element in the decorative scheme. Whether used singly or in groups, they are generally on a larger scale and in higher relief than the other motives and are given a strategic position in the design as, for example, in the central panels, or those along the spring of the vault, and others upon which the eye of the observer naturally rests. In subject, as well as in treatment, they vary considerably in accordance with the taste of the period and the skill of the modeller. The earlier ones reflect more strongly the Greek characteristics, softened by Alexandrian influence, which prevailed in the Augustan Age, while in the later reliefs, the modelling is bolder and broader and contours are left intentionally vague. The artists seems to have been aiming at effects of light and shade rather than at beauty of outline, and we realize that the modelling is intended to produce its effect from some distance.

<sup>1</sup> SCHREIBER, *op. cit.* Pl. LIV.

In the Farnesina vaults, which are the earliest of those under discussion, the reliefs are severe in style, smooth and minutely finished. They have the clear-cut beauty of outline one expects in cameo work, and the modelling loses none of its quality by a close examination. The treatment of the drapery and of the nude forms is equally well handled and nowhere surpassed in stucco decoration. The graceful figures of the Tomb of the Valerii are treated with less restraint, but are not less charming. The soft, effeminate types of the female form are displayed in a variety of poses, and with a sureness of touch which reveals a master hand. In absolute contrast to the above is the sketchy, crude and at times, stiff and faulty modelling of some of the subordinate reliefs in the Underground Basilica. From a distance the effect is striking but a close examination reveals many flaws which detract from the artistic merit. A Greek influence is noticeable, in practically all cases, in the costumes and hair arrangement.

The subjects of these reliefs seem to be the same as those which appear in the sculpture and frescoes of the period, although treated at times with a greater originality. We have several of the famous and almost hackneyed of the Homeric episodes represented in two of the reliefs of the Tomb of the Pancratii — that is, the Judgment of Paris and the Ransoming of Hector's Body. Other mythological subjects are chosen from the cycle of legends which gained popularity during the Alexandrian Period, such as the Theseus and Ariadne and the Hercules and Hebe of the theater at Castel Gandolfo, and the Liberation of Hesione, the Flaying of Marsyas, Jason and Medea, and the Punishment of the Danaids which appear in the Underground Basilica. Some of the reliefs give original or unusual versions of a well known myth. Examples of such are the other two reliefs of the Tomb of the Pancratii which portray incidents in the legends of Hercules and of Alcestis. The Phaethon reliefs of the Farnesina and the one of Sappho's Leap in the Underground Basilica (Pl. XLV) on the other hand, are themes which, though found in literature, are unusual in art.

There is a second group of subjects comprising the Maenads and Satyrs, the Nymphs, and other minor characters of Greek Mythology, appearing in the same variety of form and presentation that they do in Pompeian wall paintings. Lying on the border between the purely ornamental figures, like the Victories, for instance, and the pictorial reliefs described above, they were popular with the stucco decorator not so much for the subject as for the wonderful opportunity they offered him of representing beautiful and graceful forms.

The Bacchic reliefs of the Farnesina can not be classed with exactness under the mythological subjects, although Dionysus and his mysteries had a prominent position in legendary literature and were favorite subjects in Alexandrian art. The characters include human votaries and ministrants as well as the imaginary Bacchus, Silenus, Bacchantes and

Satyr. They are accordingly more or less connected with the genre scenes. The best examples of the genre reliefs are found in the Underground Basilica. We see the jugglers, pygmies, and other humorous characters of an Alexandrian origin and the school scenes of boys with their master, athletic scenes of various types, women dancing, or sacrificing, and the like.

The number of figures in one relief varies, but the favorite arrangement seems to have been to use two only — a Bacchante and a faun, a nymph with a sea monster, a hero or a god with the partner of one of his amours, etc. There are so many of the latter type, that of a man and a woman, where one of the figures is seated and the other is standing, that it is often impossible to determine just which pair and which incident is represented. In the stucco decoration at Prima Porta, and of the Bridge of Caligula, the imprint of several such compositions can be distinguished. The use of single figures seems to be confined almost entirely to the perpendicular surfaces of walls as in the frieze of Domitian's theater and the lunettes of the Tomb of the Pancratii.

#### VICTORIES.

Although originally a personified abstract quality, the Nike, or Victory, had acquired a firm position in the realm of pure ornament by Alexandrian times. A favorite in Roman art, she appears in various forms on all sorts of objects, and is a very popular motive in stucco decoration. As commonly used in the stucco reliefs, these figures have an archaistic character as they walk on tip-toe like the figures of the first century B. C. Indications can be seen of a compromise established between the Alexandrian taste, the lovely gracious, living art and the taste for archaism which charmed the Romans at the end of the Republic and in the Augustan Age. The same elements are found in the terra cottas, but the artists who modelled the stucco freehand on the vaults were less bound by tradition than those who made the moulds for the plaques according to old prototypes.

On the wall of the apse in the Underground Basilica (Pl. XLV), the Victory is given a position of importance and prominence, possibly with allegorical as well as decorative intent. She is not stylized, but is evidently a replica of a statue or similar type of Victory personified. The Victory in the lunette of the Tomb of the Pancratii again holds a prominent place, between two of the Olympian deities in fact, and is treated as a statue (Pl. XXXIII). She is crowned, and has as attributes a palm branch and a round shield.

The purely decorative Victories are apt to be stylized; their drapery, wings, and pose approach the stiff archaistic treatment we see in the figures of the Neo-Attic re-

liefs<sup>1</sup>. Even when the drapery is natural, there is an affected but graceful pose in the swirl of the folds, or in the tip-toe position of the figure. Often they appear in pairs, on either side of a candelabrum or thymiaterion or as decoration for companion panels. The Victories of this class are more numerous and appear at all periods of our reliefs. In the Farnesina, those of the first vault (Pl. I), which hold the swords and helmets, are purely decorative although they go back to the allegorical Victory who helps arm the hero. The affectation of pose and drapery is evident in spite of their originality and gracefulness. The seated Victory (Pl. I, Fig. 2) in the same vault is also treated with more freedom than most of the types of this class. Her position is unusual, but her wings have the archaizing curl, and she is pouring a libation in heraldic opposition to a companion figure (now lacking) before a candelabrum motive. In the other two vaults, the Victories are in the usual heraldic grouping with candelabra, and are more stylized.

A more pronounced stereotyped form is found in the Underground Basilica under the arches between the main and side aisles (Pls. XXXVI, XXXVII), and in the lunettes at the ends of the side aisles. These Victories stand stiffly on small plant calyxes, with their skirts drawn in at the bottom. Their wings are raised, and their elbows are held tightly at their sides although their hands are extended, each holding a flower. There are similar Victories holding patera in the angles of the borders surrounding the large rectangular reliefs in the vault of the Tomb of the Pancratii. The drawings of the Tomb of the Arruntii show that there were three types of victories in the one vault. Some were like those last mentioned in the diamond shaped fields, holding fillets in their outstretched hands<sup>2</sup>. Others served as candelabra or caryatid figures, and still others as grotesques carrying horns.

#### CUPIDS.

The cupid, putto or amorino, with its round chubby body and little wings, furnished Alexandrian art, and incidentally the Roman, with one of its favorite motives. Because of its highly ornamental quality, it was especially popular in stucco decoration. Amorini playing games fill the panels in the Palatine cryptoporticus and the vaults of the Colosseum. In these instances, they resemble the frescoes of the House of the Vettii at Pompeii, where Cupids enact scenes from daily life.

Cupids are also used singly to fill small panels and compartments, and especially in coffered to take the place of rosettes. As such, we find them in the Tomb of the

<sup>1</sup> HAUSER, *Die neu-attischen Reliefs*, pp. 4 ff.

<sup>2</sup> Mrs. STRONG, *Apotheosis and After Life*, p. 209,

refers to these figures as genii with symbolic intent, but to me they seem to be merely decorative Victories.

Valerii, and in the coffers of the first two mentioned monuments. Under these circumstances, they are dancing along, with a bit of fluttering drapery and holding an object of some sort in their little arms. They almost seem to be illustrations for a poem from the Planudean Appendix, where the poet says: " Look how the Loves delight in their spoils; look how, in childish triumph, they wear the weapons of the gods on their sturdy shoulders: the tamborine and thyrsus of Bacchus, the thunderbolt of Zeus, the shield of Ares and his plumed helmet, the quiver of Phoebus well stocked with arrows, the trident of the sea-god, and the club from the strong hands of Hercules " <sup>1</sup>.

In the Tomb of the Pancratii, they are stylized and in the Baths of Hadrian's Villa, they are used in pairs with a candelabrum motive as decoration for some of the smaller fields. In the Farnesina vaults, they appear as grotesques in several of the friezes — a motive which reached the height of popularity during the Renaissance.

#### GRIFFINS AND SPHINXES.

The griffin and sphinx, fabulous, composite creatures originally imported from the East, were often used in stucco work. The former is usually represented with a crested eagle's head, a lion's body, and wings, while the latter has a female head, a lion or panther body, and wings. Mythically, the griffin was supposed to symbolize the evil spirit, the spirit of darkness or destruction, while both animals were regarded as prophylactic and as guardians. In this last role, the sphinx appears on either side the doorways of Assyrian palaces and in heraldic grouping with the Tree of Life.

In Roman art, and in stucco reliefs in particular, these animals are generally represented in heraldic grouping on either side of a candelabrum, vase, or other central motive. The types are interchangeable and the stereotyped forms are altered according to the caprice of the artist until all semblance to the originals is lost. Accordingly, the body and head may be adapted from any beast or bird of the real or imaginary world, the wings may be simple or elaborate, and the body, as often as not, diminishes into a tail curling up into large plant volutes. In a lunette of a Republican house under the Flavian Palace on the Palatine, we have two large griffins with volute tails. In the Farnesina reliefs, the griffin and sphinx grotesques are at the height of decorative usefulness. Nowhere are they more attractive and varied. Some are horned and bearded; others have Serapis, panther or women's heads. In the Underground Basilica, in the side aisles along the spring of the vault, we have a band of griffins to the right and left of large jars. They stand quietly on their four feet and resemble a similar band

<sup>1</sup> Greek Anthology, Loeb Tr. V, Secundus, *Planudean App.*, Nos, 214, 215.

of animals in Piranesi's drawings of the Tomb of the Arruntii. They appear, crouching or standing, facing or turned from lyres, plants, vases or gorgoneia in the minor compartments of the Tomb of the Pancratii. As single figures, in conjunction with winged cows, horses, fish etc., they fill the larger spaces in the stucco decoration of the small niche at Tor de' Schiavi.

In no case has the monster had a prominent place in the decoration. He is everywhere subsidiary in the general design and can not be considered as symbolical. He is conceived as purely decorative and ornamental and not as a funerary emblem. The motive is found in many tombs, but also in private houses and on public monuments.

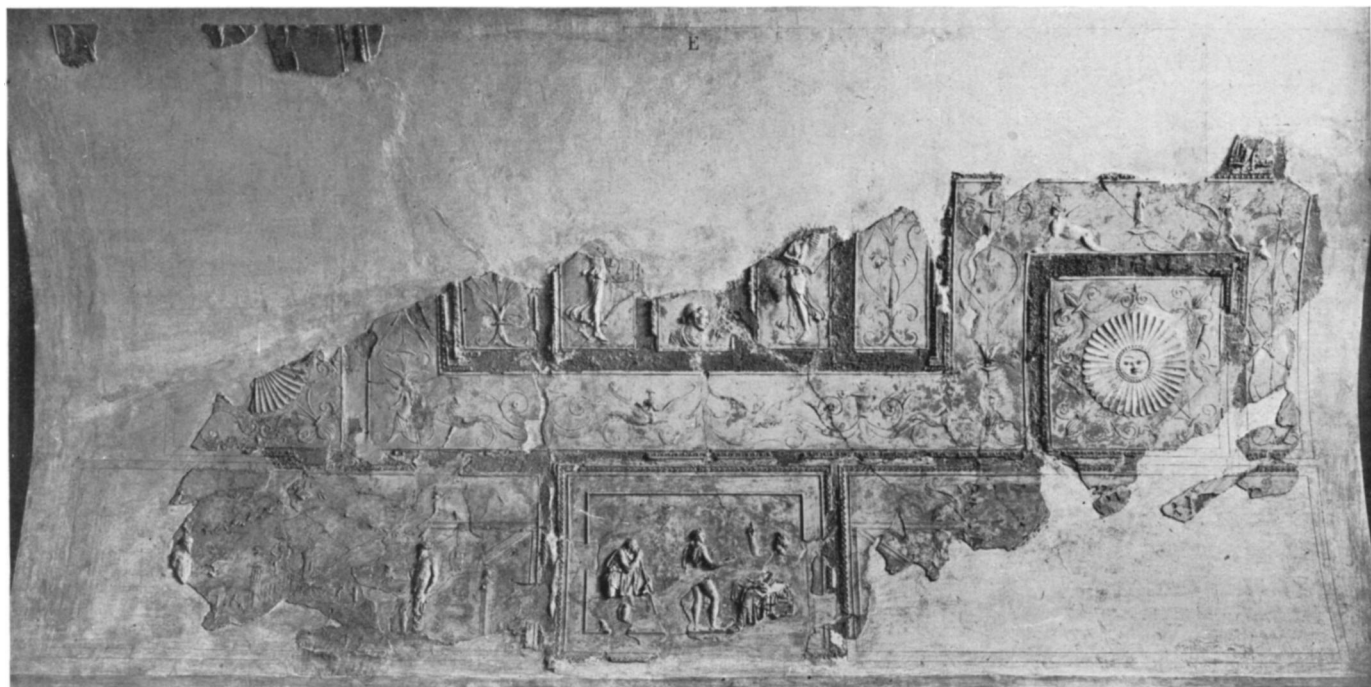
#### MINOR MOTIVES.

There are numerous minor motives, used as fillers mainly, in subordinate panels, borders, and the like, which are almost submerged in the decorative scheme, but which have their own artistic usefulness. Dolphins and sea monsters of hybrid types are often used in these circumstances. At times they are conventionalized and used in pairs with their tails intertwining, as for instance, in the design under the niches of the third tomb under San Sebastiano, the borders in the cryptoporticus of the Palatine, and in the fragments of vault in the underground passage of the Colosseum. In the Tomb of the Valerii, the main decorative elements are the dolphins and various sea monsters, either used alone, or carrying a Nereid on its back. One has only to look at these animals with their long curling tails and feathery fins to realize their true ornamental quality.

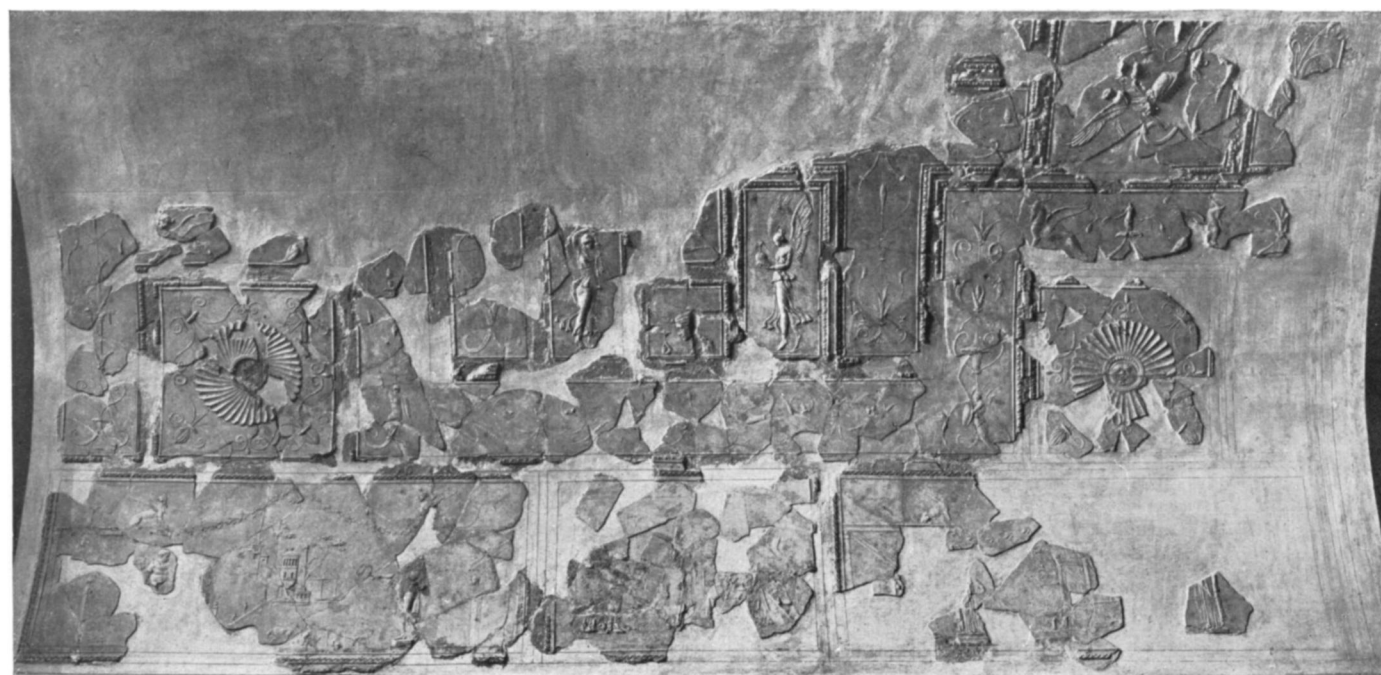
Gorgoneia, which originally may have been used with prophylactic intent, in stucco work are merely decorative. Their form makes them especially adapted to small round or square compartments. Like them in this respect, are the various other mask motives, sun faces, and the like. In different forms, we find them in the Underground Basilica and the Tomb of the Pancratii.

Tall narrow spaces are admirably filled by candelabra, all more ornamental than realistic. The fancy of the stucco worker often ran riot with this motive as we see in the Farnesina reliefs. Simpler examples are to be found in the Underground Basilica and the Tomb of the Arruntii. In the frieze at Castel Gandolfo, the candelabrum, very attenuated, becomes the division between panels.

Shells, modelled architecturally or on a flat surface as a decorative motive, vases, cult implements, trophies and other weapons, rosettes, and various small animal figures are used in some of the more elaborate designs. Rinceaux, Greek frets, and the guilloche are also found in borders and bandings, but may be classed with the egg and dart or water leaf mouldings as structural ornament in the majority of cases.



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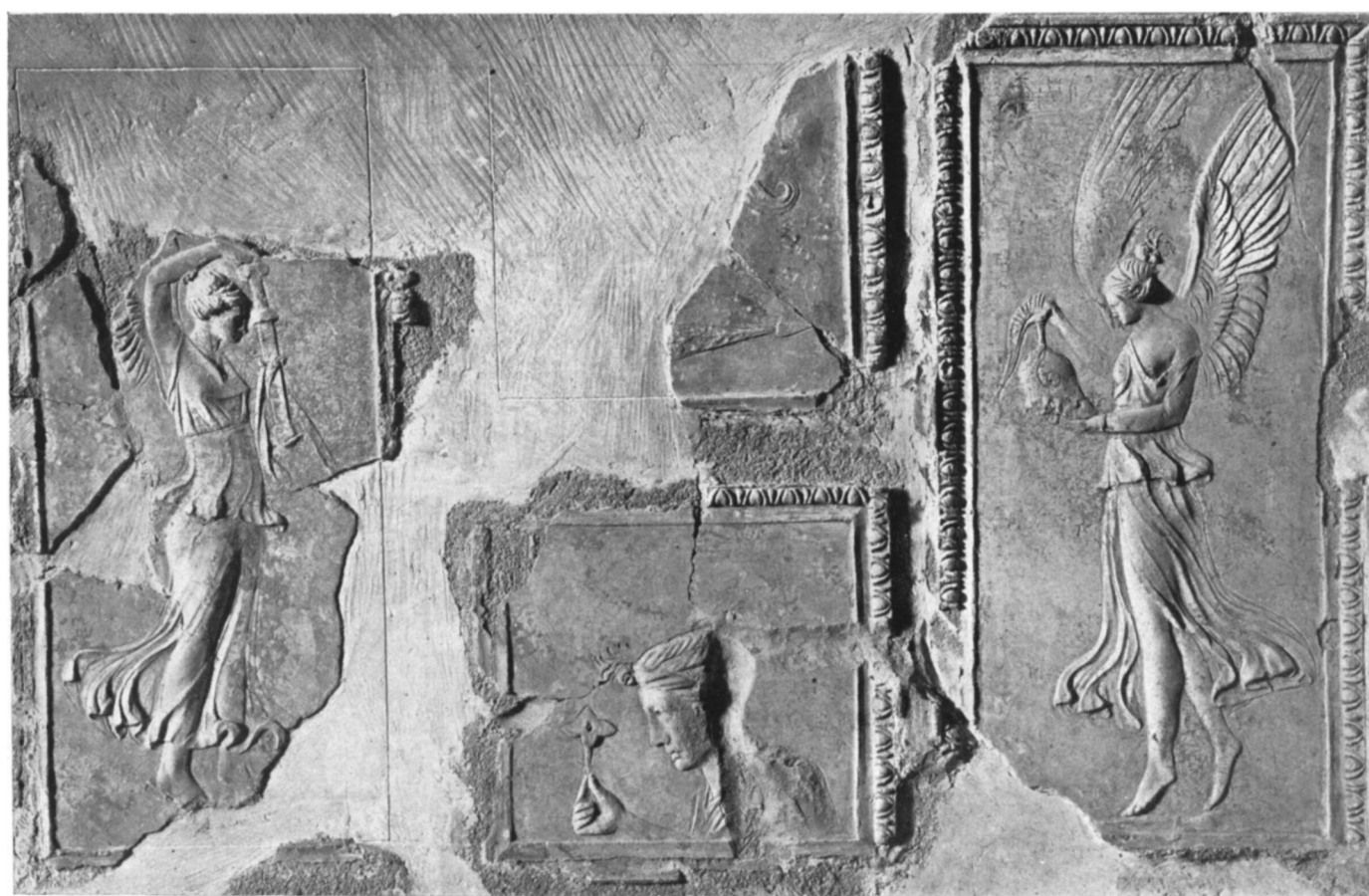
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1, 2, Museo delle Terme. Farnesina. (pp. 23 ff.).





1 (p. 24).



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1, 2, Museo delle Terme. Farnesina.

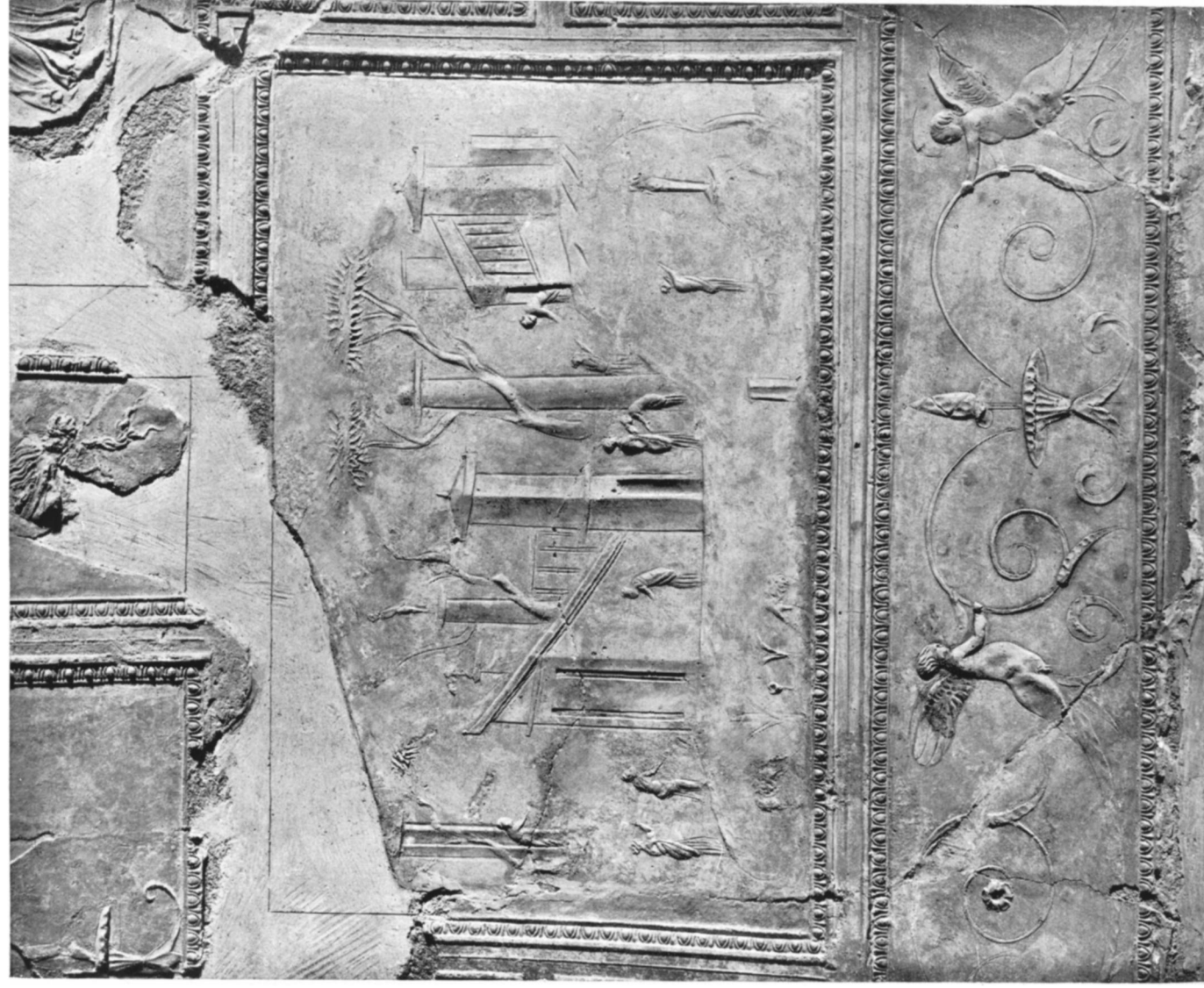




Museo delle Terme. Farnesina. (pp. 25 f.).



1 (p. 27).



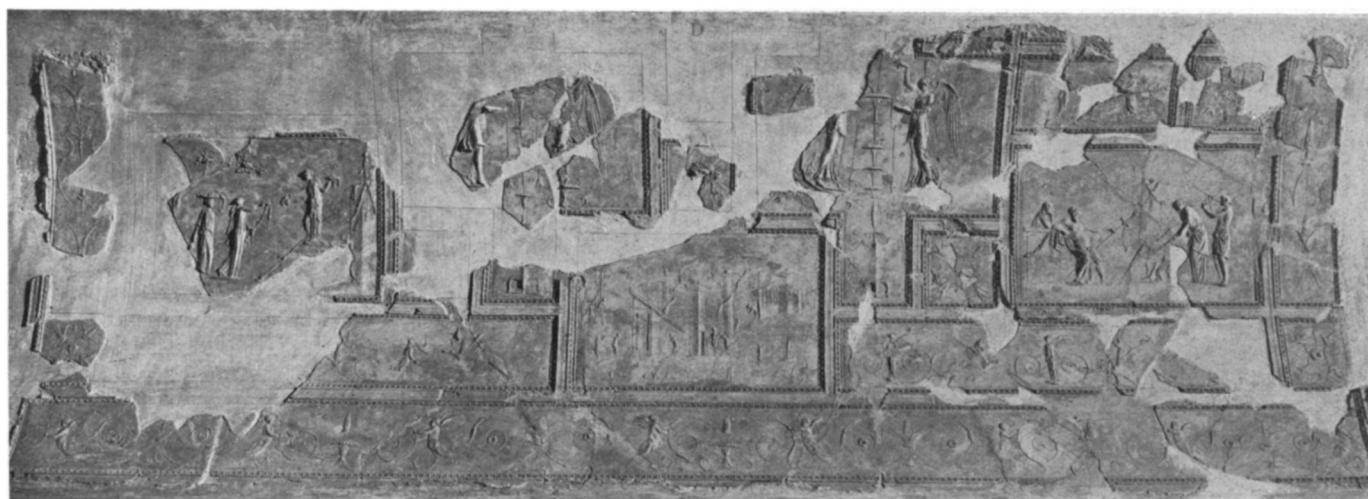
2 (p. 28).

1, 2, Museo delle Terme. Farnesina.



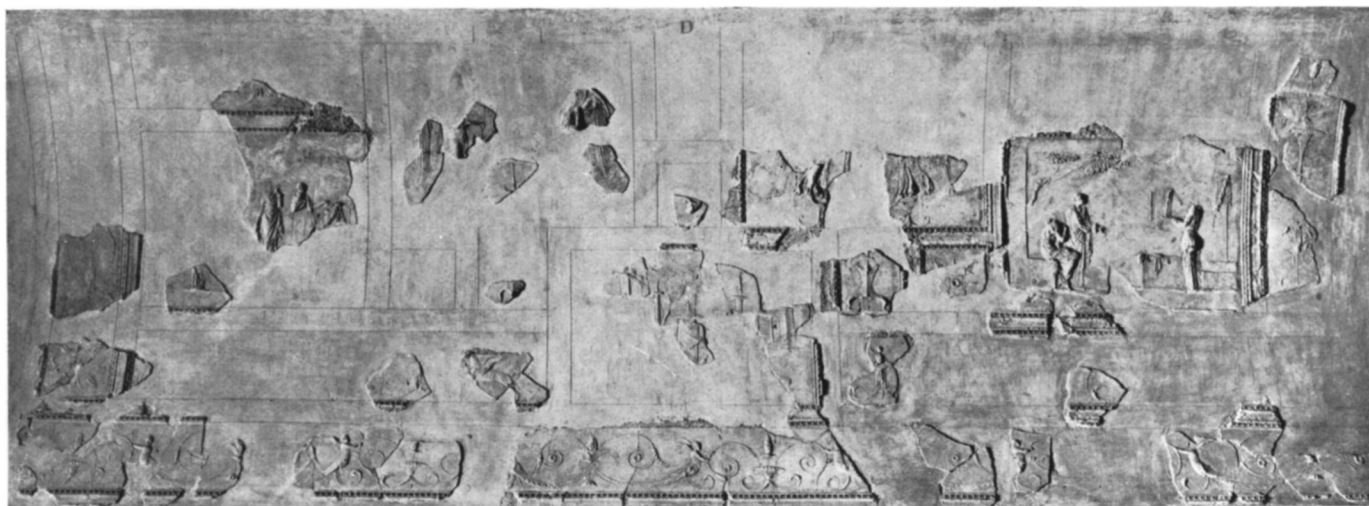


1 (p. 25).



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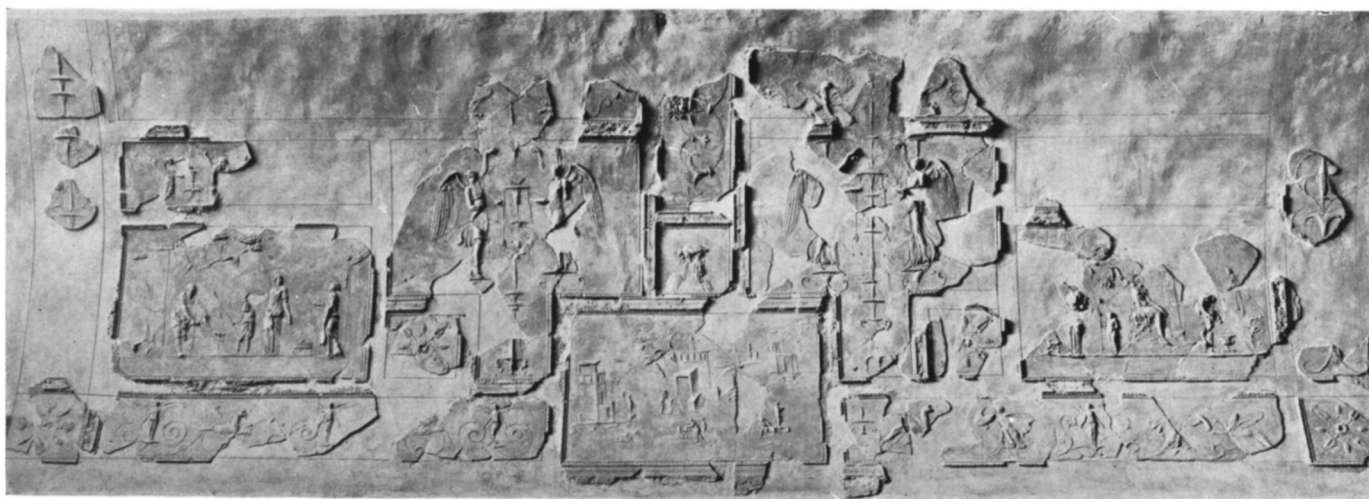
Museo delle Terme. Farnesina.



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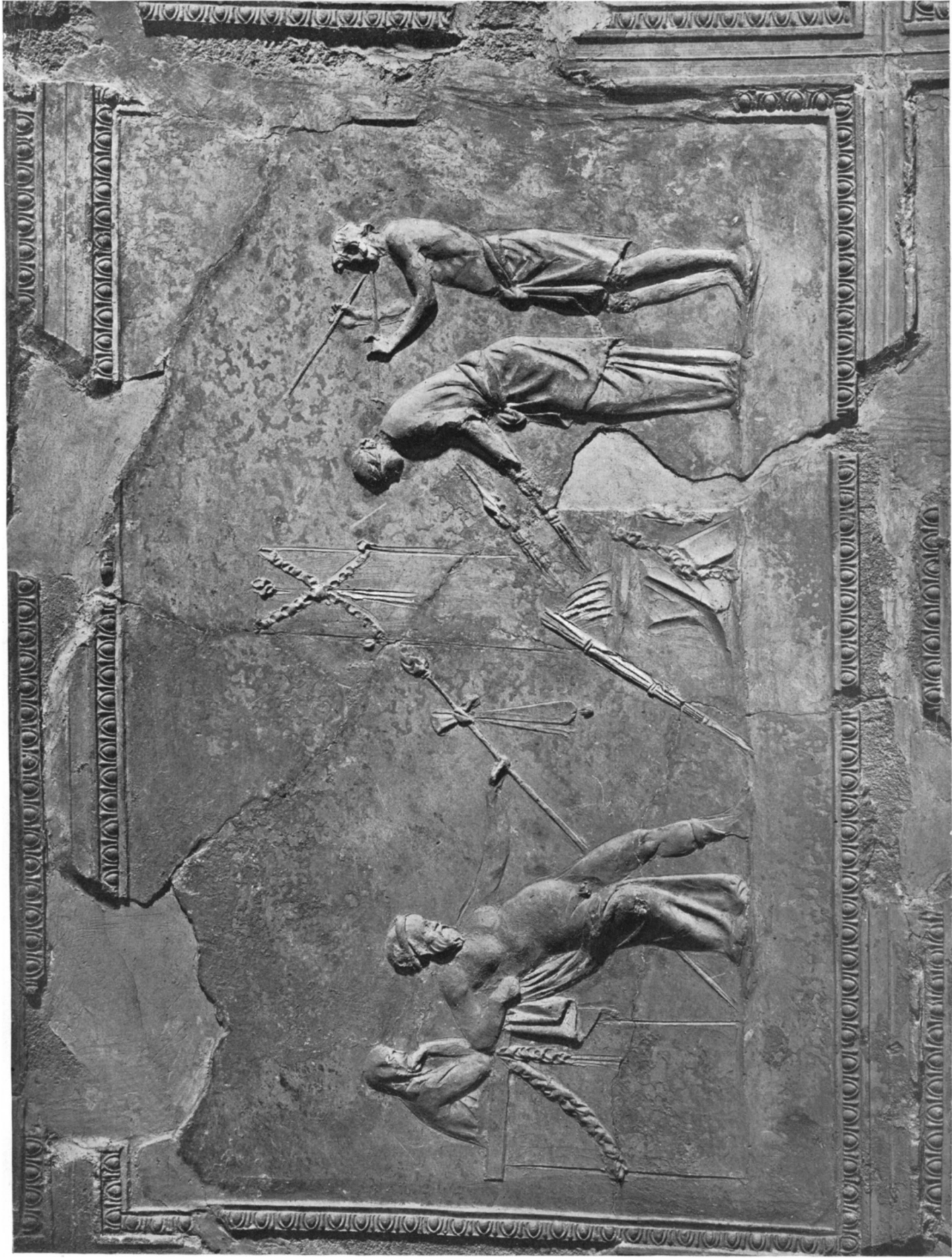


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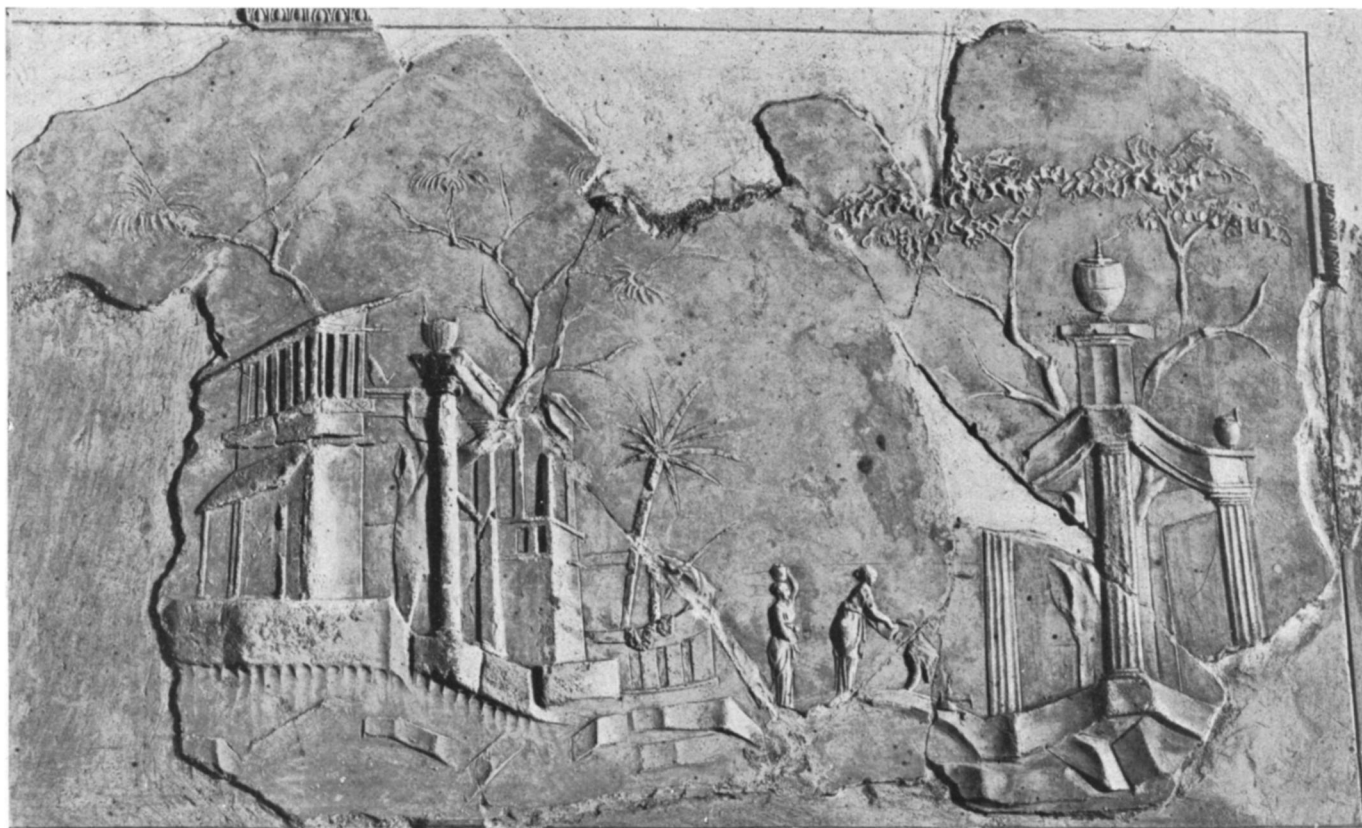
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1-3, Museo delle Terme. Farnesina.



Museo delle Terme. Farnesina. (p. 29).



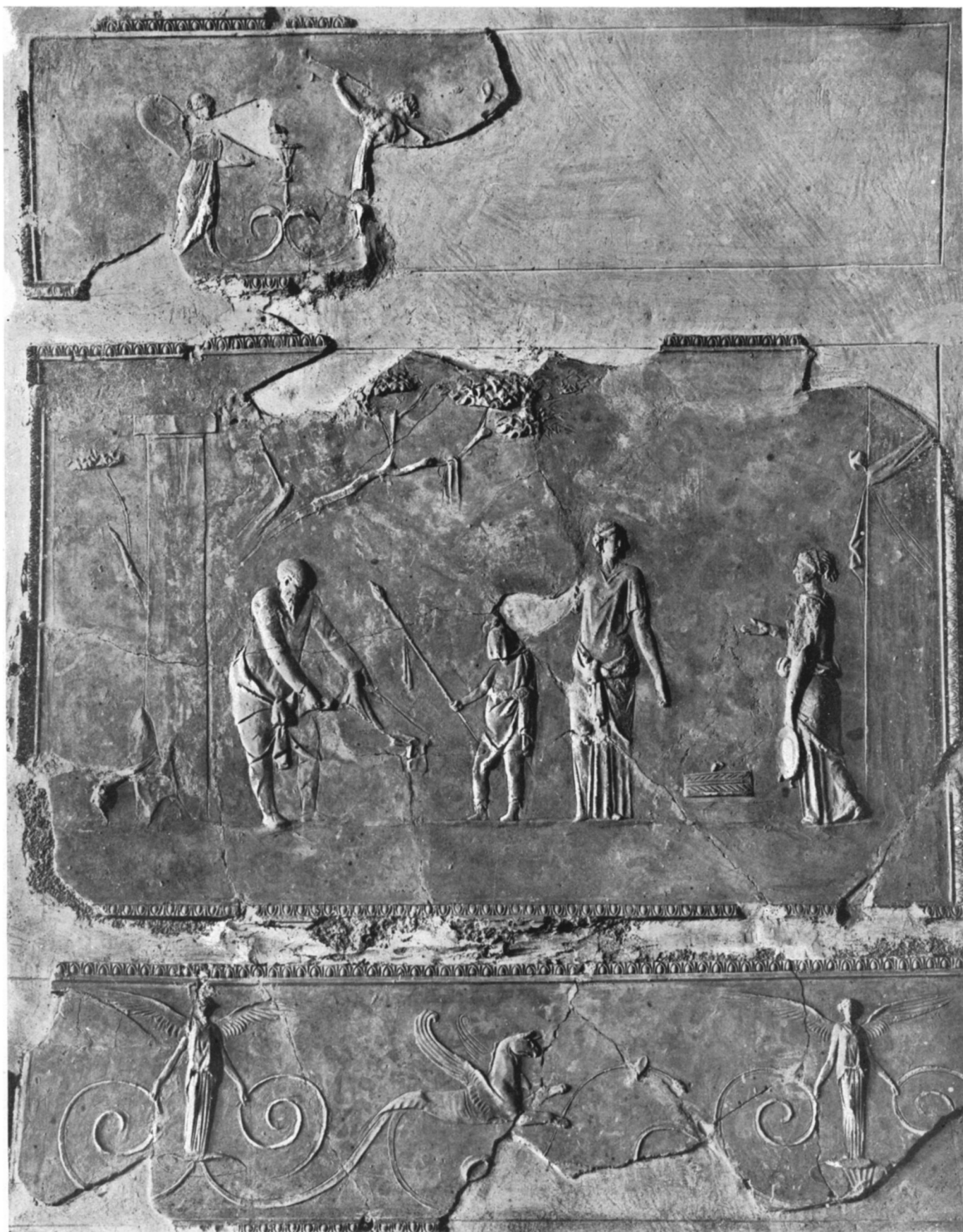


1 (p. 30).



2 (p. 31)

1, 2, Museo delle Terme. Farnesina.



Museo delle Terme. Farnesina. (p. 33).



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1, Prima Porta, Villa of Livia. (p. 35).  
2, 3, Colosseum. (pp. 41 ff.).

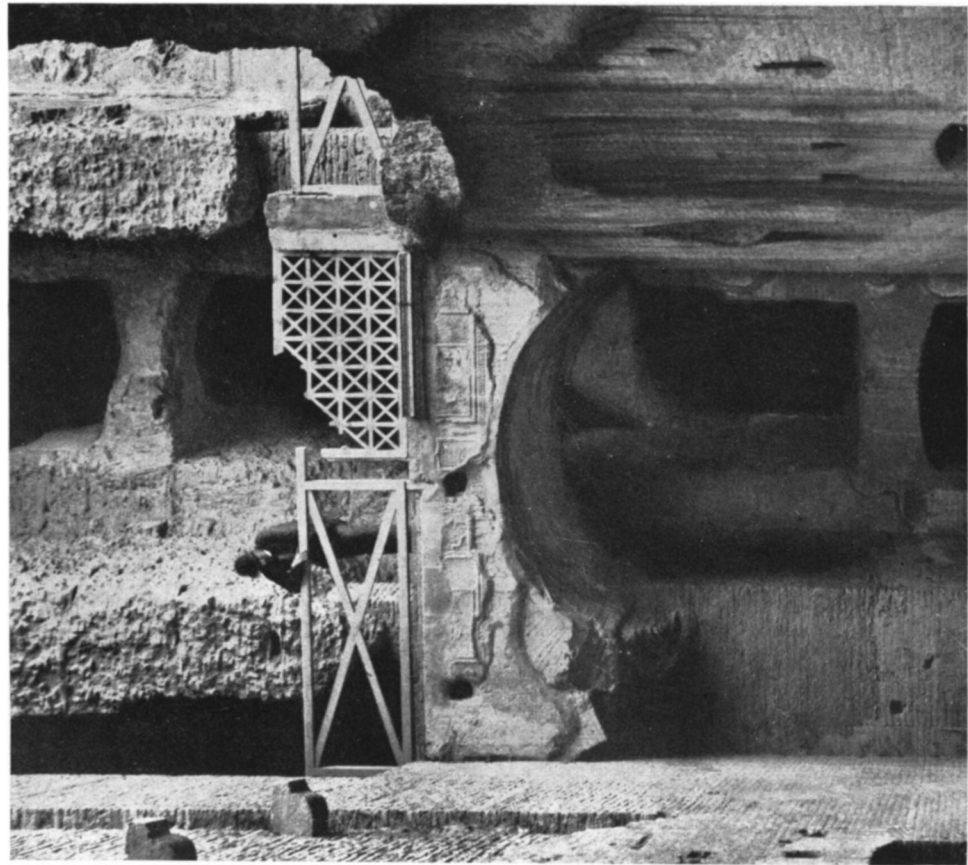




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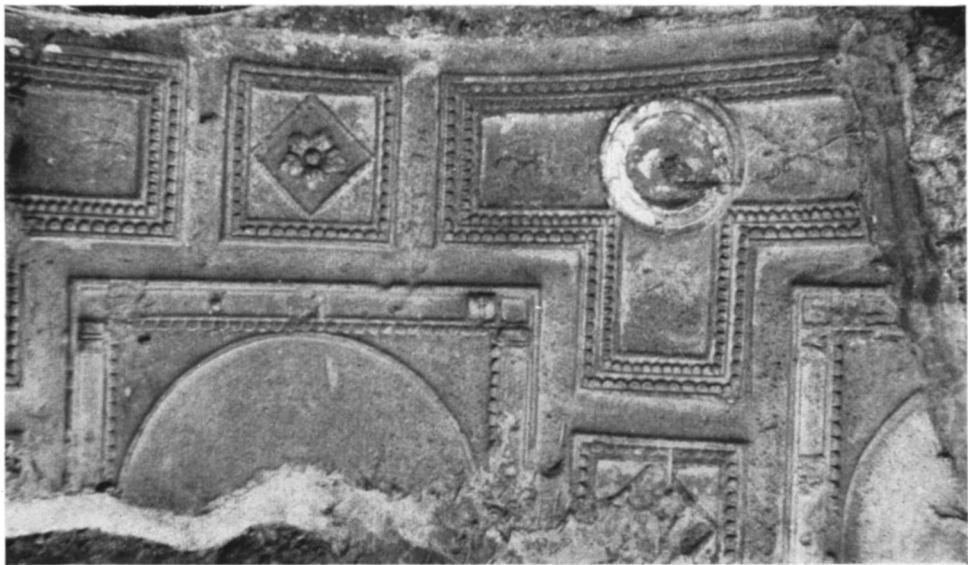
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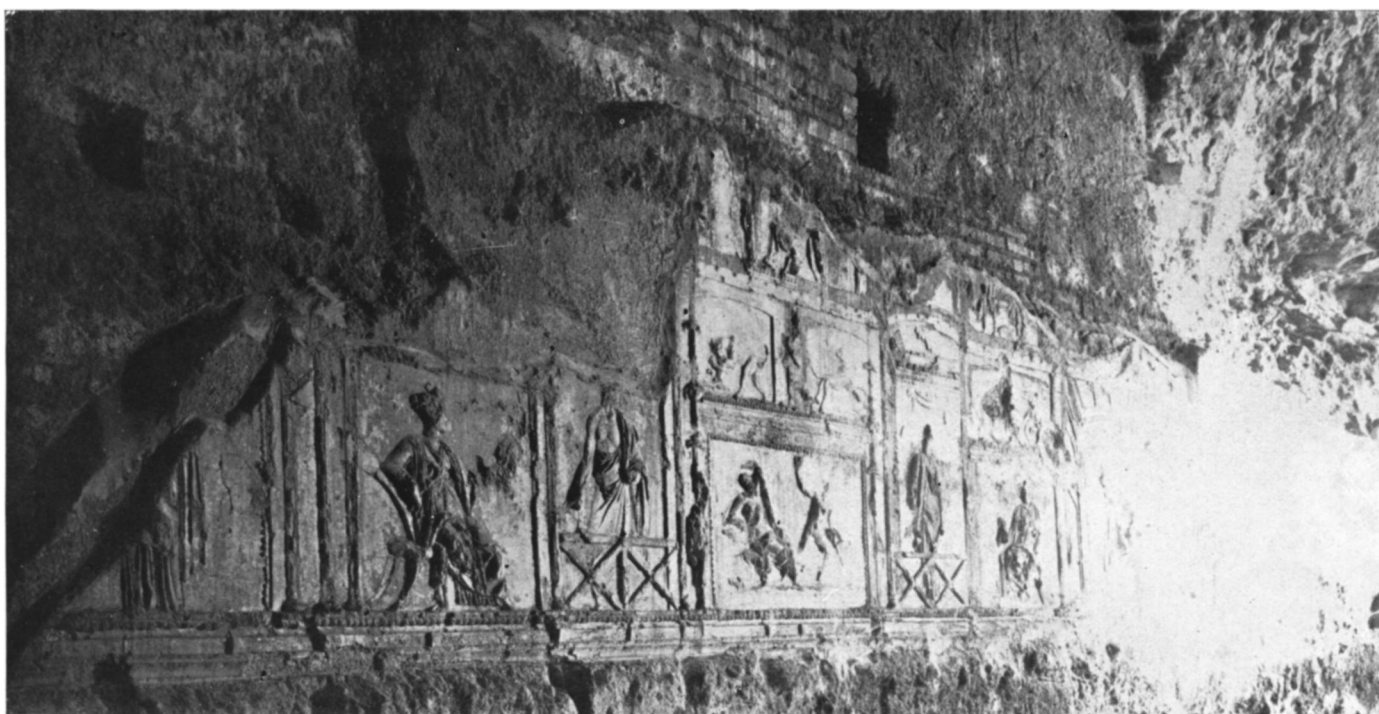


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1-3, Palatine. " Bridge of Caligula ". (p. 46).



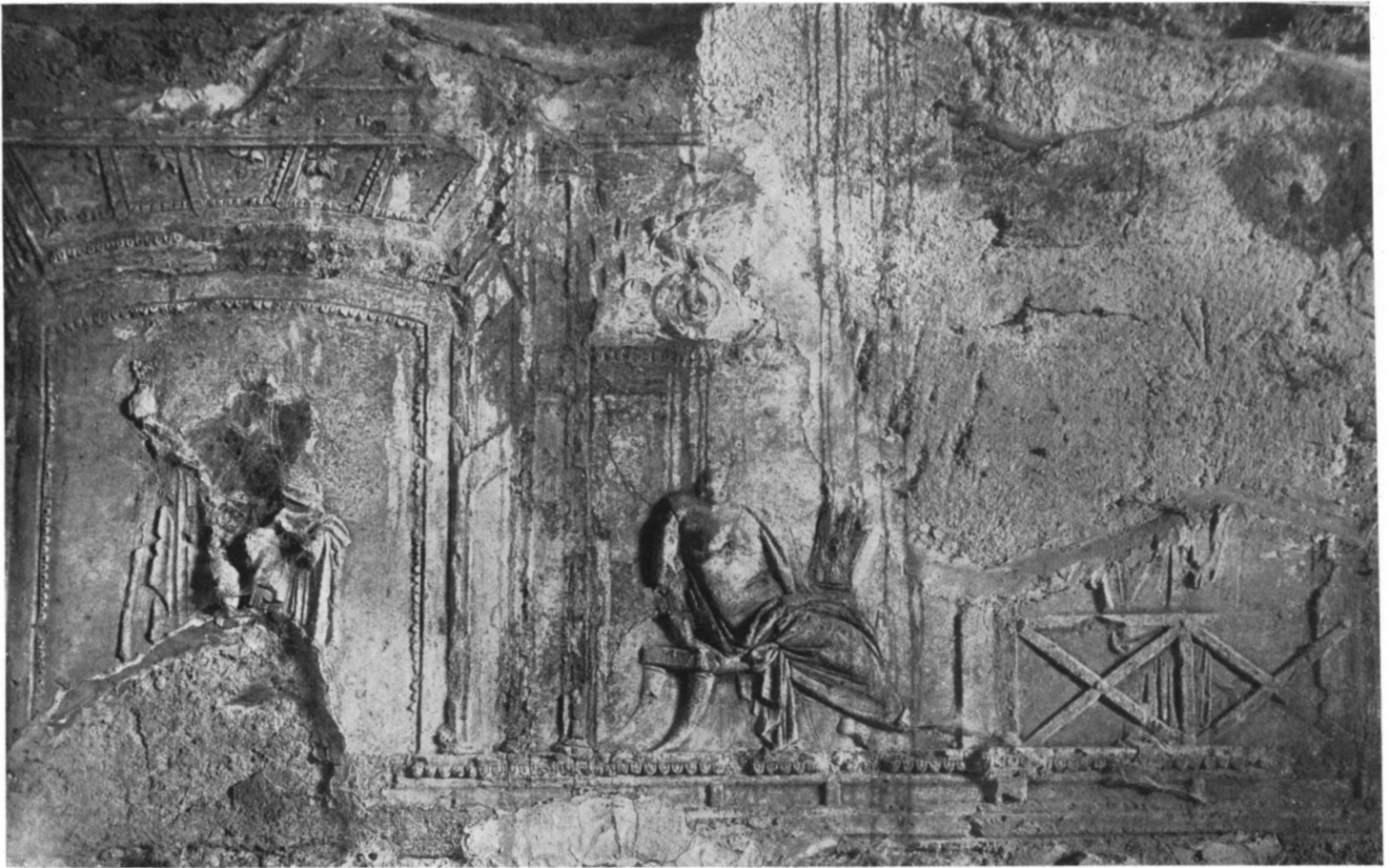
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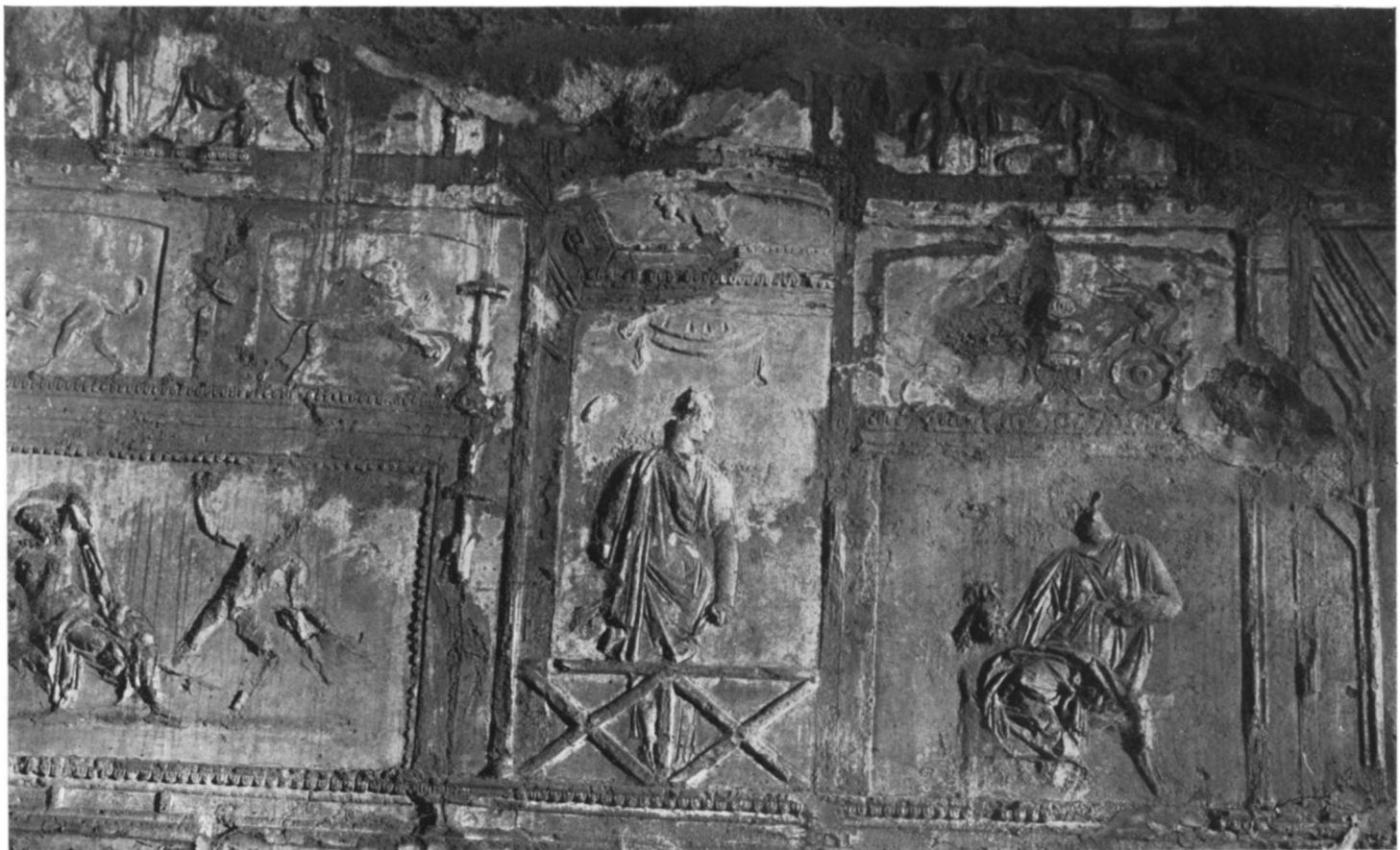
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1, 2, Castel Gandolfo. Villa of Domitian. (pp. 49 ff.).



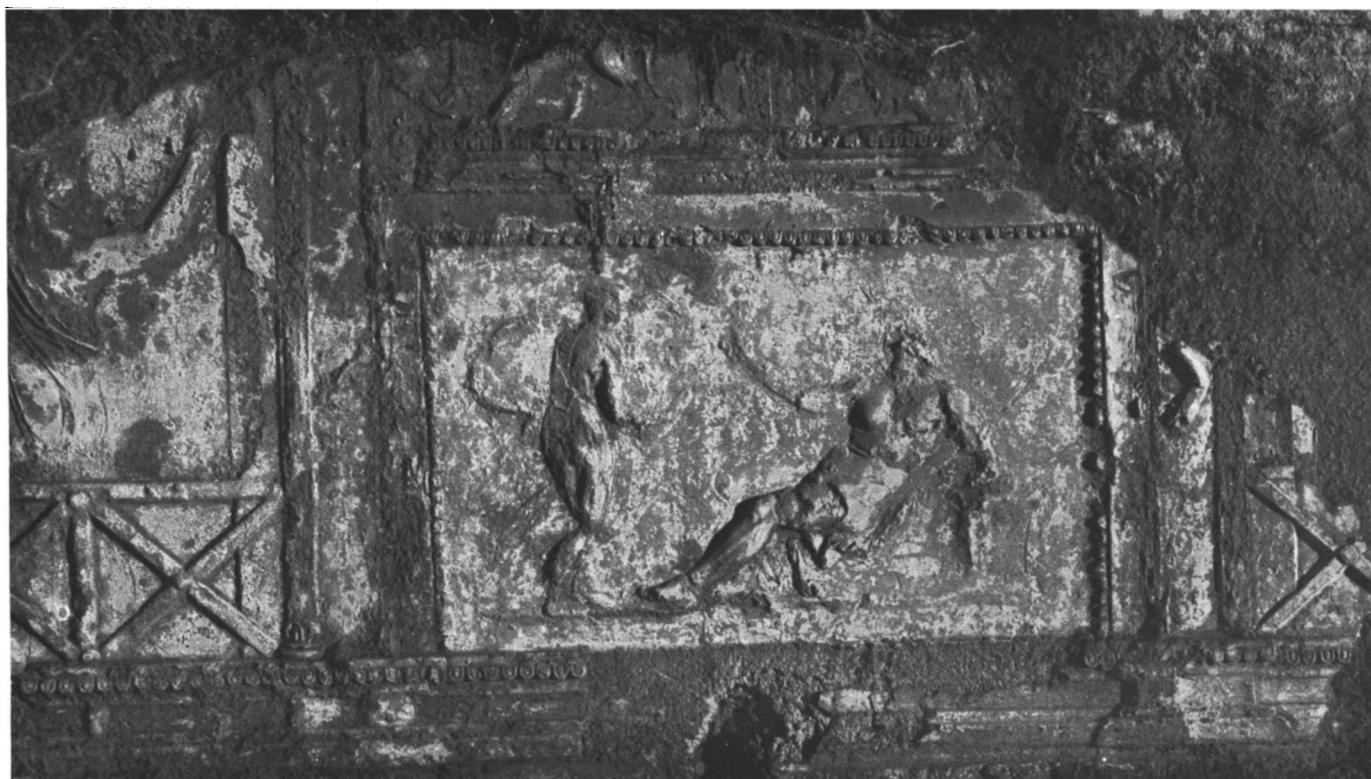


1 (p. 50).

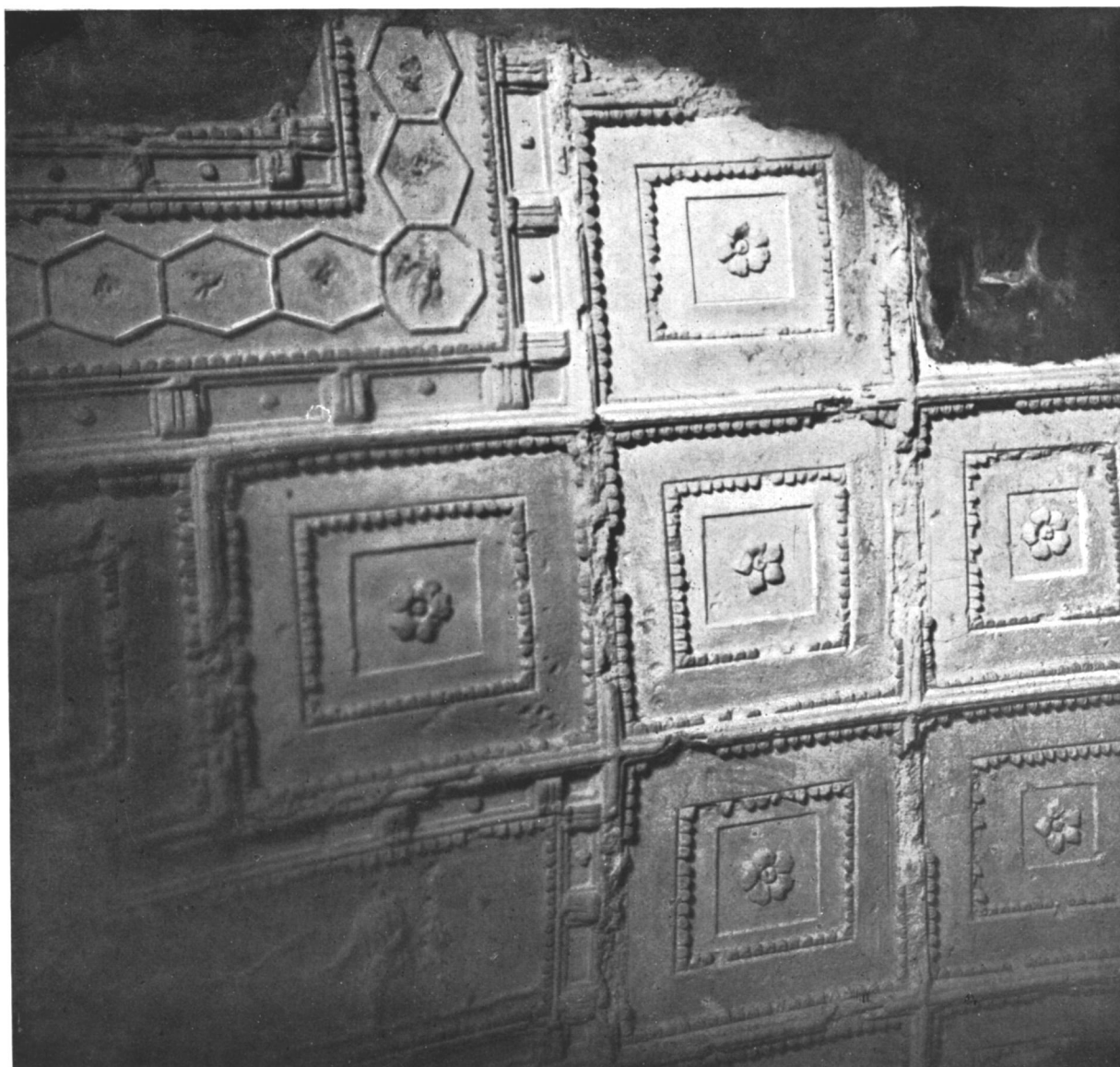


2 (p. 52).

1, 2, Castel Gandolfo. Villa of Domitian.



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1, Castel Gandolfo. Villa of Domitian. (p. 54)  
2, Vault of unknown origin. (p. 58).





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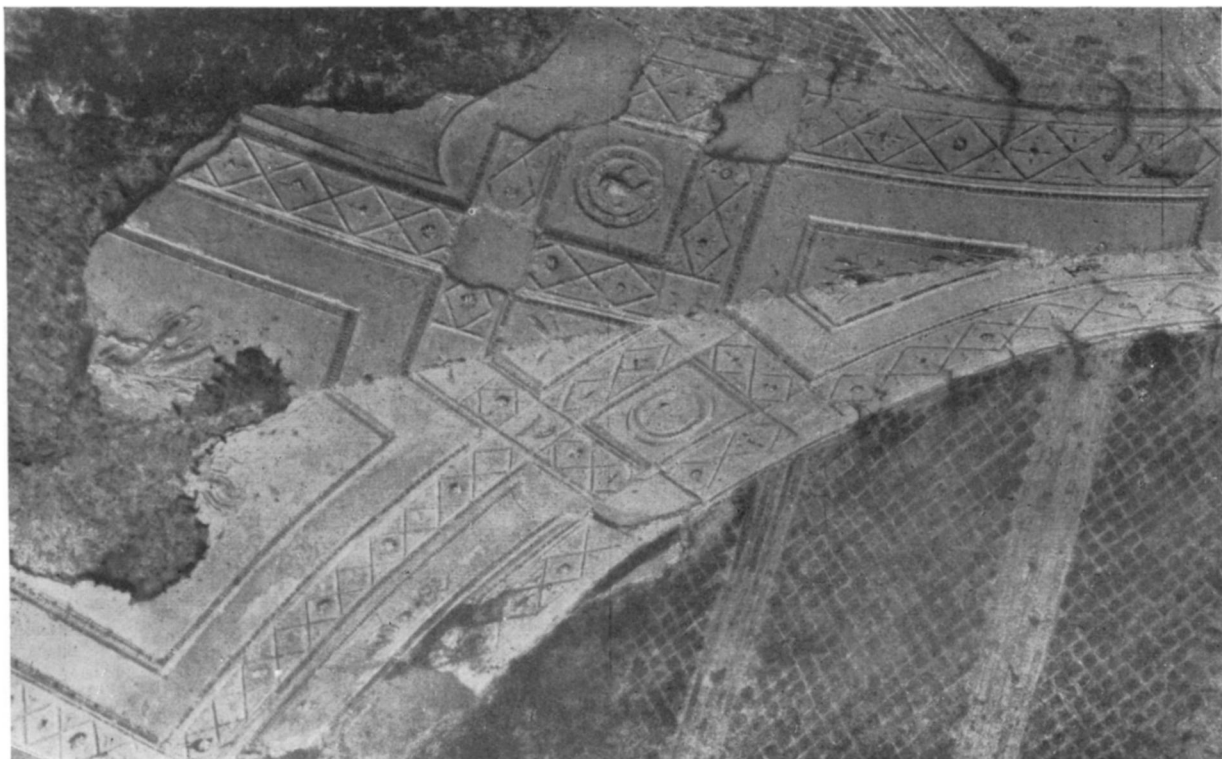
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1, 2, Vault under S. Clemente. (p. 56).



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1, 2, Hadrian's Villa. (p. 61).



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1, 2, S. Sebastiano. (pp. 64 ff.).



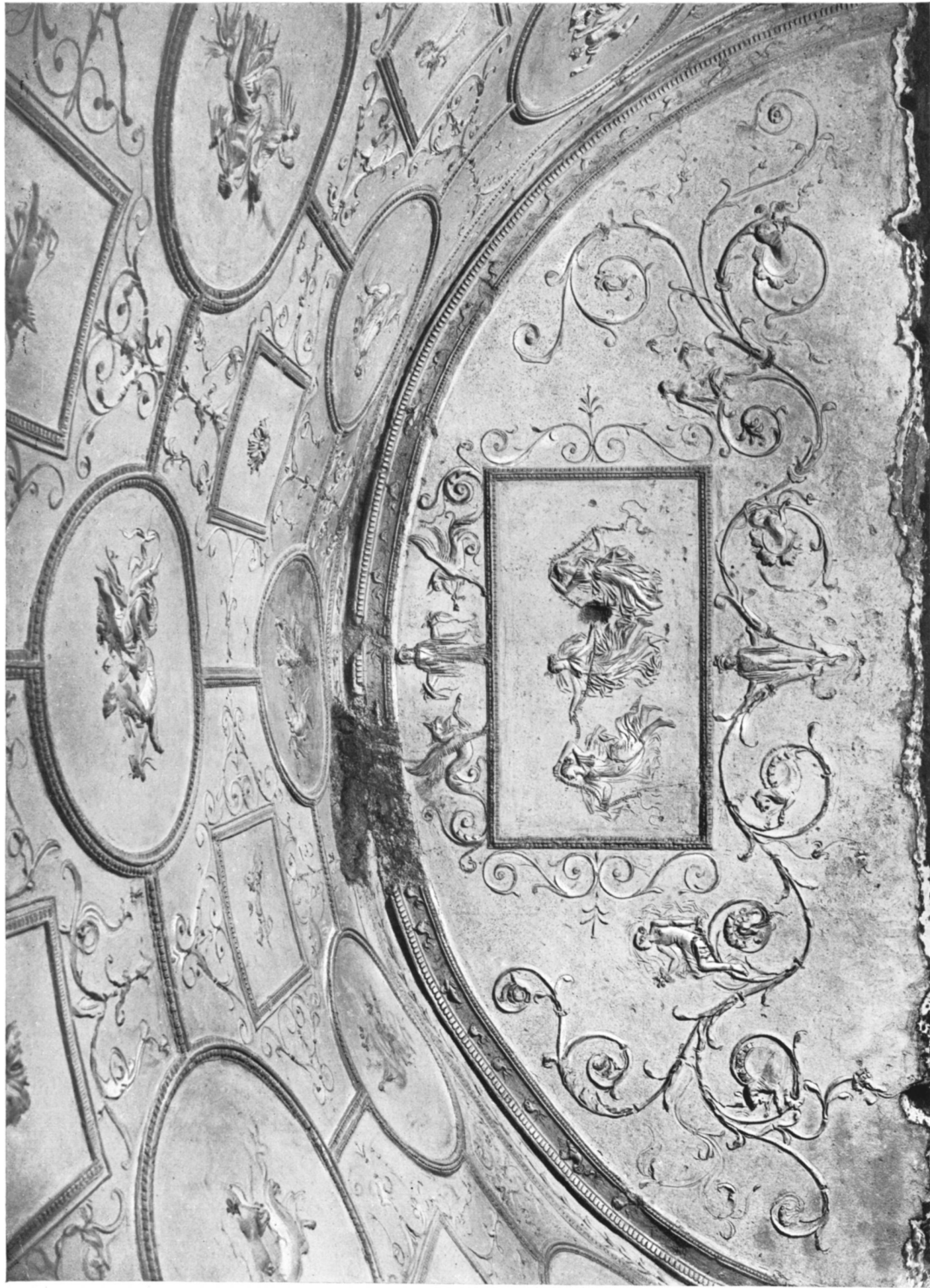


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1, 2, S. Sebastiano. (p. 64 ff.).



Tomb of the Valerii. (pp. 69 ff.).



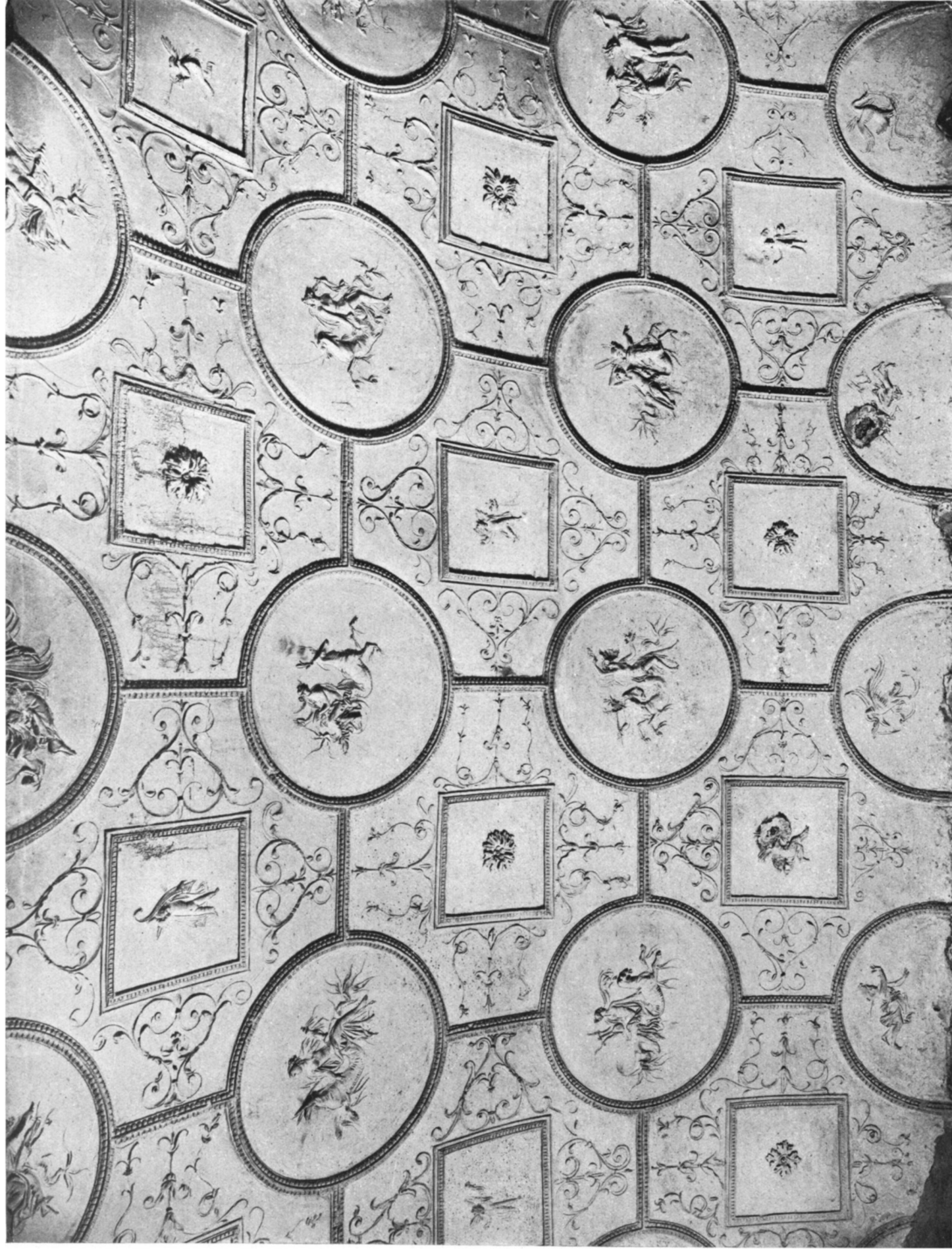


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1, 2, Tomb of the Valerii. (pp. 69 ff.).



Tomb of the Valerii.





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1, 2, Tomb of the Valerii. (pp. 69 ff.).



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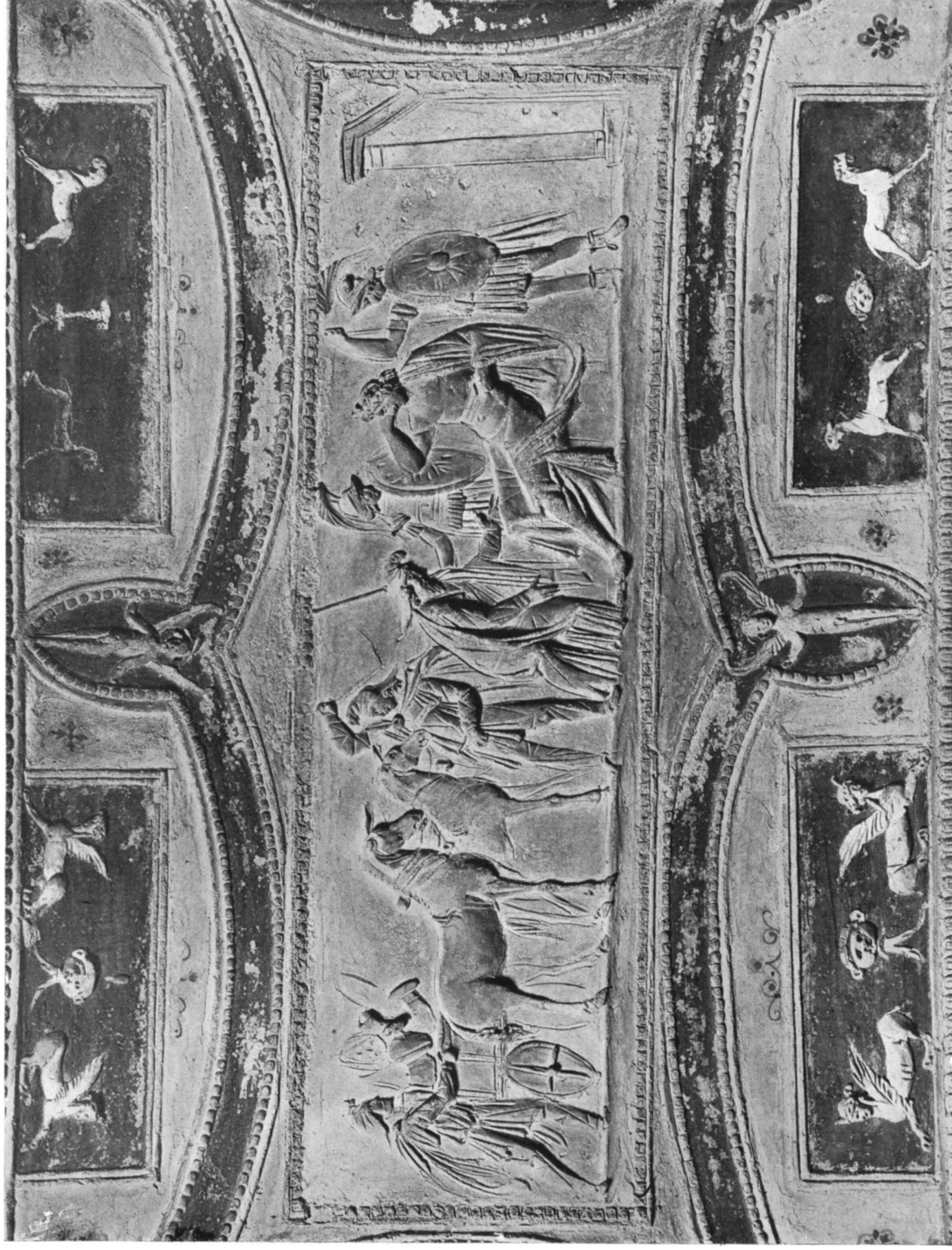
1, 2, Tomb of the Valerii. (pp. 69 ff.).





Tomb of the Pancratii. (pp. 73 ff.).





Tomb of the Pancratiî. (p. 74).



Tomb of the Pancrattii. (p. 74).





Tomb of the Pancrati. (p. 74).



Tomb of the Pancrati. (p. 75).





Tomb of the Pancratii. (p. 75).



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Tomb of the Pancratii. (p. 75).



Tomb of the Pancratiid. (p. 76).





Tomb of the Pancrati. (p. 76).

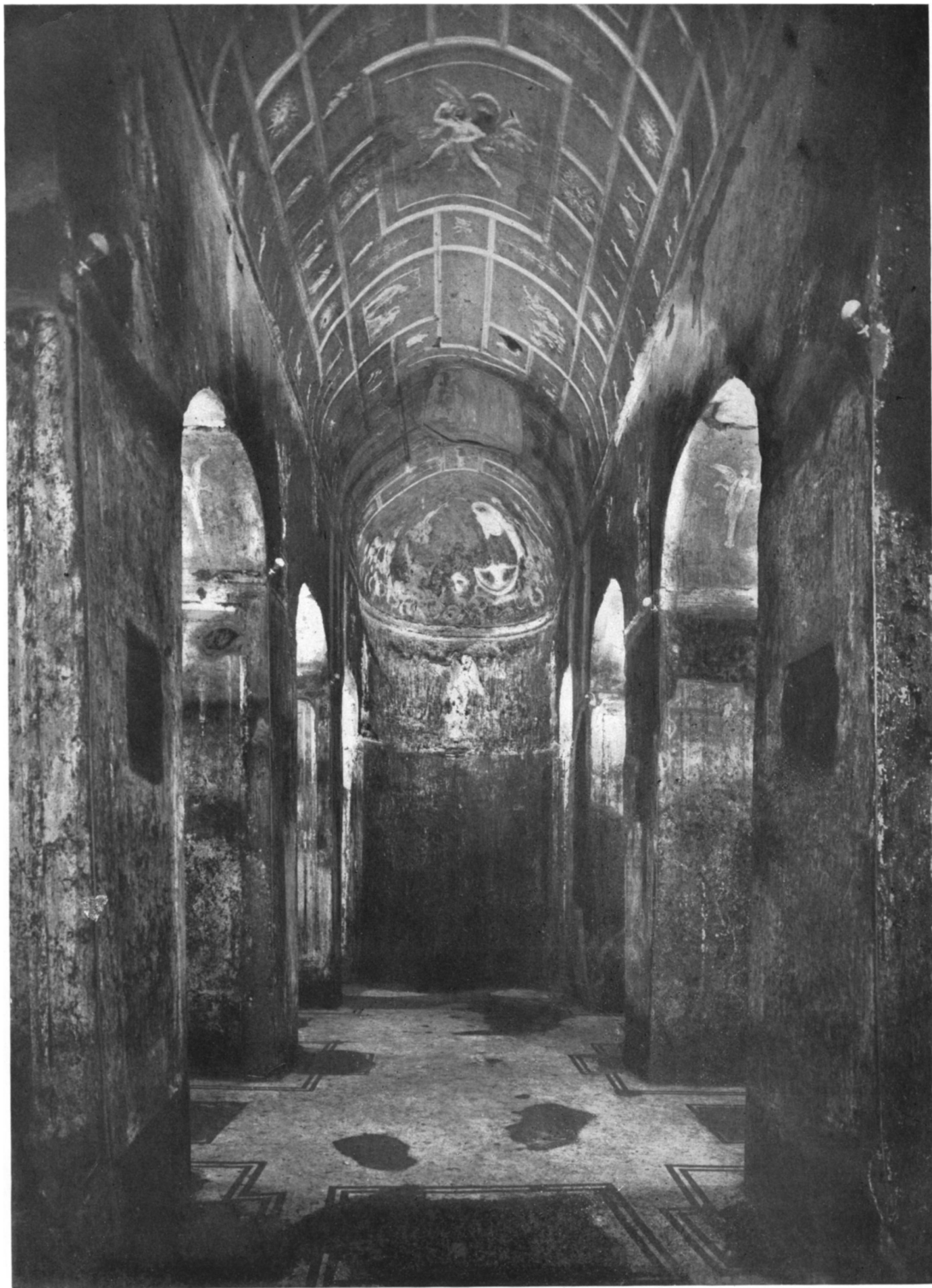


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1, 2, Tomb of the Pancratii. (p. 77).



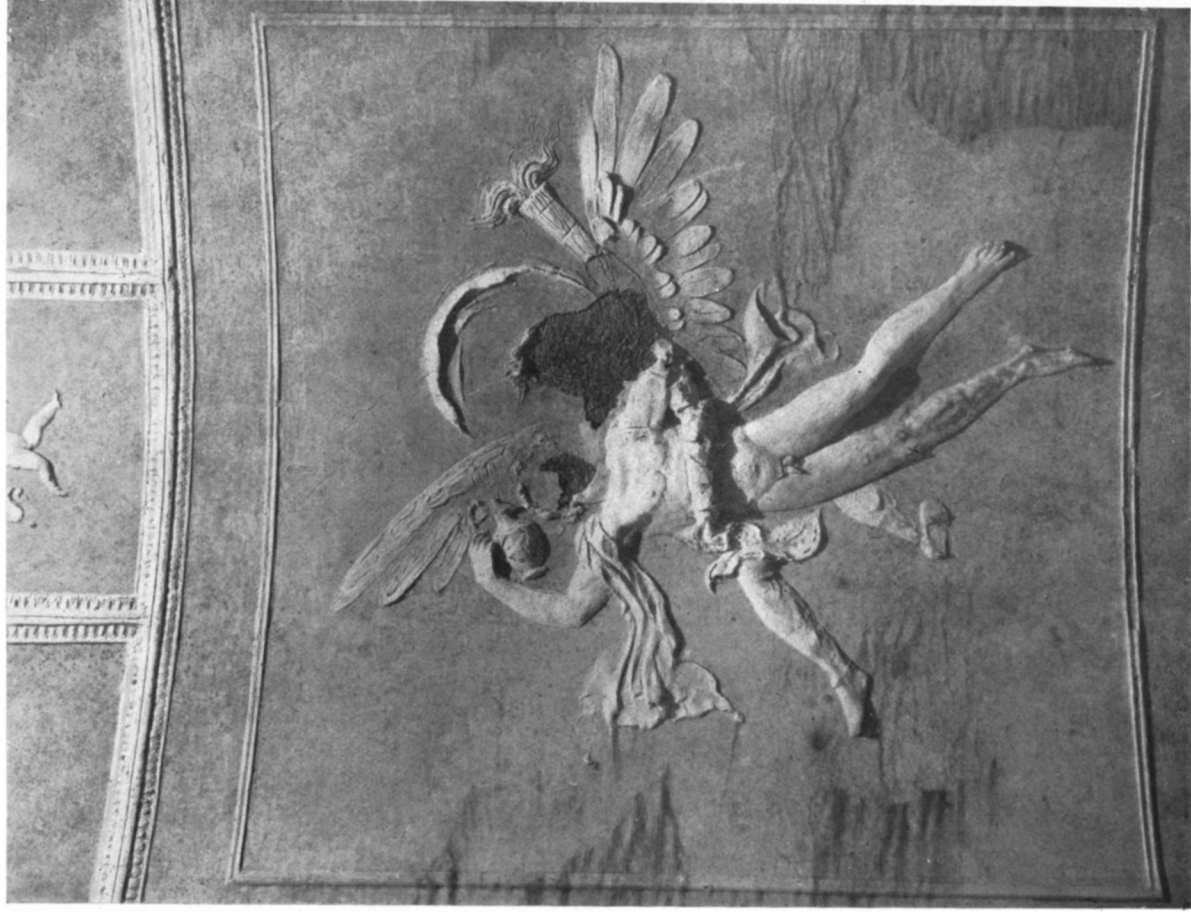
" The Underground Basilica ". (pp. 79 ff.).





" The Underground Basilica ". (pp. 79 ff.).





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1, 2, "The Underground Basilica". (p. 81).



Jason and Medea.  
"The Underground Basilica". (p. 82).



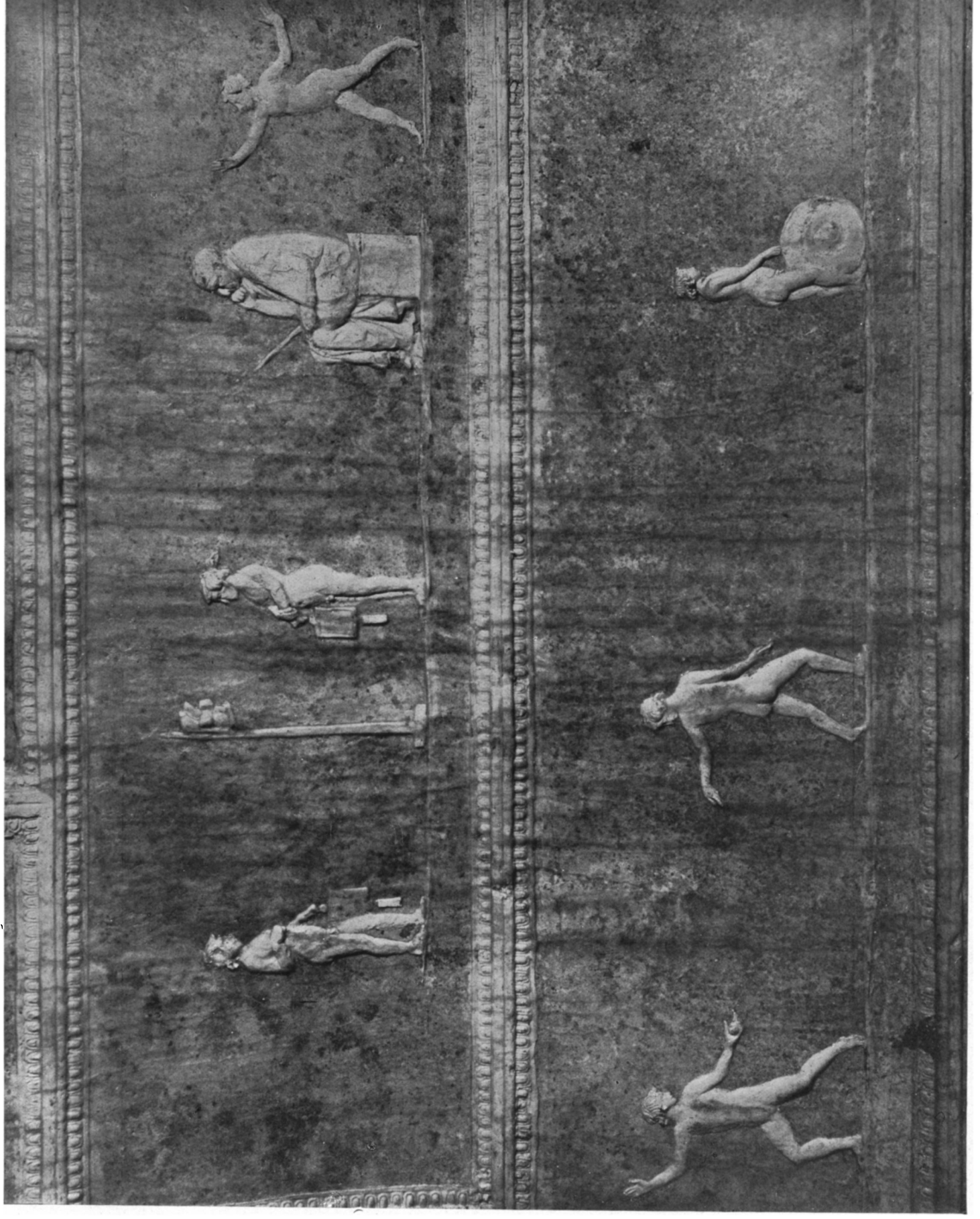
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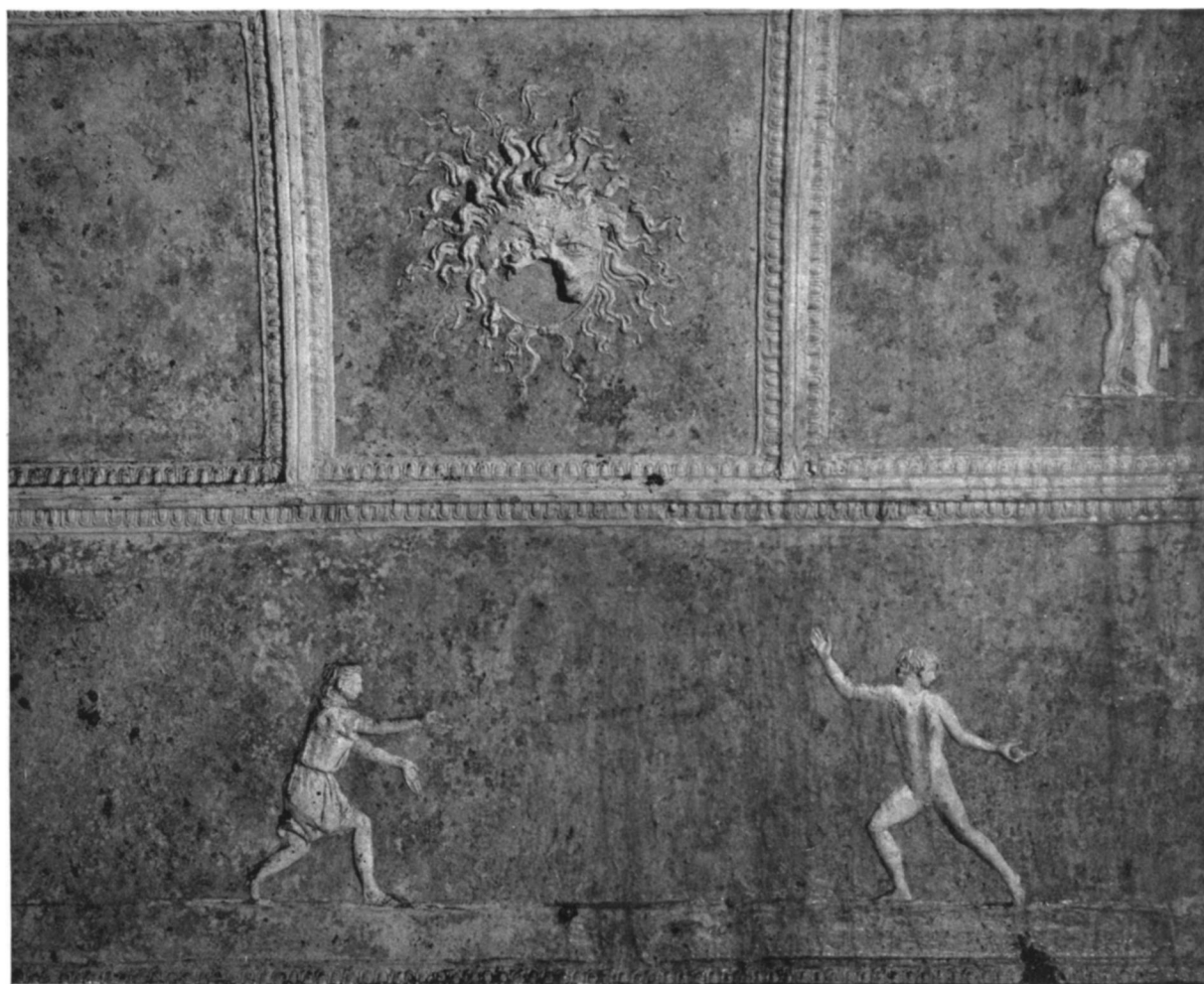
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1, 2, "The Underground Basilica". (pp. 82 f.).





" The Underground Basilica ". (p. 83).



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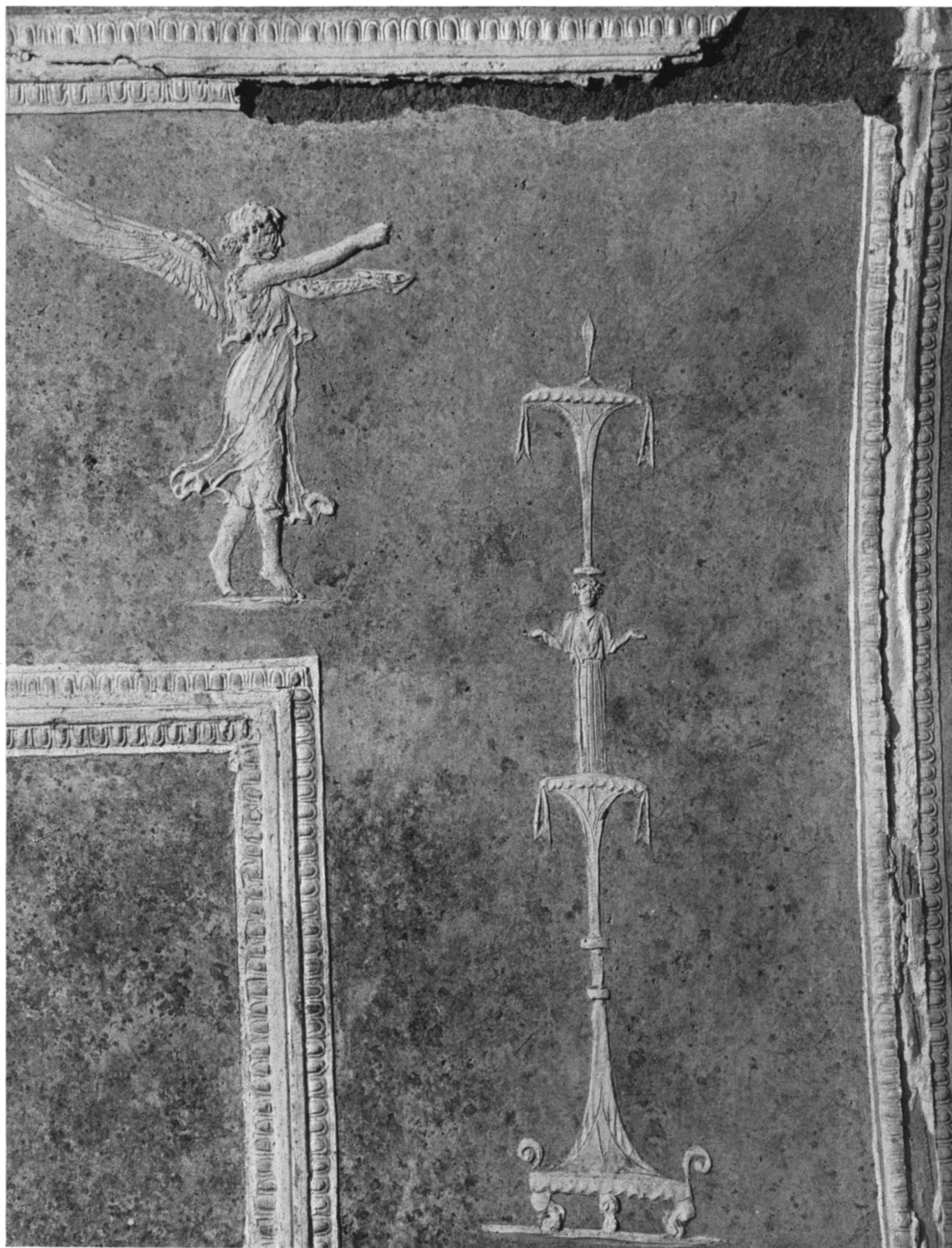


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" The Underground Basilica " . (p. 84).





" The Underground Basilica ". (p. 85).



"The Underground Basilica".  
Relief in apse. (p. 85).





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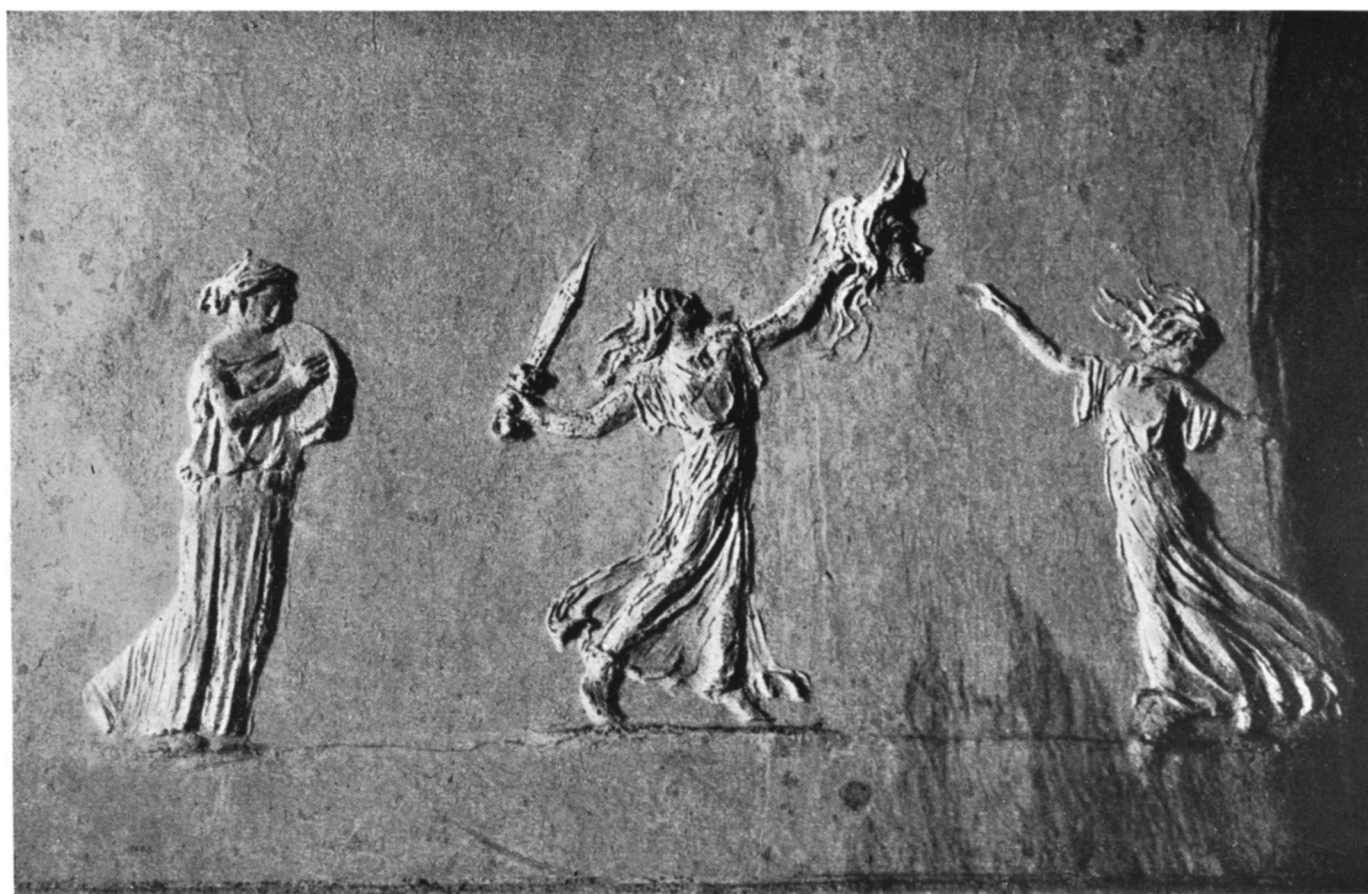


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1, 2, "The Underground Basilica". (p. 86).



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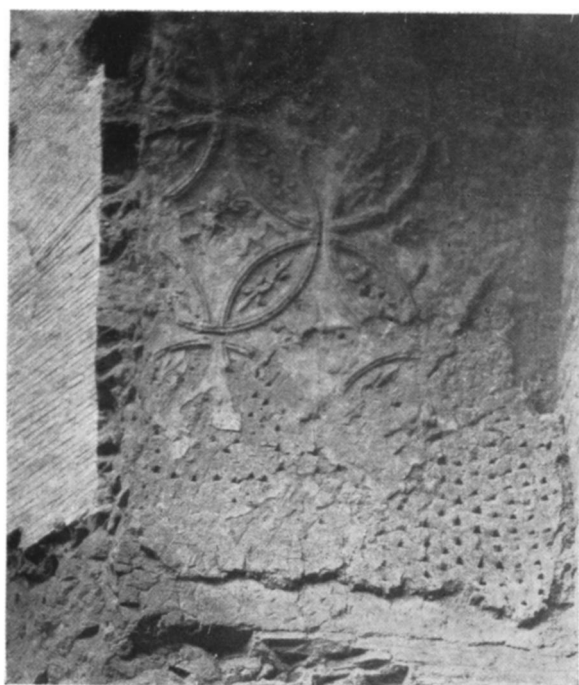


"The Underground Basilica". (p. 86).





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1, "The Underground Basilica". (p. 85).  
2, 3, Tor de' Schiavi. (p. 88).