# A History of Roman Art

Second Edition

Fred S. Kleiner

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Text and Cover Designer: Jeanne Calabrese Design, Inc.
Cover Image: Courtesy of Fred S. Kleiner



Library of Congress Control Number: 2016944087

**Student Edition:**
ISBN: 978-1-305-88512-7

**Loose-leaf Edition:**
ISBN: 978-1-337-27950-5

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Printed in the United States of America
Print Number: 01 Print Year: 2016

# About the Author

**Fred S. Kleiner** is Professor in the Department of History of Art & Architecture and the Department of Archaeology at Boston University, where he has taught since 1978. He served as Chair of History of Art from 1981 to 1986 and from 2005 to 2014. Prior to joining the Boston University faculty, he was Assistant Professor of Art at the University of Virginia (1975 to 1978) and a Fellow of the Agora Excavations of the American School of Classical Studies in Athens (1973 to 1975). He has also excavated at Cosa, Italy, with the American Academy in Rome (1969 and 1970). From 1985 to 1998, Professor Kleiner served as Editor-in-Chief of the *American Journal of Archaeology*. He is the author of more than a hundred publications on Greek and Roman art, architecture, and numismatics, including *The Arch of Nero in Rome* and scores of articles and reviews in the leading archaeological journals of North America and Europe. His research has been supported by grants from the American Council of Learned Societies, the American Philosophical Society, and the John Simon Guggenheim Memorial Foundation. Professor Kleiner is also the co-author of the 10th, 11th, and 12th editions of *Gardner's Art through the Ages* and sole author of the 13th, 14th, and 15th editions, the world's most widely read introduction to the history of art and architecture, also translated into Chinese. Long recognized for his passionate teaching and dedication to students, Professor Kleiner has won Boston University's prestigious Metcalf Award for Excellence in Teaching and other teaching prizes, as well as the College of Arts and Sciences Prize for Excellence in Advising in the Humanities.

# About the Cover

▲ **Column of Trajan (and ruins of the Basilica Ulpia, looking northwest), Forum of Trajan, Rome, dedicated 112.**

With the Colosseum, Pantheon, and Arch of Constantine, the Column of Trajan is one of the iconic standing monuments of ancient Rome, the Eternal City. Unlike those singular buildings, Trajan's Column was but one small part of a vast urban complex—the Forum of Trajan—constructed by the emperor during the opening years of the second century. Paid for with the spoils of the emperor's successful military campaign against the Dacians, who occupied the territory roughly corresponding to present-day Romania, the Forum of Trajan was a victory monument as well as the city's newest and largest civic center. The entryway resembled a triumphal arch crowned by a statuary group of Trajan driving a six-horse chariot flanked by statues of Dacians chained to trophies. The centerpiece of the forum proper was an equestrian statue of the emperor trampling a cowering Dacian. Above the columns of the framing portico were dozens of statues of captive Dacians.

The Column of Trajan, which became his tomb, carried on this theme of conquest with its unprecedented spiral frieze depicting some 150 episodes of the Dacian Wars and more than 2,500 figures and representations of cities, forts, bridges, and the wilderness of the northern frontier. It is a quintessential monument of imperial Roman political art, one of the major themes of *A History of Roman Art*.

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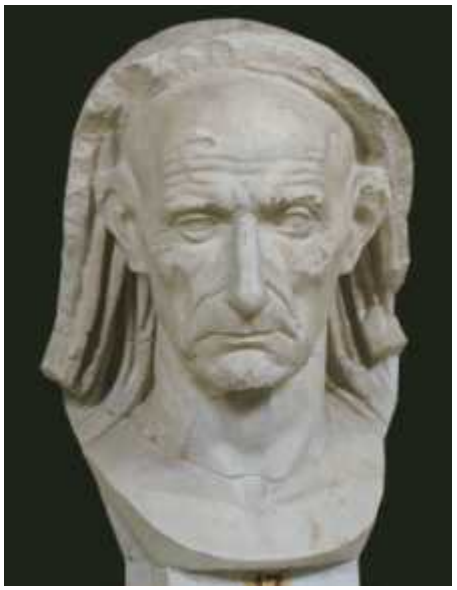
## PART ONE ITALY BEFORE AND DURING REPUBLIC





## PART TWO **THE EARLY EMPIRE**



# Preface

A decade has passed since the initial publication of *A History of Roman Art,* and much has changed in the study of Roman art and architecture and also in the technology of textbook publication. Although the first edition won the prestigious Texty Prize of the Text and Academic Authors Association in 2007 for a new college textbook in the humanities and social sciences—the only time a book on any aspect of the ancient world has garnered that honor—and was quickly adopted by instructors throughout North America and beyond, both the publisher, Cengage, and I believed that a revised edition was required. This second edition of *A History of Roman Art* incorporates the latest scholarship, including revised dating for some of the key monuments of Roman art and architecture (for example, the forum, Capitolium, and basilica of Pompeii and the Column of Marcus Aurelius in Rome), as well as scores of new artworks and buildings. It also has, unlike the previous incarnation of the book, an online supplementary package of digital photographs and interactive features, notably Google Earth™ coordinates for all buildings, sites, and artworks of known provenance; videos of key Roman architectural sites; digital flashcards; and an infographic, *Who's Who in the Roman World*, featuring "family trees" for all the Roman emperors and their families. Called MindTap®, Cengage's state-of-the-art digital platform also incorporates an e-book version of the traditional printed text that boasts a new two-pane format, which, unlike traditional e-books, enables the reader to view the discussed image in one column while scrolling through the explanatory text in the other column, always keeping the image visible. New features of the traditional printed text include the addition of a timeline to every chapter and two new categories of boxed essays, described later in this Preface.

The first edition of *A History of Roman Art* was universally acclaimed for the number and quality of its photographs, nearly all in color, with many instructors reporting that, for the first time, their students told them that they judged Roman art and architecture to be "beautiful." This second edition features more than 400 new color photographs, including images of dozens of new artworks and buildings, made possible by the posting of hundreds of zoomable "bonus images" in MindTap in addition to the hundreds of color photographs in the printed text—all available to instructors in .jpg format for easy incorporation into PowerPoint files. As before, each figure has a caption that contains a wealth of information, including the identification of the sculpture, painting, building, site, and so on; the provenance of the object or location of the building (and, if not in Italy, the country as well); the date; the material or materials used; the size; and the name and city of the museum, if the work is in a public collection. In this new edition, I have also added a scale next to the photograph of every object as well as in the architectural plans, a very popular feature of *Gardner's Art through the Ages*, another of my Cengage publications (and also a winner of a Texty Prize). I urge students to pay close attention to the scales and the dimensions in the captions. The buildings and objects illustrated vary enormously in size, from gigantic public amphitheaters and bathing complexes and colossal sculptures to intimate houses and modest tombs to coins, gems, and silver cups that one can hold in the hand.

There are also six full-color maps that are indispensable for understanding the geography of the Roman world: Greek and Etruscan sites in Italy; Italy during the Roman Republic; the Bay of Naples at the time of the eruption of Mount Vesuvius; Roman sites in Italy, France, and Spain during the first and second centuries CE; the Roman Empire at the death of Trajan; and the Eastern provinces during the second and third centuries. To facilitate placing the ancient sites in a modern context, the names of contemporary nations appear on all maps.

Some things have not changed from the first edition, however, including the title of the book, which was chosen with care. As I noted in the Preface to the first edition:

> There are many ways to approach Roman art and architecture and I wanted to underscore that this is *a* history, not *the* history of the art and architecture of Rome and its Empire from the time of Romulus to the mid fourth century CE, a period of roughly 1100 years. That translates as less than half a page a year for all the remains of Roman civilization on three continents from England to Morocco to the Middle East. One must obviously be very selective. . . . In *A History of Roman Art*, I have tried to distill more than three decades [now four!] of teaching, reading, and thinking about Roman art and architecture into a volume destined for today's college students.

## Features

This second edition of *A History of Roman Art* has four parts. The first, devoted to Italy before and during the Republic, has five chapters, beginning with a chapter on Italy before the rise of Rome, which surveys the art and architecture of Magna Graecia and Etruria. Parts Two, Three, and Four, which treat the Early, High, and Late Empire, have six, five, and five chapters respectively; 21 in all for the book as a whole, covering the full chronological range of Roman art from the Iron Age to Constantine and the beginning of imperial patronage of Christian art and architecture. Each chapter combines a discussion of general issues and individual monuments with a series of boxed essays on architecture, artistic media, religion and mythology, documentary sources, and cultural context in general. The chapters open with a new timeline listing major events in the history of Rome and the most important artworks and buildings of the era. (The Who's Who in the Roman World box that in the first edition also appeared at the beginning of each chapter has, as noted, been greatly expanded and transferred to MindTap in infographic format.)

The boxed essay categories in the second edition now number seven.

**Architectural Basics** boxes provide a sound foundation for understanding Roman architecture. The discussions are concise primers on the major aspects of design and construction, usually with accompanying drawings and diagrams, many prepared exclusively for *A History of Roman Art* by John Burge. Topics discussed include the orders of Classical architecture; arches, vaults, and domes; and concrete construction.

**Materials and Techniques** essays explain the various media that Roman artists employed. Because materials and techniques often influence the character of works of art, these discussions also contain essential information on why many monuments look the way they do. Roman frescoes; illustrated books; mosaics; cameo carving; and encaustic painting are among the subjects treated.

**Written Sources** boxes present and discuss key historical documents and literary works that shed light on important monuments and sites and provide invaluable background information about Roman culture in general. The translated passages include many of the key documentary sources for the study of Roman art and architecture. Examples include Vitruvius's *On Architecture*; Pliny the Younger's eyewitness account of the eruption of Mount Vesuvius and his panegyric to the emperor Trajan; and Josephus's account of the triumphal procession of Vespasian and Titus.

**Religion and Mythology** boxes introduce students to the principal deities and religions of the Roman world and to the representation of mythological themes in painting and sculpture. The topics include the imperial cult; Greek myths on Roman sarcophagi; polytheism and monotheism at Dura-Europos; and the iconography of Early Christian art.

**Art and Society** essays treat the historical, social, political, and cultural context of Roman art and architecture. Among the subjects examined are the social structure of the Roman house; spectacles in the Colosseum; *damnatio memoriae*; imperial funerals; Roman public bathing; and the quality of life in the city during the High Empire.

New to the second edition are **The Patron's Voice** boxed essays, which underscore the important roles played by the individuals and groups who paid for the artworks and buildings in determining the character of those monuments. These boxes enable voices from the past to speak directly to today's students. Examples include both imperial and private patrons: the emperors Augustus and Marcus Aurelius; the fictional Trimalchio describing the tomb he wishes to erect in his memory; and the freedman Publius Vesonius Phileros discussing the reasons he included portrait statues of two others on his tomb at Pompeii.

Also new are boxes designed to make students think critically about the decisions that went into the making of every painting, sculpture, and building from the ancient world. Called **Problems and Solutions**, these essays address questions of how and why various forms developed; the problems that painters, sculptors, and architects confronted; and the solutions they used to resolve them. Among the topics addressed are how to portray a princeps; the problems confronted in bringing water to Roman cities; and what form a church should take.

To aid students in mastering the specialized vocabulary of Roman art and of Roman civilization in general, I have italicized and defined all terms and other unfamiliar words at their first occurrence in the text. Definitions of all the italicized words appear once more in the revised and expanded Glossary at the back of the book, where readers will also find an updated topical Bibliography of books in English as well as a list of illustration credits and an index.

## Chapter-by-Chapter Changes in the Second Edition

In addition to the new features enumerated earlier, numerous revisions have been made to every chapter, summarized here.

*1: Italy before the Rise of Rome.* New Problems and Solutions essays "How to Make a Perfect Statue" and "Etruscan Houses for the Dead." New photographs of tumuli in the Banditaccia necropolis, Cerveteri; the Treasury of Atreus at Mycenae; the Doric frieze and capitals of the Temple of Hera or Apollo at Paestum; the banqueters and diving youth in the Tomb of the Diver, Paestum; details of the heads of the man and woman of the Sarcophagus *degli Sposi*; the interior of the Tomb of the Leopards at Tarquinia; the heads of Apulu and Letun from the Portonaccio Temple, Veii; the *Capitoline Wolf*; and the Porta Marzia of Perugia.

*2: From Village to World Capital.* Added the western gate and city walls of Falerii Novi and the Nile mosaic from the Sanctuary of Fortuna at Palestrina. New Written Sources essay "Etruscan Artists in Rome." Revised Architectural Basics essay "Roman Concrete." New photographs of the foundations of the Temple of Jupiter Capitolinus, Rome; the Servian Walls near Stazione Termini, Rome; the gate and walls of Falerii Novi; general view of the Temple of Hercules at Cori and a detail of its Doric frieze; general and rear views of the Temple of Portunus, Rome; general view of the Republican temples in the Largo Argentina, Rome, and individual views of Temples A and B; the Temple of Vesta or Hercules Victor, Rome; the tholos at Delphi; general view and detail of the Corinthian capitals and frieze of the Temple of Vesta, Tivoli; the ruins of the Porticus Aemilia, Rome; the portico of the Sanctuary of Hercules at Tivoli; a model of the Sanctuary of Jupiter Anxur at Terracina; one of the hemicycles and a coffered annular vault of the Sanctuary of Fortuna at Palestrina; and a general view and detail of the Nile mosaic form the Palestrina sanctuary.

*3: Republican Town Planning and Pompeii.* Revised chronology of the buildings in and around the forum of Pompeii. Added

thermopolium VI,8,8 and brothel VII,12,18, Pompeii. New photographs of a plaster cast of a victim of the eruption of Mount Vesuvius; and, at Pompeii, the thermopolium and brothel; Capitolium; Temple of Apollo and its portico; basilica; theater, odeum, and amphitheater; and tombs on the Via Nocera and Via dei Sepolcri; and the Greek theater at Epidauros.

*4: Republican Domestic Architecture and Mural Painting.* Expanded discussion of Roman houses and First and Second Style painting. New photographs of the entrance portal of the House of Pansa; the hortus and First Style murals in the atrium and tablinum of the House of Sallust; the Tuscan atrium and large peristyle of the House of the Faun; the atrium, peristyle, and veranda of the Villa of the Mysteries at Pompeii; room E and the viridarium of the House of Cupid and Psyche at Ostia; and cubiculum M in the Villa of Publius Fannius Synistor at Boscoreale.

*5: From Marcellus to Caesar.* New discussion of the Republican Forum Romanum. Added Polykleitos's *Diadoumenos* and Praxiteles's *Apollo Sauroktonos*; a marble head of a Republican priest; portraits of Pompey in Venice and Caesar in Turin. New photographs of two details of the frieze of the Victory Monument of Aemilius Paullus, Delphi; the Vatican copy of the *Apollo Sauroktonos* and the Delos copy of the *Diadoumenos*; the Paris frieze of the *Altar of Domitius Ahenobarbus*; the head of a Republican priest in the Musei Vaticani; the *Pseudo-Athlete* from Delos (general view and detail of head); a detail of the head of the statue of the general from the Sanctuary of Hercules, Tivoli; the portrait of Pompey in Venice; the portraits of Julius Caesar in Berlin (general view and head detail) and from Tusculum; and the Forum Iulium, Rome (general view and Temple of Venus Genetrix).

*6: The Augustan Principate.* Added portraits of Augustus in Arles, Athens, and Corinth; of Livia in Paris; and of Lucius Caesar in Corinth. New Problems & Solutions essay "How to Portray a Princeps." New Written Sources essay "Vitruvius's *On Architecture*." New photographs of the bearded head of Octavian in Arles, the head of Augustus as pontifex maximus from the Via Labicana, and two views of the bronze equestrian statue of Augustus from the Aegean Sea; the Corinthian capitals of the Temple of Mars Ultor and a caryatid from the Forum Augustum, Rome; the south porch of the Erechtheion, Athens; the basalt head of Livia in the Louvre; three views of the dynastic statuary group from the Julian Basilica, Corinth; six new views of the Ara Pacis Augustae, Rome, including three of the interior of the altar precinct; a detail of the Panathenaic frieze of the Parthenon, Athens; a general view and detail of the Theater of Marcellus, Rome; two views of the gardenscape fresco from the Villa of Livia, Primaporta; three views of cubiculum B of the Villa Farnesina, Rome; and the Black Room of the Villa of Agrippa Postumus, Boscotrecase.

*7: Preparing for the Afterlife during the Early Empire.* Added the tomb of the Clodii, Marcii, and Annii on the Via Statilia, Rome; the tombs of Publius Flavius Philoxenus and Flavia Agathea and of Publius Vesonius Phileros, Vesonia, and Marcus Orfellius Faustus on the Via Nuceria, Pompeii; and the funerary relief of Lucius Ampudius Philomusus. New Art & Society essay "Celebrating Freedom in Roman Funerary Art." New Patron's Voice essay "The Tomb of Publius Vesonius Phileros." New photographs of the Mausoleum of Augustus, Rome (general view, interior, and model); the Pyramid of Cestius, Rome; the tomb of Eurysaces, Rome (general view and two details of the baking frieze); the twin tombs of the Clodii, Marcii, and Annii on the Via Statilia, Rome; the funerary relief of the Gessii in Boston; the funerary relief of Lucius Ampudius Philomusus in London; the relief of a funerary cortege from Amiternum; and the tombs of the Flavii and of Publius Vesonius Phileros, Pompeii (general view and inscriptions).

*8: The Pax Augusta in the West.* Added the Porte St.-André, Autun, and the Temple of Roma and Augustus, Athens. New photographs of the Segovia aqueduct (general view and model); the Pont-du-Gard, Nîmes; two details of the frieze of the Arch of Augustus, Susa; the Arch of Tiberius (four new views) and theater, Orange; the Porte St.-André, Autun; the Temple of Roma and Augustus, Athens; the Temple of Roma and Augustus, Vienne (two views); the Maison Carrée, Nîmes (general view and detail of Corinthian capitals and frieze); the Augustan theater and amphitheater, Merida; and the Mausoleum of the Julii, St.-Rémy-de-Provence (general view and three details).

*9: The Julio-Claudian Dynasty.* Added the togate portrait of Caligula in Richmond; the enthroned statue of Claudius as Jupiter from Cerveteri; the statue of Nero as a boy in the Louvre; and the Claudian portico at Portus. New Materials & Techniques essay "Cameo Carving." New photographs of the Louvre double suovetaurilia; the Richmond Caligula (statue and head detail); details of the heads of the statues of Claudius and Agrippina the Younger from Velleia; the young Nero with a bulla in the Louvre; the Julio-Claudian dynastic relief in Ravenna (general view and two head details); the *Gemma Claudia*; the sacrifice to Mars Ultor from the Ara Pietatis, Rome; the Sebasteion, Aphrodisias (general view and Claudius-Britannia panel); the Porta Maggiore, Rome (general view and detail); the head of Nero from the Palatine Hill, Rome; and two views of the Fourth Style murals in the Domus Aurea, Rome (corridor and room 78).

*10: Civil War, the Flavians, and Nerva.* Added the portrait of Vespasian from Carthage and the Temple of Vespasian and Titus in the Forum Romanum. New Art & Society essay "The Roman Triumph." New photographs of the head of Vespasian in the British Museum; the bust of Domitian in the Palazzo dei Conservatori; two late-first-century female portraits in the Museo Capitolino (two views each); the excavations of the Templum Pacis, Rome; the facade and interior of the Colosseum, Rome (three views); the Temple of Vespasian and Titus in the Forum Romanum (general view and entablature); the Arch of Titus on the Via Sacra (general view and six details of the dedicatory inscription, a Composite capital, and the three relief panels in the passageway); the lower peristyle of the Domus Augustana and the colossi of Hercules and Bacchus from the Palace of Domitian, Rome; the substructures of the Stadium of Domitian, Rome; the *Colonnacce* of the Forum

Transitorium, Rome; the Adventus and Profectio friezes from the Palazzo della Cancelleria (two general views and five details); and the portrait of Nerva from Tivoli.

*11: Pompeii and Herculaneum in the First Century* CE. Added the House of the Grand Portal, Herculaneum. New Problems & Solutions essay "Living in the City but Desiring a Villa." New photographs of the House of the Mosaic Atrium, House of the Grand Portal, and House of Neptune and Amphitrite, Herculaneum; and the House of D. Octavius Quartio and the portrait of Menander from the House of the Menander, Pompeii.

*12: Trajan, Optimus Princeps.* Added the cuirass statue of Trajan in the Harvard Art Museums and the portraits of Marciana from Ostia and Matidia in the Louvre. New Problems & Solutions essay "The Spiral Frieze of the Column of Trajan." New photographs of the statue of Trajan from Ostia (general view and cuirass); the Harvard Trajan; the Ostia Marciana; the Louvre Matidia; the ruins of the Basilica Ulpia, the Column of Trajan (general view, pedestal, and ten details of the spiral frieze), the Markets of Trajan (general view, Via Biberatica, hemicycle, and great hall), and the Baths of Trajan, Rome; two attic panels of the Arch of Trajan, Benevento; and two sections of the Great Trajanic Frieze reused on the Arch of Constantine, Rome.

*13: Hadrian, the Philhellene.* Added the Library and Arch of Hadrian, Athens; the herm copy of Kresilas's portrait of Pericles; the statues of Hadrian as imperator in the Athenian Agora and as Mars in the Museo Capitolino; the colossal head of Hadrian from Athens; the statue of Sabina as Ceres from Ostia; the heroic bust portrait of Antinous from Patras; and the Temple of Venus and Large Baths of Hadrian's villa, Tivoli. New Problems & Solutions essay "The Ancient World's Largest Dome." New photographs of the Library and Arch of Hadrian, Athens; the bust portrait of Hadrian in the Palazzo Massimo; the Pericles herm in the Vatican; the head of the statue of Hadrian as imperator from Hierapytna; the cuirass statue fragment of Hadrian in the Athenian Agora; Hadrian as Mars in the Museo Capitolino; Sabina as Venus and as Ceres from Ostia (two general views and two head details); the veiled bust of Sabina in the Palazzo Massimo; the colossal head of Hadrian and the heroic bust of Antinous in the Athens National Museum; the Apotheosis of Sabina panel from the Arco di Portogallo, Rome; two Hadrianic hunting tondi on the Arch of Constantine, Rome; the Temple of Venus, Teatro Marittimo, Large Baths, Canopus (two views), and Serapeum at Hadrian's Villa, Tivoli; the Temple of Venus and Roma, the Pantheon (two exterior and three interior views), the Hadrianeum (general view and model plus four views of its relief sculptures), and the Mausoleum of Hadrian, Rome.

*14: The Antonines.* Revised discussion and dating of the Column of Marcus Aurelius. Added the portraits of Antoninus Pius from the Athenian Agora, of Lucius Verus in London, and of Commodus as the infant Hercules in Boston. New Art & Society essay "Faustina the Younger, Ideal Wife." New Problems & Solutions essay "'Fixing' Trajan's Column." New photographs of the Great Altar of Zeus, Pergamum; Antoninus Pius bust in the Stoa of Attalos Museum (general view and head); young Marcus Aurelius bust in the Museo Capitolino (general view and head); head of the equestrian portrait of Marcus Aurelius; bust of Lucius Verus in the British Museum (general view and head); base of the bust of Commodus as Hercules; infant Commodus strangling serpents; Temple of Antoninus and Faustina, Rome; pedestal of the Column of Antoninus Pius, Rome (four views); two panel reliefs of Marcus Aurelius on the Arch of Constantine, Rome; and the Column of Marcus Aurelius, Rome (general view and 11 details).

*15: Ostia, Port and Mirror of Rome.* Added the Baths of the Seven Sages, stationes of Mauretania and Carthage in the Piazzale delle Corporazioni, and Domus of Cupid and Psyche, Ostia; and the tomb on the Via Bisignano, Rome. New photographs of the Baths of the Seven Sages, Capitolium, theater, Piazzale delle Corporazioni and mosaics in three stationes, Baths of Neptune (general view and Neptune mosaic), Horrea Epagathiana (general view and three details), Insula of Diana (two views), Insula of the Painted Vaults, and the Domus of Cupid and Psyche (cubiculum E and viridarium I), Ostia; tombs 77–80 and tomb of Tiberius Claudius Eutychus, Isola Sacra; tomb of Annia Regilla, Via Appia, Rome; and the tomb on the Via Bisignano, Rome.

*16: Burying the Dead during the High Empire.* Added a painted linen funerary shroud from Saqqara (Egypt); two Meleager sarcophagi from Ayios Ioannis and Neo Ionia (Greece); and the Mars-and-Venus group from Isola Sacra. New photographs of the Galleria Doria Pamphili Meleager sarcophagus (two views); the Meleager sarcophagi in the Eleusis, Athens, and Piraeus archaeological museums; the Amazon sarcophagus in the Museo Capitolino; the clementia sarcophagus in the Vatican (general view and detail); the Roman general's sarcophagus in Mantua; the Portonaccio battle sarcophagus; and the Saqqara funerary shroud in Moscow.

*17: The Severan Dynasty.* Added the bust of Julia Domna in the Louvre and the statue of her as Ceres in Ostia; and two mosaic floors and a historiated Composite capital in the Baths of Caracalla. New photographs of the portraits of Julia Domna in Paris and Ostia (general views and head details); Caracalla as the infant Hercules and as emperor in Berlin (general view and head); Elagabalus and Severus Alexander in the Museo Capitolino; Arch of Septimius Severus in the Forum Romanum (general view and three details); Arch of the Argentarii (general view and six details), Forum Boarium; Baths of Caracalla (caldarium, two mosaics, and Composite capital); and the *Farnese Hercules*.

*18: Lepcis Magna and the Eastern Provinces.* Added the Greater Propylaia of the Sanctuary of Demeter and Persephone, Eleusis, and the propylon of the Roman agora, Athens. New photographs of the Severan forum, Lepcis Magna (general view and portico arcade); the Severan basilica, Lepcis Magna (general view and south apse); pediment of the Greater Propylaia, Eleusis; propylon of the Roman agora, Athens; Library of Celsus, Ephesus; South agora gate, Miletos (general view

and two details); theater, Sabratha; "Arch of Trajan," Timgad; Khazneh, Petra; and Temple of Venus, Baalbek.

*19: The Soldier Emperors.* Added the colossal head of Gordian III from Ostia and the portrait of Otacilia Severa from the Via dei Fori Imperiali. New photographs of the portraits of Maximinus Thrax, Pupienus (general view and head), Balbinus as Jupiter (general view and head), Gordian III (Louvre and Palazzo Massimo), Philip the Arabian (general view and head), Trajan Decius, Trebonianus Gallus, and Otacilia Severa; the Balbinus, Acilia (general view and detail), Ludovisi (general view and two details), and Achilles and Penthesilea (general view and two details) sarcophagi; and the Aurelian Walls, Rome (three views).

*20: The Tetrarchy.* Added the porphyry portrait of Galerius from Gamzigrad and the Arcus Novus of Diocletian. New Problems & Solutions essay "How to Portray Four Co-Rulers." New photographs of the Venice tetrarchs (general view, five details plus a reconstructed column); the Felix Romuliana portrait of Galerius; the decennial five-column monument in the Forum Romanum (two pedestal reliefs); Arcus Novus, Rome (two pedestals in the Boboli Gardens, Florence); Arch of Galerius, Thessaloniki (general view and pier B friezes); and the courtyard of Diocletian's palace, Split.

*21: Constantine, Emperor and Christian Patron.* Added the statuette of Christ as the Good Shepherd in the Vatican. New Problems & Solutions essay "What Should a Church Look Like?" New photographs of the aureus of Maxentius and the nummus and silver medallion of Constantine; colossal statue of Constantine from the Basilica Nova (two views); Arch of Constantine, Rome (general view, dedicatory inscription, four details of spolia, Luna tondo, pedestal, and three sections of the Constantinian frieze); Basilica Nova, Rome; Aula Palatina, Trier (exterior and interior); and the Santa Maria Antiqua sarcophagus (general view and detail).

## Acknowledgments

It is impossible even to begin to thank the innumerable colleagues, teachers, and students from whom I have learned so much since I was first introduced to the study of Roman art as an undergraduate in the mid-1960s. But I can thank those whom Cengage asked to provide critical reviews of the original manuscript and of the first and enhanced first editions of *A History of Roman Art*: Charles Adelman, University of Northern Iowa; James C. Anderson Jr., University of Georgia; William C. Archer, Illinois State University; Erin Averett, Creighton University; Elizabeth Baughan, University of Richmond; Sheramy Bundrick, University of South Florida, St. Petersburg; Hipolito Chacon, University of Montana; Megan Cifarelli, Manhattanville College; Sarah Kielt Costello, University of Houston–Clear Lake; Derek B. Counts, University of Wisconsin–Milwaukee; Sheila Dillon, Duke University; John J. Dobbins, University of Virginia; Sarah Harvey, Kent State University; Jennifer Hintlian, University of Delaware; Peter Holliday, California State University, Long Beach; Jennifer Marie Lockett, Texas Christian University; Jessica Nitschke, Georgetown University; Isabelle Pafford, San Francisco State University; Lee Ann Riccardi, The College of New Jersey; Connie Rodriguez, Loyola University New Orleans; Kathleen Warner Slane, University of Missouri; Shelley Stone, California State University, Bakersfield; Mary C. Sturgeon, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill; Barbara Tsakirgis, Vanderbilt University; Roger B. Ulrich, Dartmouth College; Eric R. Varner, Emory University; Rolf Winkes, Brown University; Susan Wood, Oakland University; and Margaret Zaho, University of Central Florida; as well as several anonymous reviewers whom I wish I could also thank by name. All prepared their reviews with exceptional care, and the detailed nature of their comments was invaluable to me. The second edition of *A History of Roman Art* is a better book because of their willingness to share ideas and information. I am very grateful indeed. Among those from whom I have learned much about Roman art and architecture are the graduate students I have taught during my long career at Boston University, and especially the current large cohort of MA and PhD candidates in Greek and Roman art and archaeology. It is a pleasure to single out Bailey Benson, who as my research assistant in 2015 played an important role in my reviewing the extensive scholarly literature that has appeared since the publication of the previous edition.

I also happily express my gratitude to the extraordinary group of people at Cengage involved with the editing, production, and distribution of *A History of Roman Art*. Some of them I have now worked with on this and other projects for many years and feel privileged to count among my friends. Whatever success this book may enjoy will be due in no small part to the expertise and unflagging commitment of these dedicated professionals: Sharon Adams Poore, product manager, art and music; Rachel Harbour, content developer; Danielle Ewanouski, product assistant; Cate Barr, senior art director; and Lianne Ames, senior content product manager. I am also deeply indebted to Jonathan and Sharon Poore for their superb photos and videos of Roman architecture, taken in Italy, France, Spain, and Germany exclusively for Cengage, and to Jonathan's assistant, Kim Meyer; the incomparable Joan Keyes of Dovetail Publishing Services, production "quarterback"; Michele Jones, my meticulous copy editor; Corey Smith, chief photo researcher; Susan Gall, eagle-eyed proofreader; Mike Wirth, graphic designer for the Who's Who in the Roman World infographic, along with Diana Graham, senior designer at Cengage; and Francesca Tronchin, who contributed important ancillary materials to MindTap. I also wish to thank Cengage's peerless marketing and sales executives and their tireless sales representatives under the direction of Jillian Borden, senior marketing manager, for the indispensable work they do in bringing my books into the hands of readers worldwide.

Fred S. Kleiner
*June 2016*

# Resources

## MindTap for Instructors

Leverage the tools in MindTap for *A History of Roman Art*, Second Edition, to enhance and personalize your course. Add your own images, videos, web links, readings, projects, and more to your course Learning Path. Set due dates, specify whether assignments are for practice or a grade, and control when your students see these activities in their course. MindTap can be purchased as a stand-alone product or bundled with the print text. Connect with your Learning Consultant for more details via www.cengage.com/repfinder.

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MindTap guides you through the course curriculum via an innovative Learning Path Navigator where you will complete reading assignments, annotate your readings, complete homework, and engage with quizzes and assignments. This edition's MindTap features an image-centric, two-pane e-reader, designed to make your online reading experience easier. Images discussed in the text appear in the left pane, while the accompanying text scrolls on the right. Highly accessible and interactive, this new e-reader pairs videos, Google Map links, and 360-degree panoramas with the matching figure in the text. Artworks are further brought to life through zoom capability right in the e-reader.

## Who's Who in the Roman World Infographic

New to the second edition, the Who's Who in the Roman World digital infographic presents the major Roman personages and their family members in a family tree stretching from the early days of the Republic to the age of Constantine. This visual, interactive presentation both invites exploration and facilitates comprehension of this complex material: students can easily view the passage of power through Republican and Imperial Rome; learn more about the details and drama of each figure's life through written biographical summaries; reinforce their ability to put faces with names by viewing a sculpted image of most rulers; and draw connections between the figures in ways not easily achieved through traditional textual presentation.

**1-1 Tumuli in the Banditaccia necropolis, Cerveteri, seventh to second centuries BCE.**

# Italy before the Rise of Rome

# 1

The name "Rome" almost invariably conjures images of power and grandeur, of mighty armies and fearsome gladiators, of marble cities and far-flung roads. Indeed, at its height in the second century CE, the "eternal city" was the capital of the greatest empire the world had ever seen (MAP 12-1). Rome's territories extended from the Strait of Gibraltar to the Nile, from the Tigris and Euphrates to the Rhine, Danube, Thames, and beyond. The Romans presided over prosperous cities and frontier outposts on three continents, ruling virtually all of Europe, North Africa, and West Asia. Millions of people of many races, religions, tongues, traditions, and cultures called themselves Romans. Of all the civilizations of antiquity, the Roman most closely approximates today's world in its multicultural character.

The longevity and vast extent of the Roman Empire explain why Roman monuments of art and architecture are more conspicuous and numerous than those of any other ancient civilization. Many are now gated tourist attractions with admission fees, but others are part of the very fabric of modern life. In Rome, Western Europe, Greece, the Middle East, and Africa today, the powerful concrete vaults of Roman theaters and baths form the cores of modern houses, stores, restaurants, and museums. Almost everywhere, Roman temples, basilicas, and even mausoleums have had an afterlife as churches or mosques. Cities and towns stage bullfights, sports events, operas, and rock concerts in Roman arenas. Roman aqueducts continue to supply water to some modern towns. Ships dock in what were once Roman ports, and Western Europe's highway system still closely follows the ancient routes of Roman roads.

Ancient Rome also lives on in the Western world in concepts of law and government, in languages, in calendars—even in the coins people use daily. Roman art speaks to contemporary Western viewers in a language most people can readily understand. In its diversity and mixing of different styles—even in the same artwork—Roman art foreshadowed the art and architecture of the modern and postmodern worlds. The Roman use of art, especially portraits and historical relief sculptures, to manipulate public opinion is similar to the contemporary practice of employing carefully crafted imagery in political campaigns. And the Roman mastery of concrete construction began an architectural revolution still felt today.

But the Rome of popular imagination was a latecomer to the Italian peninsula, preceded not only by primitive villages stretching back to prehistoric times but by two great civilizations—the Greek and the Etruscan (**MAP 1-1**). Both had a profound impact on Roman culture, and it is impossible to understand the emergence and development of Roman art and architecture if studied in isolation from Greek and Etruscan statues, paintings, and buildings. That is why this history of Roman art opens with a sketch of the art and architecture of the Greeks and Etruscans of Italy before the Roman conquest of their territories.

## Magna Graecia

During the Iron Age, which in Italy began around 900 BCE, until the achievement of Roman domination throughout the entire peninsula and Sicily in the third century BCE, Italy was home to diverse population groups. Both native and foreign, these peoples spoke different languages, worshiped different deities, and sometimes clashed with one another.

## Timeline

# Greek and Etruscan Italy

| | |
|---|---|
| ca. 900–700 BCE | Villanovan civilization flourishes in central and northern Italy |
| ca. 770–760 BCE | Greeks settle at Pithekoussai |
| ca. 750 BCE | Greeks settle at Cumae |
| 734 BCE | Greeks settle at Syracuse |
| ca. 700 BCE | Earliest Etruscan inscriptions appear on pottery |
| 700–600 BCE | Orientalizing art |
| ca. 650 BCE | Regolini-Galassi Tomb, Cerveteri |
| ca. 616–509 BCE | Etruscan kings rule Rome |
| 600–480 BCE | Archaic art |
| ca. 600 BCE | Greeks settle at Selinus |
| ca. 600 BCE | Greeks settle at Paestum |
| 582 BCE | Greeks settle at Agrigento |
| ca. 550–500 BCE | Tomb of the Shields and Chairs, Cerveteri |
| ca. 540–530 BCE | Temple C, Selinus |
| ca. 530 BCE | Tomb of the Bulls, Tarquinia |
| ca. 520 BCE | Tomb of the Augurs, Tarquinia |
| ca. 520 BCE | Sarcophagus *degli sposi*, Cerveteri |
| ca. 510 BCE | Tomb of Hunting and Fishing, Tarquinia |
| ca. 510–500 BCE | Portonaccio Temple, Veii |
| 509 BCE | Last Etruscan king expelled from Rome |
| 480–323 BCE | Classical art |
| ca. 480 BCE | *Agrigento Ephebe* |
| ca. 480 BCE | Tomb of the Leopards, Tarquinia |
| ca. 480–470 BCE | Tomb of the Diver, Paestum |
| 474 BCE | Greeks defeat Etruscan navy near Cumae |
| ca. 460 BCE | Temple of Hera II or Apollo, Paestum |
| ca. 400 BCE | *Mars of Todi* |
| ca. 400–375 BCE | *Chimaera of Arezzo* |
| 396 BCE | Veii falls to the Romans |
| ca. 350–325 BCE | Tomb of the Shields, Tarquinia |
| 323–31 BCE | Hellenistic art |
| ca. 320–300 BCE | *Ficoroni Cista* |
| ca. 320–280 BCE | Tomb of the Reliefs, Cerveteri |
| 308 BCE | Rome annexes Tarquinia |
| 273 BCE | Romans conquer Cerveteri |
| 265 BCE | Romans sack Volsinii |
| ca. 200 BCE | Sarcophagus of Lars Pulena |
| ca. 200–150 BCE | Inghirami Tomb, Volterra |
| ca. 200–175 BCE | *Porta Marzia*, Perugia |
| ca. 90–70 BCE | Aule Metele (*Arringatore*) |
| 89 BCE | All Italians receive Roman citizenship |


**MAP 1-1** Greek and Etruscan sites in Italy.

The most important cultural group in southern Italy and Sicily was the Greeks, whose earliest settlement on the Italian mainland was at Cumae, northwest of Naples (Greek Neapolis—"new city"—a later foundation of the Cumaeans). Cumae was founded around 750 BCE by settlers from Euboea. A decade or two before, another group of Euboeans had founded Pithekoussai on the island of Ischia. By 730 BCE, the Greeks had planted three new cities on the east coast of Sicily at Messina, Naxos, and Syracuse. By the end of the century, there were almost a dozen more Greek foundations throughout southern Italy and Sicily—a new settlement almost every two years during the final third of the eighth century.

Commonly, although inappropriately, called "colonies" (Latin, *coloniae*), the Greek cities of what came to be called *Magna Graecia* (Greater Greece) were not subservient to their "mother cities" (Greek, *metropoleis*) but were independent entities. The Greek word for these "colonies" was *apoikia* (pl. *apoikiai*), literally "[home] away from home." The motivation for the establishment of Greek cities in the West varied enormously. Some were the new homes of exiles or political refugees from their mother city. Some were trading outposts or opportunities for Greek immigrants to acquire agricultural land not readily available in their more densely populated home regions. But whatever their motivation, the new colonists

(the terminology is too firmly entrenched to avoid) brought with them their language, religion, and political and social institutions. They also imported their artistic traditions, changing the character of the art and architecture of Italy forever.

**Paestum** The most conspicuous remains of Greek civilization in Italy are the monumental shrines to the gods that the Greeks erected in great numbers both in the southern part of the Italian "boot" and in Sicily. Three of the finest and best preserved are at Paestum (Greek Poseidonia, the city of Poseidon, god of the sea; see "Who's Who in the Roman World"), south of Naples near Pompeii and readily accessible to the Romans. Probably founded around 600 BCE, Paestum flourished during the sixth and fifth centuries BCE and had the resources to erect these great temples. The latest and most refined is the temple usually called the Temple of Hera II (**FIGS. 1-2** and **1-2A**) to distinguish it from the neighboring century-earlier Temple of Hera I that the Poseidonians built in honor of the wife of Zeus, king of the Greek gods. However, the shrine may really have been dedicated to Apollo rather than to Hera or to Poseidon, as once thought. It dates to around 460 BCE. Closely modeled on one of the most important Greek temples in the motherland, the Temple of Zeus at Olympia, the Paestum temple is a characteristic example of Greek temple design.

**Greek Temple Design** During the eighth and seventh centuries BCE, the Greeks generally constructed the temples of their gods using wood and mud brick. But during the *Archaic* (600–480 BCE), *Classical* (480–323 BCE), and *Hellenistic* (323–30 BCE) periods, the Greeks employed stone, a much more permanent material that was also more expensive to obtain and more difficult to cut and shape. Glittering white marble was the preferred choice in Greece and the Aegean Islands, where it was readily available, but locally quarried limestone was the norm for temples in Magna Graecia.

Greek temples, which had a greater influence on the later history of architecture in the Western world than any other building type ever devised, differed in function from most later religious shrines—with the notable exception of Etruscan and Roman temples, which followed Greek models. The altar of a Greek temple stood outside the building—at the east end, facing the rising sun—and the priest and worshipers gathered outside, not inside, the building to offer sacrifices to the gods. The function of the temple proper was to house the so-called *cult statue* of the deity. The Greek (and Etruscan and Roman) temple was the house of the god or goddess, not of his or her followers.

The core of a Greek temple was the *naos* or *cella,* a room with no windows in which the deity's cult statue was on display. Preceding the cella was a *pronaos,* or porch. In its most common developed form, the Greek temple also had a porch at the rear (called the *opisthodomos*) set against the back wall of the cella. The purpose was not functional but decorative, satisfying the Greek passion for balance and symmetry. Although many variations exist, most Greek temples have a screen of *columns* all around the cella and its porches. Called a *peristyle* or *peripteral colonnade,* this ring of columns is a feature of all three temples at Paestum.

To the Greek mind, proportion in architecture was much the same as harmony in music, reflecting and embodying the cosmic order. The Greeks' insistence on proportional order guided their experiments with the proportions of their temples.

**1-2** Temple of Hera II or Apollo (looking northeast), Paestum, ca. 460 BCE.

The arrow icon indicates that the referenced content appears in MindTap.

## Doric and Ionic Orders

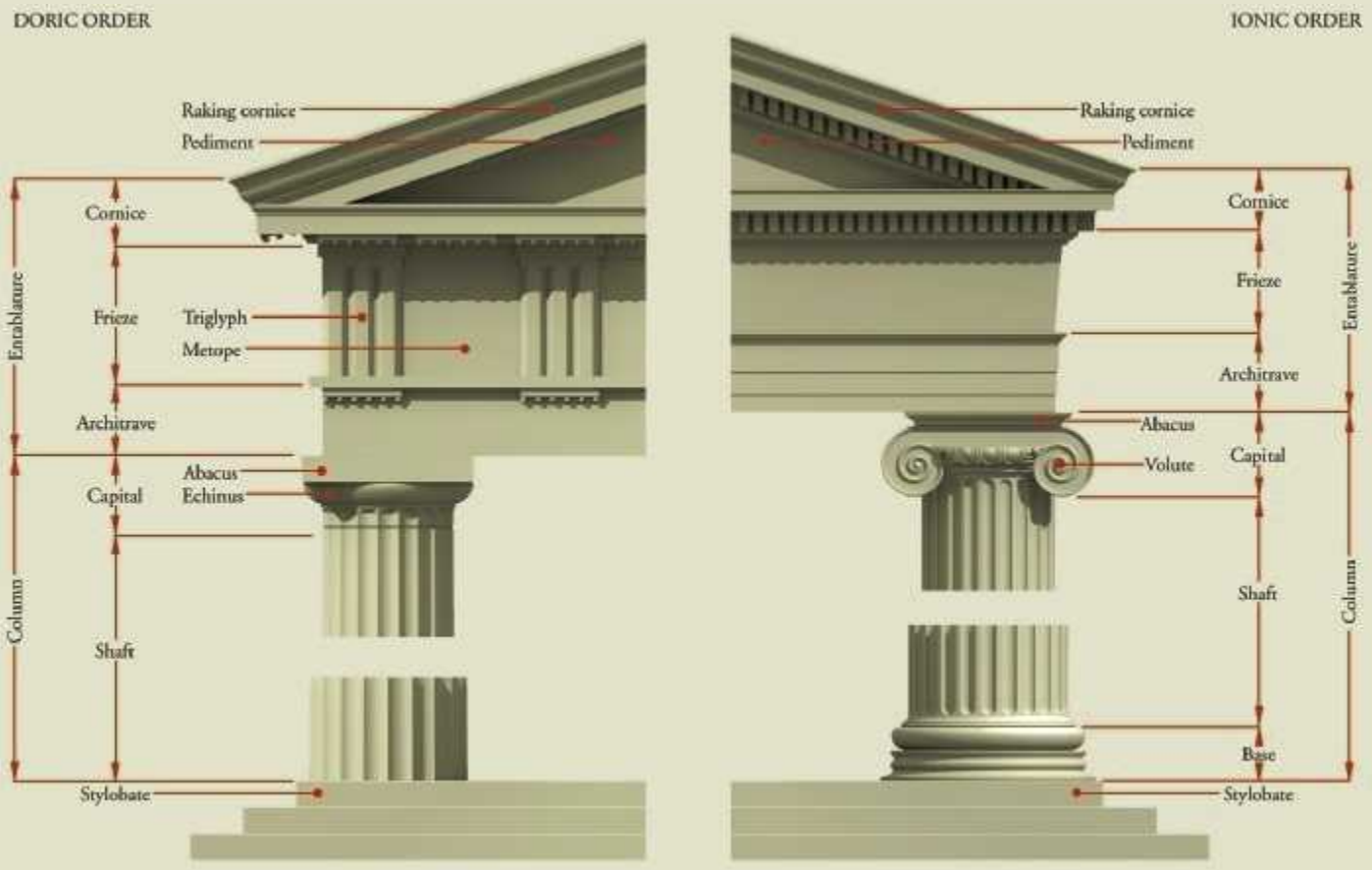
Architectural historians describe the *elevation* (FIG. 1-3) of a Greek temple in terms of the platform, the colonnade, the area between the columns and the roof (*entablature*), and the roof. During the Archaic period, two basic *post-and-lintel systems,* or *orders,* of architecture evolved in Greece. The names of the orders derive from the regions where they were most commonly employed. The *Doric* (FIG. 1-3, *left*) was formulated on the mainland and became the preferred order also in the Greek colonies of southern Italy and Sicily—for example, Paestum (**FIGS.** 1-2 and **1-2A**) and Selinus (FIG. 1-4). The *Ionic* (FIG. 1-3, *right*) was the order of choice in the Aegean Islands and on the western coast of Asia Minor. The geographical distinctions are not absolute, however.

The most distinguishing characteristic of each order is the form of the columns used. Greek (and Etruscan and Roman) columns have two or three parts, depending on the order: the *shaft,* which is usually marked with vertical channels (*flutes*); the *capital* ("head"); and, in the Ionic order, the *base.* In both orders, the columns rest on the *stylobate,* the uppermost course of the platform.

The capital has two elements. The lower part (the *echinus*) varies with the order. In the Doric, it is convex and cushionlike. In the Ionic, it is small and supports a bolster ending in scroll-like spirals (the *volutes*). The capital's upper element, present in both orders, is a flat block (the *abacus*), which provides the immediate support for the entablature.

The entablature has three parts: the *architrave,* the main weight-bearing and weight-distributing element; the *frieze*; and the *cornice,* a molded horizontal projection that together with two sloping (*raking*) cornices forms a triangle framing the *pediment.* In the Doric order, the frieze is subdivided into triple vertical dividers called *triglyphs* and square plaques called *metopes* (**FIGS. 1-2A** and 1-4), whereas in the Ionic, the frieze is left open to provide a continuous field for relief sculpture. The Greeks also often placed sculpture, usually in the form of freestanding statuary, in temple pediments (FIG. 1-5).

The Romans adopted both the Doric and Ionic orders for their own temples, as well as a later Greek capital type, the Corinthian (see "Corinthian Capitals," page 37).




**1-3** Elevation of the Doric and Ionic orders (John Burge).


**1-4** Three metopes with mythological subjects and two triglyphs of the Doric east frieze of Temple C, Selinus, ca. 540–530 BCE. Metopes: Limestone, 4' high. Museo Archeologico Regionale, Palermo.

The earliest shrines tended to be long and narrow, about three times as long as they were wide. From the sixth century BCE on, Greek temple plans approached but rarely had a ratio of length to width of 2:1. The Temple of Hera II (FIG. 1-2), for example, has 14 columns on its sides and 6 at the front and back.

**Temple C, Selinus** Paestum's three temples are typical of Greek architecture in Magna Graecia in employing the *Doric order* (see "Doric and Ionic Orders," page 4, and **FIG. 1-3**). They are less typical in lacking sculptural decoration (other than the presumed cult statues in their *cellae*). At Selinunte, ancient Selinus, in western Sicily, founded in the mid-seventh century BCE, the Greek builders inserted limestone reliefs in the Doric friezes of some of their temples. Temple C, for example, the largest structure in the city's sacred precinct, erected around 540–530 BCE and dedicated to an unknown deity, had a series of *metopes* depicting episodes from Greek mythology. The three best-preserved metopes (**FIG. 1-4**) on the east facade represent, from left to right, Apollo in a *quadriga* (four-horse chariot), the Greek hero Perseus beheading Medusa, and Heracles (Roman Hercules) and the Cercopes.

Sculptural ornament in Greek temples was concentrated on the upper part of the building, in the frieze and pediments, as in the Temple of Aphaia (**FIG. 1-5**) on the Greek island of Aegina, which, however, had blank metopes. The Greeks painted their architectural sculptures, as they did freestanding stone statuary, and the capitals, decorative moldings, and other parts of their buildings. By painting some architectural elements, the designer could bring out more clearly the relationships of the parts as well as provide background color to set off the figures.

**1-5** Model of the Temple of Aphaia, Aegina, Greece, ca. 500–490 BCE. Glyptothek, Munich.

## How to Make a Perfect Statue

In Classical Greece, sculptors and architects alike were greatly influenced by the theories of Pythagoras of Samos, who lived during the latter part of the sixth century BCE. A famous geometric theorem still bears his name. Pythagoras also is said to have discovered that harmonic chords in music are produced on the strings of a lyre at regular intervals that may be expressed as ratios of whole numbers—for example, 2:1, 3:2, 4:3. He and his followers, the Pythagoreans, believed more generally that underlying harmonic proportions could be found in all of nature, determining the form of the universe as well as of things on earth, and that beauty resided in harmonious numerical ratios.

Following this reasoning, the Greeks came to equate beauty with fine proportions, and during the Archaic and Classical periods, artists and architects continuously experimented with the size relationships among parts of buildings and between the head and the torso and limbs of human bodies (FIG. 1-6). In the mid-fifth century BCE, Polykleitos of Argos (FIG. 5-11B), the most famous Classical Greek sculptor of athletes and heroes, concluded that he could solve the problem of making a "perfect statue" by applying the Pythagorean principle of harmonic proportions. He codified his ideas in a treatise titled *The Canon* (that is, the standard of perfection), and to illustrate his treatise, he created a statue, also called *Canon,* in which every body part is a fixed size in relation to every other body part according to an all-encompassing mathematical formula.

Polykleitos's treatise is unfortunately lost, but Galen, a physician who lived during the second century CE, summarized the sculptor's philosophy and approach to statuary design as follows:

> [Beauty arises from] the commensurability [*symmetria*] of the parts, such as that of finger to finger, and of all the fingers to the palm and the wrist, and of these to the forearm, and of the forearm to the upper arm, and, in fact, of everything to everything else, just as it is written in the *Canon* of Polykleitos.*

This is why Pliny the Elder, whose first-century CE multivolume *Natural History* is one of the most important sources for the history of Greek art, maintained that Polykleitos "alone of men is deemed to have rendered art itself [that is, the theoretical basis of art] in a work of art."†


**1-6** Statue of a nude youth (*Agrigento Ephebe*), from Agrigento, ca. 480 BCE. Marble, 3' 4¼" high. Museo Archeologico Regionale, Agrigento.

*Galen, *De placitis Hippocratis et Platonis,* 5. Translated by J. J. Pollitt, *The Art of Ancient Greece: Sources and Documents* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1990), 76.
†Pliny the Elder, *Natural History,* 34.55. Translated by Pollitt, 75.

***Agrigento Ephebe*** A near-obsession with harmonious proportions also characterized Greek sculptors' approach to representing the human body in statuary, especially during the Classical period, both in Greece and Magna Graecia. A very early example from Sicily, contemporaneous with the emergence of the Classical style on the Greek mainland about 480 BCE, is the statue of a nude youth with perfect proportions known as the *Agrigento Ephebe* (**FIG. 1-6**). Found in 1897 in a cistern at the Temple of Demeter at Agrigento (Greek Akragas, founded in 582 BCE), the statue is one of the first to incorporate a slight shift in weight at the hips, a posture that, in more exaggerated form (*contrapposto,* Italian "counterbalance"), would be codified in Polykleitos's *Canon* and become emblematic of the Classical style (see "How to Make a Perfect Statue," above). Equally characteristic of the Classical style are the idealized facial features of the *ephebe* (Greek, "youth").

**Tomb of the Diver** Excavations in the apoikiai of Magna Graecia have also produced some of the finest examples of Greek painting. In fact, the best surviving Early Classical large-scale painting (as opposed to the miniature paintings on vases) comes from a small tomb at Paestum that resembles an oversized coffin in shape and has *frescoes* on its four walls and its cover slab. Called the Tomb of the Diver (**FIGS. 1-7** and **1-8**) after the scene on its ceiling (FIG. 1-8), its four walls depict the all-male participants at a Greek *symposium* ("banquet"). In the


**1-7** Banqueters, north wall of the Tomb of the Diver, Tempa del Prete necropolis, Paestum, ca. 480–470 BCE. Fresco, 1' 6¾" high. Museo Archeologico Nazionale, Paestum.

illustrated detail (FIG. 1-7), five men, including one amorous couple, recline on three couches. The painter incorporated the latest advances in Greek draftsmanship, most notably the representation of torsos seen in three-quarter views and the depiction of profile eyes in profile heads. (The norm in Archaic painting had been to present both torsos and eyes in frontal views.) Symposium scenes like this one are common on contemporaneous Greek vases, but the representation on the cover slab of the Tomb of the Diver has no parallel in Greek painting of the time. A youth dives from a stone platform into a body of water. The scene most likely symbolizes the plunge from this life into the Underworld. The choice of subject probably indicates that the painter was familiar with the art of the Greeks' most important neighbors in Italy, the Etruscans (compare FIG. 1-18).

## Etruria

The heartland of the Etruscans was the territory between the Arno and Tiber Rivers of central Italy (MAP 1-1), but both ancient and modern commentators have debated whether the Etruscans (who called themselves *Rasenna*), were an indigenous people or immigrants. Their language, although written in a Greek-derived script, is unrelated to the Indo-European linguistic family and is still largely undeciphered. Herodotus, the fifth-century BCE Greek historian regarded as the "father of history," believed, as some scholars still do, that the Etruscans came to Italy from the east, specifically from Lydia in Asia Minor. Herodotus stated that King Tyrsenos was their leader. The Greeks consequently called the Etruscans Tyrsenoi or Tyrrhenoi and gave their name also to the Tyrrhenian Sea west of the


**1-8** Youth diving, cover slab of the Tomb of the Diver, Tempa del Prete necropolis, Paestum, ca. 480–470 BCE. Fresco, 3' 4" high. Museo Archeologico Nazionale, Paestum.

Italian peninsula. But Dionysius of Halicarnnasus, writing at the end of the first century BCE, maintained that the Etruscans, whom the Romans called *Etrusci* or *Tusci*, were native Italians. The Roman name for the Etruscans survives today in the name of the modern Italian province of Tuscany, centered on Florence, birthplace of Renaissance art. Other modern researchers have theorized that the Etruscans descended from the north into Italy.

No doubt there is an element of truth in all of these hypotheses, but today the once hotly debated "mystery of the Etruscans" is no longer a major controversy. Most archaeologists and historians consider the Etruscan people of historical times to be the result of a gradual fusion of native and immigrant populations. This mixing of peoples occurred in the early first millennium BCE. By the time the "Etruscans" first began to produce art and erect buildings, that fusion had already taken place. But the Etruscans, like the Greeks, were never a unified "nation" or "kingdom." *Etruria,* the territory the Etruscans occupied, was the homeland of independent city-states, like the Greek colonies of Magna Graecia. The Etruscan cities coexisted, flourishing or fading independently. Any semblance of unity among them was based primarily on common linguistic ties and religious beliefs and practices. This lack of political cohesion eventually made the Etruscans relatively easy prey for the Romans.

**Villanovan Civilization** The earliest inscriptions in the Etruscan language appear on pottery dated around 700 BCE, marking the emergence of the Etruscans as an identifiable civilization. But the major Etruscan sites of the seventh century exhibit a strong continuity with the preceding proto-Etruscan culture that archaeologists have named *Villanovan,* after the site several miles east of Bologna where, in 1853, Giovanni Gozzadini first accidentally discovered material remains of that Iron Age civilization on his own property.

The Villanovans practiced *cremation* and buried their dead in a distinctive manner. They placed the ashes and bones of the deceased man or woman in a *cinerary urn* (ash urn) set into a small well-like pit cut deep into the earth or bedrock and covered by a stone slab. These pit-graves also contained personal items—for example, razors and swords for men, bracelets and necklaces for women. Villanovan urns were *biconical*—that is, their bodies took the approximate shape of two truncated cones joined together at their bases. The material was almost always *impasto*—coarse, unrefined clay modeled by hand without the aid of a potter's wheel and then fired in a kiln at a medium temperature to produce a brown/black surface color. Sometimes the Villanovan ceramists incised geometric patterns in the clay before firing. The deceased's remains would be placed inside the biconical urn and the container's open top usually covered with an inverted impasto bowl, but the most elaborate examples had bronze helmets (**FIG. 1-9**) as lids. These urns must have contained the ashes of warriors, or at least of men. Swords and other military equipment have often been found with the helmets in Villanovan graves. The example illustrated here, probably from Tarquinia, one of the wealthiest Etruscan cities, is of


**1-9** Villanovan crested helmet, from Tarquinia(?), ca. 800–750 BCE. Bronze, 1' $1\frac{7}{8}$" high. British Museum, London.

very high quality but typical in both means of manufacture and shape. Fashioned of two thin hammered sheets of bronze riveted together, the helmet has an elegant curved and pointed crest. The decoration consists of rows of *bosses* (circular knobs) framing incised designs (some of which echo the shape of the helmet).

The Villanovans also placed the cremated remains of their dead in impasto urns in the form of huts, like the one illustrated in **FIG. 1-10**, found in the Cavalupo cemetery at Vulci (Etruscan Velcha, Roman Vulci), another important Etruscan city. The evidence of associated finds indicates that these urns contained the ashes and bones of both men and women, and they cannot therefore be considered the female counterpart of the male helmet urns. Archaeologists have uncovered considerable numbers of hut urns. They vary in detail but take the same general form, which mirrors the shape of the primitive houses in which the Villanovans lived. Circular or oval in plan, Villanovan huts had poles set into the ground, which supported a thatched roof. The Vulci cinerary urn reproduces the overall shape of one of these proto-Etruscan homes of the eighth century BCE. The urn's lid is the hut's roof, complete with crossed timber beams ending in a V and a small window over the front door that enabled the smoke of the hut's hearth to escape. Incised decoration on the exterior walls may represent windows, but may also simply be abstract ornamentation. In any case, the urns are early examples of a concept that will

characterize much Etruscan funerary art of succeeding centuries: The tomb is the house of the dead and consequently imitates the form of the homes of the living (see "Etruscan Houses for the Dead," page 12).

**Regolini-Galassi Tomb** During the seventh century BCE, the Etruscans successfully mined iron, tin, copper, and silver, creating great mineral wealth that transformed the modest Villanovan villages of central and northern Italy with their agriculturally based economies into prosperous cities engaged in international commerce. Elite families could afford to acquire foreign goods, and wealthy Etruscans quickly developed a taste for luxury objects. To satisfy the demand, local artisans, inspired by imported goods, produced magnificent objects for both homes and tombs. As did the Greeks at the same time, the Etruscans became fascinated with the exotic motifs and monsters that decorated Eastern artifacts, and they frequently borrowed or adapted them for their own luxury objects. Art historians describe the art of this early phase of the Archaic period in both Greece and Italy as *Orientalizing*.

About 650 BCE, a well-to-do family in Cerveteri (Etruscan Caisra, Roman Caere), one of the leading Etruscan cities, stocked the so-called Regolini-Galassi Tomb (named for its excavators) with locally manufactured gold jewelry of Orientalizing style in addition to impasto pottery, silver vessels, bronze cauldrons and shields, and other grave goods. The most spectacular of the many luxurious objects discovered in 1836 in the tomb is a golden *fibula* (clasp or safety pin; **FIG. 1-11**) of unique shape used to fasten a woman's gown at the shoulder. It is a much larger and much more elaborate version in gold of the modest bronze pins commonly placed in Villanovan pit-graves of women. It is so large, in fact, that


**1-11** Disk fibula with Orientalizing lions, from the Regolini-Galassi Tomb, Sorbo necropolis, Cerveteri, ca. 650 BCE. Gold, 1' $\frac{1}{2}$" high. Musei Vaticani, Rome.


**1-10** Villanovan hut urn, from the Cavalupo necropolis, Vulci, eighth century BCE. Impasto, 1' 1$\frac{5}{8}$" high. Museo Nazionale di Villa Giulia, Rome.

scholars hypothesize that the deceased never wore the pin during her lifetime. It seems to have been created to accompany her into the afterlife. Although depositing a fibula in a woman's tomb continued a Villanovan practice, the woman in the Regolini-Galassi Tomb was not cremated, and the decoration of her gigantic pin has nothing in common with the ornamentation of Villanovan grave goods. The five lions that stride across the surface are motifs originating in the Near East and Egypt. The technique, also emulating Eastern imports, is masterful, combining *repoussé* (hammered relief) and *granulation* (the fusing of tiny metal balls, or granules, to a metal surface). The objects found in the Regolini-Galassi Tomb also include two other items of jewelry unlikely to have been worn by the deceased while alive: a golden *pectoral* of sufficient size to cover a woman's chest and two gold circlets that may be earrings, although they are large enough to be bracelets. A taste for this kind of ostentatious display is frequently the hallmark of newly acquired wealth, and this was certainly the case in seventh-century BCE Etruria.

**Vulci Centaur** The earliest large-scale stone statues found in Etruria date to the end of the seventh century. This parallels the introduction of Egyptian-inspired life-size and larger statuary


**1-12** Statue of a centaur, from Vulci, ca. 590 BCE. Nenfro, 2' 6½" high. Museo Nazionale di Villa Giulia, Rome.

in Greece, but in Etruria the models seem to have been Greek rather than Oriental. The best of the Archaic examples is probably the statue of a *centaur* (**FIG. 1-12**), a distinctly Greek monster, fashioned in nenfro, the local limestone, and set up in the Etruscan cemetery at Vulci, probably as a tomb guardian, conforming to very ancient practice in the Near East. The statue adheres to the early Greek formula of attaching the rear part of a horse to the back of a standing man (the later, more anatomically believable form of centaur has a human head, torso, and arms attached to a horse's body). The idea for the Etruscan statue may have come from representations of centaurs on small imported Greek objects such as vases, which the Etruscans avidly purchased. Nonetheless, the artist's knowledge of contemporaneous Greek statuary is manifest in the adoption of the standard posture for Greek statues of nude youths (head held stiffly and looking forward, arms placed close to the body with the hands next to the thighs, left leg advanced). The flat, bearded head with large eyes and wiglike hair also recalls Greek Orientalizing statuary. Works such as the Vulci centaur reveal that Archaic Etruscan artists were as eager to emulate Greek motifs as Oriental ones.

### Sarcophagus *degli Sposi*

By the middle of the sixth century, Etruscan sculptors had asserted their independence from Greek prototypes. The new distinctive Etruscan manner is on display in an early masterwork of Etruscan terracotta statuary—the *sarcophagus* (literally, "flesh eater"; a coffin) found in a tomb in the Banditaccia cemetery at Cerveteri and known as the sarcophagus *degli sposi* (Italian, "of the spouses") because it takes the form of a husband and wife reclining on a banqueting couch (**FIG. 1-13**). The sarcophagus, which was once brightly painted, consists of four separately cast and fired sections. It may have contained the ashes of either the man or the woman or both, whom the sculptor portrayed at life size. This kind of funerary monument has no parallel at this date in Greece, where there were no monumental tombs that could house large sarcophagi. The Greeks buried their dead in simple graves marked by a tombstone or a standing statue. Moreover, although banquets were common subjects on Greek vases (which, by the late sixth century BCE, the Etruscans imported in great quantities and regularly deposited in their tombs), only men dined at Greek dinner parties. The image of a husband and wife sharing the same banqueting couch is uniquely Etruscan (see "The 'Audacity' of Etruscan Women," page 11).

The man and woman on the Cerveteri sarcophagus are at rest but are highly animated. They are the antithesis of the stiff figures that are the norm in Greek statuary of the time. Also typically Etruscan and in sharp contrast to contemporaneous Greek statues with their emphasis on proportion and balance (compare FIG. 1-6) is the manner in which the Cerveteri sculptor rendered the upper and lower parts of each body. The legs are only summarily modeled, and the transition to the torso and waist is unnatural. The Etruscan artist's interest focused on the upper half of the figures, especially on the vibrant faces (**FIGS. 1-13A** and **1-13B**) and gesticulating arms. The woman may have held a perfume flask and a pomegranate in her hands, the man an egg (compare FIG. 1-17). The Cerveteri couple speaks to the viewer in a way that Greek statues of similar date, with their closed contours and calm demeanor, never do.

### Banditaccia Necropolis

The exact *findspot* (place of discovery) of the Cerveteri sarcophagus is not documented, but the kind of tomb that housed sarcophagi of this type is well known. In the sixth century BCE, to underscore their wealth and social status, the leading families in Cerveteri erected enormous mound-tombs (*tumuli*; **FIGS. 1-1** and **1-1A**) in the Banditaccia cemetery that symbolically served as houses for the dead in the eternal afterlife (see "Etruscan Houses for the Dead," page 12).

### Tarquinia's Painted Tombs

Underground burial chambers hewn out of the bedrock were also the norm in the Monterozzi necropolis at Tarquinia (Etruscan Tarchuna, Roman Tarquinii). Earthen mounds may once have covered the Tarquinia tombs too, but the tumuli no longer exist. The Tarquinian tombs differed from those at Cerveteri in important ways, however. The subterranean rooms at Tarquinia do not have carvings imitating the appearance of Etruscan houses. Instead, in many tombs, paintings decorate the walls. Nonetheless, painted tombs are statistically rare at Tarquinia—around 200, the largest number yet discovered at any Etruscan

## The "Audacity" of Etruscan Women

At the instigation of the emperor Augustus at the end of the first century BCE, Titus Livy wrote a history of Rome from its legendary founding in 753 BCE to his own day. In the first book of his great work, Livy recounted the tale of Tullia, daughter of Servius Tullius, an Etruscan king of Rome in the sixth century BCE. The princess had married the less ambitious of two brothers of the royal Tarquinius family, while her sister had married the bolder of the two princes. Together, Tullia and her brother-in-law, Tarquinius Superbus (see "Etruscan Artists in Rome," page 32), arranged for the murder of their spouses. They then married each other and plotted the overthrow and death of Tullia's father. After the king's murder, Tullia ostentatiously drove her carriage over her father's corpse, spraying herself with his blood. (The Romans still call the road where the evil deed occurred the Street of Infamy.) Livy, though condemning Tullia's actions, placed them in the context of the famous "audacity" of Etruscan women.

The independent spirit and relative freedom that women enjoyed in Etruscan society similarly horrified (and threatened) other Greco-Roman male authors. The stories that the fourth-century BCE Greek historian Theopompus heard about the debauchery of Etruscan women appalled him. Etruscan women personified immorality for Theopompus, but much of what he reported is untrue. Etruscan women did not, for example, exercise naked alongside Etruscan men. But archaeological evidence confirms the accuracy of at least one of his "slurs": Etruscan women did attend banquets and recline with their husbands on a common couch (FIGS. 1-13, 1-17, and 1-29). Aristotle also remarked on this custom. It was so foreign to the Greeks that it both shocked and frightened them. Only men, boys, slave girls, and prostitutes attended Greek symposia (FIG. 1-7). The wives remained at home, excluded from most aspects of public life. In Etruscan Italy, in striking contrast to Greece, women also regularly attended sporting events with men. Etruscan paintings and reliefs document this as well.

Etruscan inscriptions also reflect the higher status of women in Etruria as compared to Greece. They often give the names of both the father and mother of the person commemorated (for example, the parents of Larth Velcha, FIG. 1-29, and of Aule Metele, FIG. 1-36), a practice unheard of in Greece. Etruscan women, moreover, retained their own names (Ravnthu Aprthnai, FIG. 1-29; Ramtha Visnai, FIG. 1-32) and could legally own property independently of their husbands. The frequent use of inscriptions on Etruscan mirrors (FIG. 1-28) and other toiletry items (FIG. 1-27) buried with women seems to attest to a high degree of female literacy as well.


**1-13** Sarcophagus with reclining couple (sarcophagus *degli sposi*), from the Banditaccia necropolis, Cerveteri, ca. 520 BCE. Painted terracotta, 6' 7" wide. Museo Nazionale di Villa Giulia, Rome.

site, but there are more than 6,000 tombs in the Monterozzi necropolis that have bare walls. During the past several decades, archaeologists have been able to uncover more painted tombs than ever before by using periscopes to preview tomb interiors from the surface before considering time-consuming and costly excavation. As a result, art historians have an almost unbroken record of mural painting in Etruria from the Archaic through the Hellenistic period.

During the sixth and fifth centuries BCE, Etruscan mural painters prepared the walls (less frequently also the ceilings) of the underground tomb chambers at Tarquinia with thin coats of clay and lime-plaster that smoothed out irregularities in the rock surface and provided a creamy white background for their representations. Preliminary charcoal sketches served as guides for outlining with black pigment the figures and their garments, and the furniture, trees, and other motifs, but painters often departed from the original designs. The artists used brushes to apply colors (primarily red, yellow, brown, blue, and green) inside the black outlines painted over the preliminary drawing.

## Etruscan Houses for the Dead

Many ancient civilizations did not permit families to bury their dead within the boundaries of cities. They strictly separated the city of the living from the cemetery, or *necropolis* (Greek, "city of the dead"). The Etruscan solution to the problem of disposing of the remains of their deceased in *extramural* (outside the walls) cities of the dead was to construct tombs that mirrored the layout and furnishings of Etruscan houses of the living. Today, tourists can visit dozens of these "houses of the dead" in the Banditaccia necropolis at Cerveteri.

The Cerveteri tumuli (**FIGS.** 1-1 and 1-1A) resemble the much earlier tholos tombs of the Mycenaeans, such as the 13th-century BCE Treasury of Atreus (**FIG.** 1-1B). But whereas the Mycenaeans built their tombs with *masonry* (cut-stone) blocks and then covered the burial chambers with an earthen mound, each Etruscan tumulus stood over one or more underground multichambered tombs cut out of the dark local limestone called tufa. The largest burial mounds at Cerveteri are of truly colossal size, exceeding 130 feet in diameter and reaching nearly 50 feet in height. Arranged in an orderly manner along a network of streets spread over 200 acres, the Banditaccia tombs truly constitute a city of the dead.

Like the Villanovan hut urns (FIG. 1-10), the underground tomb chambers at Cerveteri resembled the contemporaneous houses of the living—at least those of the Etruscan families who were wealthy enough to construct these tumuli. The aptly named Tomb of the Shields and Chairs (**FIGS.** 1-14 and 1-14A), excavated in 1834, is one of the most elaborate. It has a narrow entrance hall leading into a large central space. Two rooms open off the corridor, and three more are behind the main room, no doubt mirroring the layout of an elite home of the time. To enhance the effect of a domestic interior, sculptors carved imitations of timber ceiling beams and door frames out of the tufa bedrock. In the main room (FIG. 1-14), the sculptors also fashioned six beds and two high-backed chairs with footstools, and carved reliefs of 14 shields on the walls above the beds and chairs. Evidence from other tombs suggests that the Etruscans probably placed terracotta figures of the deceased on the chairs.

The rock-cut tombs in the Banditaccia cemetery highlight the very different values of the Etruscans and the Greeks. The Greeks employed stone for the shrines of their gods, but only rarely built monumental tombs for their dead. The Etruscans' temples no longer stand because they were constructed of wood and mud brick, but the grand subterranean tombs of Cerveteri are as permanent as the bedrock itself.

**1-14** Interior of the Tomb of the Shields and Chairs, Banditaccia necropolis, Cerveteri, ca. 550–500 BCE.

**Tomb of the Bulls** The earliest Tarquinian mural paintings are quite simple and usually confined to representations of a pair of Orientalizing guardian animals like those relegated to the crowning pediments of later tombs (FIGS. 1-16 and 1-17). The first example of a mural scheme that covers all the walls and the ceiling of a tomb chamber and also incorporates narrative subject matter is the Tomb of the Bulls (**FIG.** 1-15), a three-chamber tomb that resembles in its plan the layout of many Cerveteri tombs (**FIG.** 1-14A). Two small burial chambers open off the rear wall of the large main area, which the painter divided

**1-15** Interior of the Tomb of the Bulls, Monterozzi necropolis, Tarquinia, ca. 530 BCE.

into zones—a pediment, a frieze, and the rest of the wall. The tomb takes its name from the two bulls (one of which has a human face) in the frieze. The bulls witness two scenes of lovemaking—a heterosexual threesome at the left and a homosexual couple at the right. In the center is the name of the tomb's owner, Aranth Spurianas. Scholars debate the meaning of the erotic scenes. Some think that they have an *apotropaic* function (warding off evil spirits). Others postulate that they refer to reproduction and regeneration and to the deceased's expected afterlife in the Underworld.

Above the frieze, the pediment of the Tomb of the Bulls shows a heroic figure on horseback, probably the Greek hero Bellerophon, and the mythical *chimaera* (a composite monster part lion, part snake, and part goat; compare FIG. 1-26). Mythological scenes are exceedingly rare in Etruscan tombs, but the main scene in the Tomb of the Bulls, on the back wall between the two doorways, also has as its subject an episode from Greek mythology: Achilles, the leading Greek hero in the Trojan War saga, ambushing Troilus, the youngest son of King Priam of Troy, because a prophecy declared that Troy would not fall unless Troilus died before his 20th birthday. In the Tarquinian fresco, Achilles lunges forward from his hiding place behind a fountain-house with statues of lions as water spouts, and attacks the unsuspecting Trojan prince. The artist represented both figures according to the convention dating to Sumerian and Old Kingdom Egyptian times, still current in Greece as well as Etruria in the sixth century BCE, of drawing the torso in a frontal view and the head and limbs in profile. The schematic landscape setting of the fountain house continues below the main panel and to the left and right of the doorways. The natural environment figures much more prominently in Etruscan mural painting than in Greek painting and is a distinctive element of Etruscan art throughout its history.

**Tomb of the Augurs** One of the first Tarquinian tombs to have figural decoration on all four walls of its main (or only) chamber is the Tomb of the Augurs (**FIG. 1-16**), painted ca. 520 BCE. Here, the mythological themes of the decade-older Tomb of the Bulls have given way to depictions of funerary rites in honor of an important individual. Because of the inclusion of plants, the events depicted must take place outdoors, and some scholars therefore interpret the large door that is the central motif on the rear wall as the door to the tomb. However, the door should more likely be interpreted as the symbolic entrance to the Underworld, because to either side of it two men (there are no women depicted in the Tomb of the Augurs) extend one arm toward the door and place one hand against the forehead in a double gesture signifying both salute and mourning.

**1-16** Interior of the Tomb of the Augurs, Monterozzi necropolis, Tarquinia, ca. 520 BCE.

At the far end of the right wall is a man in a purple robe, probably a mark of his elevated stature, underscored also by the two attendants accompanying him. One carries a chair, the official seat of his high office, and the other sleeps, or more likely weeps, crouched on the ground. The man may be the deceased himself. The rest of the right wall as well as the left and front walls depict the funerary games in honor of the dead man, a tradition in many ancient societies best known to modern readers from Homer's description in the *Iliad* of the contests staged at the funeral of Patroclus. To the right of the official and his attendants is a man with a curved staff similar to the *lituus* of the Roman priests called *augurs,* hence the modern name of the tomb. Augurs determined the will of the gods based on the flight patterns of birds, but this Etruscan "augur" may not be a priest at all. Many scholars believe that he is an umpire at the wrestling match depicted at the center of the wall. Wrestling was also a popular sport in Greece, but uniquely Etruscan is the gruesome contest to the right, which some historians regard as a direct precursor of Roman gladiatorial shows (see "Spectacles in the Colosseum," page 158). A masked man labeled *phersu* (another phersu is at the far end of the left wall) controls a fearsome dog on a leash (not visible in FIG. 1-16). The phersu's leash also entangles and restrains the legs of a club-wielding man whose head is covered by a sack, making him an almost helpless victim of the dog, which has already drawn blood.

**Tomb of the Leopards** Banqueting is the subject of the exceptionally well preserved paintings in the Tomb of the Leopards (**FIG. 1-17**) at Tarquinia. Discovered in 1875, the tomb takes its name from the two beasts that guard the interior of the tomb from their perch within the pediment of the rear wall. Below, the painters filled the main zone with elegantly dressed reclining couples. The men are portrayed with dark skin and the women with light skin, conforming to an artistic convention that originated in the third millennium BCE in the Near East and Egypt. Like the combination of frontal and profile views of the human body, this convention was also well established in Greece during the Archaic period. Three couples dine on three couches on the back wall (foreshadowing the triple-couch arrangement standard in Roman dining rooms; see "The Roman House," page 69). They are painted versions of the married couple on the Cerveteri sarcophagus (FIG. 1-13). The Tarquinian diners are also husbands and wives, not just men, as at a Greek dinner party (FIG. 1-7). Attending the Etruscan diners are two nude boys carrying a cup and a pitcher. Musicians on the left and right walls provide the entertainment. The banquet takes place in the open air or, more likely, in a tent set up for the occasion—either the funerary banquet in honor of the deceased or a meal on an anniversary of a family member's death.

The Etruscan painters of the Leopards tomb were aware of some of the latest innovations in Greek drawing—for example, the placement of profile (as opposed to frontal) eyes in the

**1-17** Interior of the Tomb of the Leopards, Monterozzi necropolis, Tarquinia, ca. 480 BCE.

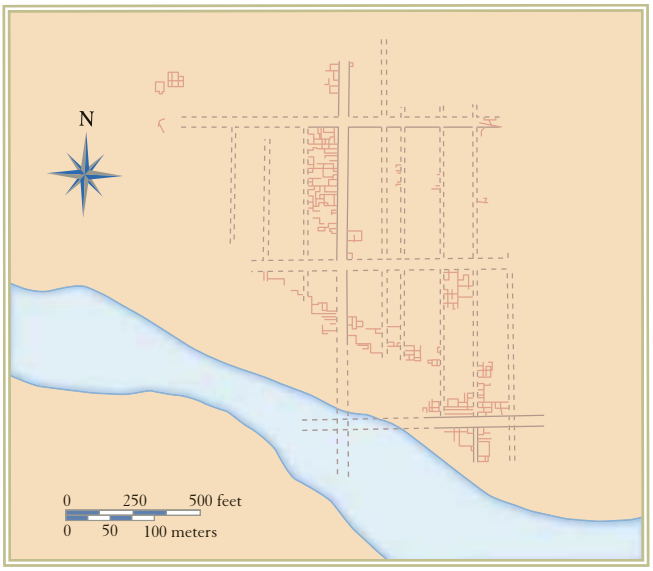
1 ft.

**1-18** Youth diving, detail of the left wall of the second chamber of the Tomb of Hunting and Fishing, Monterozzi necropolis, Tarquinia, ca. 510 BCE. Fresco, detail 5' 6½" high.

profile heads and the use of a three-quarter view for the torso of the double-flute player on the right wall (compare FIG. 1-7). But the figures are unmistakably Etruscan, and the banqueters, servants, and entertainers all make exaggerated gestures with unnaturally enlarged hands. The man on the couch at the far right on the rear wall holds up an egg, the symbol of regeneration, a familiar motif in funerary art that refers to a belief in rebirth and the afterlife. Appropriately, the tone is joyful, rather than somber. The painting is not a contemplation of death but a celebration of the good life of the privileged Etruscan elite, who had the resources and leisure to enjoy fine food and wine, music, and dance.

**Tomb of Hunting and Fishing** In the uniquely decorated Etruscan tomb called the Tomb of Hunting and Fishing, a generation older in date than the Tomb of the Leopards, the banqueting motif is subsidiary, confined to the pediment of the second of two chambers on a common axis. Instead, scenes of Etruscans enjoying the pleasures of nature decorate the main zone of the walls. In the detail of the left wall reproduced here (**FIG. 1-18**), a youth dives off a rocky promontory, while others fish from a boat and birds fill the sky all around. On the rear wall, youthful hunters aim their slingshots at the brightly painted birds. The natural environment, hinted at in other Tarquinian tombs by the inclusion of sparse shrubs and trees among the banqueters, musicians, and athletes, is here the central theme, but although the subject is nature, the coloring is not natural but decorative. Note, for example, the multicolored striped rocks in addition to the bold colors of the birds.

No Greek painting save for the Tomb of the Diver (FIG. 1-8) at Paestum comes close to the Tomb of Hunting and Fishing in the prominence given to landscape. In the Paestum tomb, however, the landscape is far more schematically rendered




**1-19** Schematic city plan of Marzabotto, ca. 500–480 BCE (after Giuseppe Sassatelli).

(with a constructed diving platform in place of the Tarquinian cliff). The similarity between the two mural schemes nonetheless suggests a common iconographic tradition. In fact, the Paestum composition probably owes its inspiration to older Etruscan designs, undermining the traditional, and now outdated, judgment of art historians that Etruscan art is a provincial version of Greek art and that Etruscan artists never set the standard for their Greek colleagues.

**City Planning: Marzabotto** The Etruscan *necropoleis* and their "houses of the dead" furnish some insight into the nature of the cities and homes of the living, but direct evidence comes from the excavation of several urban sites, especially Marzabotto (**FIG. 1-19**), a northern Etruscan settlement near Bologna (Etruscan Felsina, Roman Bononia) on the Reno River. Marzabotto's Etruscan name is unknown, although some scholars have identified the site as ancient Misa. Archaeologists have uncovered a large portion of the city plan, which dates to the beginning of the fifth century BCE. The plan is rigorous in its regularity, with blocks of elongated rectangular shape and streets that meet at right angles and run on a precise north-south or east-west axis. The major thoroughfares are almost 50 feet wide, the minor streets about 15 feet wide. The rationality of this kind of city plan was an outgrowth of the highly developed and codified rules of Etruscan religion—what Roman authors call the *disciplina etrusca* ("Etruscan practice")—which also prescribed the orientation of temples and the layout of cities.

Selinus and other cities in Magna Graecia have similar plans, which also have precedents in Egypt and the Near East. Architectural historians refer to urban grid schemes of this type as *orthogonal plans* or *Hippodamian plans*, because the great fourth-century BCE Greek philosopher Aristotle named Hippodamos of Miletus as the father of rational city planning.[1] Hippodamos was responsible for supervising the rebuilding of Miletus, his hometown on the west coast of Asia Minor in present-day Turkey, after the Persians had reduced the city to ruins in the early fifth century BCE. Hippodamos gained fame for imposing a strict grid plan on the site's irregular terrain and undulating coastline, and for his systematic determination of the size and location of each of the city's constituent parts, but the principle of orthogonal planning long predates him.

**Etruscan Temples** Of central importance in any ancient city were the shrines erected in honor of the gods. Little remains of most Etruscan temples beyond their foundations, but supplementing the scanty archaeological evidence is the invaluable account of Etruscan temple design provided in the late-first-century BCE treatise *On Architecture* by the Roman architect Vitruvius (see "Vitruvius's *On Architecture*," page 104). In the seventh chapter of the fourth of the treatise's 10 books, Vitruvius set out the *tuscanicae dispositiones* (the rules for designing "Tuscan"—that is, Etruscan—temples). According to Vitruvius, the typical Archaic Etruscan temple (**FIG. 1-20**) resembled the

[1]Aristotle, *Politics,* 7.10.4.

**1-20** Model of a typical Etruscan temple of the sixth century BCE as described by Vitruvius. Istituto di Etruscologia e di Antichità Italiche, Università di Roma, Rome.

stone gable-roofed temples of the Greeks (FIGS. 1-2 and 1-5), but it had wood columns, a tile-covered timber roof, and walls of sun-dried mud brick. Entrance was possible only via a narrow staircase at the center of the front of the temple, which sat on a high podium, setting off one side of the structure as the main side. This was contrary to Greek practice, in which the temple's front and rear were indistinguishable, and columns and steps circled the entire structure. The Greek temple was meant to be seen from all directions, the Etruscan temple only from the front. (The photograph of the Greek temple at Paestum in FIG. 1-2 shows the rear of the building.) The proportions of Etruscan temples also differed significantly from those of Greek temples, which were about twice as long as they were wide. Vitruvius states that the ideal Etruscan temple had a ratio of length to width of 6:5, and he specified that half of the length should be allocated to the deep porch at the front of the building, the rest to the cella or cellae. (Many Etruscan temples had three cellae housing statues representing three different deities.)

Etruscan temples differed in other ways from those of the Greeks. *Tuscan columns* resembled Greek Doric columns (FIGS. 1-2 and 1-3, *left*), but they were made of wood instead of stone, were unfluted, and had bases. Because of the lightness of the superstructure they had to support, Etruscan columns were, as a rule, much more widely spaced than Greek columns. And statues were only rarely set into the pediments of Etruscan temples. The Etruscans normally placed narrative statuary—in terracotta instead of stone—above the temple's *ridge beam* (the beam running the length of a building at the peak of the gabled roof).

## Portonaccio Temple, Veii

The finest surviving, albeit fragmentary, group of Etruscan rooftop statues, discovered in 1916, are the life-size terracotta images from the triple-cella temple in the Portonaccio sanctuary dedicated to Menrva/Athena/Minerva outside the city walls of Veii (Etruscan Vei, Roman Veii), the Etruscan city closest to Rome. The statues represent Apulu/Apollo (popularly known as the *Apollo of Veii*; **FIGS. 1-21** and **1-21A**); a goddess, possibly his mother, Letun/Leto/Latona (FIGS. **1-22** and **1-22A**); the hero Hercle/Heracles/Hercules; and the messenger god Turms/Hermes/Mercury (see "Who's Who in the Roman World"). The subject is a Greek myth in which Apollo confronts Heracles for possession of the hind of Ceryneia, a wondrous beast with golden horns that was sacred to Apollo's sister, Artemis (Artumes/Diana). Apulu's vigorous striding motion, gesticulating arms, fanlike calf muscles, rippling drapery, and animated (dark, male) face (**FIG. 1-21A**) are distinctly Etruscan. (The statue's discovery in 1916 was instrumental in prompting a reevaluation of the originality of Etruscan art.) The (white-faced) goddess (**FIG. 1-22A**) carries a child in her arms. Many scholars think the child is Apulu, whose presence serves to identify the goddess as his mother, although that would mean that Apulu appears twice and at different ages in the same myth. It is possible, however, that


**1-21** Apulu (*Apollo of Veii*), from the roof of the Portonaccio temple, Veii, ca. 510–500 BCE. Painted terracotta, 5' 11" high. Museo Nazionale di Villa Giulia, Rome.


**1-22** Goddess (Letun?) carrying a child, from the roof of the Portonaccio temple, Veii, ca. 510–500 BCE. Painted terracotta, 5' 5 3/8" high. Museo Nazionale di Villa Giulia, Rome.


**1-23** Cinerary urn-statue of a mother and child (*Mater Matuta*), ca. 450–425 BCE. Limestone, 2' $11\frac{3}{8}$" high. Museo Archeologico Nazionale, Florence.

the statues atop the Portonaccio temple represented more than one myth. Hermes, for example, is not normally a protagonist in the story of the Ceryneian hind. Whoever the goddess is, this Archaic Etruscan representation of a mother-and-child group is not typical of most places and times. In lieu of the usual group of a quietly seated mother and her offspring (compare FIG. 1-23), the Portonaccio goddess, like the Apulu from the same temple, is a vibrant striding figure whose cascading drapery folds underscore the dynamic movement. Like the man and woman of the Cerveteri sarcophagus *degli sposi* (FIG. 1-13), the Veii sculptures could never be mistaken for Greek statues.

**Classical Period** The fifth century BCE was a golden age in Greece, but not in Etruria. In 509 BCE, Rome, which had been growing in power and prestige since its founding two-and-a-half centuries before, expelled the last of their Etruscan kings and replaced the monarchy with a republican form of government. In 474 BCE, an alliance between the Greek cities of Cumae and Syracuse defeated an Etruscan fleet off Cumae, effectively ending Etruscan dominance of the Tyrrhenian Sea—and with it Etruscan prosperity. By the end of the fifth century, Rome had embarked on a program of territorial expansion and started to appropriate Etruscan lands. Veii fell to the Romans in 396 BCE, after a terrible 10-year siege. Tarquinia concluded peace with the Romans in 351 BCE, but by the end of the century, Rome had annexed Tarquinia too, and in 273 BCE, the Romans conquered Cerveteri.

**1-24** Lid of a cinerary urn with banqueting man and Vanth, from Chiusi, ca. 410–400 BCE. Limestone, 3' 11" long. Museo Archeologico Nazionale, Florence.

These events had important consequences for the production of art and the erection of buildings. The number of grandiose Etruscan tombs, for example, decreased sharply, and the quality of the furnishings declined markedly. No longer did the Etruscan elite stock their tombs with extravagant gold jewelry and large numbers of imported Greek vases, or decorate the walls with paintings of the first rank. But art did not cease in Etruria, and Etruscan artists remained aware of the latest developments in Greek sculpture, incorporating—selectively—features of the new Classical style in their own statuary.

**Chiusine Cinerary Urns** At Chiusi (Etruscan Clevsin, Roman Clusium), fifth-century BCE sculptors specialized in producing stone cinerary urns in anthropomorphic form—smaller, more modest versions of the life-size Archaic images of the deceased like those of the Cerveteri sarcophagus *degli sposi* (FIG. 1-13). The Chiusine urns took two distinct forms. In the first variant, the "urn" is a hollowed-out statuette of a seated woman. The outstanding example is the cinerary urn (**FIG.** 1-23) found at Chianciano in 1846. Carved from a single limestone block save for the separately fashioned head (which serves as the lid) and feet, the statuette represents a woman seated on a magnificent throne with sphinxes as armrests. Because the woman holds a swaddled child in her arms, earlier scholars identified her as the Latin mother goddess *Mater Matuta*. But this must be a representation of the deceased, because the container held her ashes. Stylistically and in details of coiffure and dress, the Chiusine sculpture emulates Classical Greek models. Quiet dignity and monumentality have replaced the animated postures and broadly smiling faces of Archaic Etruscan statues. The contrast in pose, proportions, treatment of drapery, and mood between the goddess of the Chiusine ash urn and the goddess-with-child rooftop statue (**FIGS.** 1-22 and 1-22A) from Veii is extreme.

Even more somber is a somewhat later Chiusine cinerary urn (**FIG.** 1-24) of the second type, in which a man reclines on a funerary couch with his wife seated at his feet—except in this instance the sculptor substituted a winged woman holding a scroll for the wife. The deceased's companion is *Vanth,* the Etruscan death demon who summons those who have died to the Underworld. Here, her left wing reaches out to claim the dead man. The unfurled scroll probably bore a painted inscription giving the man's name and perhaps listing some of his achievements or offices held. The influence of Classical Greek statues of athletes (FIG. 1-6) is evident in the features and musculature of the bare chest of the deceased. The contrast in style and tone between this urn and the Archaic Cerveteri sarcophagus (FIG. 1-13) could not be more striking.

***Mars of Todi*** The Etruscan statue that most closely conforms to the Classical style of Greek statuary is the nearly life-size bronze statue of a warrior wearing a *cuirass* (breastplate, usually of leather) found on the slope of Mount Santo at Todi and known as the *Mars of Todi* (**FIG.** 1-25). It does not, however, represent Mars, the Roman god of war, or his Etruscan counterpart, Laran. The warrior once held a libation plate in his right hand in order to make a liquid offering to a deity, and gods do not make offerings to themselves. His helmet is also missing, as is the lance originally in his left hand. An inscription states that a man named Ahal Trutitis dedicated the statue. It is probably the product of a sculptural workshop in Orvieto (Etruscan Velzna, Roman Volsinii), famed for its bronze-casters. (When the Romans sacked Velzna in 265 BCE, they carried away more than 2,000 bronze sculptures.)

In addition to giving the Todi "Mars" the calm, idealized features associated with Greek Classical sculpture, the Etruscan artist consciously emulated the contrapposto posture of fifth-century BCE Greek statues, which features a pronounced weight shift with one outthrust hip, one flexed leg, tilted shoulders, and head turned (compare **FIG.** 5-11B). This stance,


**1-25** Statue of a warrior wearing a cuirass (*Mars of Todi*), from Todi, ca. 400 BCE. Bronze, 4' 7$\frac{7}{8}$" high. Musei Vaticani, Rome.


**1-26** Statue of a wounded chimaera (*Chimaera of Arezzo*), from Arezzo, ca. 400–375 BCE. Bronze, 2' 7½" high. Museo Archeologico Nazionale, Florence.

which had a long and influential afterlife in the history of art, was favored also by the Romans for portraits (for example, FIGS. 5-11, 6-1, and 6-13) as well as statues of gods and heroes.

***Capitoline Wolf*** More famous by far than the *Mars of Todi* is the bronze statue known today as the *Capitoline Wolf* (FIG. 1-25A), one of the most memorable portrayals of an animal in the history of world art. The statue is a somewhat larger than life-size hollow-cast bronze portrayal of the she-wolf that, according to ancient legend, nursed Romulus and Remus after they were abandoned as infants. The statue has long been regarded as the work of an Etruscan bronze-caster who was called on to represent Rome's foundation myth about a quarter century after the establishment of the Roman Republic in 509 BCE. However, a growing consensus of scholars now believes that the *Capitoline Wolf* is a medieval statue, probably produced during the 12th century, and consequently it does not figure in this new edition of *A History of Roman Art.*

**Chimaera of Arezzo** Seemingly unquestionably ancient, however, is another masterpiece of Etruscan bronze-casting known as the *Chimaera of Arezzo* (**FIG. 1-26**) because it was found outside the Porta San Lorentino of Arezzo (Roman Arretium). Although a work of the Classical period, the Arezzo bronze is more in keeping with the dynamic spirit on display in Archaic Etruscan statuary. Inscribed *tinscvil,* Etruscan for "gift," this life-size composite monster must have been a votive offering in a sanctuary. The chimaera, the monster of Greek invention depicted in the painted pediment of the Tomb of the Bulls (FIG. 1-15) at Tarquinia, is a creature with a lion's body and head and a serpent's tail (restored in this case). A second head, that of a goat, grows out of the lion's left side. The goat's neck bears the wound that the hero Bellerophon inflicted when he hunted and slew the beast. As rendered by the Etruscan sculptor, the chimaera, although injured and bleeding, is not defeated. The monster, with tensed muscles stretched tightly over its rib cage, prepares to attack, and a ferocious cry emanates from its open jaws. Many scholars have postulated that the statue, discovered on its own in 1533, was part of a group that originally included Bellerophon, perhaps on horseback, as in the Tarquinian tomb. The Arezzo chimaera could just as well have been an independent statue, however. The menacing gaze upward toward an unseen adversary need not have been answered.

***Ficoroni Cista*** In addition to bronze-casting, the Etruscans excelled in engraving bronze artifacts, especially household articles, including mirrors and *cistae* (cylindrical containers


**1-27** Novios Plautios: Cista with engraving of the myth of the Argonauts (*Ficoroni Cista*), from Palestrina, ca. 320–300 BCE. Bronze, 2' 6" high. Museo Nazionale di Villa Giulia, Rome.

for a woman's toiletry articles). Fine engraved mirrors and cistae often formed part of an Etruscan woman's dowry. Others were gifts placed in a woman's tomb to accompany her into the afterlife. In the fourth century BCE, Etruscan artists began to produce cistae of sheet bronze with cast handles and feet and engraved figural scenes on the tall body. The center of the Etruscan bronze cista industry was Palestrina (Roman Praeneste), the findspot of the largest and finest surviving cista, the *Ficoroni Cista* (**FIG. 1-27**), named for its first owner, the antiquarian Francesco de' Ficoroni (1664–1747). The cista's handle consists of miniature figures of the Greek god of wine, Dionysos, flanked by *satyrs* (mythological wild men with goats' ears and horses' tails). At the trio's feet is an inscription stating that a local noblewoman named Dindia Macolnia gave the cista to her daughter and that the artist was Novios Plautios, whose workshop was not in Palestrina but in Rome, which by this date was becoming an important cultural as well as political center.

The engraved frieze of the *Ficoroni Cista* depicts an episode from the Greek legend of the expedition of the Argonauts (the crew of the ship *Argo*) in search of the coveted Golden Fleece. During their journey, the sailors stopped in the land of King Amykos, who would permit them to draw water only if one of the Argonauts defeated him in a boxing match. Pollux (Etruscan Pultuce), son of Zeus and twin brother of Castor (Castur), accepted the challenge, won the contest, and then tied the king to a tree. Scholars generally agree that the model for Novios Plautios's composition was a fourth-century BCE Greek panel painting, perhaps by Kydias, whose depiction of the Argonauts is documented in Rome at a later date. The Greek source for the Etruscan artist's engraving is evident in the figures seen in three-quarter and rear views, and in the placement of the participants on several levels, standard features of Classical Greek painting since the fifth century BCE.

**Etruscan Mirrors** Engravings also regularly appeared on the back (the nonreflective side) of Etruscan mirrors. Large numbers of engraved mirrors still exist, and the representations on them, which vary widely in subject, provide insight into Etruscan religion, mythology, and daily life. One of the finest and most interesting engraved mirrors (**FIG. 1-28**), found at Vulci and several decades earlier in date than the *Ficoroni*


**1-28** Mirror with engraving on reverse side of Chalchas examining a liver, from Vulci, ca. 400–375 BCE. Bronze, 7" diameter. Musei Vaticani, Rome.

*Cista,* represents within an ivy vine border a bearded, seminude winged man labeled Chalchas. Chalchas bends over a table to examine the liver of a sacrificial animal. He must be the Etruscan counterpart of the Greek priest Kalchas, whom Homer mentions in the *Iliad* as the seer who traveled with the Greek army to Troy. The wings indicate that the Etruscan figure is a mythological being, but he performs the sacred rites of an Etruscan *haruspex* (Latin, "soothsayer" or "diviner"), a priest who could discover the will of the gods and foretell events by studying animal livers. The Etruscans believed that the various sections of a liver corresponded to sections of the sky and that *haruspices* could read the unique markings on an animal's liver in the same way that priests could read omens in the sky. Representations of Etruscan priests examining livers usually show them with their left foot on a rock, as here. This must have been the standard position for the haruspex performing this ritual.

**1-29** Velthur Velcha, Ravnthu Aprthnai, and musicians, detail of the interior of the main chamber of the Tomb of the Shields, Monterozzi necropolis, Tarquinia, ca. 350–325 BCE.

**Tomb of the Shields** Etruscan mural painters were also active in the fourth century BCE. Of special interest are the frescoes decorating the walls of the main chamber of the Tomb of the Shields (**FIG. 1-29**) at Tarquinia. The tomb takes its name from the series of painted shields in one of the burial chambers opening off the main room—reminiscent of the similar motif in the sixth-century Tomb of the Shields and Chairs (FIG. 1-14) at Cerveteri. Here too the shields suggest the military prowess of the deceased, as did the helmets (FIG. 1-9) and other items buried with men in Villanovan pit-graves. The identity of the owner of the Tomb of the Shields is known because numerous inscriptions accompany the painted figures on the walls, giving their names and citing the offices held by the deceased during his lifetime. He is Larth Velcha, and he appears twice in the tomb with his wife, Velia Seithitai. On one wall, Larth reclines on a banqueting couch. Like the wives (and Vanth) on Chiusine ash urns (FIG. 1-24), Velia sits upright at her husband's feet. A servant girl fans her mistress. Velia hands Larth an egg, a venerable Etruscan funerary motif seen earlier in the Tomb of the Leopards (FIG. 1-17). Also depicted twice are Larth's parents, Velthur Velcha and Ravnthu Aprthnai (FIG. 1-29), attended by two musicians. Both paintings are noteworthy for the naming of both the husband and wife (see "The 'Audacity' of Etruscan Women," page 11), the three-quarter views of some of the heads, and for the use of color for shading, as in the head of Ravnthu Aprthnai. The gestures are slow and the mood more solemn than in the sixth and early fifth centuries BCE, and the musicians stand still, unlike the striding figures of the Tomb of the Leopards (FIG. 1-17).

On another wall, Larth walks in a procession with musicians and attendants. A slave carries the folding chair that marks him as a high official at Tarquinia, a motif that again conforms to a long tradition dating at least as early as the Tomb of the Augurs (FIG. 1-16). The second depiction of Larth's parents shows them seated on cushioned chairs with footstools. Velthur, as the most revered ancestor, holds a scepter, like a king or a god. Also present are Larth's younger brother and his son. Painted inscriptions give the names of other family members. As a whole, the mural program celebrates three generations of an important Tarquinia family and their achievements. This obsession with genealogy and with service to the state will resurface in Roman times as prime manly virtues (see "Ancestor Portraits," page 81).

**Tomb of the Reliefs** At Cerveteri, as at Tarquinia, decorated tombs of the Late Classical and Hellenistic periods are fewer in number than during the height of Etruscan power in the Archaic period. Nonetheless, the most ornate tomb at Cerveteri dates to the end of the fourth or the beginning of the third century BCE. The tomb of the Matuna family, better known as the Tomb of the Reliefs (**FIG. 1-30**) because of its painted stucco relief decoration, consists of a single underground chamber. Two piers carved out of the tufa bedrock

**1-30** Interior of the Tomb of the Reliefs, Banditaccia necropolis, Cerveteri, ca. 320–280 BCE.

support the ceiling of the large room. Sculptors decorated those piers with painted reliefs of stools, mirrors, drinking cups, pitchers, knives, rope, a dog, and a goose. The reliefs evoke a domestic interior, continuing the centuries-old Etruscan tradition of conceiving the home of the dead as an echo of the houses of the living (see "Etruscan Houses for the Dead," page 12).

Twelve niches in the walls housed the remains of the most important members of the Matuna clan. The deepest niche, in the center of the rear wall, was reserved for the owner and his spouse. The sculptor decorated the front of that niche with a funerary bed in relief, complete with two pillows. Above are arms and armor, testifying to the deceased's military prowess, and two damaged busts that probably depicted Underworld divinities, because below the bed are two monstrous creatures. At the left is a man-fish demon with a rudder and serpent. To the right is the three-headed dog Cerberus, guardian of the entrance to the Underworld, an unmistakable reference to the passage from this life to the next, like the painted door on the rear wall of the sixth-century Tomb of the Augurs (FIG. 1-16) at Tarquinia. All around the room is a ledge divided into 32 sections for the burials of later generations of the Matuna family, probably in small cinerary urns of the kind placed in the Inghirami Tomb (FIG. 1-33) at Volterra.

**Lars Pulena** None of the burial containers of the Matuna family members remain in place in the Tomb of the Reliefs. But in the museums of Tarquinia, Volterra, and elsewhere, visitors can view hundreds of the cinerary urns and sarcophagi that Hellenistic Etruscan workshops produced to meet the demand of patrons of varied means. The most costly containers were large stone sarcophagi, successors to the magnificent Archaic terracotta sarcophagus *degli sposi* (FIG. 1-13) from a tomb at Cerveteri. An outstanding example, dateable around 200 BCE, is the Tarquinian sarcophagus of Lars Pulena (**FIG. 1-31**), which has a life-size reclining figure of the deceased on its lid. Not a true


**1-31** Sarcophagus of Lars Pulena, from Tarquinia, ca. 200 BCE. Tufa, 6' 6" long. Museo Archeologico Nazionale, Tarquinia.

1 ft.

**1-32** Sarcophagus lid with portraits of Ramtha Visnai and Arnth Tetnies, from the Ponte Rotto necropolis, Vulci, ca. 350–300 BCE. Nenfro, 7' $1\frac{3}{4}$" long. Museum of Fine Arts, Boston (gift of Mr. and Mrs. Cornelius C. Vermeule III).

likeness but a generic portrait of a middle-aged man with a somber expression on his face, this image of the deceased, like that of the unknown man on the fifth-century BCE cinerary urn (FIG. 1-24) from Chiusi and the painted portraits (FIG. 1-29) in the fourth-century Tomb of the Shields at Tarquinia, contrasts sharply with the smiling, confident faces of the Archaic era when Etruria enjoyed its greatest prosperity. Nonetheless, Lars Pulena, like Larth Velcha, was a proud man. He wears a fillet on his head and a wreath around his neck, and he displays a partially unfurled scroll inscribed with his name and those of his ancestors and a record of his many accomplishments in life, especially the priestly offices he held. The scene sculpted on the front of the coffin below the portrait shows the deceased in the Underworld between two *Charuns* (Etruscan death demons) swinging hammers. Two figures of Vanth appear to the left and right. The representation signifies that Lars Pulena has successfully made the journey to the afterlife.

**Ramtha Visnai and Arnth Tetnies** Much earlier and more elaborate than Lars Pulena's sarcophagus is a large nenfro sarcophagus (**FIG. 1-32**) in Boston, one of a pair found in 1846 in the Ponte Rotto necropolis of Vulci. Both represent a man and woman on the lid embracing in their marital bed. The somber-faced husbands and wives cling to each other, covered by a sheet (or perhaps the man's mantle). The inscription on the front of the illustrated sarcophagus names both the husband and the wife, Arnth Tetnies and Ramtha Visnai, respectively. The scenes carved on the front and sides of the coffin indicate that this is the wife's sarcophagus and that the husband died earlier. On the front, Arnth grasps Ramtha's right wrist, a gesture signifying marriage, and she places her left arm around his neck. To either side are four attendants. The equal number suggests that husband and wife are of equal stature—a statement consistent with the importance of women in Etruscan society, but inconceivable in Greece. The attendants carry seats, musical instruments, and other objects. The scene probably represents Arnth greeting his widow and leading her to the Underworld, where they will be reunited in the afterlife.

**Volterran Urns** Less costly, smaller cinerary urns were the specialty of the Hellenistic workshops of Volterra (Etruscan Velathri, Roman Volaterrae). Fashioned in tufa or the more handsome translucent, marblelike alabaster from local quarries, more than a thousand Volterran urns survive in the collections of museums around the world, and fill room after room of Volterra's Guarnacci Etruscan Museum. Individually carved but mass produced, they feature reclining figures of the deceased—both men and women represented singly in almost all cases—that focus attention on heads that are often too large for the bodies. Despite this focus on the head, the features are generic, not specific likenesses. Diverse narrative scenes decorate the front of the urns. The subjects are roughly divided equally between mythology and daily life. The latter include processions and other rituals honoring magistrates, and scenes of relatives and friends bidding farewell to the deceased. All the painted reliefs reproduce standard compositions repeated

**1-33** Interior of the Inghirami Tomb, Ulimeto necropolis, Volterra, ca. 200–150 BCE. Reconstructed in the garden of the Museo Archeologico Nazionale, Florence.

endlessly. The urns were displayed in rows in Volterran tombs, as in the one discovered in 1861 in the Ulimeto necropolis north of the city on the property of the Inghirami family. The main, circular, chamber of the Inghirami Tomb (**FIG. 1-33**), now reconstructed in the garden of Florence's National Archaeological Museum, was gouged out of the tufa bedrock. A roughly hewn pier at the center of the chamber is a crude version of those in the earlier Tomb of the Reliefs (FIG. 1-30) at Cerveteri. A low ledge around the circumference of the room served as the platform for about 70 urns containing the ashes of successive generations of an extended family. The earliest urns date to the first half of the second century BCE, the latest to the mid-first century BCE.

One Volterran urn (**FIG. 1-34**), found in 1743 in the burial chamber of another tomb in the Ulimeto necropolis, stands apart from all the rest. The sculptor cast it in terracotta instead


**1-34** Lid of a cinerary urn with reclining husband and wife, from a tomb in the Ulimeto necropolis, Volterra, ca. 100 BCE. Terracotta, 2' $3\frac{3}{4}$" long. Museo Etrusco Guarnacci, Volterra.

**1-35** City gate (*Porta Marzia*), Perugia, ca. 200–175 BCE.

of carving it in stone. The lid depicts an elderly married couple with unusually specific features, suggesting to some scholars that these may be realistic likenesses, but they too are probably generic types. The man is larger than the woman and wears a fillet on his head. He gazes into the distance. His wife lies on her stomach in an unnaturally twisted position so that she can look at her husband. Her expression seems grim, whether the sculptor intended that or not. Both heads have lined visages and sunken cheeks to underscore the couple's advanced age, no doubt a mark of pride, as in Roman portraits of the first century BCE (compare **FIGS.** 5-8, 5-9, 5-10, 5-11A, and 5-12A).

***Porta Marzia*** Because of the perishable materials that the Etruscans used to construct most of their civic, religious, and domestic buildings, usually only the foundations survive. But to protect their cities, Etruscan builders employed stone for fortification walls and for the gates within those circuit walls. One of the most impressive Etruscan *portae* (city gates), of which only the upper part is preserved, embedded in a 16th-century bastion, is the *Porta Marzia* (Gate of Mars, **FIG.** 1-35) at Perugia (Etruscan Phersna, Roman Perusia), built during the third or, more likely, the early second century BCE. (In the third century, Perugia formed an alliance with Rome and was spared the destruction that Veii, Cerveteri, and other Etruscan cities suffered.)

Three projecting heads, probably representing divinities, ring the *arcuated* (*arch*-shaped) passageway. The incorporation of *pilasters* (flat columns) as framing elements in the design of the Porta Marzia typifies the Etruscan free adaptation of Greek architectural motifs. Arches bracketed by pilasters or half-columns have a long and distinguished history in Roman (for example, FIGS. 2-17, 6-18, 8-4, and 10-10) and later times. On the Porta Marzia, sculpted half-figures of Jupiter and his twin sons, Castor and Pollux, and their steeds look out from between the four short fluted pilasters above the passageway.


**1-36** Aule Metele (*Arringatore*), from Cortona, ca. 90–70 BCE. Bronze, 5' 7" high. Museo Archeologico Nazionale, Florence.

**Aule Metele** One of the latest works of Etruscan art is the bronze portrait statue (**FIG. 1-36**) found near Cortona (Etruscan Curtun, Roman Cortona) depicting the magistrate Aule Metele. He raises his right arm to address an assembly—hence his modern nickname, *Arringatore* (Italian, "orator"). The life-size statue dates to the early first century BCE, and proves that Etruscan artists continued to be experts at bronze-casting long after the heyday of Etruscan prosperity. The date coincides with the Roman achievement of total dominion over the Etruscans. The so-called Social War ended in 89 BCE with the conferring of Roman citizenship on all of Italy's inhabitants. In fact, Aule Metele—the sculptor inscribed the magistrate's name and those of his father and mother on the hem of his garment—wears the short *toga* and high laced boots of a Roman official. His head, with its close-cropped hair and signs of age in the face, resembles portraits produced in Rome at the same time. This orator is Etruscan in name only. If the origin of the Etruscans remains the subject of debate, the question of their demise has a ready answer. Aule Metele (Latin, Aulus Metellus) and his compatriots became Roman citizens, and Etruscan art became Roman art.

## Summary

Before the Romans annexed their territories during the fourth through the first centuries BCE, the two major civilizations in Italy were the Greek and the Etruscan. The Greeks established their first settlement in Italy on the island of Ischia in the eighth century and, from the seventh century on, occupied most of southern Italy and Sicily (Magna Graecia), erecting imposing Doric stone peripteral temples at Paestum, Selinus, Agrigento, and elsewhere. The Greeks also introduced the Classical style of sculpture and painting to Italy.

The Etruscans emerged as an identifiable cultural group around 700 BCE and occupied large parts of central and northern Italy during the succeeding centuries. Etruscan kings even ruled Rome during the sixth century. Although greatly influenced by the art and architecture of the Greeks, Etruscan art has a distinctive character. Etruscan temples, for example, were constructed of mud brick with terracotta statues on the roof. The Etruscans' multichamber subterranean tombs, which often mimicked the appearance of the houses of the living and sometimes contained elaborately sculpted sarcophagi and cinerary urns as well as mural paintings, have no parallel in Greece.

The Romans looked to both the Greeks and the Etruscans for models for their buildings, statues, and paintings. The earliest examples of Roman art and architecture, examined in Chapter 2, depend on and mix Greek and Etruscan artistic traditions.

**2-1** **Portico arcade of the Sanctuary of Hercules, Tivoli, ca. 50 BCE.**

# From Village to World Capital

# 2

Imperial Rome (**FIG. 2-2**) was a wonder to behold. It boasted the world's largest amphitheater and chariot racecourse; a seemingly countless number of temples, baths, theaters, and triumphal arches; and enough multistory apartment houses to shelter a population of nearly a million people. The city awed all those who saw it for the first time, whether rich or poor, citizen or foreigner. For example, the historian Ammianus Marcellinus reports the reaction of Constantius II (r. 337–361 CE) when he traveled to Rome in 357 from the new fourth-century CE capital at Constantinople (present-day Istanbul, Turkey; see Chapter 21). On entering the forum (FIGS. 2-2, no. 12, and 12-6) that Trajan had constructed 250 years earlier, the emperor "stopped in his tracks, astonished," and marveled at the complex's opulence and size, "which cannot be described by words and could never again be attempted by mortal men."[1]

## Rome under the Kings

The history of Roman art and architecture begins, however, more than a millennium before Constantius II's visit, when the Romans possessed little territory beyond one of its famous seven hills. According to legend, during the second quarter of the eighth century BCE, the king of Alba Longa in the Alban Hills southeast of Rome was a man named Numitor, whose younger brother, Amulius, deposed him. To guard against a future coup, Amulius forced Numitor's daughter, Rhea Silvia, to become a priestess of Vesta (see "Who's Who in the Roman World"). The *Vestal Virgins* were prohibited from marrying, and therefore Numitor's line would end without any heirs to avenge him. But Rhea Silvia attracted the attention of the war god, Mars, who forced himself on her (FIG. 19-20), and she gave birth to twin boys, Romulus and Remus. Amulius ordered the infants thrown into the Tiber River in a basket, to be washed out to sea and die, but they drifted ashore. There, a she-wolf suckled them (**FIG. 1-25A**) until a shepherd named Faustulus found the boys and raised them as his own sons. When Romulus and Remus grew to adulthood, they killed Amulius, restored Numitor to his kingship, and then founded a city of their own—Rome—on the Palatine Hill, a lofty site overlooking what was then uninhabited marshland. In the most common version of the story of Rome's founding, Romulus and Remus quarreled, and Romulus killed his brother and became Rome's first king.

**Village of Romulus** Archaeologists exploring the area of the Palatine west of the later imperial palace (FIG. 2-2, no. 6) uncovered a series of cuttings in the bedrock corresponding to the floors and postholes of simple dwellings (**FIG. 2-3**), which can be reconstructed based in part on the appearance of contemporary Italian ash urns (FIG. 1-10) in the shape of huts built of *wattle and daub* over a framework of wood poles. The foundations indicate that the Palatine huts were roughly rectangular in shape, with rounded corners. Some had a porch at the front, and all must have had overhanging *thatched* (straw) roofs. The excavations did not reveal the names of any of the village's residents, but they did confirm that a settlement was well established on the Palatine at the time of the traditional date of the founding of Rome—April 21, 753 BCE—although habitation on the hill probably began a

[1] Ammianus Marcellinus, *History of Rome,* 16.10.15–16. Translated by J. J. Pollitt, *The Art of Rome, c. 753 B.C.–A.D. 337: Sources and Documents* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1983), 170.


**2-2** Model of the city of Rome in the fourth century CE. Museo della Civiltà Romana, Rome. (1) Stadium of Domitian, (2) Pantheon, (3) Theater of Marcellus, (4) Temple of Jupiter Capitolinus, (5) Circus Maximus, (6) Palace of Domitian, (7) Arch of Septimius Severus, (8) Basilica Iulia, (9) Basilica Aemilia, (10) Temple of Divus Iulius, (11) Forum Iulium, (12) Forum of Trajan, (13) Markets of Trajan, (14) Forum of Augustus, (15) Forum of Nerva, (16) Templum Pacis, (17) Temple of Antoninus and Faustina, (18) Basilica Nova, (19) Arch of Titus, (20) Temple of Venus and Roma, (21) Arch of Constantine, (22) Colossus of Nero, (23) Colosseum, (24) Baths of Titus, (25) Baths of Trajan.

**2-3** Model of the Iron Age village on the Palatine Hill, Rome, eighth century BCE. Museo della Civiltà Romana, Rome.

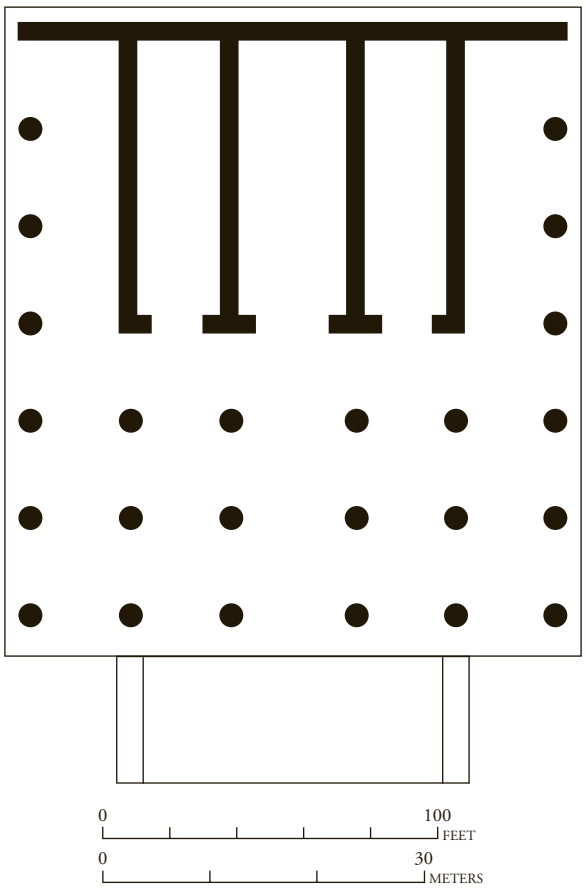


The arrow icon indicates that the referenced content appears in MindTap.

century or more before. Such was the humble beginning of the greatest city of the ancient world.

**The Tarquins and the Capitolium** During the later eighth and seventh centuries BCE, a series of Latin successors of Romulus ruled the city on the Tiber, but their "kingdom" was tiny and overshadowed by much wealthier and more developed cultures, especially those of the Greeks and Etruscans (see Chapter 1). The chronology of Rome's kings is uncertain, but in 616 BCE, according to the standard if unreliable chronology, Tarquinius Priscus, who had emigrated from Corinth in Greece to Etruscan Tarquinia, became king of Rome. He ruled for almost 40 years. The last Roman king, according to all ancient sources, was Tarquinius Superbus (r. 534–509 BCE), the son or grandson of Priscus. A tyrannical ruler whom the Romans eventually overthrew, Superbus (the Arrogant) was responsible for completing the construction of Rome's greatest temple, the Temple of Jupiter Optimus Maximus (Best and Greatest) on the Capitoline Hill (FIG. 2-2, no. 4), although the formal inauguration of the shrine did not occur until after his death. Several sources say that the temple was begun by Priscus, although many scholars attribute the entire project to Superbus.

In any case, the *Capitolium* (**FIGS. 2-4** and **2-4A**), as it came to be called, was burned and rebuilt several times, but the foundations of the sixth-century temple are preserved in part, enabling archaeologists to reconstruct its plan with confidence. The temple had three cellae for the display of statues of three deities. The central cella was Jupiter's, and the left and right cellae housed statues of his consort, Juno, and his daughter Minerva (see "Who's Who in the Roman World"). In front of the cellae were three rows of six columns and a staircase giving access to the high podium. The columns also extended to the sides, or wings (*alae*), of the temple, but not around the back, a variation of the normal Etruscan plan (FIG. 1-20), which Vitruvius also described. The walls were of mud brick, the columns of wood, and the timber roof was covered with




**2-4** Plan of the Temple of Jupiter Capitolinus, Rome, dedicated 509 BCE.

## Timeline

## From the Monarchy to the Social War

| | |
|---|---|
| 753 BCE | Romulus founds Rome on the Palatine Hill |
| 753–616 BCE | Latin kings rule Rome |
| r. 616–578 BCE | Tarquinius Priscus becomes first Etruscan king of Rome |
| r. 578–534 BCE | Servius Tullius builds earthen fortifications around Rome |
| 509 BCE | Romans overthrow Tarquinius Superbus and establish republican government |
| 509 BCE | Temple of Jupiter Capitolinus, Rome |
| ca. 390 BCE | Gauls sack Rome |
| ca. 386–378 BCE | Servian Walls, Rome |
| 308 BCE | Rome annexes Tarquinia |
| ca. 340–300 BCE | Rome founds its first colony at Ostia |
| 273 BCE | Romans conquer Cerveteri |
| 273 BCE | Paestum becomes a Roman colony |
| 265 BCE | Romans sack Volsinii, the last Etruscan stronghold |
| 264–241 BCE | Rome and Carthage fight the First Punic War |
| ca. 241 BCE | Fortification walls of Falerii Novi |
| 218–201 BCE | Hannibal invades Italy during the Second Punic War |
| 212 BCE | Marcellus sacks Syracuse |
| 193–174 BCE | Porticus Aemilia, Rome |
| 146 BCE | Lucius Mummius destroys Corinth |
| 133 BCE | Attalos III wills the kingdom of Pergamon to Rome |
| ca. 120–100 BCE | Sanctuary of Fortuna, Palestrina |
| ca. 100 BCE | Temple of Hercules, Cori |
| ca. 100–80 BCE | Temple of Vesta, Tivoli |
| 89 BCE | Romans defeat allied Italian cities in the Social War |
| ca. 80 BCE | Sanctuary of Jupiter Anxur, Terracina |

## Etruscan Artists in Rome

Rome's first great building project—the construction of a grandiose temple on the Capitoline Hill for the joint worship of Jupiter, Juno, and Minerva—was commissioned by an Etruscan king and executed by imported Etruscan artists and builders. The architect's name is unknown, but several sources preserve the identity of the Etruscan artist whom King Tarquinius Superbus brought in to adorn the temple: Vulca of Veii, the most famous Etruscan sculptor of the day, who may also have made the statues of gods (FIGS. 1-21 and 1-22) on the roof of the Portonaccio temple in his native city. Pliny the Elder, writing in the first century CE, described Vulca's works as "the finest images of deities of that era . . . more admired than gold."* Vulca created the cult statue of Jupiter and probably also those of Juno and Minerva. The ancient sources also specifically credit Vulca with the enormous terracotta statuary group of Jupiter driving a four-horse chariot, which was mounted on the roof at the highest point, directly over the center of the temple facade. The fame of Vulca's red-faced (painted terracotta) portrayal of Jupiter (compare FIG. 1-21A) was so great that when Roman generals paraded in triumph through Rome after a battlefield victory (see "The Triumph," page 161), they would paint their faces red in emulation of the ancient statue. (The model of a typical three-cella Etruscan temple in FIG. 1-20 also serves to give an approximate idea of the appearance of the Capitoline Jupiter temple and of Vulca's roof statue.)

Vulca is the only Etruscan artist named in any ancient text, but the signatures of other Etruscan artists appear on extant artworks. One of these is Novios Plautios (FIG. 1-27), who also worked in Rome, although a few centuries later. By then the Etruscan kings of Rome were a distant memory, and the Romans had captured Veii and annexed its territory.

*Pliny, *Natural History*, 35.157.

terracotta tiles. The Jupiter temple on the Capitoline Hill was Etruscan in every respect, including the overall proportions, with a ratio of length to width of 7:6, almost square (204 × 175 feet), as Vitruvius prescribed. In fact, several ancient authors specifically state that the Tarquins imported architects, sculptors, and workmen from Etruria to design, build, and decorate the temple (see "Etruscan Artists in Rome," above).

## Rome and Latium under the Republic

In 509 BCE, the Romans revolted against Tarquinius Superbus, brought an end to the 250-year-long line of kings that began with Romulus, and established a constitutional government called the Republic. In the new state, many different magistrates oversaw civil, religious, and military affairs, but there were two major annually elected officials, called *consuls,* who assumed most of the roles formerly fulfilled by the all-powerful monarch. The Republican legislative body was the *senate* (literally, "a council of elders, *senior* citizens"), which a few centuries after the overthrow of the monarchy grew to have about 300 members, almost exclusively wealthy men from old Roman families.

**Servian Walls** In the centuries following the downfall of Tarquinius Superbus, the armies of the Republic conquered Rome's neighbors one by one: the Etruscans to the north, the Samnites (an Italic people that occupied Pompeii and other sites in the general area of Naples; see Chapter 3), and the Greek colonists to the south (MAP 1-1). Even the Carthaginians


MAP 2-1 Italy during the Roman Republic.

**2-5** Servian Walls (looking southeast) near Stazione Termini, Rome, ca. 386–378 BCE.

of North Africa, who under Hannibal's dynamic leadership had annihilated some of Rome's legions and almost brought down the Republic, fell before the Roman onslaught.

During the centuries of territorial expansion, Rome itself came under attack only once, in 390 BCE according to the traditional chronology, just six years after the Romans had crushed and annexed Etruscan Veii. Descending upon the city on the Tiber from the north, the Gauls sacked Rome and only agreed to abandon the city for a ransom of a thousand pounds of gold. To defend the city against future attacks, the Romans constructed a 7.5-mile-long stone circuit wall erroneously known as the Servian Walls (after Servius Tullius, one of Rome's Etruscan kings, who reigned in the sixth century BCE and built a ring of earthen fortifications around the Archaic city). Constructed of tufa *ashlar masonry* (cut-stone blocks laid without mortar—*opus quadratum* in Latin) from the Grotta Oscura quarry near Veii, the Servian Walls (up to 12 feet thick and 30 feet high) enclose Rome's famous seven hills (FIG. 19-22). Extensive stretches of the walls can be seen today in front of the city's main rail terminal, the Stazione Termini (**FIG. 2-5**) and at the base of the Aventine Hill on the modern Viale Aventino (**FIG. 2-5A**). The latter section incorporates an arch added in 87 BCE, through which Rome's defenders could hurl missiles at the enemy from catapults.

**Falerii Novi** The Romans also erected fortification walls around the colonies that they established as they gradually conquered the rest of the Italian boot (**MAP 2-1**), beginning in the fourth century BCE with Ostia, their first colony at the mouth of the Tiber River (see Chapter 15 and FIG. 3-2). One of the earliest and best examples of Republican city walls, including a nearly perfectly preserved gateway, is at Falerii Novi in northern Latium, the area of central Italy around Rome. The colony was established in 241 BCE to resettle the inhabitants of Falerii Veteres (Old vs. New Falerii). The opus quadratum walls were constructed, as usual, without mortar, as was the western gate (**FIG. 2-6**), an arcuated portal that predates the *Porta Marzia* (FIG. 1-35) and well illustrates the key features of all masonry arches. The arch, which has a long history prior to its employment in Italy during the Roman Republic, is one of two basic

**2-6** Western gate and section of the fortification walls of Falerii Novi (looking east), ca. 241 BCE.

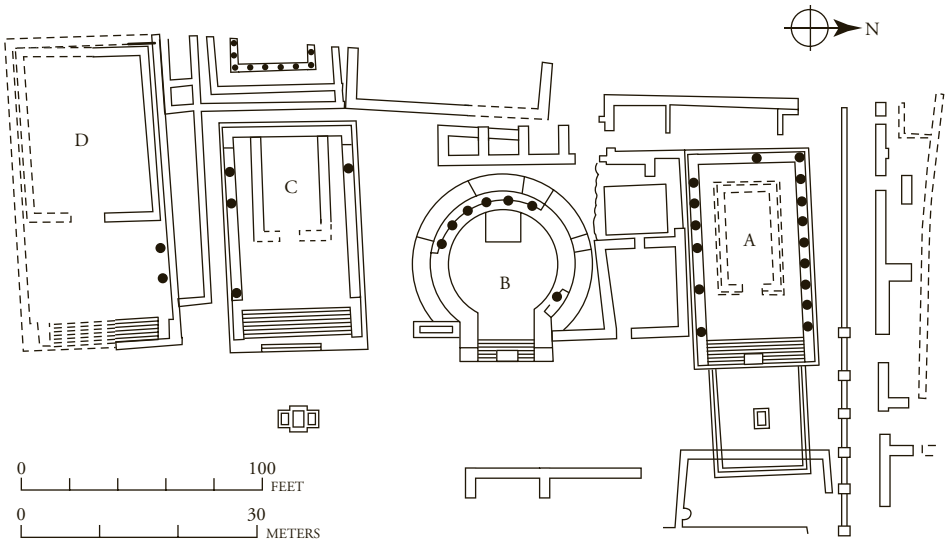
ways to construct a doorway in a wall or a freestanding gateway. The older method is post-and-lintel construction, in which a horizontal block (the lintel) rests on two vertical pillars (the posts). Arcuated portals are formed by a series of trapezoidal stone *voussoirs* held in place by pressing against each other.

**Temple of Hercules, Cori** The Etruscans also constructed fortification walls of stone to protect their cities, but unlike the Greeks of Magna Graecia, they rarely employed stone for their religious, civic, and domestic buildings. Exposure to the Greek cities of southern Italy and Sicily had a profound effect on the development of Roman architecture. It marked the end of the purely Etruscan style of the Temple of Jupiter Capitolinus and the beginning of a new hybrid style combining elements of Etruscan and Greek design.

A characteristic example of the mixing of Greek and Etruscan features in Roman Republican architecture is the so-called Temple of Hercules (FIG. 2-7) at Cori (ancient Cora) in Latium. The deity worshiped at the temple is not known, but the names of the two local magistrates who erected the shrine around 100 BCE are inscribed on the architrave: Marcus Matlius and Lucius Turpilius. In plan, the Cori temple resembles traditional Etruscan shrines with its deep porch of freestanding columns (four on the facade, two more on each side) on a high podium. The porch is, in fact, larger than the cella behind it. But the widely spaced columns are stone, not wood, and both columns and frieze (FIG. 2-7A) conform to the Greek Doric order of architecture, complete with fluted column shafts and a frieze of metopes and triglyphs (see "Doric and Ionic Orders," page 4). The slender proportions of the Cori columns are characteristic of contemporaneous architecture in Greece, as are the distinctive shafts, where the lower third is unfluted. This hybrid Etrusco-Greek design is unknown in either Etruria or Greece. It is uniquely Roman and the hallmark of Republican temple architecture.

**2-7** Temple of Hercules (looking east), Cori, ca. 100 BCE.

**2-8** Temple of Portunus (looking southwest), Rome, ca. 75 BCE.




**2-9** Plan of four Republican temples, Largo Argentina, Rome, early third to mid-first century BCE and later.

**2-10** Temples C, B, and A (*foreground to background,* looking northwest), Largo Argentina, Rome, early third to mid-first century BCE and later.

**Temple of Portunus, Rome** The Doric order most closely approximates the Tuscan, but during the Republic, Roman architects also embraced the two other, more ornate orders of Greek architecture. The little temple on the east bank of the Tiber popularly known as the Temple of "Fortuna Virilis" (**FIG. 2-8**), actually a temple dedicated to Portunus, the Roman god of harbors, combines an Etruscan plan with the Greek Ionic order. Excavations beneath the temple have uncovered ceramics indicating that the shrine was erected about 75 BCE. Like Etruscan temples, the Portunus temple has a high podium accessible only at the front, and its freestanding columns are confined to the porch. But, as at Cori, the structure is built of local stone, in this case a combination of travertine (for the freestanding columns) and tufa for most of the rest of the structure. Both stones originally had an overlay of stucco in imitation of the marble temples of the Greeks. Moreover, in an effort to approximate a peripteral Greek temple, such as those at Paestum (FIG. 1-2), while maintaining the basic Etruscan plan, the architect added a series of *engaged* (attached) Ionic half-columns around the cella's sides and back (**FIG. 2-8A**). The result was a *pseudoperipteral* temple, a type unknown in Greece but a characteristic feature of Roman Republican architecture.

**Largo Argentina Temples** In 1926, in the course of demolition work prior to new construction in the Largo Argentina, the remains of four Republican temples (**FIGS. 2-9** and **2-10**) were uncovered, and work was halted. The identities of the gods honored in the temples are uncertain, and it is customary to refer to the shrines as Temples A–D. They were erected at different times beginning in the early third century BCE and were repeatedly remodeled through the mid-first century BCE and later. The Largo Argentina temples reveal that the frontal orientation of individual Republican temples also characterized groups of temples. All four shrines are aligned in a neat row, each facing east, each with an access stairway only on the front. The simplest is Temple D, whose plan resembles that

of the Cori temple (FIG. 2-7). Temple C has columns also in its alae, like the Temple of Jupiter Capitolinus (FIG. 2-4). Temple A (**FIG. 2-10A**) is a rare example of a peripteral Republican temple, but it nonetheless follows the Etruscan pattern in having stairs only at the front.

Of special interest is Temple B (**FIG. 2-10B**), a *tholos,* or round temple, which has no parallel in Etruria. Although inspired by Greek temples like the fourth-century BCE tholos at Delphi (**FIG. 2-10C**), Temple B, constructed around 100 BCE, is not a copy of any Greek temple. Greek *tholoi,* like Greek rectangular temples (FIG. 1-2), have not only a peripteral colonnade but also a flight of stairs all around the building. Temple B has a small porch and stairs on the east side that clearly distinguish that side as the front.

### Temple of Vesta or Hercules, Rome

The names of the dedicators of the Largo Argentina temples are unknown, but it was common during the Republic for victorious generals to build new temples upon their return to Rome using the proceeds of the spoils they acquired in battle, vying with one another to impress the populace with the magnificence of their buildings. One of these generals was Lucius Mummius, who quelled a revolt in Greece in 146 BCE and destroyed Corinth. He built a temple to Hercules Victor in Rome, fulfilling a vow he had made during his campaign. Some scholars identify Mummius's Hercules temple with a round temple (**FIG. 2-11**) built of Greek marble near the Temple of Portunus. The attribution is tenuous, and many scholars continue to refer to the shrine as a temple of Vesta, because her temples were usually circular in plan. Whatever its identity, the round temple on the Tiber is a rare example of a purely Greek temple in Rome—one not only constructed of costly imported marble but also having a peripteral staircase, unlike Temple B in the Largo Argentina. It is noteworthy, however, that in front of the doorway to the cella, extra steps were added to emphasize the front of the building.

**2-11** Temple of Vesta or Hercules Victor (looking southwest), Rome, mid-second century BCE and later.

**2-12** Temple of Vesta(?) (looking north), Tivoli, ca. 100–80 BCE.

### Temple of Vesta, Tivoli

Both Temple B in the Largo Argentina and the round temple on the Tiber have Corinthian colonnades (see "Corinthian Capitals," page 37). So too does the round temple (**FIG. 2-12**) erected in the early first century BCE

## Corinthian Capitals

The *Corinthian capital* (FIG. 2-13) is more ornate than either the Doric or Ionic (see "Doric and Ionic Orders," page 4). It consists of a double row of acanthus leaves, from which tendrils and flowers emerge, wrapped around a bell-shaped echinus. Although architectural historians often point to this capital as the distinguishing feature of the Corinthian order, in strict terms there is no Corinthian order. Ancient architects simply substituted the new capital type for the volute capital in the Ionic order.

Vitruvius (4.1.8–10) attributed the invention of the Corinthian capital to the Athenian sculptor Kallimachos, active during the second half of the fifth century BCE, and the earliest preserved Corinthian capitals do date to his lifetime. Greek architects rarely used the new capital type before the mid-fourth century, however, and Corinthian capitals did not become popular until Hellenistic and especially Roman times. Later architects favored the new type of capital not only because of its ornate character but also because it eliminated certain problems of both the Doric and Ionic orders.

The Ionic capital (FIG. 1-3, *right*), unlike the Doric, has two distinct profiles—the front and back (with the volutes) and the sides. The volutes always faced outward on a Greek or Roman temple, but architects met with a vexing problem at the corners of their buildings, which had two adjacent "fronts." They solved the problem by placing volutes on both outer faces of the corner capitals, as on the Temple of Portunus (FIG. 2-8) in Rome, but the solution was an awkward one.

Doric design rules also presented problems for Greek and Roman architects at the corners of buildings. Three supposedly inflexible rules governed the form of the Doric frieze (FIG. 1-3, *left*): (1) A triglyph must be exactly over the center of each column; (2) a triglyph must be over the center of the section of the frieze between two neighboring columns; (3) triglyphs at the corners of the frieze must meet so that no space is left over. These rules are contradictory, however. If the corner triglyphs must meet, then they cannot be placed over the center of the corner column (**FIGS.** 1-2A and 2-7A).

The Corinthian capital eliminated both problems. Because the capital's four sides have a similar appearance, corner Corinthian capitals do not have to be modified, as do corner Ionic capitals. And because the Ionic frieze is used for the Corinthian "order," as in the Temple of Vesta (FIGS. 2-12 and 2-13) at Tivoli and the later Maison Carrée (**FIGS.** 8-10 and 8-10A) at Nîmes, architects do not have to contend with metopes or triglyphs.

**2-13** Corinthian capitals and east frieze of the Temple of Vesta(?), Tivoli, ca. 100–80 BCE.

at Tivoli (ancient Tibur), east of Rome. Usually also called the Temple of Vesta, it stands on a dramatic site overlooking a deep gorge. The travertine frieze (**FIG.** 2-13) is carved with garlands held up by oxen heads, a motif that has many precedents in Greece and refers to the ritual sacrifice of those animals. Like almost all Roman tholoi (the marble temple on the Tiber is a rare exception), the Tivoli temple has a high podium and a single narrow stairway leading to the

cella door. Also in contrast with Greek practice, the Roman builders did not construct the cella wall using masonry blocks but a new material of recent invention: *concrete* (see "Roman Concrete," page 39). The podiums of most Republican temples are also made of concrete of the early type called *opus incertum,* because of the irregular shape of the stones used in its fabric, as in the podium of the Hercules temple at Cori (FIG. 2-7) and the curved cella wall of the temple at Tivoli (FIG. 2-12).

**Porticus Aemilia, Rome** The earliest known use of concrete on a grand scale is in the Porticus Aemilia (**FIGS. 2-14** and **2-14A**), the huge (533 × 66 yard) warehouse erected by two magistrates, Marcus Aemilius Lepidus and Marcus Aemilius Paullus, both members of a distinguished Republican family. The warehouse was initially constructed in 193 BCE and restored by two other magistrates in 174 BCE. It was situated on the east bank of the Tiber south of the Temple of Portunus and the Temple of Vesta or Hercules Victor where barges unloaded the cargo brought upriver from Rome's port at Ostia. The floor of the building rises in steps to conform to the sloping ground along the river. On each level is a series of opus incertum *barrel-vaulted* units (about 200 in all) whose long sides are pierced with arcuated openings so that the entire hall becomes a continuous space. Windows in the front and back walls of the warehouse provided some illumination to the structure, but light entered primarily through windows ingeniously placed at the end of each vaulted unit above the roofline of the next vaulted unit on a lower level.

**Market Hall, Ferentino** Very little survives of the Porticus Aemilia, but Republican market halls constructed of opus incertum barrel vaults springing from masonry piers and arches can be found outside Rome. One of the earliest and best preserved is at Ferentino, where a series of barrel-vaulted *tabernae* (shops) open onto a long barrel-vaulted central corridor (**FIG. 2-15**). The early, experimental nature of the construction is evident from the heavy reliance on stone supports and the absence of windows. The earlier Porticus Aemilia was a much more sophisticated design.

**Sanctuary of Hercules, Tivoli** The most grandiose Republican building type was the so-called theater-temple, a religious sanctuary whose main feature was a temple situated directly above the semicircular seating area of a theater. In the Greco-Roman world, theatrical performances were not purely secular entertainments, as they generally are today. Plays were performed in connection with religious festivals, and theater-temple complexes usually also

**2-14** Restored cutaway view of the Porticus Aemilia, Rome, 193–174 BCE (John Burge).