

An Examination of Ancient Sculpture in the Ince Blundell Collection

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ABSTRACT

The Ince Blundell collection which is now held in Liverpool is significant in representing a typical English country house collection of the eighteenth century. The importance of the collection lies in the fact that it remains intact and gives an idea of how such collections were gathered and arranged. The collection was gathered by Henry Blundell (1724-1810), a wealthy landowner from Lancashire. Blundell first visited Italy, particularly Rome, in 1777, where he laid the foundation of his collection. The collection comprises 600 pieces of which 400 are ancient, the rest were either commissioned by Blundell or copies of ancient pieces. The collection represents the activities of a number of well-known dealers, restorers, artists and agents active in this period. It was displayed in Blundell's beautifully planned Garden Temple and Pantheon at Ince Blundell Hall. The Ince collection included a large variety of sculpture. This dissertation focuses on the pieces of the collection that were still in situ at the Hall in the early 1990s. These pieces are generally minor reliefs, of which there are approximately fifty items. These have been neglected and have not been studied properly before. Recent research on the collection has primarily focused on the large and important sculptural pieces such as the female and male portraits examined by Jane Fejfer in 1993 and 1998. Other important groups are currently the subject of scholarly studies. The pieces that were examined as part of this study are not considered as unique, and many show well-established motifs of the middle to late Imperial artistic repertoire. This research has revealed many similar examples to the Ince reliefs, and provides the

basis for a better understanding of how the workshops of Rome operated. The pieces of the collection examined are also put in their archaeological and eighteenth century collecting context.

Moving beyond the elements of the Ince Blundell collection, the trade in antiquities was well-established from the time of classical antiquity, but collecting increased dramatically from the eighteenth century onwards. This was particularly the result of the 'Grand Tour', which helped the formation of many private and eventually public collection in Europe and England. The British Museum and the development of its classical collections are examined in this dissertation as a case-study.

Study of the Ince Blundell collection focuses attention on the important issue of the real ownership of works of art. An evaluation of this topic has been added, as well as a section of the illicit trade of antiquities in Turkey. The Parthenon marbles are also considered as a case-study.

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Abbreviations:

fn- footnote

n- no.

Pl- plate

Fig-figure

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

1.1 The Ince Blundell Collection

Today there are two significant sources in Britain for the first-hand study of Roman and Greek sculpture. One is the museums, especially the British Museum, which hold a wide range of classical material. The second is the country house collections, which once possessed many antiquities of high quality. Some of these collections still survive, and give an idea of what the private collections were like in the 18th and 19th century, especially their neo-classical context, and also help us to understand their development. Their particular importance lies in their transitional place in the development to public museums in the same centuries.

Many country house collections of antiquities were formed during the eighteenth and early nineteenth century in England, largely as a result of the 'Grand Tour' of English aristocrats. Galleries, halls and garden temples were specially designed for what were often outstanding collections of sculpture and paintings. But not many of these collections from English country houses have survived intact; most were dispersed and some were incorporated into other collections such as Townley's collection now in the British Museum. However, the Ince Blundell Collection at Ince Blundell Hall in Lancashire, collected by Henry Blundell (1724-

1810) from 1777 onwards, is rare and significant because it remains relatively intact without any attempt to sell or disperse it. The majority of the collection of classical sculptures originally at Ince Blundell Hall has been in the care of the public museum and gallery in Liverpool since 1959 (Southworth, 1993: 11).

In this introduction the work that has been done on the collection since it was established at the Hall and recent studies of it will be summarised. I shall also introduce the basis for my own research project.

The collection has been a focus of scholarly interest since its formation; Blundell himself studied the collection, and published his *Account* in 1803 with an anecdote on each piece. His second work, *The Engravings* was produced as two volumes in 1809 and 1810, just before his death. Among other early scholars the greatest interest was shown by the German Adolph Michaelis, who visited the collection in 1873 and 1877. An account of the collection appeared in his book *Ancient Marbles in Great Britain*, in which he wrote short descriptions of each piece. The Danish scholar Frederic Poulsen, who first visited Ince Blundell Hall in 1912, was the first to illustrate a large portion of the collection, in his 1923 publication *Roman Portraiture in English Country House Collections*. The book contains a number of Roman portraits and grave reliefs from the collection. However, the first proper illustrated catalogue of the Ince collection was the volume published by Bernard Ashmole in 1929. The book is completely devoted to the collection and illustrates almost every piece in it. Despite Ashmole's aim, that his book should only be a starting point for future work, no sustained work on the

collection took place for over 60 years following the end of his research in 1922. His work is now increasingly difficult to find outside specialist libraries, and does not meet modern standards of illustration and analysis.

The need for a complete re-evaluation of the collection as well as new publication, in several volumes, became clear by the early 1980s. In 1984 the Ince Blundell Research Project was launched with the aim of achieving a comprehensive re-cataloguing and republication of the collection. The project is a joint undertaking between the National Museums and Galleries on Merseyside, the University of Liverpool and the University of Copenhagen. Work on the project is jointly supervised by Richard Foster, Director of the National Museums and Galleries on Merseyside, and Professor J. K. Davies of the School of Archaeology, Classics and Oriental Studies at the University of Liverpool.

The publication of the collection is divided into several volumes, each undertaken by a different scholar. Altogether five sections were planned: 1) The female and male portraits; 2) Ash chests; 3) Statuary, life-size and miniature; 4) Reliefs and sarcophagi; and 5) The history of the collection in the context of the 18th century antiquities market, and the modern pieces.

Section 1 now comprises the first two published volumes, on the female portraiture (1993) and the male portraiture (1998), both by the Danish archaeologist Jane Fejfer from the University of Copenhagen. Professor Ingrid Strom of the Institute of Prehistoric and Classical Archaeology in Copenhagen supervised Jane Fejfer's work in the first volume; the introduction and

concordance in volume 1 was prepared by Edmund Southworth, Curator of the Department of Archaeology and Ethnology at Liverpool Museum and co-ordinator of the project for the National Museums and Galleries on Merseyside. The remaining volumes are in preparation: the statuettes and figurines by Dr Elizabeth Bartman, the ash chests by Dr Glenys Davies of the University of Edinburgh, the sarcophagi by Elizabeth Angelicoussi, and the history of the collection by Dr Gerard Vaughan of the University of Oxford.

My study forms an adjunct to these works by focusing not on a single category of sculpture, but rather on the varied collection of relief sculptures that remain on site at the Hall or have only recently been removed to the storerooms of the Liverpool Museum and Conservation Centre. These reliefs have been neglected and ignored; their deteriorating condition, some still being exposed to the elements, was a further cause for concern. The main part of my thesis comprises a catalogue of these pieces which include sarcophagi, a number of minor reliefs, herms, Roman tomb reliefs and ash chests. These fragments have not been studied before in any detail and they form a large and interesting group. Most of the pieces were used as decorative elements on the buildings, namely the Hall, the Pantheon and the Garden Temple. The ones that decorate the frieze (fixed into the structure) of the Pantheon are particularly difficult to access; this and the fact that they mainly constitute a group of minor reliefs, may be reasons for their past neglect. Whilst the sculpture from the Garden Temple has been removed to the Conservation Centre for restoration and cleaning, thanks to recent grant funding, unfortunately

no such funding has yet been found for work on the Pantheon pieces which largely remain *in situ*.

1.2 Aims of the project

The main aim of my project, the first doctoral dissertation based on the Ince Blundell collection, is to record and study these pieces and consider them in the context of Roman art first and then the Ince collection itself. The Ince collection is best understood and appreciated if all the fragments are put in their historical context, in terms of both the formation of the collection and its 'neo-classical' context in the Hall; in fact, the survival *in situ* of some of the fragments is an advantage in this respect, by giving an idea of how the sculptures were incorporated within neo-classical buildings in order to realise Blundell's vision.

I focus my catalogue on these neglected pieces and compare my material with examples in the museums, particularly of Rome, where I have conducted first-hand research. In chapters 2 and 4 I consider the collection itself. I also include chapters on topics related to the Ince collection, such as European antiquarianism. This helps us to understand and appreciate the circumstances behind the formation of the collection. The final chapter deals with the ethical issues surrounding the ownership of works of art, a topical issue today which applies not only to cases such as the Elgin Marbles but also to less well-known sculpture from other 18th and 19th century collections.

CHAPTER 2

THE INCE BLUNDELL COLLECTION

2.1 The Ince Blundell Collection: a summary of its main features and its history from the death of Henry Blundell

The eighteenth century saw a significant expansion of private art collections in England. This was largely a result of the 'Grand Tour' involving aristocrats and gentry of Europe, particularly the British, visiting Italy. The tour was treated as a continuation of their education in the classics, combined with a whirl of social activity, and possibly a shopping spree for their art collections (Irwin, 1997: 13). Rome, the quintessence of antiquity, was the main focus; Greece, by contrast, was within the Ottoman Empire and generally inaccessible (Ingamels, 1997: 23). The acquisition and possession of antiquities drew many English aristocrats to Italy. Many aristocratic collections were formed during the eighteenth century in England, with similar enthusiasm and influencing each other; the sculpture decorated their grandiose houses, with beautiful galleries built to house the art collections.

One of the most important private collections of classical sculpture, in terms of its size and the time at which it was collected, is Henry Blundell's collection of classical sculpture at Ince Blundell Hall in Lancashire, near Liverpool.

Blundell (1724-1810) was the son of a wealthy Lancashire Catholic family of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century (Fig. 3). This collection, after the British Museum's Townley Collection, was one of the largest private collections of classical sculpture in England. Unlike so many others in English country houses, it has survived relatively intact without any attempt to sell or disperse it (Southworth, 1993: 11).

The Blundells were one of the oldest Lancashire families (Southworth, 1993: 11). They are thought to have held the lordship of the estate at Ince since the time of the Norman Conquest. The village of Ince itself is mentioned in Domesday and became known as Ince Blundell in the fourteenth century; it is in 1367 that the name of Blundell is first found suffixed to Ince (Hussey, 1958: 756). In the late twelfth century a Richard Blundell can be identified as Lord of the Manor, and the family's occupation is well-documented from the early thirteenth century (Vaughan, 1989: 13). Because of their Catholic faith, like many of their Lancashire neighbours, the family suffered persecution through the sixteenth to eighteenth centuries. Catholics were burdened with fines and a double land tax was imposed upon them. Robert Blundell, Henry's father, was the last person to be threatened with prosecution for recusancy. However the family lived quietly and modestly and continued to remain a significant force in the county with wide property interests and social contacts (Southworth, 1993: 11). They sent their children to be educated in English Catholic colleges and convents on the continent. Robert Blundell started to build a new house (the Hall) around 1720 (Fig. 1-2, 4-5). It took thirty years to complete. The cost was paid from out of the annual income of

the estate (Hussey, 1958: 757). In 1760, he gained possession of a large estate at Lydiate, near Ince.

Henry Blundell's collection holds 600 pieces, of which about 400 are ancient. An important fact about the collection is that Blundell was already 52 when he first started to collect antiquities, a rather old age given life expectancy at that time. The collection was amassed in the period 1777 to 1810. The circumstances in Italy at this time provided Blundell, and more generally all English aristocrats, with good opportunities to gain antiquities. The collections that had been formed by Italian aristocrats were being sold off because of the impoverishment of their families. The disposal of the Villa Mattei and the Villa d'Este collections were particularly productive for Blundell (see Chapter 4.1). He and his contemporaries were therefore able to collect art despite the fact that the export of some antiquities (the most important ones) was restricted by the Papacy, or their removal from important collections blocked by the laws of entail. There were also new speculative excavations in Rome and its environs which were often financed by British visitors or by agents on their behalf. Thomas Jenkins, Gavin Hamilton and James Byres were involved in this trade, and were the best hope for British collectors (see Chapter 3.2). As a result many fine works of art came to England and impressive galleries were built to house them (Haskell, 1997: 11). Facilitating the acquisition of antiquities was a well-established system of agents, art dealers and restorers in Italy who dealt with the demands of their English aristocratic customers. Blundell bought from the main contemporary Italian sources, the dealers and restorers active in Rome at this period as well as the

Italian aristocrats. Later on, in England, he bought from some of the secondary English sales such as the Bessborough, Mendip and Cawdor collections which were sold in London between 1800 and 1802 (see Chapter 4.1). Michaelis writes:

"...An opportunity so alluring, of becoming possessed of well-known antique statues, and of a collection, without a gradual and tedious acquirement, was a temptation not to be resisted by Mr. Blundell..." (Michaelis, 1884: 334).

A substantial number of pieces in the Blundell Collection were restored, which makes it also a remarkable body of evidence for the works of artists and restorers such as Cavaceppi, Canova, Piranesi, Antonio d'Este and Albaccini, all of whom were active in Rome in the last quarter of the eighteenth century.

Blundell's first tour of Italy in 1777 (February-September) was followed by three further visits to Rome, in 1782-83 (December-February), 1786 (February-April) and finally in 1790 (May) (Ingamels, 1997: 101). His emergence as a collector of antiquities was to be of particular significance for the Roman dealers, for he imitated Townley by continuing to expand his collection after his return home. Virtually every other British collector of this period quickly abandoned the market once the enthusiasm and excitement occasioned by the 'Grand Tour' had waned (Vaughan, 1989: 17). The acquisition of marbles was continued by sales in Britain of some collections formed in the previous century.

Unlike many collectors Blundell did not buy sculpture primarily to decorate his house, in the fashion of the century, and he did not initially plan to build a gallery to display his sculptures. The first acquisitions were placed into the

niches, stairways and corridors of Ince Hall (Fig. 20). However, the most impressive buildings of Ince Hall, namely the Garden Temple (begun in 1790) and the Pantheon (begun in 1801), show that Blundell could not eventually resist building galleries; both structures were specially built to house the collection, the Pantheon being a well-known replica of the building of the same name in Rome. The Pantheon was joined to the Hall in 1856; the Garden Temple was once connected by a long passage to the Greenhouse (Fig. 1, 13-15) where antiquities were also displayed.

One of the main features of the collection was its accessibility. During his lifetime Blundell's collection appears to have been open to the public and it became an important attraction in the region. The fame of the collection was well known and drew many visitors. Blundell was proud of his collection and opened it to the public without hesitation. However, the family were increasingly disturbed by the crowds of people who came, so much so that Blundell restricted the days of admission. The collection was also made accessible through its publication. In 1803 Blundell's *Account* of the sculptures was published. This included details of the sources, and anecdotes about the history of each piece. These descriptions were blended with comments on ancient history or classical mythology which were meant to put the sculptures into context. The account lists 553 pieces up to May 1802. This was followed by the *Engravings* of 150 pieces in two volumes in 1809 and 1810. The inspiration for the *Engravings* came from Townley. Some of the engravings were made in Rome, but the bulk of the illustrations were done in Liverpool and London over a lengthy period from 1798. During the process of

engraving friction developed between Townley and Blundell. Blundell chose the items he thought important while Townley made the final choice, arranged to have the engravings made and paid the artists. However, Blundell did not want to spend too much money on this and refused to have foreigners in his house to do the drawings; as a result the engravings took longer to complete. He found the process expensive and became suspicious about the cost. In turn Townley had difficulty cashing Blundell's bank drafts in London. The style of Blundell's letters could hardly to be considered tactful and Townley took offence on several occasions (Southworth, 1993: 19-20 fn. 27).

Blundell died on 28th August 1810, shortly after the completion of the *Engravings* and the Pantheon. He was taken ill when he was dictating the descriptions for the *Engravings*. Blundell left three children; two daughters and a son. Ince Hall passed to his son, Charles. However, the father had not enjoyed a good relationship with his son and there appears to have been much friction between them. This was exacerbated by very generous legacies from Henry to his daughters (Southworth, 1993: 23). Charles was unmarried and spent most of his time drinking and gambling. A number of letters from Blundell to Townley mention the son. One, dating to 10th February 1799, reports:

"...The rambling life he has led for many years, living mostly at inns... His chief employ here is reading the newspaper and magazines, walking, visiting his horses, and going out now and then with his gun. Had he a wife and family, his time wd

(sic) be better filled up and he might become a different character in life..." (as cited in Southworth, 1993: 23 fn. 32).

The collection seems to have been neglected after Henry died. Charles did little with it; the Garden Temple becoming a dumping ground for unwanted pieces in the Pantheon. While Blundell's son controlled it, the public did not continue their enjoyment of the collection as much as in its early days (Michaelis, 1884: 335). When Charles died in 1837, at the age of 76, he left the collection and estate to a distant cousin, because of his anger towards his father and sisters. That person was Thomas Weld of Lulworth in Dorset. This was done on the condition that Weld took the name Blundell. Blundell's daughters, Lady Camoys and Mrs. Tempest, objected to this arrangement and the will was contested. After a lawsuit which lasted ten years, the will was allowed to stand and the estate passed to Thomas Weld Blundell (Southworth, 1993: 23). During the lawsuit the estate was neglected and a number of pieces must have been lost then. However, after Weld Blundell took possession, he dedicated most of his time to restoring the estate, extending the Hall and planting trees in order to protect his land against encroaching sand dunes (Southworth, 1993: 23). In addition, he showed interest in the collection. Baines mentions that: "...the hall which was for many years in a state of great dilapidation, has recently been restored with a degree of elegance and taste which does credit to its possessor..." (Baines, 1870: 396). The collection was visited by Michaelis in 1873 and 1877, and he wrote about the Garden Temple and the Pantheon in his introduction to the collection:

"...this very dilapidated building, lately however in the course of restorations, serves in the meanwhile as a lumber room nor it is easy to thread one's way through - to say nothing of studying accurately - the stores which are crowded together and piled one on another..." (Michaelis, 1884: 335).

And he describes the Pantheon "...nowadays at least, in tolerably motley confusion..." (Michaelis, 1884: 335).

Although the Hall was looked after by the new owner it seems that there was not much concern for the collection itself. Michaelis also commented on the 'exceeding liberality' of Thomas Weld Blundell who not only allowed undisturbed study, but also permitted photography and the making of casts (Southworth, 1993: 23).

The next heir was Charles Joseph Weld Blundell who succeeded his father in 1887. His possession of the estate was a rather different period for the collection. A number of scholars were well received and the collection was discussed in various publications. The Danish scholar, Frederic Poulsen, visited Ince Hall in 1919. He wrote that the Garden Temple was "...even now a chaos of statues, busts, beams, plinths, packing cases with decayed straw, and casts of the Elgin Marbles, a regular sleeping Idyll which has not yet found its prince...", and continued "...thanks to the kindness of the present owner Mr. Weld Blundell, I got permission to wash about fifty busts..." (Poulsen, 1929: 18 Figs. 18-20). Poulsen was the first scholar to illustrate a large portion of the collection in a publication. This was a difficult time for the Weld Blundell family who had lost two sons during

the First World War. The estate and house were neglected and indeed Poulsen was not initially encouraged in his task (Southworth, 1993: 24). His first visit was in 1912 when he was sent to Ince Hall to produce casts of the head and arms of the famous Ince Athena for a replica (without heads and arms) for the Ny Carlsberg sculpture gallery. Poulsen writes in his autobiography (1950) "...I first began to be interested in English private collections in 1912 when I was sent by Carl Jacobsen to Ince Blundell Hall, with an Italian from Liverpool... Thanks to Mr. Weld Blundell's courtesy we were well received, and while the work was progressing, I had time to look around the collection of antiquities in the house and the little temple in the Garden, and saw how much material was there, hitherto unknown, for the history of ancient art..." (transl. Fejfer and Southworth, 1989: 179-182).

Bernard Ashmole visited the collection in 1922 in order to produce an illustrated catalogue. By then the collection had been restored to good order and renumbered. Ashmole comments on the "admirable rearrangement" (Southworth, 1993: 24). The Weld Blundells continued the tradition of public access originally set by Henry Blundell. Although it remained a private house, the grounds, the Temple and the Pantheon were opened on a regular basis and postcards and a guide were on sale by the 1950s. As noted above, Charles Weld Blundell lost both his sons during the first war and so the estate passed to his two daughters on his death in 1922. One died in 1947, the other in 1958. The Hall and estates then passed to Colonel Joseph Weld of Lulworth in Dorset who was the next heir in the line although not a direct descendant. Colonel Weld decided that he was unable to take Ince as a second home and so the Hall, estate and the collection were offered

to The National Trust. However, a suitable arrangement could not be reached. He thus decided to sell the Hall and estate. The collection of sculptures was offered as an unconditional gift to the City of Liverpool (Southworth, 1993: 24-25). However, the city's Museum had been gutted by the bombing of 1941.

The collection was accepted but there was nowhere to display it. The staff and collections were housed in an old hall across the city. There were two suggestions for the collection; one was the erection of a new building in one of the city's parks and the other, dispersing it throughout the city's schools as aids to teaching classics. Colonel Weld was aware of the situation and suggested that he could talk to the new owners of the Hall to allow the city to use the Garden Temple for displaying the sculpture for the next five years. This option was not possible and the City Council were convinced of the need to keep the collection as complete as possible. The gift included all the removable pieces of ancient sculpture and any of the embedded reliefs that the Museum wanted. All of the pictures, bronzes, modern marbles and books in the house were to remain with the family. The gift of the collection was gratefully accepted by the City Council on 19th December 1959 with the question of what to do with it unresolved (Southworth, 1993: 25).

Ince Blundell Hall was sold to a nursing order of nuns for use as a convalescence home. The Pantheon was wanted for use as a chapel, so all the reliefs still fixed to the walls had to be removed within six months after the sale the period set by the solicitor for the new owners. A local sculptor was employed to

remove the reliefs embedded in the walls of the Hall and interior of the Pantheon. The situation was different for the Garden Temple. Because of the poor condition of the building, the removal of the pieces embedded in its walls was abandoned after a report by the City Engineer stated that there was considerable risk of destroying the Temple in the process (Southworth, 1993: 25). In summary, substantial numbers of pieces were left at Ince Hall. These included all the reliefs on the exterior of the Pantheon and those in the interior and on the exterior of the Garden Temple, as well as the Amazonomachy relief built into the dairy and a sarcophagus with a marriage scene in a summer house attached to the Greenhouse. This piece was removed in 1986.

The modern pieces that came with the collection went to the Walker Art Gallery. During the 1960s, the ancient part of the collection was housed in a store because there was nowhere to display it. Liverpool Museum reopened in 1966 but still there was no place for the collection. In 1973 the Museum started work on a new gallery of the Humanities, and to display material from the Mediterranean world. This gallery opened in 1976, and it is where 45 of the finest pieces were, and are still, displayed. The remaining antiquities were moved to a more suitable Museum store in 1979 where they stayed until 1998. In that year all of the Ince antiquities were moved into a larger storeroom where the pieces are accessible for study. In a new gallery opened in the Walker Art Gallery in December 1988 and dedicated to eighteenth and nineteenth century European sculpture, 45 pieces from the Ince Collection were exhibited. These include most of the modern work of Albaccini, Cayaceppi and Piranesi. Some of the pieces that remained inside the

Garden Temple were also removed during the process of repair to the brickwork in 1980 (Southworth, 1993: 26).

Today the situation remains unchanged. The majority of the pieces are still in the storeroom of the Liverpool Museum. The Mediterranean Gallery accommodates 45 pieces and displays them in a circular setting. The Walker Art Gallery holds 45 pieces in its eighteenth and nineteenth century European sculpture gallery. A substantial number of pieces remain at Ince Hall. The reliefs that are embedded on the exteriors of the Pantheon remain *in situ*. By mid-summer 1997 the three embedded reliefs in the Garden Temple had been removed by the Museum, and now only a large Medusa head remains in the pediment. Also a number of other fragments still remain. These include a fragment of the Amazonomachy, mentioned above, on the dairy, and a fragment of an akroterion placed above the entrance of the Greenhouse. In addition to this, a number of fragments are scattered in the Pantheon. These include some of the cineraria and fragments of sarcophagi. The four large arches of the Pantheon hold four lion heads from sarcophagi *in situ*.

The Ince collection, after the British Museum's Townley collection bought in 1805, was one of the biggest private collections of England and holds a wide variety of pieces. These include a collection of classical and modern sculpture in marble and bronze, gems, mosaic and glass numbering 599 pieces in total. In numerical terms it is, therefore, comparable with the Townley collection. In the early nineteenth century it was certainly the largest in England in private hands.

(Southworth, 1993: 14). However, the overall quality of the collection is in reality ordinary and eclectic. Blundell was proud of his collection and he was aware that it was selective and of uneven quality, and he had no objection to Townley's description of it as being "...Composed more of what the Italians call *Marmi Erudi*, than of choice specimens of fine workmanship..." (Vaughan, 1989: 20 fn. 60).

As will be demonstrated below the collection holds fragments of poor quality and examples of fine work. While the number of works of art surpasses the Townley's collection, in quality Townley's collection contains more finer quality specimens. However, the Ince collection, with its large number of ancient and modern marbles, its variety of specimens and the buildings that were purposely built to accommodate the sculptures, holds a significant place in the history of English private collections. The collection is also important because it remains substantially intact.

It is to be sincerely hoped that one day Henry Blundell's great collection can be returned to the buildings created for its display (Vaughan, 1989: 20).

2.2 A biography of Henry Blundell

Henry Blundell was born in 1724, and was the son and heir of Robert, of Ince Blundell Hall (Fig. 3). His mother was Katharine, daughter of Sir Rowland Stanley, Bart of Hooton, County Chester (Gillow, 1859: 244). Blundell, like many other Catholic sons, for example Charles Townley and James Hugh Smith Barry,

had been first educated by the college of English Jesuits at St. Omer in France before being sent to the English College at Douai. This education consisted of studying philosophy and classics, subjects which he enjoyed and in which he was proficient. In a letter to a friend dated February 10th 1808, Blundell wrote "...My constant diligent application to my studies so filled up my time that I was quite happy and left the college with regret..." (Vaughan, 1989: 15). This education must have had an important impact on Blundell, especially when he started to purchase antiquities. In October 1745 Blundell left Douai and came to Paris. He stayed briefly with Dr. Joseph Holden, the President of St Gregory's English seminary. At this time Blundell's personal association with Charles Townley started although they had known each other from childhood. Blundell returned home before 1750. He made subsequent visits to Paris and met Townley's private tutor, the learned antiquarian and natural scientist, the Revd John Turberville Needham; he was also exposed to a number of brilliant scholars, antiquarians and literary figures including Buffon, Barthelemy, de Caylus, Dawkins and the *salon* of Mme Doublet (Vaughan, 1989: 15).

After his first wife's death Robert Blundell married Elizabeth Anderson, in 1752, and in 1761 he handed over the Ince estate to Henry, who was then in his mid-30s, and retired to Liverpool. The 1750s and 1760s were frugal years. This was followed by Henry's marriage to Elizabeth, daughter of Sir George Mostyn, Bart of Talacre in Flint (Hussey, 1958: 816). The marriage settlement improved Blundell's income. More significantly, the death of Sir Francis Anderton in 1760 without male heirs brought Blundell the nearby Lostock and Lydiate estates with

the result that his income more than doubled (Vaughan, 1989: 14). Elizabeth died early in 1767 after she gave a birth to a son, Charles Robert Blundell, who never married and died in 1837. They already had two daughters, Katharine and Elizabeth, who married respectively Thomas Stonor of Stonor and Stephen Tempest of Broughton (Gillow, 1859: 245).

Blundell never remarried, but instead devoted his attention to the improvement of the estate for the next nine years, until 1776. During this period he created a deer park, new gardens and the estate buildings. As a Roman Catholic he was debarred from taking active part in social and political life, so like his predecessors he concentrated on farming and maintaining the estate. Despite his education abroad, Blundell retained a rather limited view of life and lived as a country squire, enjoying horse racing and other country pursuits (Southworth, 1991: 221). He did not keep a house in London but liked to spend his time in Lancashire with his family or visiting relatives. Blundell spent 52 years of his life without collecting a single antiquity (Southworth, 1991: 221). However, he was a man of taste and had a remarkable collection of paintings which decorated the Hall. British artists were employed. Paintings by Stubbs decorated the Hall, and Gainsborough was employed to paint a portrait of his wife. Blundell was also a public-spirited man. Involvement with learned and cultural societies was one of the few ways in which Catholics such as Blundell could actively participate in public life (Vaughan, 1989: 13). He patronised contemporary British sculptors and was President of the Society for Promoting the Arts in Liverpool. He later became the

patron of the new Liverpool Academy which he helped to found (Southworth: 1991: 221).

Southworth has suggested that by this time Blundell was perhaps looking for a new and more satisfying interest in his life. As mentioned above, he now had no financial worries. By the time of his first visit to Italy he had just completed his work on the improvement of the estate but was not yet old enough to retire. His interests, stimulated by his education, may have been intensified when he saw the outstanding antiquities of Rome when he accompanied Charles Townley. Townley's famous collection of antiquities must be added as an inspiration. It was a combination of all these factors which helped Blundell to acquire and form one of England's biggest collections.

Blundell died on 28th August 1810 and owing to the estrangement between himself and his only son he bequeathed the extensive Lostock and Heaton estates and most of the furniture at Ince to his two daughters, and accordingly only the smaller property of Ince Blundell went to his son (Gillow, 1859: 245).

2.3 The formation of the collection

Blundell formed the largest part of his massive collection during his four visits to Italy at the end of the 18th century. He also continued to expand the collection after returning home through his own agents and contacts in the early 19th century (see Chapter 4.1).

By the time Blundell made his first visit to Italy in February 1777, Charles Townley had already laid the foundations of his eminent collection, during his visits to Italy in the years 1767-68 and 1771-74. Townley and Blundell were Catholic neighbours. The formation of the Ince Collection starts with this visit when he joined up in Rome with Townley. In March the two travelled to Naples where Blundell visited the excavations of Herculaneum and Pompeii. Townley also introduced him to dealer-associates such as Tomas Valenziani, the assistant of Camillo Paderno, Keeper of the Royal Collection of Antiquities then housed in the museum at the Villa of Portici in Naples. Valenziani supplied Blundell with a number of highly finished decorative table tops made of polished Vesuvian stone and a few Etruscan vases and other fragments. However, the export of antiquities from Naples was prohibited at this time, and Blundell acquired little of substance. Both friends also commissioned from the painter, Volaire, representations of the spectacular 1767 eruption of Mount Vesuvius. On his return to Rome Blundell acquired further modern pictures by the painter-dealers, Gavin Hamilton and Mengs. The important thing is that with these acquisitions Blundell laid the foundations of his collection.

The first ancient sculpture of the Ince Collection was a small seated philosopher bought in 1777 from Thomas Jenkins on Townley's advice. In considering the formation of the collection there are a number of factors that must be examined. One is the sales of important Italian collections in this century. A group of well-known agents and dealers in Rome at this time acted for the sale of those collections. For example, through Jenkins, Blundell obtained a large number

of pieces from the sales of the Villa Mattei Collection, which forms the core of his antique collection at the beginning. This was followed by other important sales of prominent collections in Rome, such as the Villa Borroni, the Palazzo Capponi, the Villa Negroni and the Villa d'Este at Tivoli (see detail Chapter 4.1). Blundell acquired a large number of pieces from these sales. However, most of the pieces are not of good quality. Some were heavily restored and rather ordinary pieces. Blundell also commissioned modern pieces. A number of sculptures by Canova and other individuals form a large part of the collection (see Chapter 4.1). The acquisition of antiquities from English sales after 1800, when a number of fine pieces were purchased, formed the final part of the collection.

2.4 The context of the display: Ince Blundell Hall

Although best known for its works of art, the Ince Blundell Collection is as important for the buildings in which the sculptures were displayed. Two impressive buildings, the Garden Temple (Fig. 6-7) (begun 1790) and the Pantheon (Fig. 9, 11) (begun 1801), display the main eighteenth and nineteenth centuries architectural fashion, the neo-classical style. These two buildings survive today and moreover give the idea of how the interiors and exteriors were arranged for the display of antiquities. The Hall itself was the first place used for the display of antiquities.

Ince Blundell Hall as it stands today was built by Henry Blundell's father Robert between 1720-1750, and was paid for from the annual income of the estate (Fig. 2, 4-5). The architect was Henry Sephton (1686-1756), who was the leading mason and architect in Liverpool during the second quarter of the eighteenth century. His most important work was Ince Blundell for which an original drawing bearing his signature survives (Colvin, 1978: 726). The Hall was constructed of dark red brick and faced with local sandstone. With the principal façade, a giant order of engaged Corinthian columns and pilasters, the house belongs firmly to the last phase of the English Baroque. Hussey (1958) has noted that the design has much in common with the work of Thomas Archer and James Gibbs. Ince Blundell Hall bears an obvious stylistic relationship to near-contemporary buildings such as the first Buckingham House in London, attributed to William Winde, and the central block of Archer's Heythrop Park in Oxfordshire, built for the Talbot family to whom the Blundells were related (Vaughan, 1989: 13, 15). After Robert Blundell handed over the estate to his son (1761), Henry Blundell invested much energy to its improvements. Although the new Hall had only been recently been completed there was still much to be done (Southworth, 1993: 11). After his wife's death in 1767, he undertook intensive building work over the next nine years. His first undertaking was to build the wall enclosing the park. Begun about 1770, partly to give employment to the local population, it took six years to complete. Clay for the bricks was dug from beds in the park and the bricks were fired on the estate. The clay pit was later turned into an ornamental lake. At the same time Blundell erected the entrance gates, of which the most important is that at the

south corner of the park known as the Lion Gate (Liverpool Gate) from its attendant sculptures. The gate survives today. Rather than adopt the fashionable neo-classical style, Blundell chose to imitate exactly a Baroque gateway with broken pediment which appeared in the background of a painting "Marriage of Bacchus and Ariadne" by Sebastiano Ricci (Vaughan, 1989: 15). Blundell also made extensive interior improvements:

"I had fitted up all the apartments in the house, built a large body of offices without the assistance of a Wyatt or any architect. I also made a new garden with stoves, a greenhouse and hot walls..." (Southworth, 1993: 11 fn. 3).

Blundell clearly had a feel for architectural matters, building a deer park, new gardens, entrance gates and estate buildings. After Blundell set out on his first tour to Italy in 1777 and tours in subsequent years, he brought back many antiquities with him. However, at the beginning he was not buying sculpture to decorate his house in the fashion of the time. The Hall had only recently been finished and was decorated mainly with paintings. Blundell wrote to Townley in a letter dated to 25th of November 1787, that:

"...I do not aim at a collection, or crowding my home with marbles, nor will I build a Gallerie..." (Vaughan, 1989: 19 fn. 49).

With the arrival of the first of his antiquities, there was no dramatic changes to the main rooms to cope with the new influx of sculpture. These were placed into the niches on and below the stairways (Fig. 20) and along the corridors of the Hall. Others were embedded in the walls of the stairs of the house. These

places were secondary areas of the house and suitable for the first antiquities that he acquired. However, the acquisition of many other pieces, especially large statues in 1790, along with the first large group of reliefs and free standing material collected in the 1770s and 1780s which spilled over from the house, presented a problem of space (Southworth, 1993: 16). Indeed a remark in a letter of Blundell dated 2nd January 1787 to Townley suggests that the house was already crowded with paintings and sculpture:

"...But I have now made my markets and have no room in my house for any more paintings and sculpture..." (Southworth, 1993: 17 fn. 24).

Although Blundell did not aim to build a gallery initially, the Ince collection is renowned for its two impressive neo-classical buildings, the Garden Temple (Fig. 7) and Pantheon (Fig. 9). These buildings are unique in their quality and both were designed specifically to accommodate sculptures. Blundell must have had in his mind to build a garden temple for his growing collection, when he was in Rome. The work began immediately on his return home in 1790, when a rectangular temple was built in the garden, west of the house (Fig. 6). The plan is octagonal inside. The architect of this severely Tuscan style temple is unknown (Vaughan, 1989: 19), although the design has been associated with William Everard (1723-1792), a minor Liverpool surveyor and architect. A portrait of Everard was exhibited at a meeting of the Historic Society of Lancashire in 1869. It represents him holding an elevation of the Tuscan Garden Temple at Ince Blundell Hall (Colvin, 1978: 303). It has already been shown (see p. 23) that

Blundell had a capacity for translating Classical originals into the structures (the Lion Gate and the park wall mentioned above: Hussey, 1958: 759). It is probable, therefore, Blundell himself might have been involved in the design of the Garden Temple.

Building garden temples and galleries to house sculptures was a common practice among English aristocrats. Blundell, after acquiring such a big collection, could not avoid erecting a suitable building for his collection and in doing so followed his contemporaries. In the eighteenth century there were a number of garden temples from which he could have drawn inspiration. For instance there was the one designed for Lord Bessborough at Roehampton by Chambers and there was Robert Adam's temple at Painshill in Newby Hall (Vaughan, 1989: 19). The Ince Garden Temple shows much resemblance to the new Museo Pio-Clementino in Rome, which may have served as a particular point of inspiration. For example, the placement of the antique Medusa mask in the pediment of the Garden Temple imitates Simonetti's work on the pediments of the Cortile Belvedere at the Museo and the ornate bas reliefs on the walls are also Italianate. In the interior the use of a Palladian tripartite, or Venetian, framework, and particularly the flamboyant swags, resemble the work of Dori and Simonetti in the Vatican, rather than that of Adams at Newby Hall (Vaughan, 1989: 19). Blundell's casual method of display, filling up the floor space and covering the tables with marbles, also reflected the taste of the Museo Pio-Clementino. If Blundell commissioned a design for the Garden Temple in Rome, an obvious candidate would have been James Byres who had recently provided designs for sculpture

galleries for Charles Townley and James Hugh Smith Barry. However, there is no documentary evidence to support this assumption (Vaughan, 1989: 19).

The exterior walls of the Garden Temple are plain. The interior is carefully designed with recesses, alcoves, roundels and Venetian entablatures. Entablatures are suitable in shape and scale for the sculpture placed in them, with busts in the roundels and niches, reliefs on the walls, and colossal masks in the pediments of the arches (Fig. 8). Hussey (1958) argues that the skilful placing of the sculpture was intended to fit into an existing building. In my opinion the building was intended for the existing and in-coming sculptures. During his visits to Italy Blundell must have broadened his architectural knowledge. He might have had the design in his mind and must have thought that an additional building for his growing collection would be necessary. Furthermore, as mentioned above, there were already English precedents for garden temples.

The other remarkable building that is also important for the display of art at Ince Hall was the Pantheon (Fig. 9-11). It is a small replica of the Pantheon in Rome and was the main display gallery at Ince Hall. This circular, domed building was planned in 1801, started in the following year, and completed shortly before Blundell's death in 1810 (Southworth, 1993: 16). As Blundell is known to have dismissed his plasterers on grounds of slackness in December 1804, it can be assumed that by then the fabric was essentially completed (Vaughan, 1989: 29 fn. 58-59). The acquisition of many pieces from the English sales of 1800-1, especially purchases from those at Cawdor and at Bessborough sales, coincided with the

decision to build the Pantheon. The Garden Temple was now no longer large enough. The Ince Pantheon was to contain the flood of new acquisitions and in particular Blundell's finest statues. Again, the Pantheon form was not without precedent in England, beginning with Henry Flitcroft's Pantheon in the grounds at Stourhead (1754-6), although this only housed modern works and casts (Vaughan, 1989: 20). It is likely, however, that Simonetti's great Sala Rotonda in the Museo Pio-Clementino at the Vatican which had just opened to the public at the time of Blundell's visit of 1782-3 was a more obvious inspiration, even if the Ince Pantheon differed substantially in its detail (Vaughan, 1989: 20).

In March 1801 Blundell wrote to Townley to bear in mind the dimensions of the Pantheon when the latter attended the sale of the Lord Bessbrough Collection:

"...it (the building) is about the 37 diameter, circular, lighted from the top, as the Pantheon...the walls are six feet thick, to get room for 4 large recesses, so as to be able to see round the principal statues; nothing is yet done about it, but on paper except a model in wood just put in hand..." (Vaughan, 1989: 20).

Blundell's letter confirms that he wanted Townley to acquire from Lord Bessborough's Collection pieces which would be suitable for the intended room. In London, at this time, Townley was acting as Blundell's agent at the sales of English collections. 'Italian' antiquities as well as the new acquisitions from the English collections decorated the alcoves and recesses of the impressive Pantheon. Every corner of the Pantheon was decorated with appropriate pieces (Fig. 12). Bust and statues were fitted into the roundels and niches outside it. The frieze of

the Pantheon was also decorated with a large number of minor reliefs (Fig. 17-19). The pediment of the portico and its frieze were decorated with finely executed large reliefs and herms (Fig. 10). All of these suggest careful planning in the positioning of the sculpture.

The Ince Pantheon was placed 40 feet east of the house, and for some reason at a slight angle to its axis (Hussey, 1958: 818) (Fig. 1). The rotunda was originally detached from the house but was linked to it by a corridor. It was later joined to the main structure by the insertion of a large dining room (Fig. 2). The walls are plain. The dome is covered with lead and coffered. It has a tetrastyle Ionic portico instead of a Corinthian prototype. The inside of the building consists of four large and four lesser alcoves and eight small recesses. The walls contain roundels, which were particularly suitable for busts (Fig. 21). All of the niches housed groups of large statues. The reliefs were embedded into the walls. In addition to the wall decorations, highly decorative marble tables and pillars were covered with statues and busts (Fig. 12). The architect of this superb building is unknown. In letters to his friends and relatives, Blundell regularly mentions his new building but does not give any particular details about the architect. The evidence for Henry Blundell's involvement in the design and detail of the Pantheon is weaker than that for the Garden Temple. It has been suggested that John Hope of Liverpool was the principal architect (Colvin, 1978: 431). Another candidate is Samuel Wyatt, who did extensive work in Cheshire and Lancashire and was skilful in employing the Pantheon form. However, there is no documentary evidence to support this. The sculptor and designer George Bullock is another candidate, but at

this time he was probably too young, though might have been responsible for the wooden model of the Pantheon to which Blundell refers in his correspondence. There were later drawings for alterations at Ince by John Gandy, who was working with Bullock in Liverpool 1809-11. This supports the idea that Blundell patronised Bullock's practice for building purposes. In 1810 Henry Blundell became the first patron of the new Liverpool Academy, of which Bullock was the president. Without documentation, the association with Bullock is barely defensible; it is also probable that Blundell had already commissioned the drawings on an earlier trip to Rome (Vaughan, 1989: 20).

As shown above, the Ince collection is also significant for the buildings in which sculptures were displayed. The Garden Temple and the Pantheon at Ince Hall form an attractive example in the history of country house collections and galleries especially built for sculptures. Although there were precedents, the buildings are unique in their design and the fact that they were especially built to accommodate sculptures. British collectors of the 'Grand Tour' transplanted the magnificent ancient buildings of Rome and Greece to England and decorated them with antiquities. The two splendid neo-classical buildings of Ince are superb examples of neo-classical architecture in their era. The buildings are significant for sculptural display in their interiors and exteriors, and are a specialised subject of study by themselves.

CHAPTER 3

ANTIQUARIANISM AND THE DEVELOPMENT OF MUSEUM COLLECTIONS

3.1 A brief history of European antiquarianism to the time of Blundell

Since classical antiquity there has always been an interest in curiosities, both natural and artefactual. In the following paragraphs the history of collecting classical antiquities will be dealt with chronologically and briefly.

The dedications in the ancient Greek temples formed the first well-known collections, in which public treasures, votive offerings, statues, spoils of war, gifts and curiosities were kept. This tradition of collecting was followed by the Romans on a prodigious scale. The conquest of Greece and Asia Minor brought many works of art to Rome. For example Sulla had a huge collection from the plunder of Delos and Corinth. Cicero owned eighteen villas filled with works of art (Wittlin, 1949: 15). Sulla's example was followed by many of the Roman emperors, and antiquities were transported to Rome from all round the Empire.

During the Middle Ages in the princely courts of European interest in antiquities, past relics, and curiosities was aroused. Numbers of collections were

gathered by princes and aristocrats in order to embellish their palaces. However, a fundamental change in impetus came with the Renaissance. From the fifteenth century onwards, the numbers of classical and curiosity collections, with natural and artificial objects too, increased in Italy and all round Europe. Increased building activity in Rome in the late fifteenth and sixteenth centuries resulted in much ground being opened up, revealing antiquities. This in turn stimulated interest in the ancient past. For example, Cardinal Domenico Grimani possessed a great number of sculptures and other antiquities recovered from the foundation of his palace in Rome, reported by a contemporary author in 1505 (Wittlin, 1949: 104). Throughout the sixteenth, seventeenth and especially the eighteenth centuries the collecting habit peaked, particularly in England, and during the eighteenth century many aristocratic collections were formed in England as a result of the 'Grand Tour'.

When we say 'antiquarianism' the first impression that comes to mind is the antiquities of Italy, especially Rome, then Greece, Turkey and the Levant. Prior to the sixteenth century, collections amounting to what we would now call museums were unknown. There were royal treasuries (the treasure chamber) in every country of Europe, containing regalia alongside vessels of precious metals, plate, and coins, some of which were gifts from foreign princes and dignitaries which, had they been publicly displayed, would have formed splendid exhibitions. The idea of public exhibition was, however, as foreign to the curators of these treasure-houses as it was to those responsible for their enrichment (Macgregor, 1983: 70). But in later times the value of

treasures shifted from the material to the symbolic: objects were associated with certain national events and outstanding personages of the past (Wittlin, 1949: 16).

As early as the late 8th century, Charlemagne (742-814), the ruler of the Franks in Northern Europe, sent agents to Italy in search of objects of art (Wittlin, 1949: 103-104).

There had also been medieval church collections in the Middle Ages. Greater public accessibility was afforded by other collections which grew up within certain medieval cathedrals and churches: for example, the monasteries of Saint Denis in France and San Marco at Venice were both renowned for their treasures (Macgregor, 1983: 70). Art treasures which since the Middle Ages had been accumulated in the churches of Venice were first sequestered by the Venetian Republic, then in 1657 sold to defray some of expenses of the war against the Turks (Wittlin, 1949: 102).

By the Middle Ages much of ancient Rome had fallen into ruin. In Rome, large-scale antiquarian collecting dates back at least to the 11th century, when Nicolas Crescentius had remains of ancient buildings in his house (Wittlin, 1949: 41). The oldest extensive collection known belonged to a wealthy citizen of Treviso, Oliviero Forza, who collected ancient medals, coins, marbles, and manuscripts in c. 1335. Today only a list survives in which the collector named things he wished to purchase; he also mentions other contemporary collections in Venice (Wittlin, 1949: 41).

Between the thirteenth and sixteenth centuries, the Franks and the Venetians ruled much of Greece. Ancient Greek works of art probably found their way west during that time. However, very little is known about such trade. Italian artists such as

Niccola Pissano (1225-1284) and Donatello (1386-1466) might have drawn inspiration from imported antiquities, such as Greco-Italic objects excavated in Italy or Byzantine objects which were still strongly imbued with the Classical tradition. After the conquest of Constantinople in 1453, the Turks overran the Peloponnese and mainland Greece within a few years, and access to Greek antiquities remained limited until the 19th century (Archibald, 1991: 30). But the acquisition of ancient remains by travellers can be traced back to the fifteenth century, when the humanist, Ciriaco of Ancona, gathered inscriptions, statuary and coins on his journeys in Greece and the Near East (Wittlin, 1949: 104).

Jean de France, Duke of Berry (1340-1416), was one of the later medieval secular princes generally recognised as the forerunners of the great princely collectors of the Renaissance (Macgregor, 1983: 70). He possessed antique coins, sculpture, and vases obtained through agents who were sent especially for the purpose of acquiring them. While Jean de Berry's collection was accumulated with the intention that it should be observed and enjoyed, those admitted to see it must have been few.

By the Renaissance, collecting developed as an activity for wealthy people. But patronage was more important than collecting in the early years of the fifteenth century. Later on, especially in the second half of that century, collecting was identified as a distinct activity (Hooper and Greenhill, 1992: 65). A variety of specimens, natural or artificial, and objects of art, as well as mechanical and religious idols were collected by people. By the end of the sixteenth century such collections and museums had become

fairly commonplace in Europe (Hooper and Greenhill, 1992: 78). By the early part of that century the palaces of princes, wealthy merchants, and clerics in Rome, Venice and Tuscany were filled with relics of ancient Rome - coins, medals, sculpture and inscriptions. In Florence one of the most famous merchant families were the Medici, who will be discussed briefly below. Furthermore some famous artists of the Renaissance, for example Ghiberti, Squarcione, Mantegna, Lombardi and others, assembled ancient statues in their studios and were inspired by them and by the idea of being their descendants. During the Renaissance, the word 'cabinet' came into use, for a container, generally a cupboard with drawers and shelves, used to hold a collection of small things. In Renaissance Italy, the export of works of art by foreign buyers was prohibited by a pontifical order of 1534, a ban which in practice had only limited effect (Wittlin, 1949: 41).

In Rome in the second half of the fifteenth century the collecting of antiquities was far less common than in Florence. Pietro Barbo (Pope Paul II, 1464-71) collected a large number of gems, coins and small bronzes. His successor, Sixtus IV (1471-84) showed no interest in them and allowed the antiquities to be dispersed, a large proportion being taken to Florence by Lorenzo de Medici. Sixtus IV's successor, Pius II Piccolomini, also showed an interest in Roman antiquities and collected interesting pieces. Pope Julius II (previously Cardinal Giuliano della Rovera) collected sculptures either derived from excavations or bought from existing collections. He also commissioned the architect, Bramante, to modify a villa in the Vatican Palace for the display of sculptures. The villa was known as the Belvedere. His successor, Leo X (1512-21), was more keen to increase his own collection rather than that of the

Vatican. Pope Paul III (1534-49) and his nephew built up the first private collection of classical sculpture in Rome (Haskell and Penny, 1981: 8, 10, 11). Besides the Vatican, there were five other major collections belonging to noble Italian families, all of which had strong connections with the papal court: the Farnese, the Medici, the Borghese, the Ludovisi and the Barberini (Archibald, 1992: 36). The collection of Michele Mercati (1541-93) appears to be a secular collection in Rome. He was a physician and curator of the Vatican botanic garden. He formed a collection which embraced both natural rarities and antiquities, including mummies and flint implements (Macgregor, 1982: 72).

In Florence the most famous merchant family of the Renaissance were the Medici. In the fifteenth century, the Medici created a famous collection of books, icons, paintings and sculptures in Florence. It was started by the banker, Cosimo de Medici (1389-1464), and was carried on by his son Piero de Medici (1419-69) and in turn by his grandson, Lorenzo the Magnificent (1448-92) (Tait, 1989: 2). By the end of the century, the Medici collection was the finest in Italy, and included coins, gems, glass and sarcophagi as well as statuary (Archibald, 1991: 32). Lorenzo appears to have used the collection of ancient marbles in his gardens mainly as a training ground for young artists; visitors were permitted to view the collections in the ducal palace as early as the sixteenth century (Wittlin, 1949: 110). Cosimo Medici also used the word 'museum' for his private collection of codices and curiosities. In the 16th century Cosimi de Medici (1519-1574), another Medici family member, obtained South American objects, and under his sons, Francesco and Ferdinand, the collection was also augmented by material from Africa, India, China and Japan. Natural history specimens and antiquities

were added. When the Treasure-House or *ceimeliarcha* was visited by the diarist John Evelyn in 1644, its character was predominantly that of an art-historical collection. Evelyn wrote that "...hundreds of admirable Antiquities, Statues of Marble & Mettal, Vasas of porphyry... Pictures... of the famous persons & Illustrious men, whithther excelling in Arts or Armes to the number of 300..." were to be found in the collection (Macgregor, 1983: 72). The Medici Palace in Florence has been called the first museum of Europe. It was the first house in Florence to be built on what are now seen as Renaissance principles; it must have been unique at that time in its size and height, in its use of decorative motifs on the exterior walls and spaces, in the richly decorated interior spaces, and in the extensive accumulation of material goods (Hooper and Greenhill, 1992: 26). The Medici collection was also important for its arrangement of objects of art and specimens according to their artistic qualities. In the Palazzo Pitti in Florence statues were placed in the 'Galleria' which was especially built for the purpose by Vasari (1511-1574) (Wittlin, 1949: 88).

In France, François I developed an intense interest in classical statuary shortly before the 1540s. The initial stimulus probably came from the Italians. Around 1518-19 the King owned no marble sculpture, ancient or modern. François' court artist, Primaticcio, convinced the King to send him to Italy in order to draw antiquities and to give advice on possible purchases. He carried out both of these tasks along with taking moulds from the most famous antique statues in the city and sending them to France. Taking plaster casts from original pieces was an expensive operation in the middle of the sixteenth century, but it was an essential step in spreading a wider appreciation of the most esteemed antique sculptures. Primaticcio along with the casts of famous

sculptures managed to obtain about 125 marbles for the king (Haskell and Penny, 1981: 2-4). Two of the later rulers of France, Louis XIV and then Napoleon, were to try and emulate François' example and to transfer the prestige of Rome to France by transferring the former's ancient monuments (Haskell and Penny, 1981: 5).

The sixteenth and seventeenth century saw greater interest in encyclopedic learning, and the creation of collections of 'Naturalia' and 'Artificialia' which contained an almost unlimited variety of specimens of nature, objects of art, mechanical inventions and religious idols (Wittlin, 1949: 3). Collections were opened up in many parts of Europe gathering together many varieties of natural life, rarities and antiquities from all around the world. In Austria under the Hapsburg dynasty, the imperial family founded several collections. The Hapsburgs were as important to the development of collecting in Austria as the Medici were in Italy. In Germany, in Munich, Duke Albrecht V of Bavaria (1528-79) centred on antiquities, including bronzes and busts; in Prague Rudolph II (1552-1612) established at the Hradschin Palace one of the most impressive artistic centres of his time; and in Heidelberg the elector Karl Ludwig (1632-80) developed a cabinet with coins and other antiquities from Italy. Although these collections contained mainly rarities and natural objects, they also accommodated antiquities. Many other collections of this type were formed in Holland, Denmark, France and England (Macgregor, 1983: 70-97). Voyages of acquisition were made to the Americas and to the Far East, and to China and Japan and to Africa. The methods of acquisition were mainly personal contact with ambassadors and overseas merchants, sometimes via missionary priests as well as by gifts and exchanges between collectors, by written appeals and the foreign travel of individuals. Furthermore, shops sprang up

in the course of the seventeenth century to cater for this developing market. Evelyn (1645) records that purchases were made by collectors in Pozzuoli and in the Piazza Navona in Rome, the latter crowded with merchants selling antiquities, medals and other curiosities (Macgregor, 1983: 90).

In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries many collections were also founded by scientists satisfying curiosity and scientific investigation. But none of these early continental collections have survived intact; most were dispersed completely, although fragments of a few were incorporated into later collections (Wittlin, 1949: 65). The traveller-collector was a well-known figure in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Students of medicine and natural history in particular collected a variety of archaeological and ethnographical material, as well as specimens of botanical interest and of minerals. Travellers and explorers bought back many items, including specimens from Africa, South America, China, Japan and the Pacific Islands. Likewise botanists and zoologists shipped their finds back to their home countries (Hudson, 1975: 53). Later on many such collections were sold to other students or persons of a high social rank. In England the origins of the main museums lie with the collections of scientists and travellers, in other words, with private collections. However, the situation is different in Continental Europe; the majority of the great museums represent the transformation of the former collections of kings and princes. Especially during the second half of the 19th century, wealthy men started to bequeath their collections, usually to their local town, and with the instructions that these collections should be used for 'educational' and 'scientific' purposes (Hudson, 1975: 55).

The most important French collector of the early seventeenth century was Nicolas-Claude Fabri de Peiresc (1580-1637). He was a councillor in the Parliament of Aix-en-Provence and one of the great scholar-collectors of natural history, astronomy, antiquities, numismatics and linguistics. He enjoyed presenting his antiquities, specimens of nature and books to other students and collectors. One of his agents, a man named Samson, was sent out to search for antiquities and curiosities in Turkey. He unearthed many Greek marbles, these were eventually bought for the Earl of Arundel, and became part of the 'Arundel Marbles' noted below (Macgregor, 1983: 82). Another remarkable French collection was made by M. le Comte de Caylus, the eighteenth century scholar and traveller, who collected many specimens of classical archaeology during excavations in Asia Minor (Greenfield, 1989: 249).

As mentioned above, in a time when there were limited facilities for travel, ambassadors abroad often acted as agents in acquiring specimens. For example, the Earl of Arundel, Charles I's emissary to the continent in 1636, sent paintings home from Vienna, the Netherlands and other places (Wittlin, 1949: 96). The earliest European public or 'national' collection of antiquities all date from the early seventeenth century. This was the time when royal emissaries were employed by the English and French courts. Sir Thomas Roe, British ambassador at Istanbul from 1621 to 1628, acted as agent for two great English collectors, the Duke of Buckingham and Thomas Howard (1585-1646), the second Earl of Arundel. In England, collecting classical sculpture starts with Thomas Howard. He was one of the earliest collectors and the first person to bring inscribed Greek marbles from Italy to England. When he was in Rome he acquired permission from the papal authorities to conduct excavations

and discovered a buried room containing Roman portrait sculptures, which in fact were probably planted for his benefit (Bahn, 1996: 34). But his collection also increased with purchases, gifts from other collectors and copies of ancient works of art. To house his growing collection, Howard added a long sculpture gallery to Arundel House in London (Bahn, 1996: 34). Furthermore, as mentioned, he commissioned Sir Thomas Roe, who was then the ambassador to the Sublime Porte (the Ottoman Court at Istanbul), to collect sculpture on his behalf. Later on he also sent his Chaplain, William Petty, to Istanbul. Petty visited Izmir where he bought a substitute collection that was originally intended for the connoisseur, Nicolas-Claude Fabri de Peiresc. Arundel's 'Marbles' consisted of 250 inscriptions, 37 statues, 28 busts and miscellaneous items such as sarcophagi and altars. Among these were parts of the Hellenistic Gigantomachy relief from the Great Altar at Pergamon (Bahn, 1996: 34). While Thomas Howard is remembered for his outstanding collections of statuary, engraved gems, paintings and manuscripts, he showed no recorded interest in rarities (Macgregor, 1983: 84).

England was famous in the seventeenth century for another important collection, the 'Musaeum Tradescantianum'. The word 'musaeum' first entered the English language in 1656 with the collection of 'John Tradescant's Musaeum Tradescantianum' which later became the Ashmolean Museum in Oxford. Tradescant was a diplomat and naturalist who opened the first public museum in England. The Tradescants, John Tradescant the Elder (d. 1638) and his son John the Younger (1608-1662) built up a collection during their travels in Europe, Russia, Turkey and Egypt and collected specimens of the rare and curious. It was also the first modern museum specifically designed to display its collections organized for teaching purposes (Hudson,

1987: 21). Although the collection was not the earliest one in London it was for a time the best known (Macgregor, 1983: 84).

This discussion shows that a strong interest in collecting had developed into the eighteenth century. Sometimes the objects were of curious or archaeological nature. Collecting was an alluring habit that interested many levels of people. European antiquarianism peaked in the eighteenth and nineteenth century when the trade in antiquities became a common feature throughout Europe and numerous private collections were established.

3.2 The acquisition of sculpture in central Italy in the 18th and 19th century

The eighteenth century saw an expansion of travel, particularly to Italy, as part of the 'Grand Tour'. The education of a gentleman of the time consisted mainly of studying the classics. It was natural that direct experience of the antiquities of Rome and Greece, in their original setting, should prove attractive to the aristocracy of eighteenth-century Europe. Most travellers were in their twenties, English gentlemen or German princelings, completing their education in the company of tutors before entering into their inheritance at home (Bahn, 1996: 58).

The large increase in the number of private collections in eighteenth century Europe, particularly in England, was partly the result of the 'Grand Tour'. The 'Grand Tour' was developed throughout the eighteenth century, but the decades from 1764 to

1796 was the golden age of the British Grand Tour. The number of travellers increased, and excavation and export licences released in Rome were in favour of the British citizens (Bignamini, 1997: 33). The main attractions for most Grand 'Tourists' and artists from all over Europe were ancient Rome and its environs and the discoveries of antiquities in the ruins there, along the Via Appia, at Hadrian's Villa at Tivoli, and the antiquities of Naples and its environs, with the first extensive digging of Herculaneum and Pompeii in the middle of the eighteenth century. Furthermore, the antiquities of the Museo Capitolino, the Museo Pio-Clementino and private collections of classical sculpture in the princely palaces, villas and gardens of Rome provided attractions (Bignamini and Jenkins, 1997: 205). These attractions influenced the motives for the acquisition of sculptures for many collectors.

During the eighteenth century a new phase of collecting began in England, as ancient marbles were brought home as souvenirs of the 'Grand Tour' (Cook, 1985: 9). English, Scottish and Irish travellers were the principal champions of the Antique (Bignamini and Jenkins, 1997: 205). The growing fashion for English gentlemen to travel in Italy was increasingly accompanied by a desire to 'discover' ancient works of art that could be shipped home to dignify their houses or gardens (Bahn, 1996: 34). As a result of this and the desire for the possession of works of art, many young Englishmen made their 'Grand Tour' to Italy; at its conclusion they often bought works of art back to their country, in some respect as souvenirs. Private individuals, mostly aristocrats, decorated their country and town houses and gardens with these works of classical art to convey an impression of learning and culture. This was a fashion in throughout Europe.

In the eighteenth century Greco-Roman culture became an increasingly important feature for the Europeans. In 1734 the Society of Dilettanti was founded in London, an association of men who had travelled in Italy and who regarded classical culture as the proper background for their prosperity. They aimed to promote the fine arts in their country (Wittlin, 1949: 48).

As mentioned in the middle of the eighteenth century the area around Naples became popular for its ruins and antiquities, following the first extensive excavations of the ancient sites of Herculaneum in 1738 and Pompeii in 1748. Long before the eighteenth century finds of ancient sculpture and masonry had been made in this area; prior to this the two sites were only known from ancient sources, notably Pliny the Younger, an eye-witness of Vesuvius' eruption, who described the disaster in his letters to Tacitus, the historian.

Herculaneum was discovered by a peasant digging a well (Laurence, 1994). In time peasant found sculptures and architectural remains which turned out to be part of a theatre. The systematic exploration of the site started in 1738 with the support of the King of Naples, Charles III, and soon yielded sculptures, columns and wall paintings. The King was interested in archaeology and his personal museum began with these finds. The sites aroused interest among Europeans, following the publication of a series of volumes of the sites. An Englishman associated with the excavations of Herculaneum was Sir William Hamilton (1730-1803), the British envoy and Plenipotentiary at the Court of Naples. He had frequent contact with Ferdinand IV, the ruler of the Kingdom of Two Sicilies, which included Sicily and the southern regions of

Italy. He also had access to the many distinguished visitors travelling on the 'Grand Tour'. In addition to his official duties as an ambassador, and to his scientific studies of volcanoes, Hamilton found time to collect antiquities and paintings, as well as to act as a dealer in art, antiquities, and furniture for collectors and friends in England.

During his post at Naples Hamilton engaged more seriously in collecting activity than anyone in his position has previously done. He became famous for his two important vase collections which he accumulated during his 37 year stay in Naples. He also acquired many other antiquities, including bronzes, marble sculptures, ivory pieces, terracottas, glass, gems and coins (Ramage, 1990: 469-70). In 1764, a year after arriving in Naples, Hamilton already possessed a good size collection of vases. In 1766, he bought one of the richest assemblages in Naples at that time, the Porciani collection, as well as part of the Mastrilli collection (Ramage, 1990: 470). The first collection was sold to the British Museum in 1772 for 8,410 guineas, and included 730 vases, 175 terracottas, about 300 specimens of ancient glass, and 627 bronzes (Ramage, 1990: 374). Hamilton's second collection was formed between 1789 and 1790, and was sent to England in 1799. Unfortunately, a third of it was lost when HMS *Colossus* was wrecked off the Scilly Isles (Bahn, 1996: 63). Hamilton returned home for good in 1800. Shortly after this he decided to sell his collection of vases and paintings along with other objects through the agency of Christie's. But in 1801 Hamilton found a buyer for the vases, Mr. Thomas Hope. The collection was disposed of by a private contract for £4,000. Thus, the Hamilton's collection of vases became the Hope Vases. By late 1801, through private and public sale, the vases, other antiquities and pictures

were sold, and Hamilton had parted with the objects of a life time passion (Ramage, 1990: 480).

Ten years after the discovery of Herculaneum, in 1748, the site of Pompeii started to be more extensively investigated. It was not identified as the lost town until 1763 before which it was known simply as Civita (Haskell and Penny, 1981: 74). The two ancient cities, extraordinarily preserved, provided unprecedented insights into Roman provincial town life with their inhabitants, equipment and houses. The impact of the discoveries was enormous. Both sites now became important stops on the 'Grand Tour' (Bahn, 1996: 60).

The objects in the new collections in England and Europe came from a number of sources. As we have seen in the case of the Ince Blundell collection, some of the old Roman collections were broken up and sold because of the impoverishment of the great Italian families including the Altamps, Altieri, Barberini, Maccarani, Borghese, Casali, Chigi, Giustiniani, Pamphili and Verospi to dealers, private collectors and the Vatican Museum. Numerous marbles were also sold by old and new owners of the palaces and villas such as the Palazzo Mattei, from 1770, the Villa d'Este at Tivoli, sold in 1777 and the Villa Peretti-Montalto Negroni, sold in 1786 (Bignamini and Jenkins, 1997: 204). There were also new speculative excavations undertaken in Rome and its environs which produced 'new' material. Most of the lucrative trade in antiquities was in the hands of Britons resident in Rome, notably Thomas Jenkins, Gavin Hamilton James Byres, Colin Morrison and Robert Fagan (Cook, 1985: 9-10). Their discoveries fed the market with countless new marbles. In Rome this market was largely controlled

for some fifty years by Jenkins and Byres. Both had begun in Rome as artists (Ingamells, 1997: 28). Jenkins enjoyed the confidence of the Pope, Clement XIV (1769-74) and even served as an unofficial representative of English interests in Rome. Byres was somewhat less sophisticated. His broad Aberdeen accent and rigorous teaching methods earned him respect rather than social advancement (Ingamells, 1997: 28). The painter-dealer, Gavin Hamilton (1723-98), began excavations at the Hadrian's Villa at Tivoli between 1769 and 1771, at another villa near Lanuvium (reputed to belong to Antoninus Pius), and in the ruins of Ostia. Many collectors bought works from him. He had a reputation for honesty. Other sites exploited by Hamilton from 1771 onwards include Tor Colombaro, Monte Cagnolo, Castel del Guido and Gabii (Irwin, 1966: 32-33). The export of most significant sculptures was restricted at that time in Rome; the most important either belonged to the Papacy, or their export was blocked by laws of entail. Because of these restrictions, the hopes of the British lay in the new discoveries emerging from excavations which were often financed by the British visitors or by agents on their behalf, mentioned above, or for speculation (Haskel, 1997: 11). One of the most significant buyers at this time was Charles Townley. Many of Townley's sculptures were bought from Jenkins (Chapter 3.3).

Besides the dealers, there developed a flourishing trade in restoration with the famous sculptors of the era such as Bartolomeo Cavaceppi, Piranesi and Vincenzo Pacetti offering their skills and services (Caygill, 1985: 70).

As a result of the explosion in the trade of antiquities in the eighteenth century, many statues did come to England. Impressive galleries and halls were purposely built

to accommodate these art works in the country houses of English aristocrats. Among those can be counted William Weddell of Newby Hall in Yorkshire who went to Italy in the middle 1760s and started to purchase paintings and sculpture. The sculpture gallery of the Hall was designed by Robert Adam, the famous English neo-classical architect of the period. Similar purpose-built gallery was designed for Holkham Hall in Norfolk. Newby Hall and Holkham Hall are still intact and display their sculptures in their original eighteenth century surroundings.

As an aristocratic institution, the 'Grand Tour' came to an end with the trauma of the Napoleonic Wars in 1798 (Seta, 1997: 18). Italy was no longer a safe place for dealer or collector. The art market of the 18th century lost its liveliness in the 19th century. However, after the Napoleonic wars disrupted the established shape of the Grand Tour, attention in the early nineteenth century switched to the east, especially to the eastern Mediterranean (Bahn, 1996: 62). It was at this time that serious academic interest in the classical world started. The ruins of Turkey, Greece, and the Levant were explored, and many other sites were opened up by excavation. Greece had remained under the Turkish occupation, and had been less accessible than Italy; however, the appearance of guide books on Greece and its ancient sites, and most importantly, the arrival of the Elgin Marbles in England in 1803, attracted the British to turn to Greece.

3.3 The development of classical sculpture and archaeology collections in British Museums: a case study. The British Museum.

The British Museum possesses extensive collections of classical antiquities, including a large quantity of sculpture. The most famous amongst these are the groups of monumental sculpture from Greece and Turkey. In order to appreciate the historical context of these acquisitions, it is necessary to consider the development of the museum collections as a whole.

The two most important early collections in Britain still survive. One, the Trandescant Museum, has already been mentioned. The other is the famous private collection of Sir Hans Sloane (1660-1753) which became the nucleus of the British Museum. Sir Hans, of Scots ancestry, was born in County Down, Ireland in 1660 and became a famous physician in London, eventually being elected president of the Royal College of Physicians and the Royal Society. Sloane's passion for collecting started when he was appointed as personal physician to the new governor of Jamaica, the Duke of Albemarle, in 1687. After the death of his patron, Sloane returned to London and established one of the city's most successful medical practices (Caygill, 1981: 5). In his house at 3 Bloomsbury Place, near the present British Museum, he created a vast collection of '...plants, fossils, mineral, zoological, anatomical and pathological specimens, antiquities and artificial curiosities, prints, drawings, coins, books and manuscripts...' (Caygill, 1981: 5). His interest in natural science meant that he had already amassed a notable collection by the time he was in his mid-30s. In 1743 he

moved the collection to his country mansion in Chelsea, where he died at the age of 92 in January 1743 and was buried in the family vault.

Sloane left almost 80,000 objects to the nation, including 1,125 items relating to the 'customs of ancient times and antiquities', 32,000 coins and medals, and 23,000 books, prints and manuscripts (Caygill, 1985: 186). A great part of the collection, related to natural history, was removed in 1880 to a new site at South Kensington where a new museum opened in the following year. The South Kensington collection, as the British Museum's Natural History collection, remained under the direct control of the Museum Trustees until a separate board was constituted in 1963 (Caygill, 1981: 41).

In Sloane's will the collection was to be offered on a two month option to King George II on behalf of the nation, in return for £20,000 to be given to his daughters (Caygill, 1981: 6). This was far below the collection's true value which Sloane had once claimed to be some £100,000 (Crook, 1972: 48). Sloane's wish was for the collection to be kept entirely for the use and benefit of the public. The price was a bargain at the time. After the King declined the offer, citing that there was not sufficient money in the Exchequer, Parliament decided to organize a lottery for the purchase of the collection in June 1753. The lottery raised £95,194. The museum was founded in June 1753 when King George gave his assent to the first British Museum (Caygill, 1985: 228). In that year the word museum was first used in a statute, The British Museum Act, which decreed that a "...museum or collection may be preserved and maintained not only for the inspection and entertainment of the learned and the curious,

but for the general use and the benefit of the public..." (Tait, 1989: 3). The British Museum has the distinction of being the first national, public and secular museum in the world (Caygill, 1981: 3).

Another two founding collections were incorporated into the British Museum. The first was the Cottonian Library, formed by the Cotton family, Sir Robert Bruce Cotton (1571-1631), Sir Thomas Cotton (1594-1662) and Sir John Cotton (1621-1701) and bequeathed to the nation in 1700. The second was the collection of manuscripts gathered by the first and second Earls of Oxford, Robert (1661-1724) and Edward Harley (1689-1741). This too was acquired by a lottery, for £10,000 (Caygill, 1992: 7-8). These three collections formed the nucleus of the British Museum, and initially posed a major housing problem. Montagu House, a decaying seventeenth-century French-style house in semi-rural Bloomsbury, was bought in 1755 for £10,250. It had magnificent storerooms, a beautiful staircase, painted walls and a garden, and stood on the site where the museum is now located. Repairs and alterations cost £12,873. The collections were transferred to their new home between 1755 and 1759. A limited number of visitors were admitted following its opening in January 1759, and for many years visiting hours were restricted. The Museum was first visited by curious and studious people who had to obtain a ticket. In the early years of the Museum the library and the natural history collections overshadowed the rest but gradually the collections of antiquities expanded and gained in reputation.

As we have seen, in its earlier stage the British Museum started with donations. There was no regular government grant for purchases and so without private

benefactors the Museum would have only with great difficulty developed (Hudson, 1987: 23). This was a feature of the Museum for a long time. Bequests of collections and objects are, of course, still made to museums (Tait, 1989: 3). Governments did give grants from time to time but this was primarily for a few important purchases such as Sir William Hamilton's Greek and Roman vases in 1772, Townley's Marbles in 1805 and 1814, the Lansdowne Manuscript in 1807, the Greville collections of minerals in 1810 and the Elgin Marbles in 1814-15. It was the acquisition of the Elgin Marbles that gave the Museum its reputation in the field of classical antiquities (Hudson, 1987: 23). Earlier in its history, the British Museum '...had both feet in antiquarianism and one toe in archaeology...' (Hudson, 1987: 22); in other words, while an increasing proportion of items were acquired through controlled excavation, the largest number were still acquired with little or no regard for their original context.

The British Museum's collection of classical antiquities received its first major boost with the purchase of Townley's collection of sculpture and Hamilton's collection of Greek vases, which were bought in 1772 when Parliament made a special grant of £8,410 for the acquisition. Before these acquisitions the Museum had possessed no classical antiquities of any great consequence, but now it began to grow into something more than a library and natural history collection (Caygill, 1981: 16).

In considering the development of the Museum's classical sculpture collections Charles Townley (1737-1805) is the first individual of real significance. In 1765 Townley visited Rome and Florence, and met with Sir William Hamilton and other collectors. In 1768 he started his own collection with a flurry of purchases from the old

Roman collections, negotiated by Jenkins; he bought antique sculptures in marble, bronze and terracotta (Cook, 1985: 10). He had previously acquired sculptures from excavations by Hamilton through other contacts, but it was only in 1773 that he began to buy directly from Hamilton himself (Cook, 1985: 16-26). He continued to buy until 1801 from the sales of the Caydor and the Bessbrough collections (Cook, 1985: 56).

When he returned to England, Townley bought a house at Park Street in Westminster and displayed his sculptures there. It became one of the sights of London and did much to influence classical taste in England (Caygill, 1981: 160). Townley was distinguished from many of his contemporaries by having a scholarly interest in his objects, and wrote several catalogues. Furthermore, from 1791, he became one of the Trustees of the British Museum, and before his death planned to donate his collection to the Museum. Unfortunately there was an unpleasant disappointment when in 1805, twelve days before his death, Townley suddenly changed his mind, and bequeathed the collection to his family. However, the family was unable to provide a repository as specified in his will and resolved the problem by offering the sculptures to the Trustees in return for £20,000 along with a seat on the board in 1805. In 1814 Townley's bronzes, gems, coins and drawings were bought for £8,400; the collection was thus bought in two instalments. The Trustees had planned a new gallery for Egyptian antiquities but the place was taken over by Townley's marbles.

European traveller-collectors had begun to visit Greece during the last quarter of the seventeenth century. This was the time when the first publications were written specifically about its ruins. People started to show an interest in Greece and its ruins but

this was more in the hope of finding antiquities than with the totality of Greek culture itself. The first travel book about Greece was by *Cyriacus of Ancona*. In 1675-6 the Frenchman, Dr Jacop Spon, and the English naturalist, George Wheler, pioneered the new wave of travellers writing about Athens and its monuments. Their work was published under the title of *Voyage d'Italie, de Dalmatie, de Grèce et du Levant* in 1678-80. In 1751, James Stuart and Nicolas Revett were sent to Athens by the Society of Dilettanti in order to survey and make systematic measurements of its classical monuments. On their return to England they published their work as the *Antiquities of Athens* (Tsigakou, 1981: 19). Chandler, Revett and Par's work on *Ionian Antiquities* was also sponsored by the Society of Dilettanti, from 1769 onwards. The glories of Greece had caught the aristocratic imagination and gradually began to stimulate a wider interest in Greek culture generally (Caygill, 1981: 18).

The interest in antiquities became more institutionalized as the British Museum gained a scholarly reputation for its collection of antiquities rather than as a mere 'cabinet of curiosities'. In 1807 it became necessary to create a Department of Antiquities (Crook, 1972: 67). Further scholarly interest developed in conjunction with more interest in Greek culture. Antiquities continued to arrive. In 1815, the frieze of the Temple of Apollo at Bassae, including scenes with Centaurs, Lapiths, Greeks and Amazons, was acquired. These friezes had been excavated some years earlier by a party of travellers and architects and transported to Zakynthos where, due largely to the efforts of the Prince Regent, they were finally bought at auction for the nation for 60,000 Spanish dollars (Caygill, 1992: 19).

The Museum's most famous group of classical antiquities are the sculptures from the Parthenon in Athens (see Chapter 5.3). The seventh Earl of Elgin, whose initial interest was recording and improving the art of his country by having mouldings and drawings made, brought the Parthenon sculptures and some other remains to London. In removing these he damaged the sculptures and structures of the Parthenon which had survived largely intact until the 5th century AD. The acquisition of the Elgin marbles gave the British Museum an immense reputation in the field of classical antiquities. Subsequent developments of the Elgin collection are discussed in detail in Chapter 5.

If we consider the Museum's classical sculpture collection as a whole, we see that much of it was acquired from Asia Minor in the eighteenth century. In the early years there were limited facilities for people to travel in distant lands. The conditions were difficult and the journeys took much time. Acquiring specimens was difficult for collectors and museums, and ambassadors abroad acted as intermediaries, often employing local agents. A prime example of this fact was Elgin.

In 1842, the Lycian marbles, another group of monumental sculptures, arrived in the British Museum. Reliefs from the Nereid Monument (the Tomb of Pavaya) were brought from Xanthos in ancient Lycia (south-west Turkey). The reconstructed Nereid Monument can be seen in the Museum today along with other monumental sculptures from Turkey. The marbles were discovered by Charles Fellows in 1839 and removed by the Admiralty under his supervision. The Trustees grudgingly allowed Fellows some of his expenses for his work (Caygill, 1981: 30).

Another renowned treasure in the Museum is the sculpture from the Mausoleum at Halikarnassos (Bodrum), one of the seven wonders of the ancient world. After the death of Maussollos, King of Caria, his wife, Artemisia, erected a Mausoleum for him in c. 350-340 BC. It is known from the ancient sources that four famous sculptors worked on its decoration. These were Scopas on the east side, Bryaxis on the north, Timotheos on the south, and Leochares on the west (Caygill, 1985: 118). In 1856-1857 the Museum acquired the major part of the remains of the Mausoleum. The building is thought to have been still standing in the twelfth century AD, after which it was forgotten and demolished by earthquakes. Its final destruction was completed by the Knights of Rhodes in 1402 when they started to fortify the town and build the Castle of St Peter. It is known from a published account that in 1522 the Knights looked for stones for lime and found white marble in the form of the terrace upon which the Mausoleum had been built (Caygill, 1985: 118). The exact location of the Mausoleum had long been lost. In the early years of the nineteenth century Bodrum was accessible by sea, but difficult to reach by land.

In 1846 Sir Stratford Canning, British Ambassador at Istanbul, obtained permission from the Sultan to take away twelve pieces of sculpture which had been incorporated into St Peter's Castle. The pieces were removed and sent to Britain, where their arrival in London aroused much interest. A later arrival was Charles Newton, a former member of the Museum staff who was appointed vice-consul in Mytilene in 1852. He had an established interest in collecting antiquities and on his visit to Bodrum, Newton discovered six colossal heads of white marble lions set in the Castle's walls. He thought these were sculpture from the lost Mausoleum. In

November 1856 he came back with a team of Royal Engineers and discovered the exact location of the Mausoleum according to the description provided by the ancient writer, Vitruvius. They soon discovered the remains of more sculpture. In order to continue excavations he bought surrounding houses and land in Bodrum. The excavation continued into the following year when many more fragments were found including colossal sculptures, parts of friezes, steps and green stone foundations. In 1857 the finds from the site and the lions from the Castle were sent to London. Between March and August 1865, G. M. A. Bilotti carried out further excavations in Bodrum for the British Museum. He found 130 more sculptures, most of which had been incorporated into the walls of later structures which resulted in most of them being in bad condition. Charles Newton later became Keeper of Greek and Roman Antiquities in the British Museum. The excavations in Bodrum were significant because they were among the first large-scale classical excavations by British scholars with an interest in studying objects in their original context (Caygill, 1981: 37). Back in England the sculptures were initially housed in temporary wooden sheds on the Colonnade before being moved into the British Museum.

In the nineteenth century scientific archaeology was developing, and excavations continued throughout the classical world. Between 1863 and 1875 John Turtle Wood excavated at Ephesus, uncovering more monumental structures, as at the Temple of Diana of the Ephesians (the Artemision), another of the seven wonders of the ancient world (Caygill, 1985: 232).

In the 1860s the Museum supported many excavations, in Cyrenaica, Sardis, Rhodes and Halikarnassos, as well as in Mesopotamia, Cyprus and Egypt. In 1845-1847 Sir Austin Henry Layard carried out excavations in Nimrud and brought great stone sculptures back to the British Museum. Layard's second expedition was funded by the Museum. In later years his work was continued by Hormuzd Rassam, who had worked under the direction of Sir Henry Rawlinson, supervisor of the British excavations in Mesopotamia between 1851-1855. In the second half of the 19th century excavations continued in Assyria, especially at Nineveh under Rassam and William Kennett Loftus. The man who propelled the British Museum into the twentieth century was E. Maunde Thompson, a distinguished palaeographer, historical scholar and administrator who held the title 'Director and the Principal Librarian' of the Museum from 1898. During his tenure, between 1898 and 1929, the Museum continued to be active in excavations in Mesopotamia, Turkey, Cyprus and Egypt (Caygill, 1981: 45-46). Just before the outbreak of the First World War, the Museum was again active in the Middle East; excavations were resumed during the winter of 1918-19 at Ur, Eridu and al'Ubaid. Because of a lack of funds, the University Museum of Pennsylvania joined with the British Museum in 1922 in the Middle East. Some graves were unearthed and labelled 'The Royal Cemetery' at Ur. The purchase grant was restored after the war as gifts and bequests increased (Caygill, 1981: 49).

In summary, the British Museum holds a rich collection of antiquities, one of the best in the world in the field of classical antiquity. The material in its galleries originated in various countries in the Mediterranean, particularly Turkey, Greece, and Italy. Most of its holdings, as mentioned above, were acquired in the eighteenth and

nineteenth century and constitute a magnificent group of antiquities. At this time, many excavations took place in the eastern Mediterranean and resulted in the transport of antiquities to European museums and collections.

While the formation of collections such as Henry Blundell's can be seen as distinctively private enterprise, it was collections such as this which formed the nucleus of the British Museum and the other great public museums in Europe. Moreover, the intention of many private collectors to display their works for public edification, so magnificently realised by Blundell at his Hall, helps us to understand the ethos behind the development and display of public collections in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.

3.4 The collecting objectives and philosophy of Henry Blundell

In this section the circumstances that helped to form such a large collection will be summarised.

As has been shown in Chapter 2, Blundell's education consisted of studying philosophy and the classics. Classical literature and history were the foundation of European education in the eighteenth century (Irwin, 1997: 15). Blundell seems to have enjoyed this experience. This backdrop can be seen as the first step towards his interest in antiquities. Although Blundell lived the life of a country-gentleman after he returned home he became a man of fine taste and a patron of sculptors and painters. Besides the factors mentioned above, being a Catholic affected Blundell's

life for he was not able to take an active part in political and social life. Perhaps this made him feel closer to the fine arts. In the early years of his life his income was limited but in the second half of the eighteenth century his financial situation improved (see Chapter 2.2). Having enough money to spend provided another important impetus when he saw the available antiquities in Italy. After the death of his wife Elizabeth in 1767, Blundell spent the next nine years on the improvement of his estate (Chapter 2.4). As Southworth has suggested, (Southworth, 1991: 221) perhaps he was looking for a new interest in his life; aged 52 years he was ready to start on a fresh, more satisfying interest than mere retirement in Liverpool. All of the circumstances mentioned above were the catalyst which led Blundell to focus his energies on the collecting of antiques.

In addition to these personal factors which affected Blundell in England, there had been important changes in Italy at the beginning of the eighteenth century. German, French and most importantly English aristocrats were increasingly making their 'Grand Tour' to Italy. The height of the 'Grand Tour' coincided with the impoverishment of Italian aristocrats, who as a result were selling-off their antique collections. The huge demand for antiquities resulted in a well-established art market with its own dealers, restorers, and excavators. In Rome and its environs many private grounds and collections were opened up for demand and public view (see Chapter 3.2). Blundell's neighbour and friend Townley was in Rome at this time and already owned a huge collection of antiquities. Blundell must have been excited by this collection. With Blundell's accompanying Townley to Rome and eventually to the excavations at Pompeii and

Herculaneum, his passion for antiquities was assured. There was a wide range of antiquities on the market at reasonable prices. These circumstances helped Blundell and other English collectors to acquire on an unprecedented scale.

Blundell probably did not at first envisage a gallery or hall and then set about and to acquire appropriate sculptures for decoration. Instead he followed fashion by erecting neo-classical buildings to house his collection. It could, however, be argued that part of Blundell's objective, though probably not at first, was to collect antiquities and decorate his house at Ince and later the Garden Temple and the Pantheon, in the fashion of the century. He most probably developed the idea later on when he possessed enough specimens. He may also have been impressed by his first acquisitions and wanted a larger collection, housed in suitable grandeur.

It must not be forgotten that Blundell himself possessed a great personal interest in fine taste. Before acquiring his antiquities he owned a large collection of paintings. Blundell's personal interest played a significant part in his collecting one of Britain's largest collections of ancient art. Blundell had the time and money to buy, but most importantly his personal interest was towards antiquities. In summary it was a combination of all these factors -money, time, knowledge, and taste- which aided Blundell in collecting antiquities on such a vast scale.

CHAPTER 4

METHODOLOGICAL PROBLEMS IN STUDYING THE INCE BLUNDELL COLLECTION

In the course of this research I encountered a number of methodological issues which require separate consideration. In this chapter I will deal with problems of sourcing sculpture, finding comparisons, distinguishing copies and modern additions, and dating.

4.1 Sourcing sculpture

The problem of establishing the source of sculpture is a particularly difficult one because of the complex history of ownership of many of the pieces. In the case of the Ince Blundell Collection it is usually possible to establish the name of the collection, or the art dealer or restorers from whom Blundell or his agents made the purchase in Rome. However many of the pieces had passed through many collections before they reached Blundell. These include the great Italian collections of the Renaissance, some of which, such as the Villa d'Este collection, are well known but had been dispersed widely before Blundell started collecting. In very few cases would Blundell have known with absolute certainty the ancient context of the sculpture he was acquiring, other than assuming it was most likely to have come from the environs of Rome and the Bay of Naples. Ultimately therefore the

original ancient source of the sculpture is often a matter of guess work, although we can make considerable progress in dating and sometimes sourcing sculpture by a detailed study of their style, execution, and compositions.

We can split the sources of the sculptures in the Ince Blundell Collection into two distinct areas and periods. The main provenance was Italy, from the main contemporary Italian sources in the early years. Later on, sculptures were acquired from the sales of dispersed collections, in England.

In considering the origins of the sculptures in the Ince Collection a significant figure was Charles Townley. He was a fellow member of the Catholic landed gentry in Lancashire, based at Townley Hall, near Burnley. Like Henry Blundell, Townley had been educated in the classics by the Jesuits in Paris. It is certain that through Townley Blundell was introduced to the network of dealers and antiquarians when the two friends joined up in Rome in late 1776. At this time they spent a considerable time in Rome and Naples, visiting museums and other Italian curiosities. Fortunately when the two men were in Rome the antiquities of the Villas d'Este and Mattei came onto the market, the latter through the agency of Thomas Jenkins. By 1777 Jenkins had become established as the foremost dealer in Rome; his highly successful activities in the art market were underpinned by his equal success as a banker to the 'Grand Tourist' trade (Vaughan, 1989: 16). Jenkins was Townley's main dealer and had already supplied him with the majority of his finest marbles. It was almost inevitable that Townley would introduce

Blundell to Jenkins. This was a good opportunity for Blundell. Much later he wrote in his Memoir that:

'His great knowledge in antique marbles and arts not only instructed me but inspired me with a desire of being proficient in that line. I was much with him in Rome... Mr Townley was a great advantage to me as he knew well all those places where I was quite a stranger...' (Vaughan, 1989: 16).

Indeed the core of Blundell's large collection lies in these two villa sales, and it is therefore necessary to consider these collections and their dispersal in some detail.

Chronologically the main dispersal of these collections was divided by 20 years, during which Blundell acquired sculpture from other sources. It can be presumed that it was through Jenkins that Blundell made the purchase, *en bloc*, of some eighty of the remaining antiquities from the Villa Mattei on the Caelian (Vaughan, 1989: 16). By this time the more important pieces of this collection had already been sold to other important Roman collections but there was still the chance for Blundell to acquire a substantial collection of well-known pieces in this sale. Among these were twenty statues and busts, cinerary urns, vases, bas-reliefs and inscriptions (Vaughan, 1989: 16). The easy acquisition of these first pieces must have had an important impact on Blundell's collecting behaviour. Although Blundell bought a large proportion of the collection he did not acquire the best and largest pieces: many of these can be seen in the Vatican and British Museums. The pieces Blundell obtained from the Villa Mattei collection do constitute the bulk of his collection of cineraria - of some 56 pieces, as many as 38 may have been from

this source. However he does not appear to have acquired them direct; some ten pieces were bought from the sculptors Lisandroni and d'Este, seven in 1789, another one later via the Borriani Collection, the other two at unspecified dates; six came from Ios. Del Prato, again in 1789, while another one might have come through Piranesi's studio. It is possible that they were restored or otherwise 'improved' during the period after they had left the Mattei Collection but before they reached Ince Blundell Hall (Davies, 1990: 34-35).

The dispersal of the Villa Mattei antiquities started in 1770 when Duca Giuseppe Mattei sold a group of 34 finest pieces to Pope Clement XIV at a bargain price. The papal authorities then allowed the remaining antiquities to be exported. Duca Mattei subsequently sold groups of marbles to a range of dealers, including Gavin Hamilton, Thomas Jenkins and the sculptor-restorer Bartolomeo Cavaceppi. By 1777 many of these marbles had found their way to England. For example, Townley acquired two busts from Hamilton in 1773, and James Hugh Smith Barry of Malbury Hall obtained five statues through Jenkins in 1775. In the same year most of the remaining antiquities in the Villa Mattei were sold to Jenkins who then sold them to Blundell. The majority of these pieces were heavily restored, the cinerary urns and inscriptions less so.

A third group of antiquities came in 1777 from the collection assembled by Antonio Borriani in the Villa Borriani. After his death in 1756, Borriani's collection was gradually sold piecemeal by his heirs, especially through the agency of the sculptor-restorers Pietro Pacilli and his successor Vincenzo Pacetti. By the

time that Blundell was interested in purchasing, the best pieces had already been sold. He was thus reduced to buying up several pieces with unusual subjects although none of them were of good quality (Vaughan, 1989: 16-21 fn. 26). A fourth source from which Blundell acquired antiquities was the large collection of the Palazzo Capponi. Seven pieces, including the group of the "Faun and Goat", and the archaic bas-relief of a seated man, came from this source. The collection had been formed by the Marchese Gregorio Capponi and was dispersed after his death in 1746. A significant part of the collection went to the Capitolino Museum. However some antiquities were inherited by the Conde Cardelli, who in turn sold items to Hamilton, Jenkins and Cavaceppi. Any of these could have supplied Blundell (Vaughan, 1989: 16-21 fn. 27).

The Ince Collection is further remarkable for the body of evidence which shows works of a number of important restorers and sculptors such as Cavaceppi, Canova, Carlo Albaccini, Boni, and Antonio d'Este. Blundell purchased altogether sixteen statues and busts from Cavaceppi but we do not know how many of them were acquired on his first trip to Italy in 1777. Again none of these pieces are of high quality and many had been subsequently restored. It is likely that by the end of 1770s the Cavaceppi studio had lost much of its pre-eminence and a noticeably different approach to restoration pioneered by his former pupil Carlo Albaccini dominated the Roman mainstream. The works Cavaceppi sold Blundell were all of a minor nature (Vaughan, 1989: 16). It should be noted here that Blundell did not avoid buying modern pieces and with this feature he can be distinguished from Charles Townley. We know that he commissioned copies of ancient pieces from

Giuseppe Angelini and a bust of Lucius Verus by Carlo Albaccini (now in the Walker Art Gallery, Liverpool). Another source at this time was Piranesi. Blundell purchased from him a restored and extensively recut antique *tazza*, a shallow ornamental bowl or vase; this appears in the plates of Piranesi's *Vasi* with the 25 British collectors who purchased items from him. The appearance of this vase in the second volume of the *Vasi* in 1778 gave the Blundell collection international recognition. Blundell's catalogue also includes a number of other minor antique pieces by Piranesi (Vaughan, 1989: 17).

Another notable source for the collection and its development for the next fifteen years was John Thorpe (1726-92), who was the agent for Lord Arundel of Wardour. A large number of antiquities came via Thorpe. He too was a former Jesuit, educated at the English college at St. Omer in the early 1740s. A close relationship developed between Blundell and Thorpe, they were about the same age, and Blundell involved Thorpe as his own agent for the purchase of antiquities and pictures. From this time onwards Blundell reduced his contact with Jenkins (Vaughan, 1989: 17). Thorpe kept up a regular correspondence with Blundell, informing him all artistic and political developments in Rome.

However, Blundell could hardly avoid having some direct contact with Jenkins. Jenkins' purchase of the antique collection *en bloc* of the Villa Montalto-Negrone from the entrepreneur Giuseppe Staderini in September 1785 was a good opportunity for collectors, such as Townley and Blundell, although the latter acquired only a few unimportant pieces in 1786. The reason for this was that

Blundell had already bought two of the most expensive statues. One of these was from Jenkins, the famous Athena statue of Palazzo Lante; the other was a life-size statue of Diana from Carlo Albaccini. The statue of Athena and the companion piece, the "Lante Vase", were previously owned in 1784 by the engraver and art dealer Volpato who then sold them to Jenkins. Later on the vase was sold to Colonel John Campbell in 1788; later it was resold to the Duke of Bedford. The statue of Athena has been recognised ever since as the finest in the Ince Blundell collection (Vaughan, 1989: 18). Blundell's catalogue also shows that the sculptor-restorer Antonio d'Este occasionally sold him both antique and modern sculptures as well as restored marbles (Vaughan, 1989: 18-21). As already noted Blundell acquired or commissioned modern pieces. In his final visit to Rome in 1790 Blundell emerges as one of Canova's earliest English patrons. He probably commissioned a life-size Psyche during his final visit, and bought one more piece off him: a terracotta Madonna (Vaughan, 1989: 18).

The acquisition of antiquities from the Villa d'Este at Tivoli in the 1790s, the second of the two most significant villas in the history of the Ince Collection, was substantial. It included a group of twelve marbles. This was the great Renaissance villa of Cardinal Ippolito II d'Este, which started to disperse from the early 1750s through the sale of antiquities by the Duke of Modena (Vaughan, 1989: 18). It is more probable that the Ince antiquities from the Villa d'Este came from the substantial purchase of remaining pieces made by Vincenzo Pacetti in 1788. It is known that much earlier Antonio d'Este's father had been associated with the sale of this collection and it is probable that his son could also have been

involved. Again some pieces were undistinguished and over-restored, but the famous exception in this purchase is the statue of Theseus. This statue was considered by Townley to be the best specimen in the Ince Collection (Vaughan, 1989: 18).

Blundell made his final purchases in Rome after the death of the keeper of the Capitolino Collections, Niccola la Piccola in 1790. During this, his fourth and last visit to Rome, Blundell and Thorpe negotiated with la Piccola's widow and acquired some of his finest marbles. Among them the group of a "Satyr and Hermaphrodite" (excavated by La Piccola, possibly in 1775, at a place called Salone on the Via Collatina) which was much sought after by Townley (Vaughan, 1989:18).

The majority of the Ince marbles were accumulated during the last quarter of the eighteenth century, though the collection was increased in the very early years of the nineteenth century by sales in England. Blundell returned to England, probably occasioned by the worsening political situation and the French invasion of Italy, the death of Thorpe in 1792 and most importantly the declining condition of the art market at the end of the eighteenth century. Nevertheless he still continued to buy antiquities. By 1800 he was buying from collections already in England, but formed some years previously in Rome. The first sale was in 1800, where at Christie's in London 45 chests of art and antiquities were sold. These had been pillaged by the French from the Pope's apartments but had been intercepted on their sea passage back to France. Blundell bought ten pieces. In this sale something

interesting happened. One of the pieces acquired by Blundell, the front of a sarcophagus depicting "Phaeton before Helios" (Ince no. 523), had actually been owned by him once before when the antiquities of the Villa d'Este were sold in the last quarter of the eighteenth century. The Pope heard about the piece through his antiquarian and advisor, Visconti, and as a result asked Blundell that it should stay in the city (Southworth, 1993: 12, 14), but it seemed destined to end up in Blundell's collection after all.

In June of the same year, Blundell bought eight pieces at Lord Cawdor's sale. Cawdor was Blundell's rival in Italy in the late 1780s (Vaughan, 1989: 19). In April 1801, a further 22 pieces were obtained from Lord Bessborough of Roehampton. One of those pieces is striking: the Sleeping Hermaphrodite, which came from the Borroni Collection via James Adams' purchase. Furthermore in May 1802, seven pieces were bought from Lord Mendip. Another source was the workshop of the sculptor Thomas Banks in England, from which an unknown number of pieces came after that sculptors death (Southworth, 1993: 14). Charles Townley was Henry Blundell's agent at these sales, and provided him with a good range of important marbles (Vaughan, 1989: 19).

The sources of the Ince Blundell Collection therefore constitute an impressive list with considerable variety; famous sculptors-restorers, art dealers, agents and finally the sale of famous villa collections of the era. The people mentioned cover the main restorers and dealers active in Rome in the last quarter of the eighteenth century. The historical complexities of finding sources for the

sculpture are clearly shown in this discussion, especially the problems arising from the fact that many of the pieces had passed through several hands before they reached Blundell.

4.2 Finding comparisons

A significant part of my research has been an attempt to discover comparisons from other collections for the Ince Blundell sculpture. At the most general level of function, comparisons are easy to find: the majority of Ince Blundell collection are familiar forms such as sarcophagi and ash chests. More specifically, my research has shown that the depictions and the details of decoration come from a well-represented 'canon' of Greco-Roman sculptural art primarily of the late Republican and early to middle Imperial period in Rome.

In this dissertation the catalogue of relief sculpture in the Ince collection mainly covers material remaining (until recently) at Ince Blundell Hall: in the Pantheon, the Garden Temple, the Greenhouse and on the external structures of the buildings at Ince Hall. In addition there are some fragments, primarily sarcophagi, recently removed and now housed in the Liverpool Museum store. Most of the sculptures discussed here are fragments of sarcophagi, with a number of cineraria (*in situ*), and some modern copies of ancient Campanian reliefs, and neo-Attic reliefs (*in situ*). Besides these there are numbers of small ancient and modern reliefs (*in situ*), a number of ancient herms (one female and two males), a

modern herm and a modern Dionysiac mask (all *in situ*). Finally there are two Roman tomb reliefs (one *in situ*). Extensive research on the catalogues of the main museums in Rome, namely the Vatican, the Capitolino and the Conservatori show that much of the material in the Ince Blundell Collection is similar to many examples held in major museum collections.

The Ince collection holds a large range of sarcophagi. Indeed for the sarcophagi there is no difficulty in finding similar representations. Over the course of this research a number of sarcophagi have been found which are very similar to the Ince reliefs in terms of the representation of particular styles, motifs, and composition, and some types of figures. Naturally enough in some instances there are slight variations in the general composition. This surely reflects the workshops of ancient Rome deploying a well-established repertoire of styles for which there was a constant market demand. It is remarkable how sarcophagus decoration appears almost the same from one example to another during a period without radical changes. This observation applies, for example, to the Cupids' chariot races, Bacchic scenes, the Nereids sitting on dolphins or sea creatures, the garland sarcophagi with masks in the lunettes, the hunting scenes, and the scenes of herdsman standing or sitting with a flock of animals. The sitting pose of the Nereid on a sea monster (No. 10), the flying drapery over her head, and the style in which her hair has been done appear the same in all of the examples that have been examined in the various museums mentioned in the catalogue. However the scenes or representations get rather crowded and sometimes complex. It can be concluded

that the workshops and artists were using readily available and long-established motifs with a large number of stock types available to satisfy demand.

The same observations apply to the cineraria in the Collection. Acanthus scrolls, twigs of ivy and creepers, vine leaves, and heavily decorated garlands, hanging from bucrania or Ammon heads, with a Medusa head above appear on many cineraria. They all belong to a type that was very popular and of which numerous copies were made.

The Ince Collection includes two modern copies of ancient Campanian reliefs which were recently removed from the portico of the Garden Temple to the Liverpool Museum Conservation Centre for restoration and cleaning (Nos. 24-25, Pl. 24-25). It not difficult to find comparisons for these particular pieces, especially for the one showing a Roman charioteer. The Ince charioteer relief is extremely similar to a relief in the British Museum (Borbein, 1968: 39-40 Pl. 6 No. 1). There are many other examples with the same subject, for example a relief in the Ostia Museum, and another in the Terme Museum in Rome (Borbein, 1968: 39 fn. 200). This subject must have been copied again and again.

Another assemblage in the Ince Collection is the group of neo-Attic reliefs. No. 26 is of particular importance: the Bacchic relief group with its well-established figures' types. This is a subject that had been copied many times. Common motifs include; an ecstatically dancing Maenad with voluminous drapery leaving one shoulder and leg bare, another Maenad performing music with a lyre and a drunken Dionysos carried by a Satyr, or a Silenus with tipsy legs who is also

supported by a Satyr, and its variations. These are a large number of copies of neo-Attic type Bacchic processions in the Conservatori and Vatican Collections (Jones, 1926: 281-282 Pl. 112 No. 4; Amelung, 1908 ii: 707-709 Pl. 78 No. 438; Amelung, 1908 ii: 520-521 Pl. 66 No. 326a). There are numerous comparisons for the Ince Bacchic relief. Two of the minor neo-Attic reliefs in the Ince collection show a religious ceremony (*libation*) (No. 27) and a woman (probably Aphrodite) accompanied by an Eros (No. 28). Although I know of no exactly similar representations for No. 27, the empty background, the motifs, the drapery style and the pose of the women are reminiscent in general of neo-Attic reliefs. The Ince examples may be 18th century copies of ancient originals.

Another relief in the Ince Collection shows a sacrifice of a bull, which probably belongs to a fragment of an altar (No. 18). Again it is not difficult to find comparisons, with the stock motifs and compositions such as sacrificer, *popa*, *camillus*, bull and attendants.

Another distinct group in the collection is herms, two male and female (one modern) (Nos. 35-38). A number of male and female herms, comparable the Ince examples, appear in the Capitolino, Conservatori, Vatican and British Museum collections, and in Leconfield antiquities (Jones, 1912: 225 Pl. 55 Nos. 11 and 12; Jones, 1926: 60 Pl. 20 No. 7; Wyndham, 1915: 41 Pl. 22 No. 22; Smith, 1904: 46 No. 1623; Jones, 1926: 251 Pl. 97 Nos. 102, 103; Jones, 1912: 22-23, 24 Pl. 2 Nos. 7 and 20; Jones, 1912: 180 Pl. 42 No. 107; Jones, 1912: 176 Pl. 39 No. 85; Amelung, 1903 i: 662 Pl. 70 No. 532). My research again shows that the Ince

herms are Imperial copies of a well-known type dating back originally to the fifth century BC.

The situation is the same when one considers the Roman tomb reliefs in the Ince Collection, two of which have been examined in this study. The one placed on the portico of the Garden Temple has recently been removed to the Museum Conservation Centre. It shows two women, one man and a child (No. 41). The tomb relief on the Pantheon also shows four busts; two men and two women (No. 42). There are various examples of these types in the Capitolino, Vatican, Conservatori and in the Nazionale Museums. This type of grave monument was frequently used in Rome between the first centuries BC and AD.

The Ince Collection holds a rich group of sarcophagi, mainly from Rome and its environs, and represents well-known styles and compositions. The style of sarcophagi varies. These include sarcophagi with daily scenes (battle, hunting and bucolic); mythological (Achilles, Amazons, Dioscuri); Bacchic, sea creatures, and Cupids racing chariots; and decorative (garland, griffins, and flying Victories). In addition there are also decorative ornaments such as lion protomes. These fragments once belonged to sarcophagi. Many similar sarcophagi appear with the same representation and details. This helps us to understand how the industry of carving minor reliefs worked and distributed widely and how the workshops of Rome influenced each other. Therefore there must have been certain stock types of sarcophagi which were repeated from one workshop to another. The Ince Collection is significant in terms of what the workshops in Rome were achieving

particularly during the first, second and third centuries in Rome. The appearance of many similar motifs shows that the workshops worked closely so that they must have influenced each other in many ways.

A number of architectural pieces have been examined for this research: two consoles, a Medusa mask, and an akroterion. Similar examples for these pieces have been found.

As a consequence of this research one could conclude that the Ince collection does not contain much that is new or unusual. Instead it is rather ordinary in its content and range. Therefore it can be concluded that the Ince Collection is less significant in terms of representing particular styles and traditions, for all the traditions and styles present can be found elsewhere on other sarcophagi and reliefs, with similar variants. What makes the Ince collection valuable is precisely its representation of common sculptural forms in Rome during the late Republican and Imperial periods, in terms of repertoire, style and quality of execution.

4.3 Distinguishing copies and modern additions

Many reliefs in the Ince Collection are restored. In some cases the restoration can be counted as minor repairs. The damage includes noses, missing hands, arms, feet, parts of faces and other minor patches on the reliefs. Such cases did not necessitate major alterations or additions. However in some circumstances

major repairs were necessary. In this situation the restored parts are recognisable because of the differences in the texture and material. The collection also possesses a number of reliefs that needed larger restorations which resulted in some pieces being significantly altered. In these cases, the restorations were done by the dealers and their restorer(s) using examples on the market as models, before they reached Henry Blundell. An example of this practice is a relief fragment in the Liverpool Museum store which shows two griffins facing each other with a candelabrum in the middle. The fragment was converted into the front of a sarcophagus although it had originally belonged to two sides of a sarcophagus (No. 15). In the restoration the candelabrum was placed in the middle and all the edges around the griffins were replaced by a strip. Some of the details of the relief were also recut, notably the edges of the wings, a small portion of the left hind leg of the griffin on the left and a small part of the mouth of a ram's head on the left. In fact the griffins and the ram's heads are the only original parts of the whole relief. The general preservation of both griffins is very good although the edges were once broken. The restorations there are readily distinguishable by comparing the texture and preservation of the restored marble with the original marble.

A "Sacrifice of a Bull" is another relief in the Collection which shows signs of major restorations and alterations (No. 18 Pl. 18). The whole right side of the relief, including three figures and an altar, are modern additions. This is distinguished by the material, the quality of execution and the colour of the marble (Pl. 18). On the other hand the restored *papa* figure on the right side appears rather different in execution if compared with slimmer original *papa* on the left. As

well as the restoration on the right side of the slab, further restorations can be seen on the figures, for instance, the heads of the first and fourth figures, most of the face of the sixth figure, the third figure's right forearm and the middle of the right leg of fourth figure and a big portion from the right front leg of the cow and most of the head. The cracks around the edges mark the places mentioned above. If one looks at them carefully their difference in material, execution and texture can be understood. We do not know how the original right portion of the relief looked, but it might have been restored using examples on the market as models. The restoration of the fragment was probably not that difficult. The use of the motifs for the scene of a sacrifice was well established for figures such as the *popa*, *camillus*, sacrificer, attendants and sacrificial animals. The whole fragment, including the restored part, survives intact and is in fine condition.

The placement of some sculptures into the external faces of the buildings at Ince Blundell hall has caused major problems. The reliefs have been exposed to all different kinds of air conditions and pollution. Most have worn badly because of the adverse English climate with its strong winds, rain and snow. The impact is serious, resulting not just in general weathering but also in the progressive erosion and loss of fragments. On some sculptures moss has appeared causing further damage. However the most important cause of the poor condition of these reliefs is the air pollution, perhaps especially arising from coal fires and other domestic and industrial burning in the 19th century. It is evident that some fragments have dramatically changed their colour, with a dull black patina appearing on nearly every piece that was placed on the external walls (Fig. 10, 17-19). Clear examples

are the two pendant reliefs of Dioscuri (Nos. 7-8), probably originally the sides of a sarcophagus, which were placed on the portico of the Ince Pantheon after extensive restoration (Fig. 10, Pl. 7-8). Of the first relief (on the left of the portico (Pl. 7) the restored parts include the head of the Dioscuros, the left forearm, both legs from above the knee, and the top and bottom quarters of the staff. Of the horse the head and neck, both forelegs and hind legs from the hock downwards, the lower part of the tail and most of the background were restored. However almost all these restored parts are now absent. While the weather has not helped, the poor quality of the sculpture could also be the reason. Conversely the original parts remain intact. The restored parts are nearly the same for the second Dioscuros, on the right (Pl. 8). The head, neck and left shoulder with the cloak, the left hand and both feet and ankles; and of the horse, the head and upper half of the neck, the right foreleg, the left foreleg from above the hock, most of hind legs, the tail and the background were repaired. The preservation here is better than the first relief; the restored parts are largely intact and only the right hand of the Dioscuros is absent.

The same dull black colour dominates nearly all the reliefs that were examined outside. The weather conditions have had a major effect on the fragments placed outside. These include mostly the minor reliefs of the Ince Pantheon and Garden Temple as well as a number of sarcophagus fragments and Roman tomb reliefs.

A fragment of a sarcophagus, now in the Liverpool Museum store, shows Achilles in a chariot (No. 5 Pl. 5). The scene represents the dragging of Hector's body round the walls of Troy. But Hector's body was not executed on the restored part. The corpse was undoubtedly once fastened to Achilles' chariot on the missing fragment. The left side of the relief, including the lower part of the spear, most of the flying cloak of Achilles, his right foot and the tail of the chariot is restored, the body of Hector is not executed. Only some parts of Achilles (the cloak and spear) were restored, probably using other examples as the model. Here the crack on the left of the slab identifies the restored part. What is more the execution appears rather different. The absence of Hector is another clue. The quality of material, which is marble, appears fine. The current state of preservation of the stone is good, including the restored elements. A herdsman and herd (No. 4 Pl. 4) are the short side of a sarcophagus, now in the Pantheon at Ince Hall. The slab shows modern additions. A split runs almost across the slab, and the whole right half is restored. This includes the tree except for two of its leaves, two goats below except for their tails, a ram at the corner, and the tail of another ram that sits under the herdsman. The restored part is again executed according to numerous well-known examples of this type of sarcophagus. The restored sarcophagus may well look closely similar to the original. A number of minor restorations also can be seen on the right arm, the left leg from below the knee and the right just above the ankle, although their execution appears rather rough and coarse.

The portico of the Pantheon at Ince Hall accommodates a lively hunting scene. There appear to be many restorations to the figures (discussed in detail in

the catalogue; No. 2 Pl. 2), particularly on the noses of all the figures, and the arms, knees, foot, part of the drapery and the noses of all the horses. The restored nose of the second horse is now absent. Although there are no restorations on some of the figures, fragments are missing on them. For example, the mounted figure on the left hand corner, his right leg and the nose of his horse are missing and the right arm is in a fragmentary state, which suggests recent damage. Minor fragments are also missing on the springing animals. In general the fragment is in a sorry state. This is because of the preservation of the marble, which has split, especially on its protruding parts. The sculpture has also been exposed to weathering and other damage over the years. Another piece which has not survived well is a copy of a Campanian relief of a Roman charioteer (No. 24 Pl. 24). This fragment was once placed on the portico of the Garden Temple at Ince Hall but has recently been removed to the Liverpool Museum Conservation Centre. The condition of the marble is very poor with it flaking extensively. Traces of smoke damage are also apparent on the relief. With respect to the relief the whole composition and the motifs appear ancient but the workmanship is modern.

A statue of a cockerel, now in the Pantheon at Ince Hall (No. 39 Pl. 39), is another example that has a very distinctive altered tail and legs. Its restorations can be clearly identified from the different stone on these parts.

The Ince Collection houses a large number of modern pieces; Henry Blundell did not hesitate to buy copies, in some cases probably forgeries and fakes. One of the most striking of these pieces is a Bacchic scene on the external frieze of

the Pantheon at Ince Hall. According to Blundell "the original was much decayed, as not to be capable of being restored, for which reason a model was made from it" (Blundell, 1803: 90, 102). The slab belongs to a neo-Attic relief type. A drunken Silenus supported by a young Satyr, and Maenads with voluminous draperies who are dancing or performing music, appears on many ancient neo-Attic reliefs. However, the composition appears modern, especially the kithara, the syrinx and the execution of the figures and their draperies.

The Ince Pantheon (external frieze) also possesses two minor bas reliefs, probably by the same hand (in the two reliefs all the figures appear on a similar, rather projecting base). Blundell does not mention these two pieces in his published account of the sculptures. The pieces were not engraved either. They might have been bought after the publication of the account. One of the reliefs shows a woman, probably Aphrodite, with an Eros (No. 28 Pl. 28). The slab appears modern, especially in the composition and motifs: the hanging curtain, the couch, the cushion and the Eros. The other relief shows a libation scene (No. 27 Pl. 27). This is also a modern copy. Again the composition looks to be modern, with the diagonally placed altar, and the rather twisting position of the woman who is doing the libation. On the other hand, these types of figures, performing music, appear ancient. The placement of the figures on a plain background is reminiscent of neo-Attic reliefs. All of the figures stand clearly and there is no overlapping.

Another impressive modern piece in the collection is a vivid mask, probably of Dionysos (No. 29 Pl. 29). The mask is again from the external frieze of the

Pantheon. The tip of the curls are restored, as can be seen from their texture. In addition to the hair the texture of the face and the execution of the whole face look modern. A female herm (No. 38 Pl. 38) on the Ince Pantheon also shows modern features and shares the same characteristics with the Dionysiac mask. The execution appears to be modern, and the face gives the impression of being modern with a copied ancient hair style. Furthermore, along with the antiquities mentioned above, a rather different relief in character appears in the Ince collection. This is a distinct minor relief of a sun mask, placed on the external frieze (No. 32 Pl. 32). The nose and the lip have been restored. Once more the general character of the relief gives the impression of being modern.

With respect to the (five) ash chests or cineraria examined, one of them is probably modern. A slab (probably the side of a cinerary urn) on the external frieze is decorated with a vase from which spring a large palmette and four vine shoots (No. 21 Pl. 21). The execution, which is rather neat but shallow, appears to be modern. The frame in which the relief is done shows regularity. The second slab shows a bust of a child in a mussel shell (No. 23 Pl. 23). On either side of it is a swan. The execution and the texture of the right side appear to be modern.

Generally speaking most of the Ince reliefs that were placed outside have survived well. However because of the quality of the stone, some pieces have split and parts have broken off. For the pieces that have survived the most significant problem is air pollution, which has changed most of the pieces to a darkish grey colour. In these cases, although the restored fragments are sometimes easily

identifiable, they occasionally require close examination. Such identifications are sometimes difficult, first, because of the smoke (dirt) and secondly the placement of the antiquities high up on the buildings, which makes close reading difficult.

As has been mentioned previously most of the Ince reliefs that are displayed outside show extreme effects of air pollution. This makes it hard to see details on the reliefs that have been examined. A number of methods of cleaning have been practised by conservators for the cleaning of marble sculptures over the years. For example air-abrasive and steam are often successful in removing layers of dirt from a marble sculpture but unsuccessful in maintaining the valuable patina intact. The reason for this is that the particles of abrasive or water molecules are unable to distinguish well enough between the dirt layer and patina for the cleaning action to stop once the dirt has been removed from the sculpture (Cooper and Larson, 1996: 31). However, a new technique, developed by the Liverpool Museum Conservation Centre, has been successful for cleaning marble sculptures. The technique is called 'laser cleaning' and is particularly good on marble sculptures darkened by air pollution. One of the most important advantages of this technique is that it is more effective in removing the black layer (dirt) without damaging the patina of the marble surface beneath. Laser cleaning provides the conservator with an extremely precise and controlled technique which, when used appropriately and skilfully, is capable of removing layers of dirt from a marble sculpture whilst maintaining the surface (patina) and detail. The laser is basically an extremely bright source of light. Laser radiation has a number of features that are very useful for the controlled cleaning of marble sculpture. For example it is monochromatic,

consisting of a single colour or wavelength, and is emitted in a highly directional collimated beam. The monochromatic nature of laser radiation is absorbed strongly by some materials but only weakly by others. A wavelength can therefore be chosen so that the beam interacts much more intensely with layers of dirt than it does with a patina or clean marble surface (Cooper and Larson, 1996: 31). In the process the laser vaporises the carbon rich layer of pollution allowing examination of the smooth yellowed marble beneath. The laser radiation at a wavelength of $1.06\mu\text{m}$ delivered in extremely short pulses of the order of 10ns duration is suitable for the cleaning of marble sculpture. The laser will only clean where directed and can be used to remove many types of dirt, from thin layers of soot to thick black pollution encrustation (Cooper and Larson, 1996: 31). Water can sometimes be used to enhance the cleaning effect. By brushing and spraying a thin layer of water onto the dirt surface immediately prior to irradiation, stubborn deposits of dirt can be removed without having to increase the laser beam fluence to unacceptably high levels (Cooper, 1997: 123). As with all techniques if the laser is used carelessly or inappropriately it can cause damage to the sculpture (Cooper and Larson, 1996: 32).

The remaining yellow patina on marble surfaces fades away when it is washed with water. After the process of cleaning, marbles are given resin acrylic to keep them in good condition. This technique has already been used on a number of Ince reliefs which now look remarkable, such as a Roman tomb relief (No. 41), the Roman charioteer (No. 24) and the lion and bull (No. 25) from the Garden Temple. Furthermore the method is also successful on manuscripts. This technique

is currently used by the Liverpool Museum's Conservation Centre and probably the only one in England and Europe. It is hoped that one day the remaining reliefs of Ince Blundell Hall also will be cleaned, preserved and displayed in their original surrounding.

4.4 Dating

As suggested above, the Ince Collection (particularly the pieces examined here) is not unusual in terms of its individual antiquities. Most of the fragments are of common forms that were repeatedly produced. These include the sarcophagi, funerary reliefs, cineraria, minor reliefs (both antique and modern), and herms. During the course of this research many familiar examples were found. Paradoxically such unoriginality has helped to date many of the reliefs in the Collection.

The production of Roman sarcophagi started in the early second century AD; this burial custom became fashionable under Hadrian and continued to be so for a long period all over the Roman empire. Before this time cremation was more common, although not exclusively so. From the second half of the second century AD onwards appears one of the most popular designs for the decoration of Roman sarcophagi. These are flying or standing figures, which are arranged symmetrically, and who support a central figure -either a clipeus containing a portrait, or commemorative inscription or *parapetasma* held behind a portrait bust or figure

(Huskinson, 1996: 60). The front of a child's sarcophagus in the Ince Collection shows two hovering Victories holding a bust of a child (No. 16). This style continued to be popular during the third and fourth century AD. The execution of the draperies, which is natural, points to an early date. Another important type of decoration for children's sarcophagi was Cupids racing chariots in the Circus Maximus. This type was popular between the mid-second and the late third century. The Ince Collection holds two fragments of this type. The simplicity of the execution of the charioteers, the treatment of the figures and their proportion, and the hair again indicate a late date, which is typical for most of the sarcophagi in the Collection. This is usually identifiable from the execution of the draperies, which in most cases is unrealistic and linear. Another strong indication is the treatment of the hair, which is mostly drilled and hollowed out; examples include the sarcophagi showing Achilles in his chariot, a Nereid sitting on a sea monster, and a hunting scene, a child sarcophagus with a Dionysiac scene, and a sarcophagus showing a herdsman sitting with his flock of animals (Nos. 5, 10, 2, 9, 4). In all these reliefs the treatment, especially of the hair and beards and the drapery folds, points to a late date.

The detailed execution and more voluminous and neat treatment of motifs (draperies and garlands) on sarcophagi is another clue for dating (usually for the earlier examples). Some sarcophagi fragments in the collection show rather earlier dates because of the popularity of the design in a particular period and the way in which the motifs were treated. The two examples of garland sarcophagi, the deeds of Pan and the theatrical masks in the lunettes are fine examples of this (Nos. 14,

13). The heavy but finely cut and detailed garlands and the designs in which they were done were popular during the early second and mid second centuries. The most creative stage was in the Hadrianic period with its richly decorated garlands and motifs.

Roman funerary reliefs form an important group in the collection. There are four of them. These were popular during the late first centuries BC and AD. Dating of the tomb reliefs in the Ince collection is not difficult. The hair and drapery styles, and the general manner of their execution are suggestive. Sometimes two different hair styles were used together on a single slab, in which case the latest style is used as the basis for dating.

The Ince Collection also holds a large number of cineraria. We know that urns were popular during the first century BC and AD, when cremation was the main burial rite although not exclusive. The forms in which the urns are treated are well known. The cineraria in the Ince Collection appear to date from the first century AD, and show well-known types, such as garland decoration hanging from bucrania or volutes with a scene above, or only consist of purely vegetable decorations on the front. Sometimes garland decorations with a Medusa head above or a portrait of the deceased were carved within a shell when figurative cineraria was popular. In these cases hair style is again very useful for dating purposes.

There are a number of herms in the collection, which form an important group. Only four (those on the frieze of the Pantheon) were examined here. From

comparison with material in the museums of Rome, it can be seen that these are Roman copies of ancient Greek herms originally of the second half of the fifth century BC. In dating the Ince pieces, typology, the hair styles and beard, and facial features (usually idealised and lifeless) are again particularly helpful.

In conclusion, all the Ince reliefs examined belong to a group that were particularly popular during a period or periods when there was a strong demand for their production. Generally speaking, as we have seen, they can be dated on the basis of execution, treatment of hair styles and drapery, and finally by the known popularity of their forms and types during particular periods.

CHAPTER 5

ETHICAL ISSUES RELATED TO ANTIQUITIES

5.1 The ownership of works of art

The ownership of works of art is an important issue in considering the world's looted, stolen and in fact legally gained archaeological heritage. Many treasures displayed in the world's museums and private collections are not provenanced to their countries of origin. This is the well-known reality. However, if we consider art as universal, it can be argued that works of art are owned by everybody whether displayed in their original context or in a museum abroad, as long as they can be seen and appreciated by many people. Today for example in the galleries of the British Museum art is viewed by many people from different nations; its treasures are from all around the world, and thus belong to the whole world.

Italy was the first country to have its classical antiquities plundered on a grand scale. This tradition began in the eighteenth century and has continued ever since. Many sites were damaged irrevocably by over-enthusiastic excavation without any use of proper archaeological methods. A more recent example is the looting of Apulia vases, figure-decorated pots from southern Italy, which was noted by Watson (1997): 'There in the middle, in the light of the moon, was a huge

mechanical digger tearing into the soil, snatching enormous chunks of earth from above the roof of a tomb ...It brought home the sheer barbarity of the tomb robbing and desecration that Italy suffers at the hands of the tombaroli, and the disgraceful, tawdry nature of the illegal antiquities trade that ends up at auction in London or Newyork.² The way in which this trade operates is well organised. Valuable antiquities are smuggled into Britain and America via neutral Switzerland. The results of these excavations are tragic; the permanent loss of archaeological context (Gill, 1997: 468-71).

In the nineteenth century Turkey was struggling with political problems and Greece was trying to established its independence from the Turks. During this time many famous monumental classical art treasures of the eastern Aegean were transferred abroad and eventually displayed in the museums of Europe. In the following century modern Turkey and Greece have been far more concerned with their heritage and with retaining archaeological finds. Today this type of trade of antiquities is very restricted. Sometimes we can tolerate the past history of stolen art, as in the case of the stolen treasures from Turkey and Greece in the nineteenth century; this case can be supported by the fact that these pieces may not otherwise have survived. For example the Elgin Marbles, the Altar of Pergamon, and many other famous works are now being displayed in the museums of Europe and are seen and studied by many people. We can also say that with the movement of antiquities the understanding of art has been improved.

My opinion is that art is better appreciated and understood in its original context. In many cases the real provenance of monumental sculptures is clearly known. Their return would not be difficult. With finely planned museums these pieces can always be seen and observed in their original surroundings. In the case of Henry Blundell's collection, the pieces were bought rather than stolen, whether or not they were illicitly excavated. The material I am dealing with is not famous but in a sense the issue of ownership applies to all art forms, even simple sculpture. The Ince collection holds different sculptures from different places, and most of the time it is difficult to establish their source.

The case of the Elgin Marbles is well known today and their return would set a precedent to many similar cases. In the case of the Elgin Marbles and many other similar cases, art belongs to where it was created. A case-study of the Parthenon marbles is an example of the history and ethical issues included in such a case.

5.2 Antiquarianism in Turkey: a case study

The looting of archaeological sites remains a major threat to world heritage, despite overall improvements in protective legislation (Renfrew, 1995: xvii). Turkey not only has a very significant place in the history of antiquarianism, but also remains a major source for the acquisition of illicit antiquities. In this section the long but

depressing history of Turkish antiquarianism will be discussed, and some comments made on the present situation.

From the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century onwards Asia Minor became one of the main destinations for European antiquarians, travellers, and collectors. By the mid nineteenth century many ancient monuments and antiquities of Anatolia had been explored, especially after the Napoleonic wars and with the appearance of some Turkish and Greek antiquities abroad and in guide books. These explorations led to the removal and transportation of some of these antiquities to the museums and private collections of Europe. During the late Ottoman Empire (the eighteenth to the early twentieth centuries) antiquities were acquired by Europeans mainly as a result of the lack of knowledge or interest in this field by the Turkish Administration. Especially during the nineteenth century the Ottoman authorities allowed British, French and German archeologists to take away what they wanted, either as a part of an intentional agreement or using much the same mixture of permission, bribery, and exchange of political influence that had served Elgin so well (Clair, 1998: 277). The official permission to remove was given with a *firman* (agreement) from the Sultan of the period. In most cases the Turkish approach was one of connivance, with a feeling that 'they can take it and bring it to their country' (Akurgal, 1990: 636). The decline of the Ottoman Empire and its administration further helped collectors, and dealers to remove and export antiquities.

The fact that there was little archaeological or artistic regard for sculpture by the Turkish authorities is also shown by the wholesale destruction of statues and

architectural decoration for reuse as building material, including the burning of gypsum and lime to make mortar. In addition to this, ancient monuments were sometimes demolished in order to build other structures such as private houses (Akurgal, 1971: 268). We should not forget that this was not just done by the Turks. In 1402 when the Knights of St. John began to fortify the town of Bodrum and build the Castle of St. Peter, they used the Mausoleum of Halicarnassos (350-340 BC) as a source of building material. The Temple of Artemis at Ephesus was also used as a source for the Hagia Sophia at Istanbul and St. John's Church at Ephesus during the Byzantine period.

Today the outright destruction of sculpture and other antiquities rarely occurs. However, even after the foundation of the Turkish Republic, antiquities were still taken abroad. The reasons for this include deficiencies in State management as well as attitudes. As a nation Turks are not taking enough measures in this field. It is not unusual to hear on the news of people caught selling antiquities or pillaging and destroying sites and monuments. Unfortunately, only a small proportion of these excavations are prevented or curtailed. The extent of illicit excavation in Turkey is mainly a result of demand abroad, particularly in Europe and America. There is no doubt that thefts and clandestine excavations are encouraged by the high prices offered for works of art and antiquities on the international art market (Clement, 1995: 38). Antiquities dealers in various countries in Europe, particularly Switzerland, openly sell recently looted antiquities from Turkey; sale catalogues are published with items provenanced to Turkey. Some illicit excavations in Turkey and other Mediterranean countries may have been covertly sponsored by European and American museums (Akurgal, 1971: 268-269).

Clandestine pillaging occurs despite the fact that Turkey has a total ban on the export of antiquities (Antiquities Law No. 1710 of 1973). But total bans seems to be singularly ineffective; thousands of items have been illicitly removed from Turkey over the last 30 years (Greenfield, 1989: 242). One of the best-known cases, the Lydian Hoard, will be considered below.

The best preventative measure may well be better public appreciation of the (archaeological) damage caused by unreported looting. The damage done by illicit excavation is well known. It destroys the scientific value of the site by damaging the stratification and artefactual associations, and it reduces the archaeological value of the pillaged artefact by removing it without record from its context. Information for comparative dating, and on the associations and meaning of the artefacts is thus lost. The site itself is destroyed by inexpert excavation, non-recording and non-publication. The looted objects are very often damaged by inexpert excavation and by lack of proper conservation (especially for finds from underwater sites). Part of the cultural record is also lost to expert assessment by the disappearance of these objects into private collections which are not accessible to the public or to researchers, and by the find itself being not professionally recorded, curated and published (Prott, 1995: 57). Acquisition of illicit material encourages the destruction of historic sites and local ethnic cultures, and is therefore theft at both the national and international levels (Boylan, 1995: 97).

Better policing of sites is also a key. Firstly more guards must be employed in order to protect archaeological sites from further destruction by smugglers and tourists.

Unfortunately many Turkish sites do not have guards. Secondly, as argued by Akurgal (1987), specialized archaeology offices must be established in every city to collate information about ongoing illicit excavations. Municipalities should take more responsibility in protecting ancient sites from being demolished by construction work. Local people should be informed about the archaeological value of their antiquities. Societies for the protection of ancient sites and monuments must be also encouraged. (Akurgal, 1987: 271). Furthermore big rewards must be given to individuals who turn in antiquities. This may encourage some who are involved in illicit excavation to return their finds to museums. When there is information about an illicit excavation, rescue excavations are undertaken by the authority of the Director of the Monuments and Museums in Turkey (Akurgal, 1987: 271). Better information should become available with improved policing and by a higher level of awareness among public and professionals.

Standards for the national control of excavations were set out in the UNESCO *Recommendation on International Principles Applicable to Archaeological Excavations* (1956). It provides that all UNESCO members should take all necessary measures to prevent clandestine excavations (Article.29). Firstly excavation without a licence should be legally prohibited. Second, because many states have claimed property in the archaeological subsoil, all finds should belong to the State. Most states also mandate a duty to report finds, and some reinforce this by providing a reward. A few states forbid the use of metal detectors. For instance Sweden absolutely forbids their use without a licence: Ireland and Israel insist that, when a person is found on an archaeological site with a metal detector, that person is presumed to intend to excavate.

Other states expressly provide for the confiscation of objects clandestinely excavated, and yet others for the forfeiture of the equipment used for this purpose (Prott, 1995: 58).

None of these provisions, however severe, will deter the clandestine operator unless the risk of detection and prosecution are high. This means adequate site control. Unfortunately, there are some states with great archaeological richness, including Turkey, which do not have the resources to patrol them sufficiently (Prott, 1995: 58). Inadequate legislation and policing only serve to fuel the art market, which is arguably as strong now as it was in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.

Turkey has recently been in the news with the case of Lydian Hoard. The case presented significant obstacles, and it is a tribute to the dedication and persistence of the officials of the Turkish Government, including the then Minister of Culture, Fikri Saglar, and the Director General of Monuments, Engin Özgen, that the case was pressed to its successful conclusion (Kaye and Main, 1995: 154). The recent history of the Lydian hoard started in the 1960s when village treasure hunters at Ikiztepe, near Usak, in west-central Anatolia, carried out four illegal excavations into a tumulus reputed to contain treasures dating from the age of the King Croesus of Lydia. The hoard was composed of various types of objects including fragments of wall paintings, marble sphinxes, vessels such as pitchers, bowls and incense burners made of gold, silver, and bronze, and jewellery of gold, silver and glass. Although a number of objects were recovered by the police, many of the finest were smuggled out of Turkey and made their way into the hands of a well-known antiquities dealer on New York's

Madison Avenue, as well as other dealers. Between 1966 and 1970, most of the objects were acquired by the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York (Kaye and Main, 1995: 150). The ethics of the new acquisition were soon questioned. The Metropolitan recognized the objects as among its best recent acquisitions but never announced them and kept the objects in its storerooms. Enquiries by Turkish officials were met with disinformation. In 1984 some of the pieces were displayed as part of the Museum's so-called East Greek Treasure. Turkish archaeologists were then able to conclude that the Museum's objects were those looted from the Usak tombs (Kaye and Main, 1995: 150-151). A formal demand for return was made by the Turkish ambassador in Washington in 1986, and rejected (Greenfield, 1989: 306). The Turkish government wished to avoid a long and expensive dispute with one of the world's great museums, but started legal proceedings based on Turkish ownership of the treasure under its own cultural patrimony laws (Greenfield, 1989: 306). What turned out to be a six year, expensive and often bitter lawsuit followed. Finally, after much time and expense, the Museum did what it should have done in the first place and returned the objects to Turkey (Kaye and Main, 1995: 151). In all 360 objects were recovered. The objects are now on display in the Museum of Anatolian Civilizations in Ankara where they have been reunited with other objects from the same context recovered from the thieves and the tombs (Kaye and Main, 1995: 155).

United States law favours the true owner - the victim of the theft - over the *bona fide* purchaser, who is in a position to avoid the sale from a possibly questionable source (Kaye and Main, 1995: 153). Boylan (1994) urged museums and collectors to avoid purchases of hoards of questionable provenance, pointing to the result in the

Lydian Hoard case as an example which should send a message to the world's museums, collectors and dealers. Indeed repatriation of the Lydian Hoard has already led to discussions with various institutions to resolve similar claims in a like manner. The efforts of other claimants have met with mixed success. But one thing is clear. In the courts of the United States, where the fundamental rule is that a thief cannot pass good title to stolen property, a foreign sovereign claimant who asserts title to cultural property under a patrimony statute has a good chance of success. That has not, however, stopped the flow of illicit material, even to the United States. There is a growing recognition in international law that cultural property wrongfully taken from the country of origin should be returned; it is critical to the preservation of the heritage of all art-rich nations that their cultural patrimony be preserved in its geographical and natural surroundings and be available for scientific and archaeological study in its proper historic and cultural context (Kaye and Main, 1995: 154).

The Lydian Hoard case cries out for uniform rules governing the acquisition of cultural objects of questionable provenance. Hopefully through the efforts of UNESCO and UNIDROIT (the International Institute for the Unification of Private Law) and other cooperative efforts on the international level, the day will come when foreign government claimants can reclaim their patrimony without the need for expensive and protracted private litigation (Kaye and Main, 1995: 155). An encouraging case is the seven marble sculptures from ancient Smyrna. They were discovered by members of the British Sub-Aqua Club in 1994 diving on the wreck of SS Castor which sank in 1894 off the Kent coast. The sculptures were being transported to the Leiden Museum in Holland in a cargo ship organised by the vice-consul in Smyrna. Until ownership was

established, the marbles were on display in Folkestone Museum. The claim by the Turkish government was upheld last year. In July 1998, the story came to a successful conclusion and Özdem Sanberk, the Turkish ambassador, received the sculptures from Veronica Robbins, the UK Receiver of Wrecks.

Among the three conventions adopted under the auspices of UNESCO for the protection of cultural heritage, two contain provisions on movable cultural property: the *Convention for the Protection of Cultural Property in the Event of Armed Conflict* (The Hague, 1956) and the *Convention on the Means of Prohibiting and Preventing the Illicit Import, Export and Transfer of Ownership of Cultural Property* (Paris, 1970). The 1970 convention against illicit traffic in cultural property is designed to reinforce international solidarity between signatory states, in particular between countries victimized by such traffic and countries of destination for such material. It is currently the only universal convention dealing entirely with that question. The United Kingdom is not a state party to this convention and people are still not familiar with its aim and content.

According to the Convention it is the responsibility of each State to decide in full sovereignty on the nature of the measures in order to comply with the provision of the Convention, taking into account compatibility with its own internal legal system. The measures are described by Clement (for detail 1996: 38-39). One of the main provisions (Article 5) of the Convention deals with the importation of cultural property. The last point is an essential provision of the Convention;

“...to take steps, at the request of the State of origin, to recover and return any such cultural property imported after the entry into force of the Convention in both States concerned, provided that the requesting State shall pay just compensation to an innocent purchaser or to a person who has valid title to that property...”

It requests the State Parties to take measures for the return of the cultural property to the country of origin even if it is in the possession of someone who acquired it legally. However, compensation must be paid to the *bona fide* purchaser, namely the one who did not know that the object was a stolen one. States who do not require holders of stolen cultural property to be compensated may make a reservation to that provision, as the United States has done (Clement, 1995: 40).

At the initiative of UNESCO, the International Institute for the Unification of Private Law (UNIDROID) has undertaken studies on the particular questions of private law regarding the return of cultural property (Clement, 1995: 40).

Eighty-one countries are parties to the Convention, most being countries which suffer from illicit traffic. Because this traffic is international, it cannot be solved only by victim countries. Measures should also be adopted by the countries of destination. In order to become a fully efficient instrument for international cooperation it is essential for these countries to become Parties (Clement, 1995: 41). Many ‘art importing’ and ‘art market’ states have not become party to the Convention. Major art market states such as Belgium, France, Germany, Japan, the Netherlands and the United Kingdom are not Party, although the United States is. Switzerland has announced its intention to become so and is currently consulting its cantonal authorities in the necessary

constitutional process to enable its accession (Prott, 1995: 59). No country has succeeded in completely deterring theft, and theft of cultural objects is increasing dramatically (Prott, 1995: 58).

Every year many Turkish treasures are illegally transported abroad; the situation has changed little over the last two centuries, despite some apparently stringent legislation. Nevertheless, international agreements such as the UNESCO Convention are a promising development for countries suffering from illicit excavations and export, and suggest that there may be legal means for a nation such as Turkey to regain the possession of many antiquities illicitly removed in the last 30-40 years. A good precedent may be the case of the Lydian Hoard. However, for earlier cases such as the Mausoleum at Bodrum, the remains of the temple of Artemis at Ephesos, the Nereid Monument from Xanthos (all in the British Museum), and the Great Altar at Pergamon (in Berlin) whose export was sanctioned by a *firman*, the possibility of return by legal means is most unlikely. One compromise suggested by Akurgal (1990), is that the countries that possess them can make copies for Turkey, now an increasingly attractive option with new laser reproduction techniques.

Although I believe that the ideal is that all antiquities should be returned to their country of origin, the reality is that this will never happen; on an optimistic note, most of the great exported treasures such as the British Museum sculptures are now expertly conserved, curated and displayed in a truly international setting, for an audience more likely to be international than British. In the case of the Ince Blundell collection - equally accessible to international scholarship and edification - where the individual

sculptures are of less significance, the intact collection as a whole has greatest value as a picture of 'lesser' sculpture in ancient Rome as well as of the art which was so significant to the classical revival in Western Europe. Without that revival, many of these works would probably have been lost or destroyed long ago. In addition to that, the intact Ince collection is remarkable because it shows us how the eighteenth century English aristocracy perceived classical art and architecture by what they collected and how they preserved and displayed it in their grand country homes.

5.3 A case study: The Parthenon Marbles

The Elgin Marbles constitute an important case-study in examining the issue of ownership of works of art. Over the years there has been extensive discussion regarding the restitution and retention of the Parthenon marbles since their removal from the Athenian Acropolis. This subject is chosen as a case study here because of their fame and importance now and in the history of archaeology and antiquarianism. I hope that their return to Greece will be a starting point for the return of many treasures that were taken from their land of origin as a result of inadequate protective policies in the past as well as illicit excavations.

In the fifth century BC Athens was at the height of her political power. The Persians had been beaten, and the Delian League was created (Bury and Meiggs, 1975: 215-244). She was now the undisputed centre of an astounding intellectual and artistic

awakening which has marked the subsequent history of Europe and the world.
(Browning, 1987: 16).

The most striking manifestation of Athenian power is arguably the Parthenon. A new temple of Athena on the acropolis was begun just after the Battle of Marathon in 490 BC, but was destroyed by the Persians during their short occupation of Athens in 480 BC. The most famous Athenian statesman of the mid 5th century was Pericles who was re-elected year after year to political leadership. In 448 BC the Athenian assembly voted to rebuild the temple of the warrior-goddess Athena on the acropolis. It was probably intended in the first place as a memorial to those who had fallen in the wars with Persia more than a generation earlier (Browning, 1987: 14). The cost of construction was borne by the allies of Athens. Construction began in 447 BC. The temple and statue were dedicated to Athena Parthenos (Athena the Virgin) in 438 BC, and the pedimental sculptures were completed by 432 BC (Pedley, 1993: 239). The architects were Iktinos, Kallikrates and Mnesikles. The most famous sculptor of the period, Phidias, supervised the sculptural decorations (Greenfield, 1989: 47).

The temple of Athena is a Doric peristyle building, with eight columns at front and back and seventeen columns along each side. The dimensions of the stylobate are 61.51 metres by 30.86 metres. It was built completely in Pentelic marble obtained from Attica. The Athenians had begun to quarry Pentelic marble on a large scale about a hundred years before, but this was the first Athenian temple for which only Athenian marble would be used (Boardman, 1985: 28).

The building is most famous for its sculptural decorations. There were pedimental groups at the front and back, and sculptured metopes on all sides. Another distinctive feature was the continuous Ionic sculptured frieze around the *sekos*. The cella housed the huge statue of Athena created by Phidias. The *opisthodomos*, in the west end, was where the Treasury of Athena and the city were kept. Of the 92 metopes, those on the north, east and west are seriously damaged. Most of those on the south part are better preserved, as they suffered less damage in the late Roman and Byzantine period when the building was converted into a church, begun c. AD 408-450. The metopes are in high relief with 32 on each side and 14 on each end. Their subjects are: to the east, gods and giants in combat; to the west, Greeks and Amazons (or Persians); to the north, Greeks and Trojans; and to the south, Lapiths and Centaurs (Pedley, 1993: 240).

The east pediment was badly damaged by the construction of the apse for the church. It shows the birth of Athena with other deities around; the centre group, in which Athena must have appeared in full armour next to Zeus, Hera and Hephaistos, is now lost. The west pediment was damaged by the Venetian general Francesco Morosini when he tried to remove the horse group from the centre. It showed the contest between Athena and Poseidon for the land of Attica. The scene was flanked by chariot groups while the seated and reclining figures continue to the corners. One group is thought to be the early King of Athens, Kekrops and his daughter (Pedley, 1993: 241). Another figure in the corner shows the personification of the River god Ilissos. Furthermore at the south corner we see the rising heads of the horses of Helios with a reclining figure of Ares or Dionysos and seated figures (Demeter, Kore and a

messenger Iris or Artemis). The treatment of the figures is massive; the deep carving of the drapery shows the effects of light and shade, and reveals the portions of the bodies such as breasts, knees, thighs and lower legs.

The sculptured frieze is 160 metres long and over a metre high, and is carved in low relief. It shows the procession to the temple of Athena at the Panathenaic festival. The west frieze shows horsemen with their horses preparing themselves for a cavalcade, which takes up much of the space of the north and south friezes. This group is preceded by chariots with charioteers and warriors and attendants' elders, musicians, carriers, sheep, cattle and women. To the east, the frieze shows women moving slowly forward from either end to the centre. They meet a group of men, officials, who are awaiting the arrival of the procession. Next are the twelve seated Olympian gods, six on either side of the 'peplos incident' at the centre of the frieze; there, the five figures comprise two young women by the side of a woman, generally recognized as the priest of Athena, along with a girl and a man who receives a peplos from the girl. The peplos was a dress woven every four years for Athena and presented to her on the Acropolis on the occasion of the Panathenaic Festival (Pedley, 1993: 244-46).

The Parthenon is unusual in its features, including the use of Ionic columns in the interior (in the back room where Athena's treasures were kept), the Ionic continuous sculptured frieze encircling the exterior of the cella (Pedley, 1993: 238-239), and the fact that the friezes and metopes were carved as original parts of the structure and not added later on.

The importance of the Parthenon as a Pan-Hellenic and not merely an Athenian monument was recognized by Alexander the Great, who after his victory over the Persians beside the River Granicus had twenty Persian shields suspended as votive offerings beneath the pediments of the temple (Browning, 1987: 17).

The Parthenon was uniquely important for the ancient Greeks and remains so today. It has been stressed by the former Greek Minister for Culture Melina Mercouri that the marbles are an integral part of the Acropolis, which symbolizes Greece itself, and are part of its psychological landscape (Greenfield, 1989: 47). Architecture and sculpture of the eighteenth century and onwards owe many things to Greece and especially the Parthenon. "The Parthenon," writes Wycherly, "is the culmination of Greek architecture" (Wycherly, 1978: 105).

More than two millennia after its creation the Parthenon still stands on the acropolis as the landmark of Athens. Although well built, throughout the succeeding centuries it has been damaged, the process starting with an earthquake in 426 BC. This was followed by fire in the second century BC which destroyed the interior decoration, including the interior colonnade, the ceiling and the cult statue. The temple was restored and a new cult statue modelled on the original in 165-160 BC, as a gift probably by King of Antiochus of Syria, in whose eyes the Parthenon was evidently a monument of more than local significance (Browning, 1987: 20). In AD 362-63, the emperor Julian undertook extensive repairs as part of his campaign to re-establish pagan religion in an ever more Christian world. He had spent some time in Athens as a student, and knew and loved the city and its magnificent monuments (Browning, 1987:

20). In the fifth century AD, the temple was converted into a church and dedicated to the Ayia Sophia, probably by the emperor Theodosius. An apse was built at the east end of the temple and the entrance to the cella was blocked. The Parthenon continued to be in use as a church for the next thousand years. During this long period minor modifications and repairs were carried out. In 1204, after the Fourth Crusade, Athens passed into the hands of the first series of western rulers, the Burgundian de la Roches. The Parthenon was taken over by the Latin clergy and became the church of Our Lady of Athens (Browning, 1987: 21). In 1458, the Turks entered Athens and Sultan Mehmed II visited its ancient monuments and expressed his admiration. During the Turkish occupation, the Parthenon became a mosque for the use of the garrison. Its mosaics and frescoes from the Byzantine period were whitewashed and plastered over. It was during this same period that the earliest description of Athens were made by post-Renaissance Western visitors.

In 1687, the Venetian army besieged Athens and eventually drove the Turks from Greece. During this period much damage was done to the Parthenon. A bomb pierced the roof, during a bombardment of the Acropolis by the Swedish Count Koenigsmark, and caused the supplies of the Turkish gunpowder in the building to explode. During the two years of Venetian occupation, the commander, Morosini tried to remove the sculptures on the west pediment, but was unsuccessful. The weight of the sculptures was so great that he smashed most of them. Two small pieces, now in Copenhagen, were picked up by a Danish officer employed in the Venetian service (Browning, 1987: 22).

A new name identified with the marbles from the early nineteenth century is Thomas Bruce, seventh Earl of Elgin, who was the British Ambassador in Istanbul in 1799. The period is marked by the enormous damage done to the Parthenon and ultimately the transfer of the marbles to England. Elgin obtained a *firman* (a permit) from the Sultan of the time. There have been important arguments over the *firman*, and whether it authorized Elgin to demolish any parts of the Parthenon in order to obtain sculptures. Whatever the case, Elgin removed fifty slabs and two half slabs of the frieze along with fifteen metopes and sent them to England (Browning, 1987: 24). The post-Elgin history of the Parthenon can be dealt with swiftly. The Acropolis was besieged by the Greeks and the Turks between 1821-1827 during the Greek War of Independence, which caused enormous damage. An earthquake caused public concern for the safety of the ancient monuments of the Acropolis in 1894.

If we return to the acquisition of the Parthenon marbles in the early nineteenth century, it is useful to consider the personality and career of Lord Elgin. Thomas Elgin entered the British army in 1785, and without any active military service reached the rank of Major General in 1835 (Hitchens, 1987: 39). He was elected a Representative Peer of Scotland in 1790 and continued in that position till 1807. As we have seen, in 1799 he was the Ambassador at Istanbul. He decided that his tenure would be best remembered for his devotion to the fine arts (Hitchens, 1987: 39). It is for this reason that he planned to make sketches and casts of the ruins of Athens and asked for government support for his scheme. Another important name of the period was Giovanni Battista Lusieri, Elgin's draughtsman, who worked for many years in Athens. Unfortunately his folio of Athenian paintings was lost at sea many years later.

The disorganized and corrupt nature of the Ottoman Empire helped Elgin to move quite easily to the acquisition of marbles. The military governor of the Acropolis was Disdar. In April 1801, in one of his letters to Elgin, Lusieri writes: "everything that has been done up till now in the citadel has been by means of presents to Disdar, who is the commandant" (Hitchens, 1987: 41). He continued about the *firman* from the Sultan which he needed to work at the Acropolis. Up to this point, Elgin's plans were to make copies and representations of the Parthenon and perhaps to collect a few scattered specimens (Hitchens, 1987: 41). Later, in May 1801, he changed his plan and told the House of Commons that under the Turkish Government the marbles would not be safe and that they would be converted into mortar or defaced. Nelson's victory against the French at the Nile in 1801 had impressed the Turks; as Elgin himself put it, "...the summer of the same year, access to Greece increased and all difficulties were removed; then we had access for general purposes..." (Hitchens, 1987: 42). In the same year Elgin wrote to Lord Keith, the naval commander-in-chief in the Mediterranean, and asked for a ship to remove the most valuable pieces of architecture, but this was not accepted. In July 1801, the first metope was removed from the Parthenon and from then onwards removals continued. Arthur Hamilton Smith, Keeper of Roman and Greek Antiquities at the British Museum, pointed out "the difficulties of cutting off the backs of the architectural sculpture, if their thickness made them inconveniently heavy" (Hitchens, 1987: 45). The words "rescue" and "preservation" do not occur here. Elgin wrote to Lusieri in 1801:

"I should wish to have, of the Acropolis, examples in the actual object of each thing, and architectural ornament -of each cornice, each frieze, each capital- of the decorated

A white-ground paint was a decorative style for vases in Athens in the fifth century BC, especially for tall cylindrical oil vases called *lekythoi* and for large cup interiors (Boardman, 1993: 108). A white-ground cup shows Aphrodite with the same hair style, and dates to about 480 BC (Boardman, 1989: Fig. 67). Examples from the former collections of Brocklesby in Lincolnshire, Lansdowne House in London and Wilton House in Wiltshire and in the current collection at the Ashmolean Museum in Oxford are busts or heads of Sappho with the usual hair style (Michaelis, 1884: 228, 236, 448, 555-56, 696). The hair is artistically encircled several times by a head-cloth and is gathered into a knot behind the head. It has been shown above that the hair style was common for female heads, especially for Sappho's in the early fifth century BC. For these reasons the Ince head is probably a fine copy of a Greek original.

RELIEF FRAGMENT OF AN ARCHITECTURAL DESIGN

No. 31 Pl. 31

Subject: Architectural design

Relief type: Probably dedication or decorative

Inventory No: Ince No. 316, Blundell Eng. 114, Michaelis No. 294, Ashmole No. 294

Literature: Michaelis, 396, n. 294; Ashmole, 107-108, n. 294.

Provenance: Unknown

Current location: The Pantheon, external frieze; c. 5m. above ground level; east-facing; in deep shadow

Original location: The Pantheon, external frieze

Dimensions: Height: 29.5cms Length: 46cms

Material: Luna marble

STATE OF PRESERVATION:

This relief has been restored. The restored parts are a triangular patch on the left bottom corner including most of the first two columns and base of the third and fourth, and an oblong patch on the right bottom corner including half of the first column, and a broken edge on the right hand side. The relief ends immediately below the plinth of the bottom row of the column (Ashmole, 1929: 107). Again this relief looks very dark. The left part of the relief, including the left big arch on the upper storey and the middle of the lower storey is white in colour, due to the rain water from roof. The whole relief is worn too. A minor fragment is missing on the upper left corner of the relief. The upper border next to the missing part is also damaged.

DESCRIPTION:

This relief is placed on the frieze of the Pantheon which now faces the back garden. A two-storey architectural design can be seen on the relief. The basement storey is rather low, and is decorated with six Tuscan style half-columns; the spaces between them are alternately decorated by three arches resting on two pillars and two diamond-shaped ornaments. In the upper storey, which is higher than the basement store, two large, similar half columns support the cornice. Between them two arches rest on pillars. Inside these arches are two small façades of temples, the one on the left having four columns, a door and a pediment over the door. The capital beside the door on the right is in the Ionic order, and the execution of the pediment and the framing is different. This is probably the central door of this architectural design. The other façade of a temple on the right hand side has only two columns and a rather simple pediment. This might have been a model of the front of a stage. The relief is very low and the execution of the design is very simple.

COMPARISON

In the Museo Conservatori a fragment of an architectural relief (Jones, 1926: 96 Pl. 34 No. 37) shows a façade with three unequal spaces, but it can be assumed that there were once five of them. The façades stand in front of a wall of rectangular blocks. The spaces are divided from one another by Ionic columns and their bases project from a continuous podium. The space on the right has a

triangular pediment and is filled by a badly worn relief. The space on the left has a segmental pediment and its relief is also worn. Only the central space has an entablature that runs through the façade. In the Conservatori relief there is no indication of doors and arches, but each section between the columns is filled by a projecting panel. The Conservatori relief shows a scaenia fronts. The capital of the Ince relief, the one beside the door on the right, is Ionic, while in the Conservatori example all of the capitals are Ionic. The Conservatori relief is cut as low as the Ince relief. The compositions of these two reliefs are similar. Both are simply executed, and can be compared to the relief in Terme Museum (Jones, 1926: 96). The Terme relief also shows a scaenia fronts (Helbig, 1969: 352-353 No. 2416). The façade is divided into four equal spaces and in the middle appears the main door in a deep niche and next to it two smaller doors. By the small doors appear quadrangular doors, used for the entering the stage as mentioned by Vitruvius. It was a tradition to give the gods small replicas of their temples in ancient Greece (see more detail of the Terme relief Helbig, 1969: 352-353). The Conservatori relief probably dates to the first or second century AD. On the basis of which, the Ince relief probably dates to the same period.

RELIEF, SUN MASK, modern

No. 32

Pl. 32

Subject: Sun

Relief type: ?

Inventory No: Ince No. 297, Blundell Eng. -, Michaelis No. 382, Ashmole No. 382

Literature: Michaelis, 411, n. 382; Ashmole, 116, n. 382.

Provenance: Unknown

Current location: The Pantheon, external frieze; c. 5m. above ground level; east-facing

Original location: The Pantheon, external frieze

Dimensions: Height: 36cms Length: 48cms

Material: Luna marble

STATE OF PRESERVATION:

The nose and lips have been restored. The face seems to have been reworked; indeed, the whole piece may be modern, on the basis of its overall execution (Ashmole, 1929: 116). Again the whole relief is very dark because of air pollution, and shows slight weathering. Except for these blemishes the relief is in a good state of preservation.

DESCRIPTION:

By the rays of light emanating from it, it is said to an emblem of the sun, that great object of veneration with the ancients (Blundell, Account, No. 297)

A large sun mask is placed on the marble slab and almost covers the whole space of the marble. He has a very large round face which looks rather plump. He also has a very broad forehead, large eyes, broad cheeks, full and open lips, and a round chin. His facial features are neat. Baggy folds under the eyes are slightly indicated. No pupils are represented. The beams of the Sun spread out from his of curly hair. The eight curls of his hair are alternated with the seven sun beams. Each beam consists of three slightly grooved lines. The relief is not high, with in particular his hair and the beams shown in rather low relief.

COMPARISON

During my research I could not find any similar example to the Ince relief. However the piece appears modern.

RELIEF, PLOUGHMAN, modern?

No. 33 Pl. 33

Subject: Ploughman

Relief type: Votive ?

Inventory No: Ince No. 316, Blundell Eng. 114, Michaelis No. 293, Ashmole No. 293

Literature: Michaelis, 396, n. 293; Ashmole, 107, n. 293.

Provenance: Unknown

Current location: The Pantheon, external frieze; c. 5m. above ground level;
north-facing

Original location: The Pantheon, external frieze

Dimensions: Height: 34cms Length: 51cms

Material: Luna marble

STATE OF PRESERVATION:

There is a large crack on the right side that divides the relief into two parts. It starts from the top of the relief and passes through the hand of the man and the plough before going on to the bottom edge. The left edge of the relief appears to have been reworked, because it looks whiter. The two oxen, ploughman and almost the whole background have been weathered badly by air pollution. However, certain parts of the oxen have not been weathered, including parts of the body of the ox in the foreground, the left cheek, the thighs and the legs. The forelegs of the ox in the background have not been represented or are probably

missing. The relief is unrestored but apparently reworked, especially around the head of the oxen and on the left border of the relief. Other than that listed above, no other substantial parts are missing.

DESCRIPTION:

The lower fragment, on the left, representing the manner of ploughing used by the ancient, which was performed only by a piece of wood, tearing up the ground; a mode still practised with oxen in some parts of Italy. (Blundell, Engravings, Pl. 114, No. 316)

A ploughman dressed in a loose sleeveless ungirdled tunic with a pileus on his head. He stands on the right hand side of the relief and drives with his right hand a primitive plough drawn by two oxen. He also pricks the oxen with a short goad (*stimulus*) in his left hand. The man is short and is represented in profile and his facial features are simple. He has a large nose and straight hair that falls on the side of his face, and small lips and eyes. The hair is executed very simply and consists of vertical lines. The oxen are squat and have a yoke around their necks. The oxen and the man are represented on different ground levels, the man stands slightly higher. The background is left empty and rather shallow. The relief is not very high. The whole representation of the relief is simple, especially that of the man. His arms and legs are awkwardly executed. The oxen are placed behind each other and their proportion is small and squat. The relief is small and has a plain border.

COMPARISON

A fragment in the Museo Capitolino Rome shows scenes from the Shield of Achilles (Jones, 1912: 172-175). The upper half of the shield is filled with the scenes of two cities, the lower half with rural scenes. The rural scenes are distributed around a quadrangular fenced enclosure. On the bottom of the relief a ploughing scene is depicted. Two ploughmen drive yokes of oxen behind each other, while a third ploughman stands by his plough and receives the "sweet wine" handed to him by a man who is facing him (Jones, 1912: 173). The relief is so badly worn that the details are not visible. Although a rough relief, the composition is similar to the Ince relief; the oxen and the men are the same height. In Castle Howard, Yorkshire, is another example of a small relief representing a ploughman with oxen (Michaelis, 1884: 330 No. 49). Again the subject and the composition of the ploughman and oxen are similar to the Ince relief. However the Ince ploughman remind me of medieval figures in the way his hair is treated -very straight and long with vertically-drilled channels: and the way he is dressed, with a loose, short sleeveless dress covering the neck.

7- VOTIVE RELIEFS

VOTIVE RELIEF TO SILVANUS

No. 34 Pl. 34

Subject: Silvanus

Relief type: Votive

Inventory No: Ince No. 084, Blundell Eng. 114, Michaelis No. 292, Ashmole No. 292

Literature: Michaelis, 396, n. 292; Ashmole, 107, n. 292.

Provenance: Presumably bought from Lisandroni and d'Este (Ashmole, 1929: 107)

Current location: The Pantheon, external frieze; c. 5m. above ground level; north-facing

Original location: The Pantheon, external frieze

Dimensions: Height: 36cms Length: 34cms

Material: Luna marble

STATE OF PRESERVATION:

The nose of Silvanus, the lower part of the pine branch in his left arm and a piece on the capital of the right pilaster have been restored. The crown and the pediment are now missing. The Corinthian pilasters on the sides, especially their acanthus capitals, are worn; almost nothing can be seen in detail on this part. A minor fragment is missing just above the head of Silvanus. Again almost the whole scene has been darkened by air pollution although the plasters look white in some parts. The whole relief, especially the face and the hair of Silvanus, is worn badly, so that there are few clear facial features. There is a small crack on the left pilaster, just below the Corinthian capital.

DESCRIPTION:

Silvanus, the rural deity who presided over fruits and gardens, is here represented on the right in a kind of little chapel, with his usual symbols, a pruning knife, & c. The inscription on it reads, *Silvano Salutari Celi Chortos et Hermes*; Cortos and Hermes, two freed men of the Celian family, conjointly dedicated this *aedicula*, or little chapel, to Silvanus, for the safety and protection of their fields and gardens. (Blundell, Engravings, Pl. 114, No. 84)

A figure of Silvanus, with all the traditional attributes, standing in an aedicula which consists of two Corinthian pilasters at the sides. Only traces of the pediment can now be seen on the relief. The Silvanus is shown in his usual style of representation, standing upright with his right leg advanced and bent. The left carries the weight while the head turns to the left. He is shown almost naked with

only a cloak which falls down over the shoulders, and he bears fruits in the folds of the cloak. In his left arm is a pine branch, while the right hand holds a curved garden knife. He has high boots on his feet. Next to him stands his dog which turns to its owner. The Silvanus has curly and abundant hair and a beard. The facial features are so badly weathered that almost nothing can be seen. The background has been left empty. The height of the Silvanus and the plasters are almost the same. The figures are carved in higher relief than the two plasters on either sides.

Below the slab is the inscription:

Sil(vano) sal(utari) Celi Cortos (?) et Herm(es) (Michaelis, 1884:396).

This inscription appears thrice in *CIL* volume VI no. 3715, 30800 and 593. We need the careful autopsy of the inscription in order to determine (a) whether the second word is SAC (thus 593 and 30800) or SAL (thus 3715 and Ashmole), and (b) whether the last word is 'Hermes' or 'Herm'. There is an ambiguity here which needs further examination and analysis once conservation work is complete.

COMPARISON

The Ince example is very similar to a votive relief dedicated by a man called Demetrius to Silvanus in the Museo Capitolino (Jones, 1912: 49 Pl. 9 No. 2). In that relief, the figure of a youthful Silvanus is placed centrally and is almost naked, with only a cloak over his left shoulder. The Silvanus has beautifully dressed hair (possibly with a wreath) falling onto his shoulders. In his right hand he carries a

garden knife while in the left he holds a pine branch with cones. In the folds of the cloak he carries a pile of fruit. To his left stands his dog which looks up at him.

There is a similar relief dedicated to Silvanus in the Museo Conservatori in Rome (Jones, 1926: 254 Pl. 100 No. 1). The old bearded god is again placed centrally in a sort of aedicula and the weight is on the left leg. Only a cloak hangs over his left shoulder; with the right hand he holds a garden knife, while in the left he holds a large pine branch. The fruits are in the skirt of his cloak. By his right foot stands his dog which looks up at him. To his left a burning altar with flames can be seen. Another votive relief of Silvanus in the Vatican Collection shows him in a short tunic (Amelung, 1903 i: 735 Pl. 78 No. 630). The right hand holds the garden knife, the left a branch of a pine tree. To his left stands his dog. The composition of these reliefs is very much like the relief at Ince Blundell. The position of the figures and their attributes, the cloak and the boots are very similar. The only differences are that in the Ince example Silvanus is bearded and rather old, whereas in the Capitolino he is young and beardless. The Villa Doria Pamphilj Collection in Rome also holds a votive relief to Silvanus which is very similar to the Ince example; it is depicted in its common style, mentioned above, and appears rather larger than the Ince relief. This sort of representation of Silvanus, as the custodian of the villa, was frequent in Imperial times (Stuart, 1912: 49). It is again probably a stock piece from the workshops of Rome.

8- HERMS

HERMS TWO FEMALE AND TWO MALE

Nos. 35, 36, 37, 38 **Pls. 35, 36, 37, 38**

These are four heads affixed to the frieze of the Pantheon.

Inventory No: Ince Nos. 339/227 Blundell Eng. - Michaelis Nos. 160/206

Ashmole No. 160

Literature: Michaelis, 368, 372, n. 160, 206; Ashmole, 65, n. 160, Pl. 2.

The inventory numbers above cover the herms mentioned below.

FEMALE HERM (on the west side of the Pantheon portico)

No. 35

Subject: Female herm, perhaps Ariadne

Type: Herm

Provenance: Bought from Cavaceppi (see Blundell's own account)

Current location: The Pantheon, external frieze; c. 5m. above ground level; west-facing; well-illuminated

Original location: External frieze, Pantheon

Dimensions: Height: 35cms

Material: Pentelic marble (?)

STATE OF PRESERVATION:

The nose of this female herm was once restored but the restored part has since broken away. On a photograph in Ashmole's catalogue the nose is intact (Ashmole, 1929: 65 Pl. 2 No. 160). The herm also has been restored. The head was broken at the lower part of the neck. The lower right and left corners of the herm have also gone. Unfortunately the whole herm is very badly worn, including the facial features, the hair and the bust. There are not enough identifiable facial features. The plaits on the sides have been darkened by air pollution.

DESCRIPTION:

This herm shows a young woman, perhaps Ariadne, facing forward. The head is smaller than life-size. Her face is rather plump and squarish. The chin is full. The hair is encircled by a taenia and three braided rows of hair (archaic concentric waves), which are incised, cover the forehead and stand out. The hair is long, curlier on the sides and at the tips. The details of the facial features are only slightly visible but the small lips are tightly closed and the eyes are narrow. The forehead is also narrow. The neck is rather thick.

COMPARISON

Three elaborate plaits around the forehead are the distinctive features of this female herm in the Ince Collection. Two similar examples are in the Filosofi Gallery of the Museo Capitolino (Jones, 1912: 225 Pl. 55 Nos. 11 and 12). These archaic female herms, No. 11 and 12, with rather thick jaws and hair (concentric waves on the forehead), look straight forward. The arrangement of the hair on the foreheads of the Capitolino herms is the same. The hair is encircled by a taenia and in the centre of the forehead is arranged a fringe in three rows of tight curls. At the sides, the rest of the forehead is carried towards the ears and in front turn towards the taenia. The rest falls on to the shoulders as two heavy locks. The surface of the crown on the heads show archaic concentric waves crossed by fine incised lines. In the second of the Capitolino herms (No. 11), the broken end of the shoulder locks has been restored as short loops. The eyes are narrow and the mouth shows something of the archaic smile, especially the lower lip of the No. 12 herm. This type belongs to the early fifth century BC (Jones, 1912: 224-225).

The Museo Palazzo dei Conservatori shows another female herm of archaic type (Jones, 1926: 60 Pl. 20 No. 7). The head looks forward and again, above a narrow fillet, the hair arranged in three rows of small tight curls around the forehead. On the crown the hair radiates from the centre, and behind each ear a long tress falls onto the shoulders. This herm is another Roman copy of a Greek original of the early fifth century BC, sometimes combined with a bearded Dionysos, and therefore might be a representation of Ariadne (Jones, 1926: 60).

The companion piece of the ancient male herm from the double herm group in the Leconfield Antiquities is also probably Ariadne (Wyndham, 1915: 41 Pl. 22 No. 22). She is shown with an oval face, closed lips, narrow forehead, thick jaw and broad cheeks. The Leconfield head is similar to the Ince herm. The arrangement of the three elaborated plaits around the forehead appears in the Leconfield example as well.

A similar type of female herm appears in the double terminal head of the British Museum which shows Dionysos and Ariadne or a Maenad (Smith, 1904: 46 No. 1623). Again a triple row of elaborate curls surrounds the forehead of Ariadne and is confined by a taenia. The ancient Ince female herm and one of the ancient male herms of the same collection (mentioned below) may belong to a double terminal bust of bearded Dionysos and Ariadne. As has been shown above, the ancient Ince female herm is probably a copy of a Greek original of the early fifth century BC, and may belong to a double terminal bust.

MALE HERM (on the front left side of the Pantheon portico)

No. 36 Pl. 36

Subject: Male herm, probably Zeus or Dionysos

Type: Herm

Provenance: Bought from Cavaceppi?

Current location: The Pantheon, external frieze; c. 5m. above ground level;
south-facing; well-illuminated

Original location: The Pantheon, external frieze

Dimensions: Height: 35cms

Material: Pentelic marble

STATE OF PRESERVATION:

The condition of this herm is very bad. The nose is restored and the whole face is badly worn and chipped away. The hair, forehead and the beard are badly erased. Again traces of pollution damage can be seen on the head, but this is not as extreme as on other examples. The facial features are also badly erased, especially the lips, nose, and eyes. The restored part of the nose is missing as well as minor fragments of the beard.

DESCRIPTION:

The bust of this male herm is not as large as the previous example. This head is placed on the external frieze of the pediment of the Pantheon on the front. Although the head is very badly worn, and there is not much detail left, the long face probably has a small nose and the whole chin is covered by thick beard. The

details of the eyes are only slightly visible due to weathering. The eyes are small, the brows are drawn and the cheek bones are pronounced. The rest of the face is covered by the beard. The forehead is large, making for a prominent head. The long curly hair is parted in the middle, drawn to the sides, and two long tresses hang downwards over the shoulders. Two short fringes also can be seen at the ears.

Comparison see next piece.

MALE HERM (on the front, right side of the Pantheon portico)

No. 37 Pl. 37

Subject: male herm, probably Zeus or Dionysos

Type: Herm

Provenance: ?

Current location: The Pantheon, external frieze; c. 5m. above ground level;
south-facing; well-illuminated

Original location: The Pantheon, external frieze

Dimensions: Height: 35cms

Material: Pentelic marble

STATE OF PRESERVATION:

Yet again, this herm is badly worn, especially the face including all the facial features, the hair and the beard. The nose is restored and intact. A fragment of his right eyebrow is missing. Chips are missing from all over the head, but especially on the beard. A large split runs on the neck under the chin. Numerous minor cracks can be seen on the long locks of hair at the sides of the head. The parted hair above the forehead has worn badly. There are patches of staining from air pollution. The head is in as sorry a state as the previous example.

DESCRIPTION:

This herm was also placed on the external frieze of the portico of the Pantheon at the front, and is the companion piece to the previous example. This head, and the previous one, are the same bearded male type. The measurements suggest that the two heads may be the halves of a double herm. The herm is shown as far as the bust (only a small proportion was executed). The face is long and the forehead is large. In spite of extreme damage, some of the neat facial features are still visible. The nose is slim and small and the lips are small and closed. The cheekbones are indicated. The eyebrows are drawn, but the eyes cannot be seen in detail. The hair styles of the two herms are the same. The long wavy hair is parted in the middle, drawn to the sides and falls on each shoulder. Two short fringes also can be seen by the ears. The texture of the curls of long hair cannot be seen clearly due to erosion. The hair on the forehead and on the fringes has been waved by

chisel work. Because of weathering the execution of the beard is not clearly visible either.

COMPARISON

These two male herms in the Ince collection are the same male types in terms of beard and hair style; their long hair is parted in the middle and drawn to the sides. They are similar to two herms in the Museo Palazzo dei Conservatori in Rome (Jones, 1926: 251 Pl. 97 Nos. 102, 103). No. 102 is the head of a bearded Dionysos. Here, as in the Ince example, the herm looks forward. His hair radiates from the centre of the crown and is encircled by a fillet. The wavy hair is parted in the middle and drawn under and over the fillet on each side. Behind the ears long locks of hair hang over each shoulder. The broad face is covered by an abundant curly beard and moustache that ends with small curls. The nose and the lip are small. This is a Roman copy of an original of the second half of the fifth century BC (Jones, 1926: 251). The second example in Rome (No. 103) has the same features, and again is a Roman work after an original of the fifth century BC (Jones, 1926: 251).

There are a number of similar herms in the Museo Capitolino Collection in Rome (Jones, 1912: 22-23, 24 Pl. 2 Nos. 7 and 20). Nos. 7 and 20 have the same hair style, parted in the middle and drawn to the sides, although the locks in front of the ears are more voluminous and loose. Their faces are rather longer in proportion than the Ince herms. The beard of the one Capitolino example (No. 7)

is arranged in a regular and straight pattern and is very voluminous, as is the hair on the forehead. The second example also has a very thick beard that divides into two parts. The eyes are hollowed. The hair on the forehead is incised into regular shallow lines. Both herms have triangular foreheads, long faces, prominent brows and eyelids, small nose, and rather flat cheeks. In the Colombe Gallery in the Museo Capitolino is another herm of this type (Jones, 1912: 180 Pl. 42 No. 107). The arrangement of the hair is the same but the execution is different. The hair on the crown is parted and incised in shallow grooves, and is parted in the middle into heavy locks over the forehead. The beard is long and carved into massive locks and again divided into two parts. The same facial features appear here: a triangular forehead, prominent brows, large eyes and sharp eyelids. This herm is an imperial copy of a fine mid-fifth century BC Greek type of Hermes or Zeus. It resembles the Ince example although the latter appears in smaller scale and the execution of the hair is less voluminous than the Capitolino example.

A double terminal herm appears in the Leconfield Antiquities and shows Dionysos and Ariadne (or a Maenad) (Wyndham, 1915: 41 Pl. 22 No. 22). The herm of Dionysos is similar to the male herms of the Ince Collection. The long curly beard and the moustache covers the whole chin and is arranged in stiff archaic curls, each curl having three parallel grooves to indicate the twist of hair. The lips are parted, the forehead is narrow and the eyebrows are drawn. By contrast, on the Leconfield herm the hair on the forehead is arranged rather differently; three rows of archaic curls frame the forehead. Two long curls fall on each side in front of the ears and two tresses fall on each shoulder (Wyndham,

1915: 41). A precisely similar double terminal head, bearded Dionysos and Ariadne or a Maenad, occurs in the British Museum (Smith, 1904: 46 No. 1623). The arrangement of the hair of this bearded Dionysos on the forehead is similar to the Leconfield head; three rows of elaborate curls frame the forehead and are confined by taenia. The long tresses fall on the shoulders with two longer curls at the ears. As has been shown, the Ince herms share characteristics with the examples mentioned above. The Ince herms might be Dionysos or Zeus, part of a double terminal herm or the halves of a double male herm, and are probably Roman copies of male herms of the fifth century BC.

FEMALE HERM, modern (on east side of the portico)

No. 38 Pl. 38

Subject: Female herm

Type: Herm

Provenance: Bought from Cavaceppi (Ashmole, 1929: 65)

Current location: The Pantheon, external frieze; c. 5m. above ground level; east-facing; in deep shadow

Original location: The Pantheon, external frieze

Dimensions: Height: 35cms

Material: Pentelic marble

STATE OF PRESERVATION:

This herm is modern, judging by the treatment of the hair, face, and bust. This sculpture is also in a better state of preservation than the other three herms. Unfortunately the whole herm is very dark due to air pollution and weathering. The tip of her nose is missing, and the end of the curls are chipped away; in addition, a slight encrustation can be seen on the bust of the herm. A minor chip is missing on the left eyebrow. Other than these faults the herm is in a good state of preservation.

DESCRIPTION:

This modern female herm, probably a copy of an ancient example, is placed on the east side of the Pantheon on the external frieze. She is shown as far as her chest, and looking forward. Again this is a smaller than life-size example with a rather chubby face. The forehead is narrow and the eyes are large. The lips are closed, the cheeks are broad and the neck is squat. The execution of the herm is different to the previous female herm, especially with respect to the hair. The curly hair is parted in the middle, drawn to the sides, and hangs down to the shoulders and looks rather more realistic than the previous example. A broad fillet encircles

the head. All of the facial features are clearly visible but her face is expressionless and dull.

COMPARISON

This Ince relief appears to be modern. The texture of the herm and the execution of the facial features and the hair suggests this. A similar, idealised head of a young woman on a modern bust appears in the Catalogue of Vatican Museum (Amelung, 1903 i: 662 Pl. 70 No. 532). The taenia encircles the top of the head. The long curly hair is parted and grooved on the forehead, and is swept back from the temples and caught up at the back into a top knot which loosens downwards behind the ears to form a lock on each shoulder. The face looks archaistic with idealised features; the eyes and the closed lips are small, the forehead is triangular in shape, and the cheeks are broad. The original must have been produced towards the end of the fifth century BC (Amelung, 1903 i: 662). The hair style and the facial features of the Vatican head are very similar to the Ince herm. A head of a deity in the Colombe Gallery in the Museo Capitolino in Rome shows a similar hair style and features (Jones, 1912: 176 Pl. 39 No. 85). Again in the same collection there is a herm of a youthful deity (a colossal head, probably of Apollo) with the same hair dressing, long tresses and strong build of the face, which is Severe Style (Jones, 1912: 177 Pl. 40 No. 87). Again, the Ince herm is probably a modern copy of a Greek original of the fifth century BC., because the style appears archaic but the execution is not.

9- STATUETTE

No. 39 Pl. 39

A COCKEREL

Subject: A cockerel

Type: An animal statuette

Inventory No: Ince No. 86, Blundell Eng. 43, Michaelis No. 59, Ashmole No. 59

Literature: Michaelis, 355-356, n. 59; Ashmole, 30, n. 59, Pl. 28, Reinach, 774.

Provenance: Unknown

Current location: In the Pantheon

Original location: At the front of the Garden Temple

Dimensions: Height (excl. restn.): 30cms; (incl. base) 54cms

Material: Parian marble

STATE OF PRESERVATION:

The tail, legs and base have been restored. The restorations are easily recognisable, due to the differences in the execution, the colour, and the material (mortar) which has been used. The new tail of the cock was joined by mortar but

the original crack line can still be seen. The whole body and the head of the animal are weathered and badly worn away so that not many features are visible. Furthermore there are encrustations on the body of the bird.

DESCRIPTION:

This antique figure is very spirited in its attitude, and the feathers finely wrought. It is the only one of this sort known, except that in the Vatican museum. It is generally thought this cock originally belonged to some statue of Mercury, who is often represented with a cock, as the emblem of vigilance. (Blundell, Account, No. 86)

A life size but rather slim cockerel is represented on a restored plain base. With the restored left leg, he steps forward and looks ahead with some elegance. The wings on the body are indicated but due to weathering are now only slightly visible. The texture of the finely wrought feathers can not really be seen either. The feathers are executed beautifully at the top of its head. On the head the eyes are grooved as small hollows and the beak is indicated. Two long crests are carved out and are clearly visible. Next to the crests, the ears are hollowed out. The restored tail is indicated with shallow and long chisel marks.

COMPARISON

The Vatican Museum collection shows a statue of a cockerel (Amelung, 1908 ii: 336 Pl. 32 No. 121). It was formerly in the Villa Mattei (Amelung, 1908 ii: 336). This bird stands on a rather shallow base, turns slightly left and is supported at the back by a marble slab. The feathers are finely cut, and on the well-built body the neck and head look slim. Another representation of a cockerel appears in the same catalogue (Amelung, 1903: 374 Pl. 41 No. 199). Here the cockerel stands on a base, this time indicated as the natural ground, and takes support from a tree trunk placed just behind it. The head turns left and the wings are slightly open. The feathers are finely executed on the body and on the head. The comb is also indicated. A number of cockerels were published by Reinach (1897 ii: 774). There are also representations of the god Mercury with a group of animals, among which is a cockerel (Reinach, 1897 ii: 174-175). There are altogether five examples, two of which, from the Louvre Museum, show the god standing by a statuette of cockerel.

The motif of cockerel is common in vase painting as well. The Ince cockerel is similar to Greek terracottas, especially in the execution of the feathers. A terracotta cockerel found near ancient Smyrna, and now in the British Museum, shows finely executed feathers on the wings and tail (Higgins, 1954: 96 No. 279). The comb is also indicated on the head and neck. Another cockerel, No. 188, is rather larger (Higgins, 1954: 79). Here, while the comb is indicated, there is no indication of the feathers.

Not surprisingly cockerels were used by the ancient Greeks for sacrifices and as gifts. A relief in Locri shows a woman making an offering to Persephone seated opposite, with a cockerel which she holds up at breast level (Higgins, 1954: 332 No. 1221). The body of the cockerel is rather large if compared to its small head. The feathers are finely cut, especially on the wings and tail. This example dates to around 460 BC (Higgins, 1954: 332). Another relief, again in Locri, shows two women with offerings. The one at the back is holding a cockerel with her right hand forward while the second woman places a secret cake on an altar. Between her and the altar is a figure of a cockerel on a three-legged stand (Higgins, 1954: 332 No. 1222).

The Ince cock seems to be good Roman work.

10- AN ALTAR, modern

No. 40 Pl. 40

Subject: Garlands and masks

Relief type: Altar

Inventory No: I can find no number in the Ince, Ashmole or Michaelis catalogues that relates to this altar.

Literature:-

Provenance: ?

Current location: Inside of the Pantheon

Original location: At the front of the Garden Temple

Dimensions: Height: 33cms Length: 39cms (at the bottom)

Material: marble ?

The photograph of the altar only shows the two sides. I was not able to move it to take pictures of the other sides.

STATE OF PRESERVATION:

The altar is modern and the masks above the garland look neo-classical. This altar has been weathered, especially on the surface of the sheep skulls at the corners, on the masks in each field, and on the heavily decorated garlands below. There are a number of minor splits on the surface of the altar but these are not so important. Traces of mortar can be seen at the top of the altar. Otherwise the general preservation is good.

DESCRIPTION:

This is a rectangular shaped altar which widens towards the bottom. It was once placed at the front of the Garden Temple. The cockerel discussed above was

placed on top of the altar as shown in a 1929 photograph of the Garden Temple (Ashmole, 1929). Beautifully curved sheep-skulls with horns are at each corner. From the skulls hang heavily decorated garlands with flying ribbons. The garland are made of quinces and flowers. Above them, on each field, are placed male theatrical masks. One of these masks belongs to a young man who has a cap on his head from which a fringe appears. There is also straight hair down the sides of his face. On his round face, the eyes and the large mouth are deeply hollowed out. The nose is rather small. His cheeks are broad and the chin is round. Next to this figure, in the next field, is the mask of a Satyr (represented in the photograph), easily recognisable by its prominent large ears. He is also wearing a kind of cap. The eyes are big and the eyeballs are grooved deeply. His eyebrows are furrowed. He has a moustache, which is very prominent and bends downwards. The nose is flat and the nostrils are grooved. The face is slim and the chin is pointed. Next to him is another rather older male mask (represented in the photograph). This is similar to the Satyr just discussed, with which it shares a number of similarities: a furrowed large forehead, wide open and grooved eyes, and mouth, a long moustache, and a long face with a pointed chin. However, the ears are not pointed. The last mask of the altar is again similar to the previous younger mask, although this time he has a beard with a long moustache and the lips are closed. Again the eyebrows are furrowed on a broad forehead and the eyeballs are deeply drilled. The fruits and the flowers of the garland are deeply drilled, but the masks are in low relief. The decorations are carved on plain borders. The masks are vivid and animated. All of

them are related to the theatrical world, and the altar might have been dedicated to this world.

COMPARISON

During my research I could not find any similar example to the Ince altar.

The Ince altar is probably a modern neo-classical example.

11- ROMAN FUNERARY RELIEFS

No. 41 Pl. 41

ROMAN TOMB RELIEF

Subject: Five bust-length portraits (one male, two females, one girl, one boy)

Relief type: Roman tomb relief

Inventory No: Ince No. 186, Blundell Eng. 78, Michaelis No. 222, Ashmole No. 222

Literature: Michaelis, 376, n. 222; Ashmole, 87, n. 222, Pl. 34; Poulsen, 61-2, n. 41, Pl. 41.

Provenance: Bought from the Villa Borroni

Current location: Museum Conservation Centre

Original location: Portico of Garden Temple; c. 2m. above ground level; south-facing

Dimensions: Height: 72cms Length: 106cms Thickness: 22cms

Material: Luna marble

STATE OF PRESERVATION:

This relief had been placed over the entrance of the Garden Temple. All of the figures are surrounded by a thick frame. The upper and most of the sides of the frame have been restored; only the bottom with an inscription and the right corner are from the original frame. The figures were deeply carved from marble. The restored parts of the relief are the nose of the first female figure and her right hand with flowers (however, the tip of her nose is now missing), the young boy's nose, his right hand and wrist and also the noses of the remaining three figures (the man in the middle, the girl next to him and the second woman on the right). The left hand of this woman is chipped away. Furthermore weathering can be seen over the entire relief. Some parts of the draperies are worn away. The relief had been polluted badly but has recently been cleaned by the Liverpool Museum Conservation Centre. There are traces of whitewash on the right arm of the first female figure. The lower part of the original frame is covered by whitewash while the inscription there is hardly legible. There are a small number of splits on the restored frame but these are not important. Except for the damage noted above, the relief is in good condition.

DESCRIPTION:

This sepulchral monument has five portraits cut in high relief from their waist upwards. From left to right, they are a woman, a boy, a man, a girl and another woman. The first woman on the left lays her arm around the shoulder of

the boy with a bunch of flowers in her right hand. The boy, with a bulla on his neck, stands next to the woman and holds the man's bouquet which is in his palm, with the right hand touching the flowers of the lady. A man with two bouquets of flowers in his palms stands in the middle as a connecting figure between the two figure groups. In the background two birds are symmetrically placed on each side of the man's head, next to the boy and the girl. To the right of the slab by the male stands a little girl who holds a bird in her left hand, maybe a pigeon. With her right hand she touches the bunch of flowers in the palm of the man. The scene ends with the female figure to the right who lays her right arm around the shoulder of the girl while the left holds a part of her drapery.

The man might have been the dead person; around him stand probably his two wives and their children. The women have their hair parted in the middle, the one on the right waved, the other flat. The man and the boy have short straight hair but the former's stands out more. The bangs of his hair are combed downwards onto the forehead and consist of parallel chisel work. This appears as the same on the boy. The two children and the man are dressed in voluminous togas, but the woman on the right wears a girded short-sleeved chiton and a himation over it. The other woman is also dressed in a short-sleeved chiton and a himation without a girdle so her draperies are loosened downwards and the folds of her himation lie on her left shoulder. Roman togas were the emblem of the Roman citizenship and granted to the freedmen. Bulla was also worn by Roman citizens. The three figures here wear togas and the boy also carries a bulla on his neck. These were freed

slaves. We can tell a lot about the society in that time looking at their dresses. The execution of all draperies consists of lines and voluminous folds.

The portraits of five people on this bust are visible. Only the eyes of the young boy meet ours; the rest glance away to different points. The female on the left looks forward; she is shown as a young woman, with a rather big head, a clean face with no wrinkles, large eyes, closed lips and parted hair leaving her forehead triangular shaped. The treatment of her left arm around the shoulder of the boy is not executed skilfully. The boy appears to be around seven or eight years old and there is a slight smile on his face; he has a rounded face with big ears and a large forehead but small facial features, except the eyes. The man looks sad; this is especially emphasised by his curled lips. He has a mature look, a long face, round eyes, and a broad forehead. Again the arms have not been executed skilfully. The girl, who appears rather older than the boy, looks forward with a clean face and small facial features except the eyes, and a narrow forehead. The woman on the right looks somewhat plump. She has a big head and thick chin, small facial features, broad cheeks, closed lips, a triangular forehead and prominent eyes. In the background the two birds may be swallows flying with open beaks to denote their singing. The birds might have been related to the soul of the dead person. Furthermore all the hands are represented larger in proportion.

Of the inscription only a few letters can be made out;

.....ORIVS ID SERTORIA ML SERTORI ML. (Ashmole, 1929: 87).

The name of the Sertorian gens occurs twice, one under the women on the right, and probably the other under the man in the centre (Ashmole, 1929: 87). Professor J. K. Davies and I could find no comparison for this inscription.

COMPARISON

In the later part of the first century BC a new type of funerary sculptural relief was used by ordinary Roman citizens. This was the life-size head and bust of a deceased person carved in relief within a rectangular frame, either on its own or with other members of the family. In the past this type of relief adorned the walls of tombs. These tombs lined the roads on the outskirts of Roman towns (Ramage and Ramage, 1995: 70). The tradition can be traced back to the ancestral death masks with the typical features such as frontal composition, serious expression (Pollit, 1993: 250). A republican tomb relief of the Gessius family shows three portrait heads; a woman and two men, with their clothing tunic and toga. Only a cloak hangs over the left shoulder of the man in the middle. They all look forward. The relief is carved into a deep and plain border (Ramage and Ramage, 1995: 70, Fig. 2.29). The portrait of the individuals have personal details like wrinkles and blemishes although the hands are disproportionately larger than life.

The Museo Nazionale in Rome, chiostro (inv. 196631), the Copenhagen Carlsberg Glyptothek (inv. 2431 and 2799), Rome Vatican Museum, ex Museo Lateranense (inv. 10464) and Rome Via di Portico di Ottavia all hold funerary reliefs with five figures (Kleiner, 1977: 245-48 Fig. 86-90). However none of these

groups include children; they show adults in their usual style in frontal composition, with outstanding hands and with particularly realistic and sour expressions.

The Vatican Museum shows the grave relief of L. Vibius and his family (Amelung, 1903 i: 348 Pl. 36 No. 60E). The figures appear in a deeply carved rectangular relief with a mature looking man and a woman at the side and a boy placed in the middle. The child is shown only as a bust. The woman and a man are dressed in tunic and toga. In the same catalogue are more grave reliefs with similar attitudes and features (Amelung, 1903 i: 315-16, 321-22 Pl. 31 No. 6a and Pl. 32 No. 13a). No. 6a shows the real portraits of a couple; between them is a boy who must be the deceased. Both adults are dressed in voluminous tunics and togas. The boy carries a bulla on his neck. Between the woman and child is placed a cup of fruits which the woman offers to the child. On either side of the child is placed a bird. A similar composition appears in No. 13a, with three adults, a woman, two men and a child. Realistic representations of the individuals, similar dress, the frontal composition and large hands are the striking features in these reliefs. In the Museo Capitolino is another tomb relief which depicts three frontal male busts, again placed in a deep rectangular frame (Jones, 1912: 65-64 Pl. 12 No. 5). Each wears a tunic and toga in which the right large hands are laid. The sepulchral monument of the Rupilli in the same collection represents the bust of a wife and husband on the front with another male bust at the end of the slab (Jones, 1912: 122 Pl. 21 No. 48a). They are also dressed in tunics and toga. Only the woman's hair is covered with a veil, as in Nos. 13a and 60e of the Vatican examples. The

same features of the grave reliefs noted above appear in the Ince relief on the portico of the Garden Temple. The figures are placed in a rectangular frame, surrounded by a deep but plain border. The frontal composition and realistic expression also appear in the Ince relief. The girl on the right has her side hair curled and over the middle of the forehead is a peculiar three-stringed pearl ornament, the nearest parallel to which is found on a bronze head of a little girl in Parma, and on the head of a boy in Petrograd (Poulsen, 1929: 60-61). This appears to be a kind of artificial compensation for the plaits from the forehead to the middle of the crown, which in the age of the Tiberius takes the place of the Augustan "nodus" hairdressing. This type of ornament is only found in the portrait of children (Poulsen, *ibid.*). The man and the boy have short, straight hair but the man's is slightly outstanding. The bangs of his hair are combed downwards on to the forehead and consist of parallel chisel work. This appears as the same on the boy. The execution of the hair styles of the men is reminiscent of those of the Julio-Claudians emperors and in particular the hair style of the girl, which would suggest a date for the relief sometime between 14-37 AD.

ROMAN TOMB RELIEF

No. 42 Pl. 42

Subject: Four bust-length portraits (two female and two male)

Relief type: Roman tomb relief

Inventory No: Ince No. 331, Blundell Eng. 80, Michaelis No. 227, Ashmole No. 227

Literature: Michaelis, 377, n. 227; Ashmole, 88, n. 227, Pl. 37.

Provenance: Unknown

Current location: The Pantheon, pediment portico; c. 5m. above ground level;
south-facing; well-illuminated

Original location: The Pantheon, pediment portico

Dimensions: Height: 45cms Length: 125cms

Material: Luna marble

STATE OF PRESERVATION:

The noses of all these busts have been restored. There is a patch on the hair of the first woman figure from the left. Weathering has damaged the whole relief, especially all the faces. Again the relief has been damaged by air pollution particularly on the faces, hair, and necks of the figures and on the first figure's drapery. In addition to this the left side of all the heads are darker than the other parts. The reason for this might be the direction of the prevailing wind, from the east. A number of minor fragments are missing on the figures' eye brows, lips and chins. Otherwise there are no other substantial missing or restored parts on the relief. The general preservation is therefore good.

DESCRIPTION:

On them are portraits, of excellence sculpture, whose characters they seem to express well. They have evidently been the tops of sepulchres. (Blundell, Engravings, Pl. 80, No. 331)

Four portrait busts are carved in a rectangular frame as far as their chests and stand out clearly. The background has been left empty and has been pointed with chisel marks. The first figure on the left of the slab is a young man with short cut beard, a large face, short curly hair, a narrow and slightly wrinkled forehead and large eyebrows. He is dressed in chiton and over it is a himation. His lips are closed and he looks forward with a serious face. Next to him stands a woman with a hair style reminiscent of Trajan's wife, Plotina (Ashmole, 1929: 88). Her forehead is triangular shaped. She has small eyes, frowning eye brows, and tightly closed lips. She looks rather mature and serious. On her narrow face, her cheeks are prominent and the cheek bones are indicated. Next to this woman is placed a second man. He is rather old and beardless. He has very short but still curly hair so that the head looks almost bald; the forehead is very large and the ears are pronounced. The hair is grooved too. He too is dressed in a chiton. At his side, on the right, is placed the second woman, who is the last figure on this bas-relief. She appears to be the youngest figure in the group and looks serious. Her hair style is again in the Trajanic fashion, this time of his sister Marciana (Ashmole, 1929: 88). The hair is very elaborately decorated and plaited at the forehead and at the sides. She has a large triangular forehead, small eyes, broad cheeks, a small snub nose,

closed lips and prominent ears. No pupils are indicated on the figures. She is also dressed in the same style as the other figures. The last three figures share similar features, Trajanic. Only the first male figure on the right is different. The portrait of the younger man, judging by his hair and facial features, is reminiscent of early Hadrianic portraits (Ashmole, 1929: 88).

COMPARISON

The tomb relief on the portico of the Ince Pantheon shares the same features with the grave relief of the Garden Temple described above. The relief is carved into a deep and regular rectangular frame; all of the busts of the figures stand out clearly. In contrast there is no indication of hands. The frontal composition, the realistic and ordinary appearance, the personal details and the serious look are the features found in the grave relief discussed here and above.

The tomb relief of A. Antestius and his family in the Vatican Museum shows three busts carved into a rectangular frame, although only parts of the busts are represented (Amelung, 1903 i: 193 Pl. 24 No. 31c). There is no indication of hands. The Museo Palazzo dei Conservatori (inv.2306) and Museo Nazionale (inv. 196629 and 196632) in Rome hold examples of Roman funerary reliefs carved with two men and two women (Kleiner, 1977: 240-1 Figs. 78-80). The same characteristics mentioned in the previous example are found here as well.

The grave relief on the portico of the Ince Pantheon shows later features than the Garden Temple relief. The three figures on the right of the slab (old man and two women) share similar features, especially the hair style, and are Trajanic. The execution of the female hair shows the hair style of Plotina, wife of Trajan, and Marciana, his sister. The hair of the 'Marciana' style is very elaborately plaited into three rows at the forehead and stands out prominently on the second female head. Plotina's style hair is puffed up at the front into a toupée on the first female. This type of hair-dress is characteristic of the coin portraits of Plotina (Jones, 1912: 195). The side of the hair is also braided and wound into a coil. The first male figure on the left is different from these three figures. The portrait of the younger man, judging by his hair and facial features, seems to be more reminiscent of early Hadrianic portraits. This relief must be dated by its latest feature, the portrait of the younger man. Therefore the relief probably dates to the early reign of Hadrian, around the 120s (Ashmole, 1929:88).

12- ARCHITECTURAL PIECES

MASK OF A MEDUSA OR FEMALE MASK

No. 43 Pl. 43

Subject: Medusa

Relief type: Mask (akroterion)

Inventory No: Ince No. 182, Blundell Eng. 73, Michaelis No. 133, Ashmole No. 133

Literature: Michaelis, 365, n. 133; Ashmole, 57, n. 133, Pl. 46.

Provenance: Found in the 'artichoke gardens' of the Villa Mattei (Ashmole, 1929: 57)

Current location: The pediment of Garden Temple; c. 3m. above ground level;
south-facing; well-illuminated

Original location: The pediment of Garden Temple

Dimensions: Height: 93cms

Material: Pentelic marble (suggested as Parian marble by Michaelis)

STATE OF PRESERVATION:

This head of Medusa, although the identification is unsupported by evidence, is placed in the pediment of the Garden Temple and is slightly projecting from the background (Ashmole, 1929: 46). The tip of her nose is restored. A split runs over the face, including the forehead, the right eyebrow and eye, through to the right cheek. The texture of the hair is slightly weathered. However the whole mask has not been badly damaged by air pollution. Traces of black stains can just be seen on the hair, particularly in grooved parts, on the eyebrow and under the chin. The chin and cheeks are also slightly weathered. Otherwise the mask is well preserved.

DESCRIPTION:

This is a colossal scale mask of an impressive Medusa. The eyes are carved large, the eyebrows are drawn, the eye pupils are hollowed, and the irises are rendered deeply. The head has heavy eye lids and an open and hollowed mouth. On the large face, the nose is slim, the cheeks are broad and the mouth looks small. Her large face is encircled by abundant hair which also makes a very elaborate top-knot at the crown. Her prominent curly hair is parted in the middle and falls down on the sides, and joins together under the chin, which has also been deeply hollowed out. In contrast to traditional snake haired Medusas, here the hair does not consist of snakes. Behind the knot of the hair, the head is shown as far back as the crown. The forehead is left triangular. There are slight indications of baggy skin under her eyes while her face and eyes are large and impressive. The proportion of the other facial features such as the chin, nose and the mouth are presented in smaller scale. The hollowed mouth and large eyes give the impression of a frightened woman. This marble mask could be a fragment of architectural sculpture. The closest parallel to this piece is the turreted mask found in Hadrian's Villa, now in the Palazzo dei Conservatori (Ashmole, 1929: 57).

COMPARISON

The Museo Palazzo dei Conservatori in Rome shows a colossal mask of a woman (so-called Cybele) found in Hadrian's Villa, with wavy hair and a turreted crown, over which hangs a veil down on each side (Jones, 1926: 102, Galleria Pl.

35 No. 43). The drawn eyebrows, large eyes, hollowed eye pupils, deeply grooved irises, heavy eyelids, small nose, broad cheeks, and triangular forehead are very similar features to the Ince mask. The wavy hair is parted in the middle, drawn to the sides and deeply grooved. The lips are full and closed. The Ince and the Conservatori heads are so very similar to each other that they may have been executed by the same hand. Both masks seem to be architectural sculptures of the Hadrianic period and as such they should date to the first half of the second century AD.

TWO CORINTHIAN CONSOLES, on the entrance of the Pantheon

No. 44 A-B Pl. 44 A-B

Subject: Corinthian consoles

Relief type: Consoles

Inventory No: Ince No.- Blundell Eng. - Michaelis No. - Ashmole No. -

Literature: -

Provenance: ?

Current location: The Pantheon portico, above the door; c. 2m above ground level; south-facing

Original location: The Pantheon portico, above the door

Dimensions: Height: c. 25-30cms Length: c. 15cms

Material: marble: ?

STATE OF PRESERVATION:

These consoles have been weathered and are very dark. They have been chipped away at the top on the surface of the *egg mouldings and on the reels*. Chips are missing on the twisted main leaves of the acanthus at the top and bottom of the relief. There are traces of encrustations on the reels. The top of the moulding is missing. There are no other substantial pieces missing except for the upper part of the moulding.

DESCRIPTION:

These fragments are placed at the main entrance of the Pantheon. A large acanthus leaf is carved on the front and curls over at the top. Above, a reel adorned with lanceolate leaves is separated in the middle by a band. The acanthus scroll of the lateral sides terminate at the top corners with rosettes in the eyes of the spirals. Above the reel only egg-bead mouldings can be seen. There is drill work around the acanthus leaves. The leaves of the acanthus branch are beautifully and naturally executed. This relief is not high.

COMPARISON

A very identical console appears in the Chatsworth collection (Boschung, Hesberg and Linfert, 1997: 101, Pl. 89, No. 115). It belongs to a type with volutes. Below is an acanthus leaf, which looks heavy like it is supporting the volute. The upper structures appear almost the same as the Ince console with lanceolate leaves on the reel and is separated by a band in the middle. Similar decoration can be found in the great theatre of Pompeii. It should have been produced around the decades of Christ, 15 BC-15 AD (Boschung, Hesberg and Linfert, 1997: 101 fn. 1-2).

Another similar type of eight consoles appears in the Woburn Abbey Collection of Classical Antiquities (Angelicoussi, 1992: 110 No. 95 Figs. 405-420). Their main difference from the Ince examples is that all have an S-shaped profile, and they share almost the same style. Here below the top moulding is a concave band of oak leaves. The heavy and systematic forms, completely silhouetted by drilled interstices, and the small bore holes, seen in the delineation of the oak leaves, find analogies on consoles of the 'Decennalia Monument', erected by Diocletian in 303 AD, and those from the Basilica Nova, begun after 307 AD by Maxentius (Angelicoussi, 1992: 110 fn. 1). The eighth console is of similar shape and decoration but differs at the top with undulating and tooth-shaped bands (only the former is used at the sides), and the lanceolate leaf of the reel is divided into four parts by pearl borders (Angelicoussi, 1992: 110 fn. 2). The Ince consoles do not have the oak leaf band, but have bead ornament.

On the basis of the treatment of the acanthus leaves and the composition, which are very similar to the Chatsworth example, the Ince example probably dates around the same time, 15 BC-15 AD.

AKROTERION, DECORATED WITH ACANTHUS BRANCHES

No. 45 Pl. 45

Subject: Acanthus leaves

Relief type: Akroterion

Inventory No: Ince No. 312, Blundell Eng. 111, Michaelis No. 285, Ashmole No. 285

Literature: Michaelis, 394, n. 285; Ashmole, 105, n. 285.

Provenance: Unknown

Current location: Greenhouse; c. 3m. above ground level; south-facing; well-illuminated

Original location: Greenhouse

Dimensions: Height: 76cms

Material: Greyish island marble

STATE OF PRESERVATION:

This relief is slightly weathered on the surface. Traces of green moss appear on the entire fragment. Unfortunately ivy branches have grown to cover the surface of the akroterion. A petal is missing from the flowers in the middle of the top curved scroll on each side. The preservation of the fragment is generally good. Lower border cut away to fit the ridge of a pediment (Michaelis, 1884: 394).

DESCRIPTION:

This relief shows an akroterion and is placed above the entrance of the deserted Greenhouse in the garden. The akroterion is beautifully decorated with acanthus leaves and flowers. From broad acanthus leaves at the bottom of the relief spring more leaves in a quite ornamental style which then divides to form two branches. These twisted branches make curves at the ends and finish with a flower. A flowered decoration is also placed in the middle of the acanthus leaves.

COMPARISON

Akroteria were used to decorate the pediments of temples, especially to mark the top and the corners of pediments as well as the top of buildings. Another example of this sort of design is in the Ince Collection (Ashmole, 1929: 105 Pl. 49 No. 286). This is a slab, probably an akroterion, decorated with acanthus leaves.

The style and motifs here look very similar to the akroterion at the Greenhouse. Both of these examples are very similar to an example in the Vatican (Amelung, 1903 i: 631 Pl. 66 No. 492c). Here again, from broad acanthus leaves, spring two branches of lively palmettes with twisted ends on each side and a flower at each end. Between them is placed a large lotus in an elaborated style. These three examples are all very similar. The motif on the Ince akroterion is similar to the Ince cineraria showing foliage decoration on the front. The Ince akroterion probably dates to the early first century AD.

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PLATES



Plate 1. No. 1 Battle Scene, in the Pantheon pediment



Plate 2. No. 2 Hunting, the Pantheon south-facing, above the door

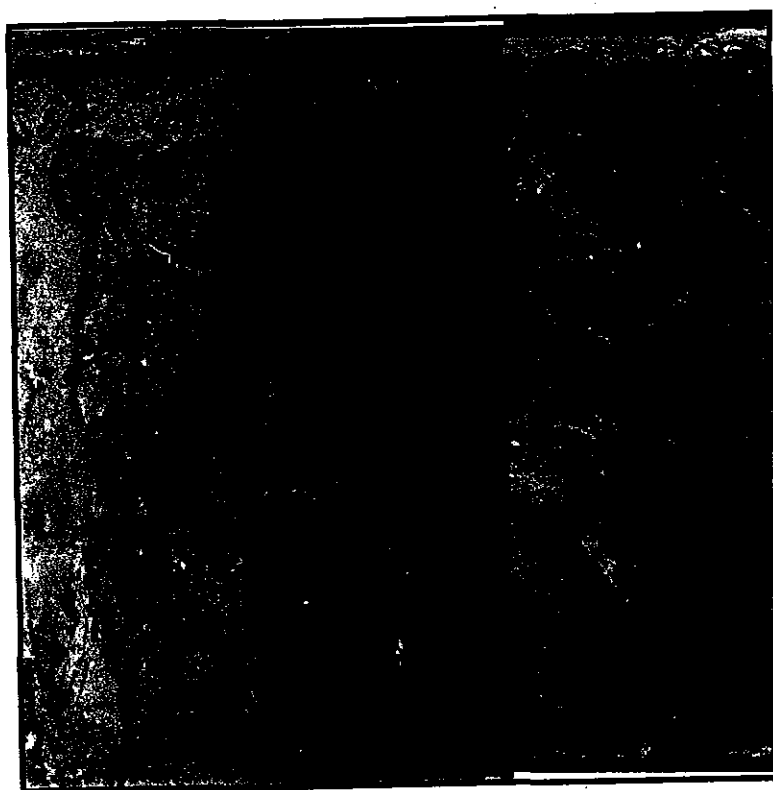


Plate 3. No. 3 Herdsman, inside the Liverpool Museum's store



Plate 4. No. 4 Herdsman, inside the Pantheon



Plate 5. No. 5 Achilles, in the Liverpool Museum's store



Plate 6. No. 6 Amazonomachy, south-facing above the dairy



Plate 7. No. 7 Dioscuros, south-facing on the façade of the Pantheon



Plate 8. No. 8 Dioscuros south-facing on the façade of the Pantheon



Plate 9. No. 9 Bacchic Scene, inside the Pantheon



Plate 10. No. 10 Nereid Sitting on a Sea Horse, in the Liverpool
Museum's store



Plate 11. No. 11 Cupids Racing Chariots, in the Liverpool
Museum's store



Plate 12. No. 12 Three Cupids in the Pantheon



Plate 13. No. 13 Garland Sarcophagus Decorated with Masks, in the
Liverpool Museum's store

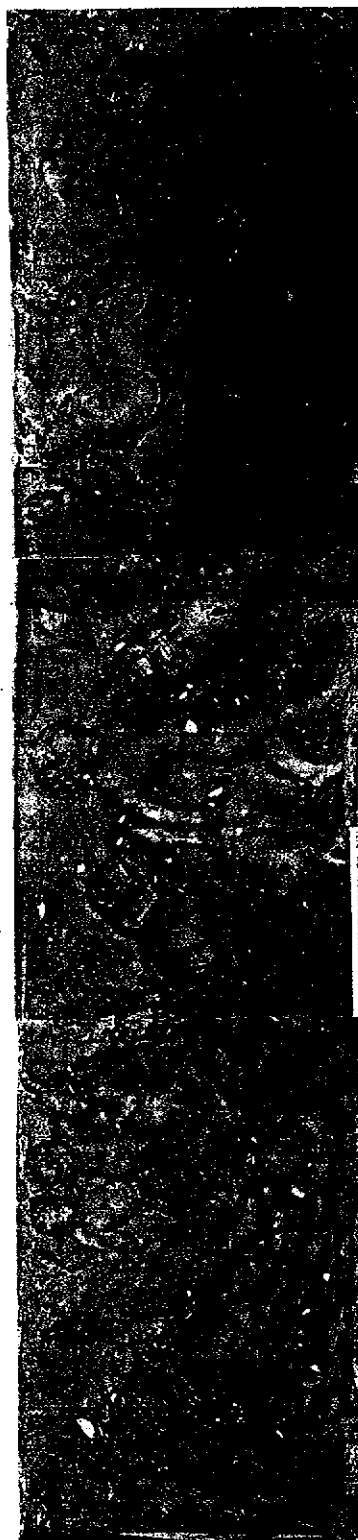


Plate 14. No. 14 Garland Sarcophagus Decorated with Dionysiac
Figures, in the Liverpool Museum's store

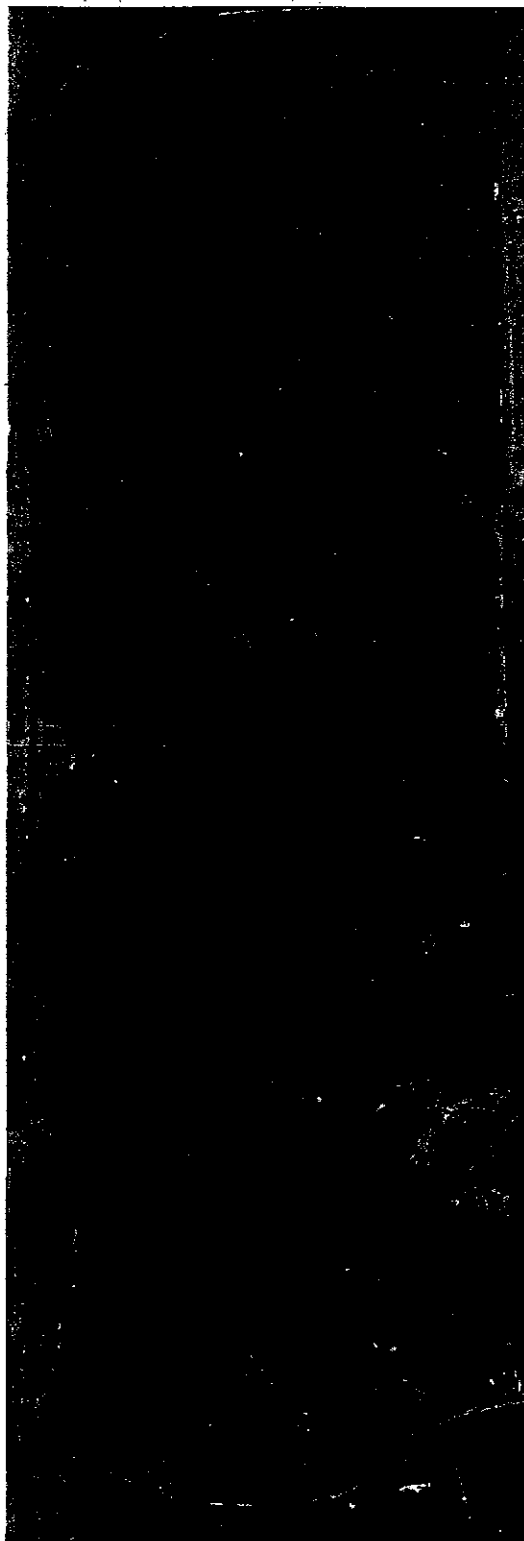


Plate 15. No. 15 Griffins (formerly two sides of the No: 14), in the
Liverpool Museum's store



Plate 16. No. 16 Flying Victories Supporting a Bust of a Child,
in the Liverpool Museum's store



Plate 17A. No. 17a A Lion protome, on the Pantheon frieze
north-facing



Plate 17B. No. 17b A Lion Protome, in the Pantheon
north-facing



Plate 17C. No. 17c A Lion Protome, in the Pantheon east-facing

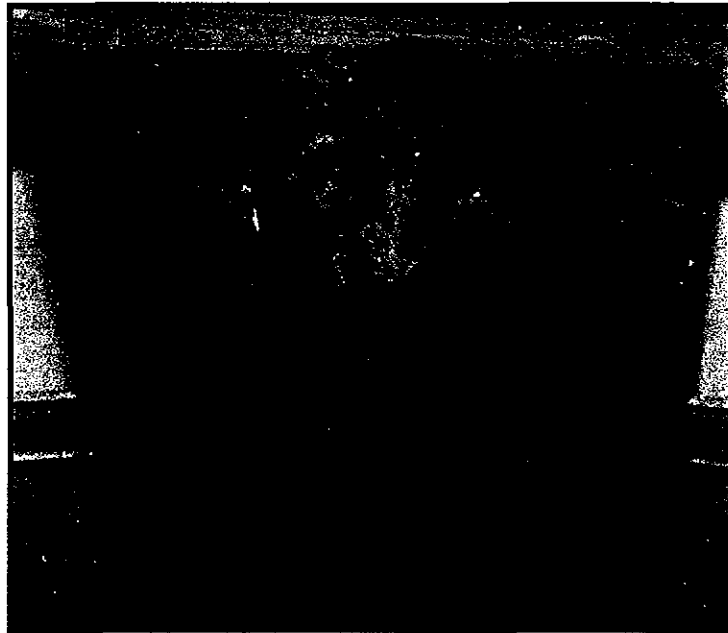


Plate. 17D. No. 17d A Lion Protome, in the Pantheon south-facing

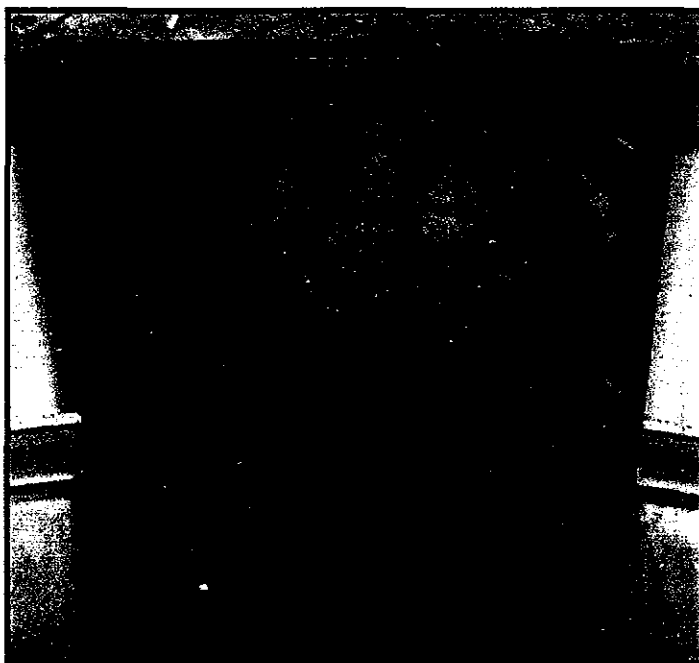


Plate 17E. No. 17e A Lion Protome, in the Pantheon
west-facing



Plate 18. No. 18 Possibly side of a Sarcophagus with Medusa Head Above Festoon, the Pantheon frieze east-facing

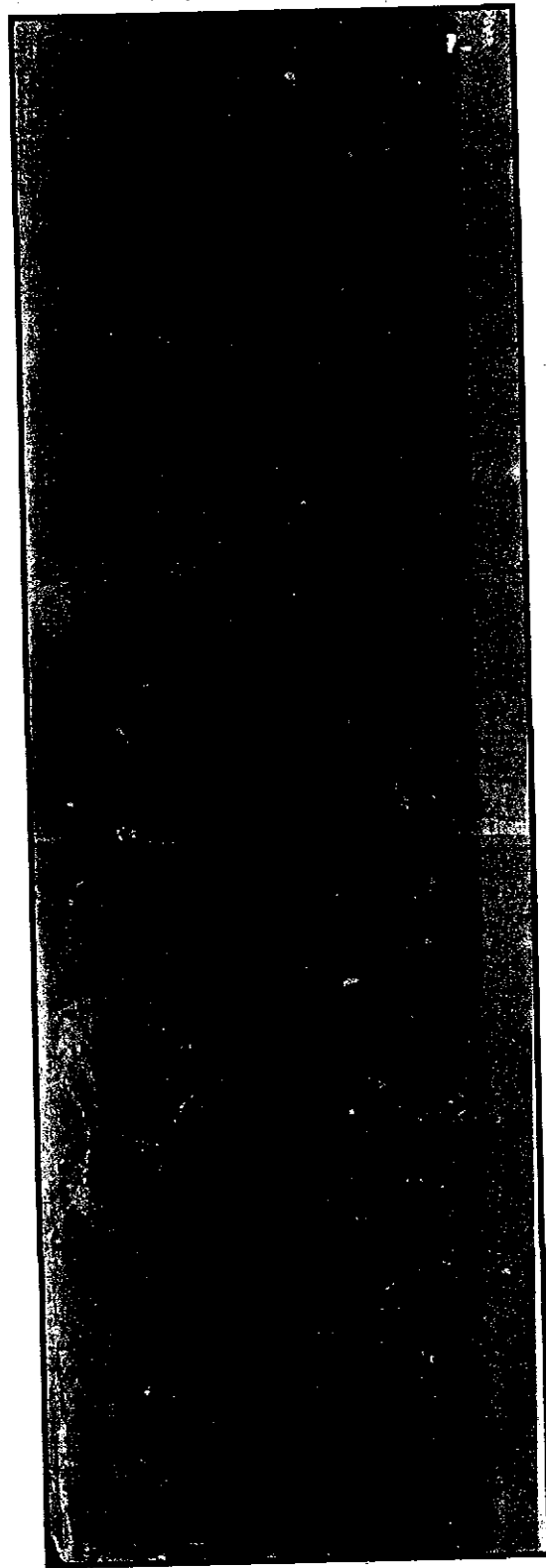


Plate 19. No. 19 Sacrifice Scene, in the Liverpool
Museum's store

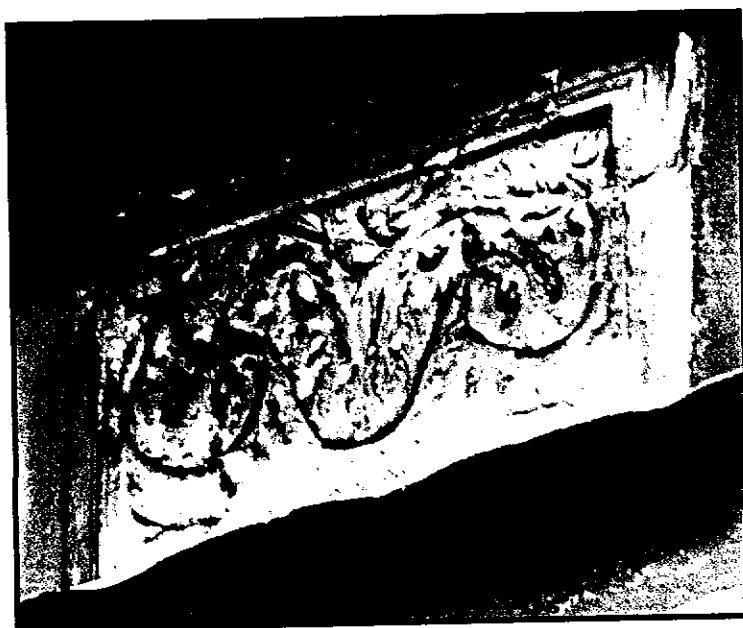


Plate 20. No. 20 Possibly Front of a Cinerarium Decorated with Foliage, the Pantheon frieze west-facing



Plate 21. No. 21 A Marble Slab Decorated with an Eagle and Wreath, the Pantheon frieze west-facing



Plate 22. No. 22 A marble slab decorated with Foliage and a Vase, modern the Pantheon frieze west-facing



Plate 23. No. 23 Front of a Cinerarium with a Bust of a Man in a Shell the Pantheon frieze north-facing



Plate 24. No. 24 Roman Charioteer, Campana relief, the Liverpool Museum Conservation Centre



Plate 25. No. 25 Lion and Bull, Campana relief, the Liverpool Museum Conservation Centre



Plate 26. No. 26 Bacchic Scene neo-Attic relief, the Pantheon
external frieze east-facing in deep shadow



Plate 27. No. 27 Libation Scene neo-Attic relief, the Pantheon
external frieze east-facing in deep shadow



Plate 28. No. 28 Aphrodite and an Eros neo-Attic relief,
the Pantheon external frieze east-facing in deep shadow



Plate 29. No. 29 A Mask of Dionysos, the Pantheon
external frieze east-facing



Plate 30. No. 30 Medallion Head of Greek poetess Sappho,
the Pantheon external frieze west-facing

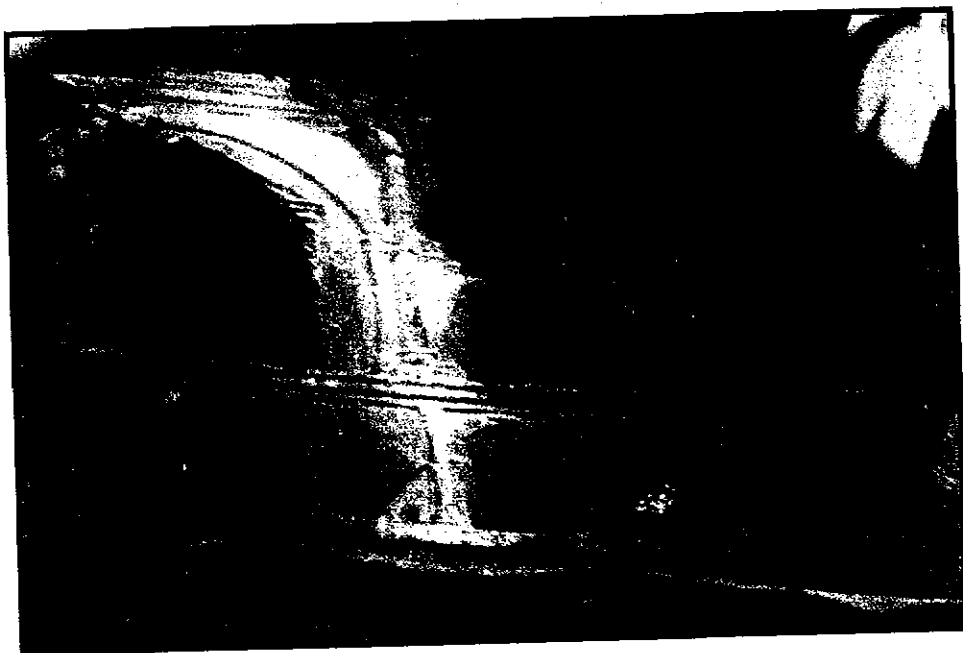


Plate 31. No. 31 Architectural relief, the Pantheon external frieze
east-facing in deep shadow

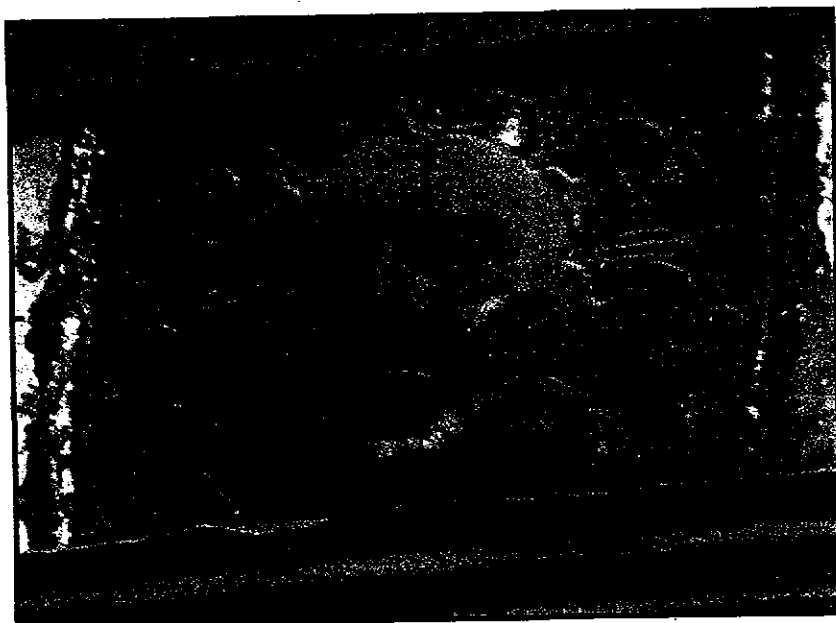


Plate 32. No. 32 A Sun Mask, the Pantheon external frieze east-facing



Plate 33. No. 33 Ploughman relief, the Pantheon external frieze north-facing

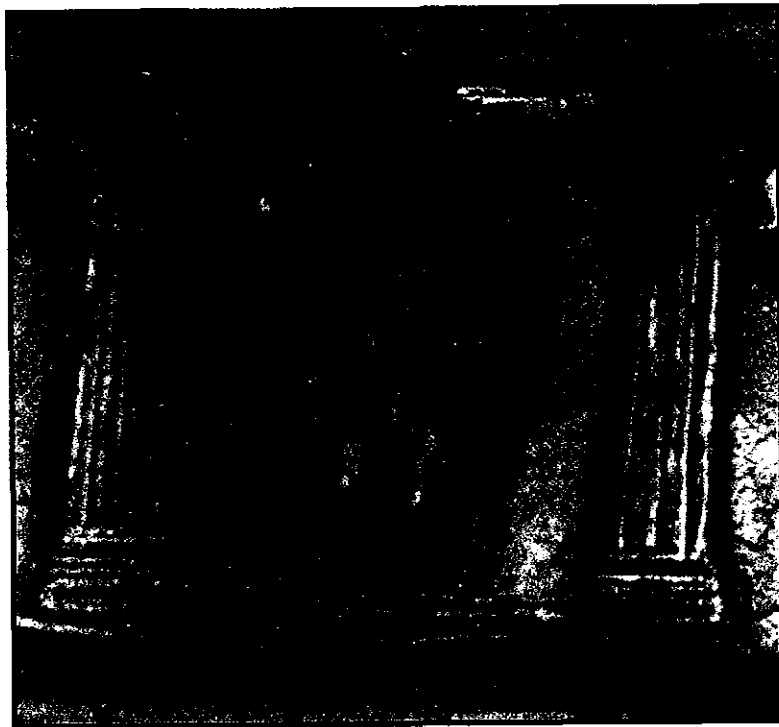


Plate 34. No. 34 Votive Relief to Silvanus, the Pantheon
external frieze north-facing



Plate 35. No. 35 Female Herm,
the Pantheon external frieze south-facing



Plate 36. No. 36 A Male Herm, the Pantheon
external frieze south-facing

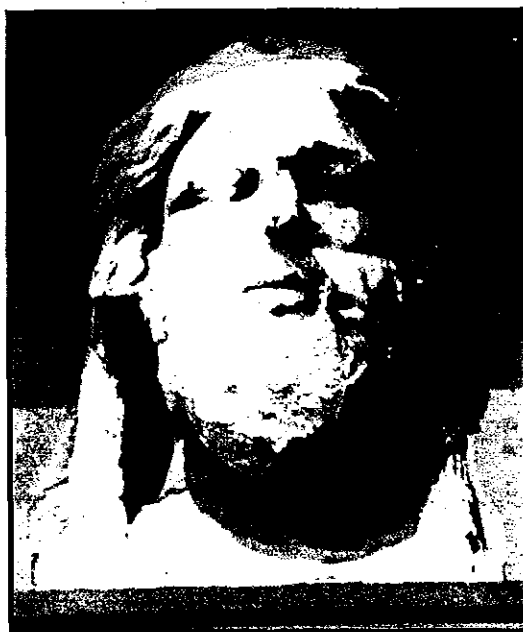


Plate 37. No. 37 A Male Herm, the Pantheon
external frieze south-facing

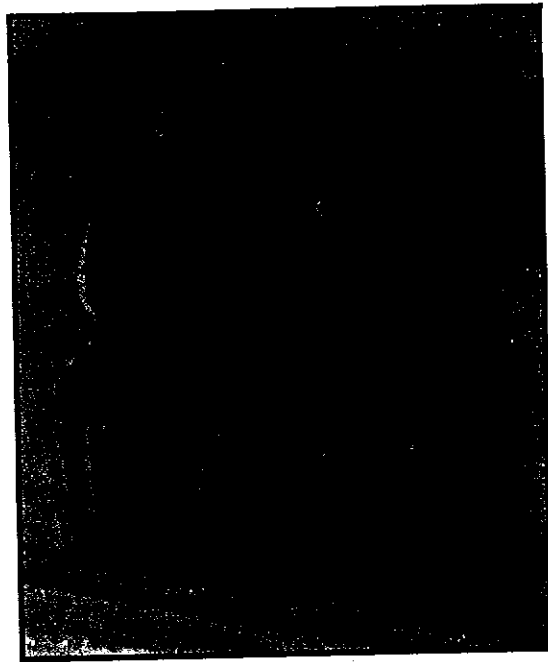


Plate 38. No. 38 A Modern Female Herm, the Pantheon
external frieze east-facing

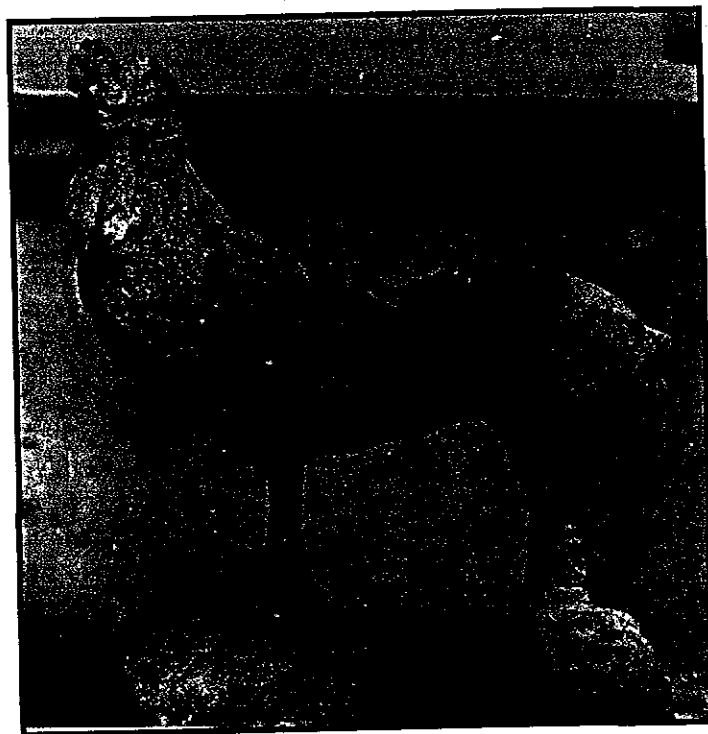


Plate 39. No. 39 A Cockerel, in the Pantheon

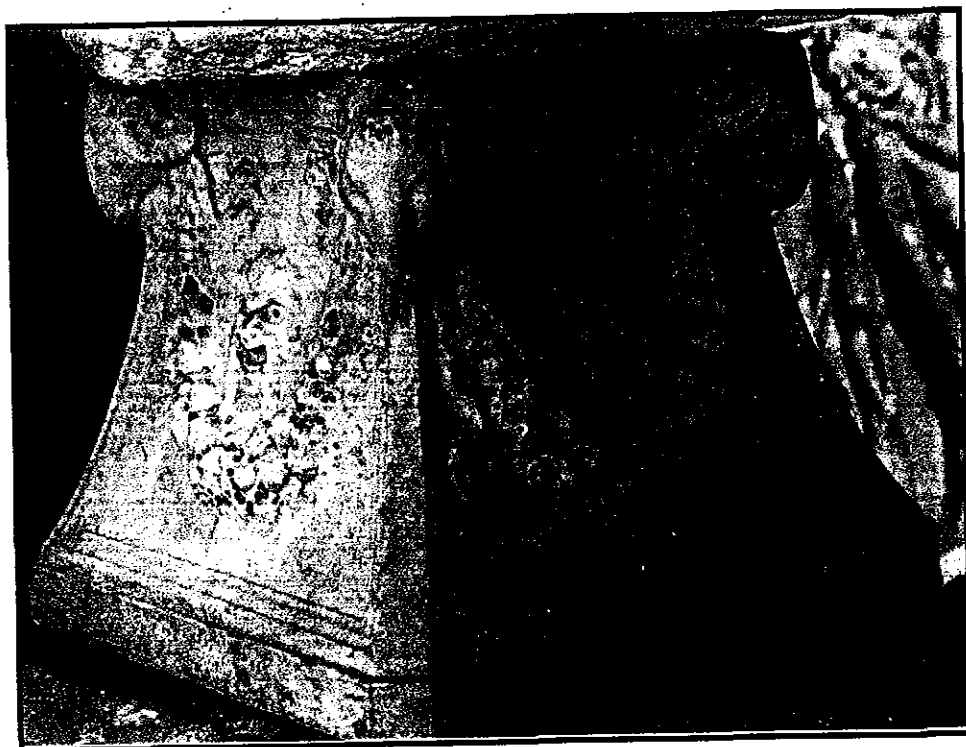


Plate 40. No. 40 An Altar, in the Pantheon



Plate 41. No. 41 Roman Tomb Relief, in the
Liverpool Museum's Conservation Centre



Plate 42. No. 42 Roman Tomb Relief, the Pantheon pediment south-facing



Plate 43. No. 43 A Medusa Head, Garden Temple
pediment south-facing

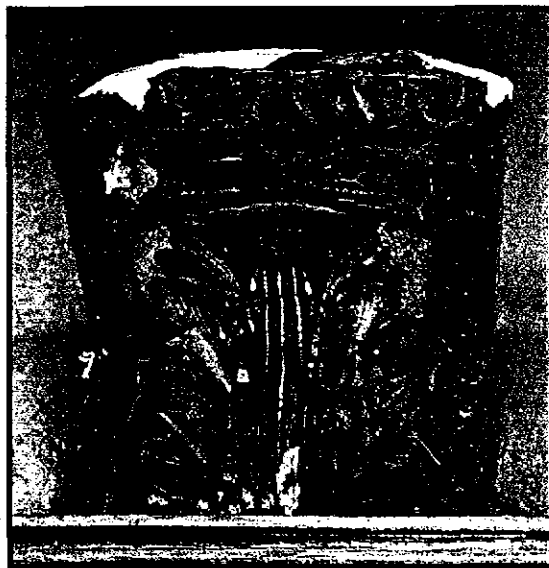


Plate 44A. No. 44a Console, the Pantheon
above the door south-facing



Plate 44B. No. 44b Console, the Pantheon
above the door south-facing



Plate 45. No. 45 Akroterion, Greenhouse
above the door south-facing

FIGURES

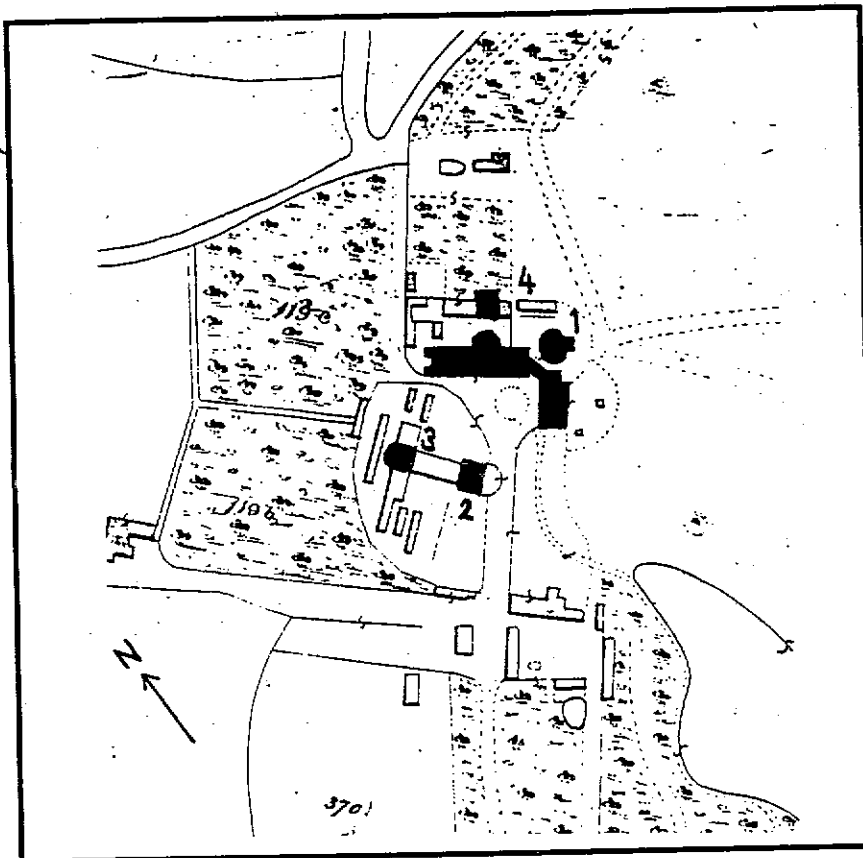


Figure 1. Ince Blundell Hall (1844). Lancashire Record Office DRL 1\40

1: Pantheon
2: Garden Temple

3: Greenhouse
4: Laundry (formerly the Dairy)

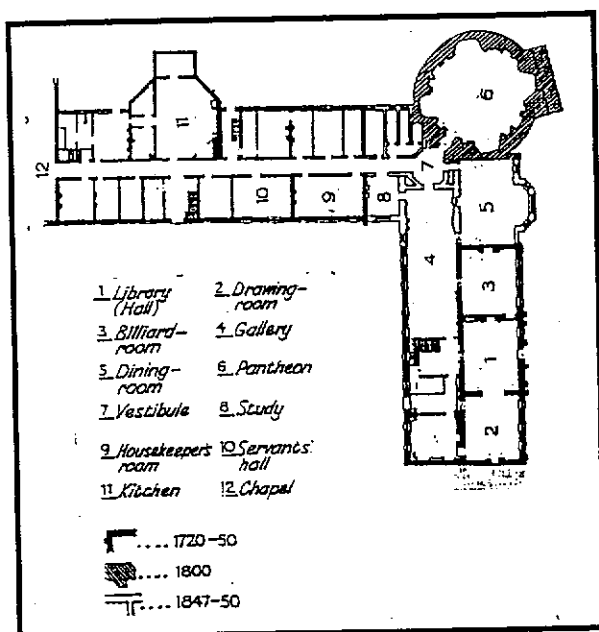


Figure 2. Plan of Ince Blundell Hall (1800- 50), the Pantheon shown as Room 6

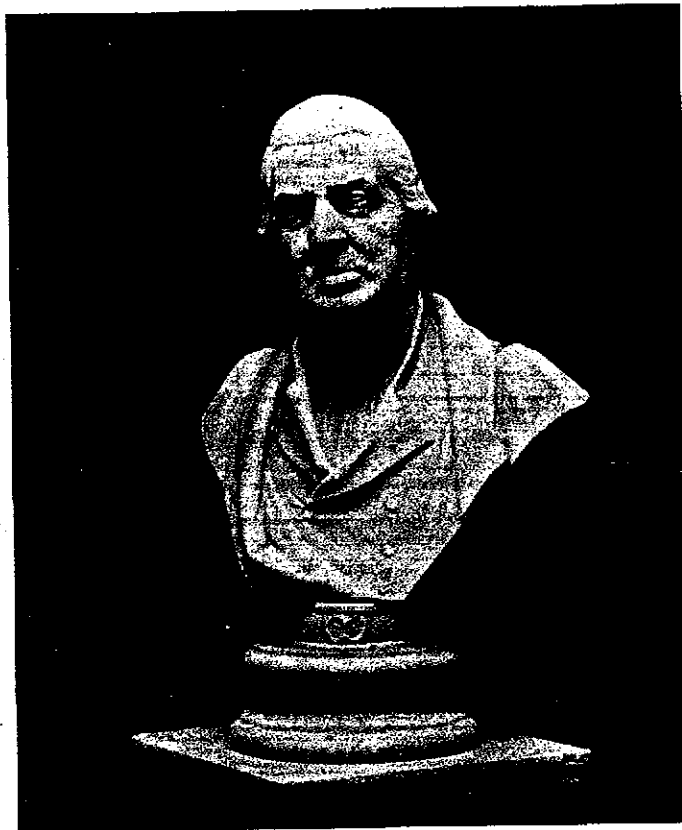


Figure 3. Henry Blundell (1724-1810) by Bullock in 1804



Figure 4. Ince Blundell Hall from south

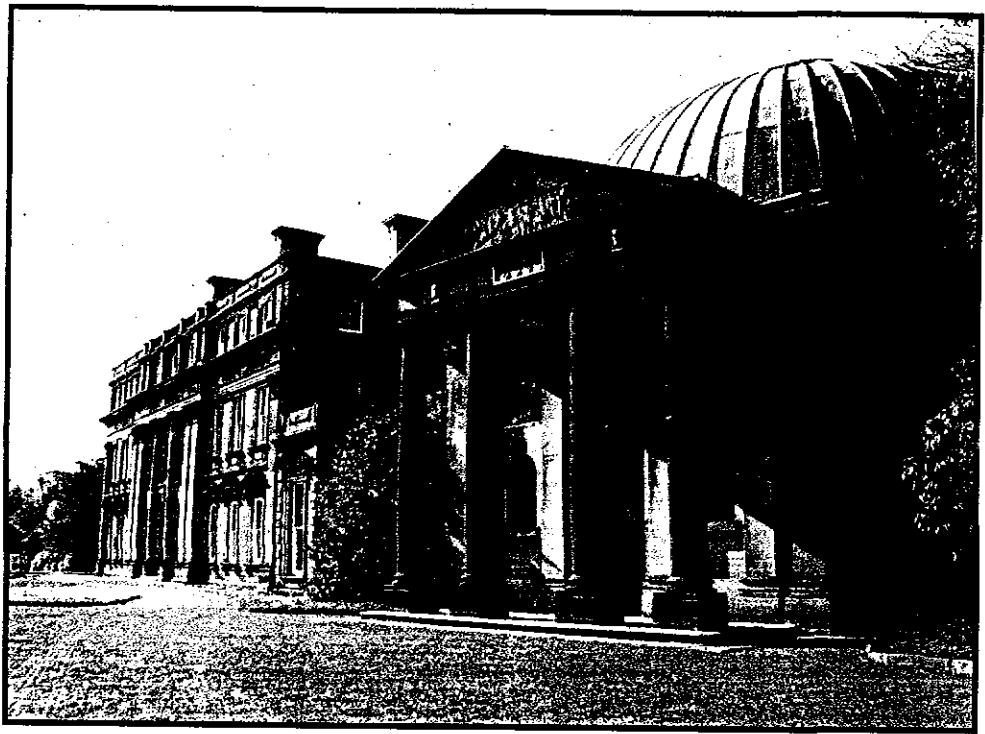


Figure 5. Ince Blundell Hall east-facing the Pantheon
in the foreground



Figure 6. Garden Temple from south on the west of the Hall



Figure 7. The Garden Temple from south (detail)



Figure 8. The Garden Temple inside (from Ashmole in 1929)



Figure 9. The Pantheon south-facing

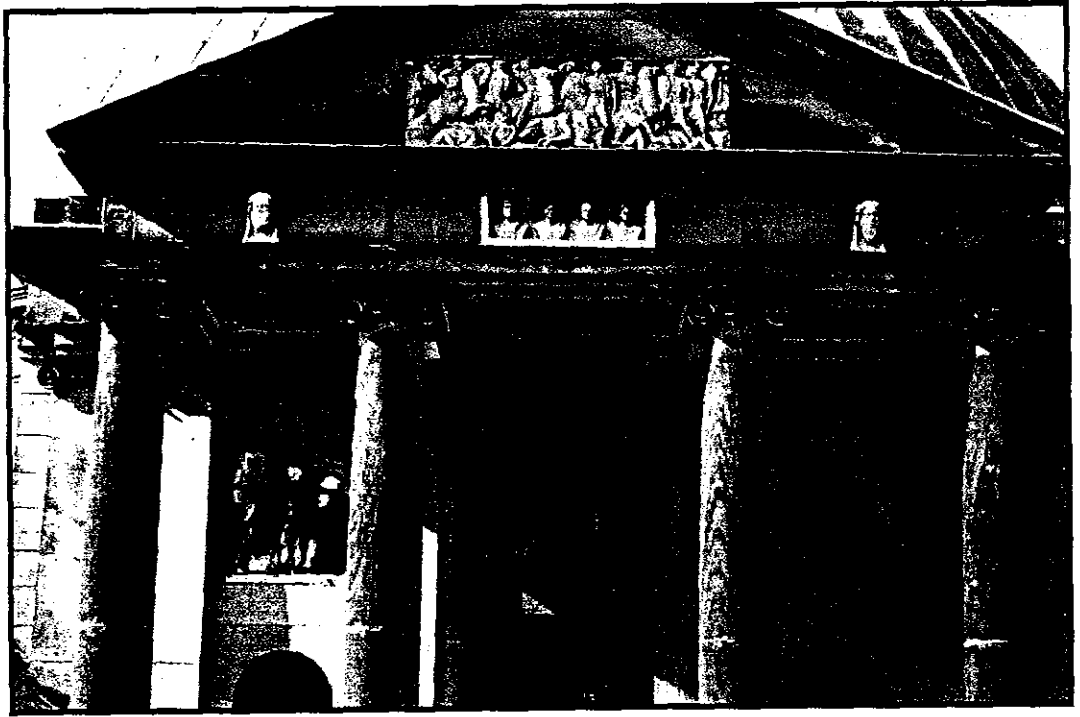


Figure 10. The Pantheon (detail)



Figure 11. The Pantheon west-facing

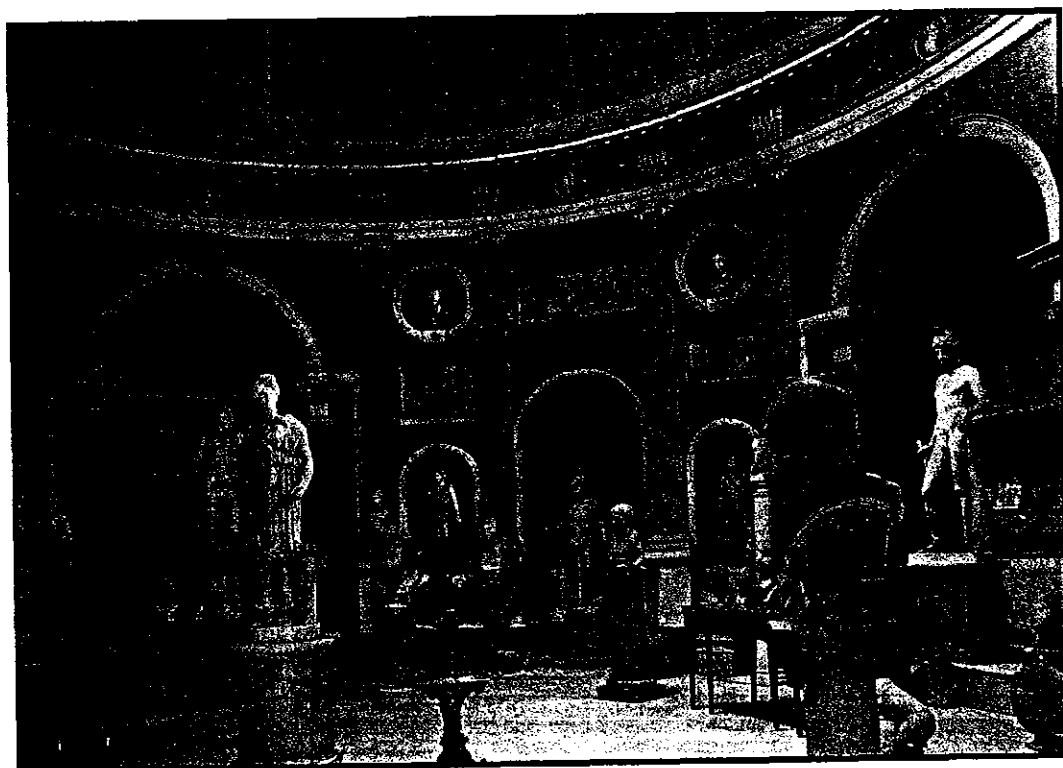


Figure 12. The Pantheon inside (from Ashmole in 1929)



Figure 13. The Greenhouse south-facing on the west of the Hall



Figure 14. The Greenhouse (detail)



Figure 15. Greenhouse (detail)



Figure 16. Dairy of the Hall south-facing on
the east of the Hall (now laundry)



Figure 17. The Pantheon frieze east-facing (detail)



Figure 18. The Pantheon frieze east-facing (detail)

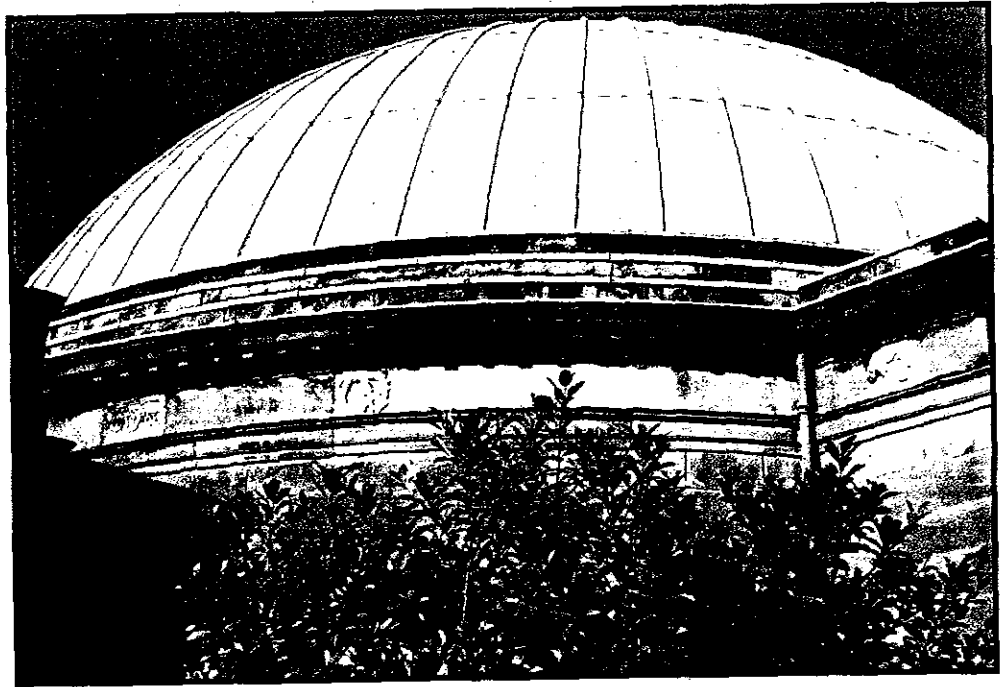


Figure 19. The Pantheon frieze west-facing (detail)



Figure 20. The Hall, inside (staircase)



Figure 21. The Pantheon inside

whitewash on the left and right side of the relief and around the hole. Other than these restorations, the relief is in good condition.

DESCRIPTION:

On this slab we see two griffins standing and facing each other with one fore-claw lifted on to a ram's head which lies on the ground at the front of each griffin. The griffin's mouths are open and their tongues can be seen in the grooved mouth. The cockerel's combs are executed on their young heads. The creatures look neat and strong, and their wings are open; an indication of the feathers can be seen on their young bodies and on their head. In the middle of the slab, a tall candelabrum is placed on a decorated (with rosettes) high podium. The candelabrum is made of acanthus leaves. At the top of it is placed a phiale from which a thick laurel-leafed garland emerges and hangs along the candelabrum, and finishes at the ends with berries. The relief is not very high; the ram's heads are in even lower relief. The feathers of the ram's heads are slightly gouged out.

COMPARISON

Griffins, with eagle and lion heads, are often found on urban-Roman sarcophagi as decoration for the neglected sides. They are sitting, standing or moving around, normally in the direction of the front of the box. Normally one griffin is represented on one side, sometimes two, which are positioned

antithetically and have tripod or a vessel between them (Koch and Sichtermann, 1982: 236).

Despite regularly appearing on side panels, griffins occur on the front of only a few sarcophagi. Although the heraldic arrangement of griffins had long been established in Greek art, many of the motifs which recur on sarcophagi are to be found in the decoration of major imperial buildings in Rome of the first and early second centuries AD (Huskinson, 1996: 60). The Temple of Antoninus and Faustina in the Forum Romanum of AD 161 is a good example. The entablature of the temple is rather plain and decorated with a frieze of griffins flanking candelabra (Strong, 1990: 198-199). Particular workshops, including one in Ostia, may have been responsible for the adaptation of the design from an architectural context to these sarcophagi (Huskinson, 1996: 60). A number of sarcophagi show griffins as the main element of decoration on the front panel; confronting, standing or sitting on their hind legs. The earliest one is the Priest Sarcophagus in the Vatican Museum (Amelung, 1903 I: 256-257 Pl. 26 No. 126); this and a child's sarcophagus in Ostia show two pairs of confronting griffins (Huskinson, 1996: 60, 63). After these early pieces griffins apparently disappeared from the front panels of sarcophagi; however, they remained a very popular motif for the sides of sarcophagi of all sizes (Huskinson. 1996: 60).

In the Museo Capitolino collection there are two end panels of a sarcophagus with similar features (Jones, 1912: 261-262 Pl. 63 Nos. 101 and 103). No. 101 represents a well-built griffin with a lion's head, goat's horn and cock's

comb; it sits on his hind legs. There is also an ox head under the left forepaw. The griffin's wings are open, the head is slightly raised and it looks forward. There is a beautifully executed frame all round the panel, although it has been restored. The second relief, No. 103, has features familiar to 101, but has an eagle's head and a cock's comb, facing left, and a ram's head under the right forepaw. This griffin is also strongly built and sits on its hind legs with its musculature clearly depicted. Again the frame is restored. The two griffins in the Capitolino Collection sit on their hind legs whereas in the Ince relief they stand. Both Capitolino reliefs show rough work. They are in low relief, as in the Ince example.

Examples of reliefs comparable to the Ince example are fairly common. For instance, Amelung's catalogue of the Vatican Museum shows two other fragments which probably belong to the side of a sarcophagus (Amelung, 1903 i: 558 Pl. 58 Nos. 376 and 376b). In No. 376, the right foreleg is raised but there is no indication of a ram's head. Relief 376b shows a griffin standing with its left foot forward, again without a ram's head. These reliefs are low cut. The same catalogue shows two slabs with eagle-headed griffins (Amelung, 1903 i: 348 Pl. 36 No. 60). The heads of the griffins are rather small if compared to the well-built bodies. The execution of the feathers is fine. These two fragments are the sides of a sarcophagus. One leg of the griffins is probably raised (it is badly worn) as they sit on their hind legs. The treatment of the reliefs is rough. In contrast the Ince griffins are more elegant. The Vatican collection has the front of another sarcophagus with griffins which have lion's heads and horns (Amelung, 1903 i: 256-257 Pl. 26 No. 126). The sarcophagus is known to be that of the priest, mentioned above, and is

the earliest of this type. On it two griffins face each other. Between them is an acanthus decoration consisting of vertically arranged leaves. The griffins each raise one of their forepaws. The sarcophagus is a very fine decorative work and has been well executed. Another comparable example in the Vatican collection is the front of a sarcophagus with two griffins again facing each other (Amelung, 1903 i: 726 Pl. 78 No. 616). Between them is a thymiaterion. The tails of the griffins are beautifully curved and turned into an arabesque decoration, and the composition is similar to the Ince relief. Likewise in the Vatican catalogue there is another front to a sarcophagus with representations of griffins (Amelung, 1908 ii: 337 Pl. 33 No. 125). Here the griffins have lion's heads, one with a raised forepaw, and sit on their legs. There is a candelabrum in the middle of the relief which is placed on a high base, on which stands a fine vase. From the vase hangs a beautiful leafed decoration, as in the Ince example.

The Ince relief is the sides of the sarcophagus No. 14, as mentioned above. In Blundell's Engravings the two griffins were shown as two separate sides. The engraving probably executed earlier in Rome before the piece was restored. Because of the treatment and the execution the Ince relief is likely to date to the first half of the second century.

**1.6.3 SARCOPHAGI WITH VICTORIES SUPPORTING A CENTRAL
FIGURE**

No. 16 PL 16

**FLYING VICTORIES HOLDING PORTRAIT OF A BOY SET IN A
CLYPEUS, FRONT OF A CHILD SARCOPHAGUS**

Subject: Flying Victories supporting a clipeus

Relief type: Front of a child's sarcophagus

Inventory No: Ince No. 276, Blundell Eng. - , Michaelis No. 375, Ashmole No. 375

Literature: Michaelis, 410-411, n. 375; Ashmole, 114-115, n. 375.

Provenance: Unknown

Current location: Museum's storeroom

Original location: From the Garden Temple

Dimensions: Height: 39cms Length: 159cms Thickness: 6.7cms

Material: Parian marble

STATE OF PRESERVATION:

The left foot of the first Victory on the left is missing from above the ankle. Her face is restored around the nose, lips, cheeks and one of her eyes. Weathering is evident on all the figures, but especially on the face of the boy (on his eyes and nose), the faces, hair, wings and bodies of the victories, and on the eyes and noses of the two Cupids. Some minor chips are missing from the edges. Traces of whitewash are visible elsewhere. Otherwise only minor weathering is to be seen on the relief.

DESCRIPTION

Two hovering Victories support a clipeus within which the half-length portrait of a boy sits on a chair and faces us. Sitting on a chair is unusual for this type of sarcophagi. At each side of the slab a Cupid stands almost naked with only a cloak on his shoulder, and carrying a burning torch upwards. Below the clipeus two cornucopiae emerge and extend to the arm of the Victories while their hand holds the clipeus beneath. On the ground, on the right, is a quiver and on the left a bow lies just underneath the Victories. In the clipeus we see a real portrait of a deceased boy who is depicted in a high belted chiton and sits on a chair and looks forward. He looks as young as 5 or 6 years old. He is plump with short hair, a large face, broad forehead and big ears. His face is damaged but retains its calmness. The two young Victories are holding the portrait with their open hands and frame it with their wings. They wear a

chiton that leaves one of their shoulders and one leg bare and flutter behind them. Their curly long hair is gathered at the back and made into buns; some hair on the sides is braided and joined to the bun. The drapery folds are deeply carved and look naturalistic. The Cupids at the ends turn their heads to the sides, standing one leg forward holding a long and burning torch. A short cloak is tied to their chests and hangs loosely behind their bodies. They have long and curly hair, the execution of which is grooved.

COMPARISON

One of the most popular designs for the decoration of sarcophagi from the second half of the second century onwards is a symmetrical arrangement of two figures, standing or flying, who support a central figure. This is usually accompanied a clipeus containing a portrait or commemorative inscription or a parapetasma held behind a portrait bust or figure. Other figures occupy whatever space is available (usually at the corners and below the central group), and their connection with the main design - in form and meaning - is often tenuous. The great majority of figures, however, are Cupids and Victories (Huskinson, 1996: 60-61). Victories normally have clothes on them, usually one leg stands out naked. Their bodies take much room and they appear decorative with flying draperies. There are 40 known examples with flying Nikes and there might be more unpublished (Koch and Sichtermann: 1982: 238-239). For both of these figures this

form of composition can be traced back to Roman official art of the first century BC and AD. (Huskinson, 1996: 61, fn. 6-7).

Cupids also brought reflections of other traditions: later Etruscan art, for instance, showed Cupids holding paterae, and the motifs of two Cupids directly supporting a bust has parallels in other contemporary funerary monuments (Eberle, 1990: 56). This Etruscan form is found in a sarcophagus façade in the Paul Getty Museum in Malibu, California which shows two Cupids supporting a bust of a young boy. On either side of the bust a Cupid pours a drink into a bowl for a lion griffin (Eberle, 1990: 47-58). This piece illustrates well the early stages in the evolution of this decorative scheme. This type had developed over the years with the addition of motifs from various sources, and combines them elegantly in a composition which is the forerunner of the formulaic design to come. In the next few decades this scheme was established. Many of the earlier examples of this form, usually the clipeus, contain an inscription. Although this practice continued to the mid-third century with a considerable number of child examples, portrait busts became more popular by the end of the second (Huskinson, 1996: 61). Child-sized sarcophagi use all the main versions of this scheme. As with adult examples Cupids, flying and standing, are more numerous than Victories. The Victories support a similar range of commemorative features, including the inscription panels and wreaths and they often hold palms. The iconography is the same but the effect is different; for example they are elegant, airborne figures with slim features and revealing draperies (Huskinson, 1996: 61).

In the Ince relief flying Victories support the bust of a child set in a clipeus. A similar example is in the Museo Palazzo dei Conservatori in Rome (Jones, 1926: Pl. 32 No. 24b). A laurel wreath in the centre is supported by two Victories arranged in a heraldic arrangement. Here the position of the Victories, their revealing draperies, their hair style and slim features are very similar to the Ince relief. A different feature is that the Victories in the Conservatori relief hold a wreath of laurel. The Ince Victories face each other while they are reversed in the Conservatori example. In the Conservatori relief two naked Cupids at the corners of the slab hold a torch slantwise with the same pose. In the Ince example a short chlamys hangs over the shoulders of the Cupids at the corners and they hold a slantwise torch as well. Below the wreath are fluttering thick ribbons coming from the wreath.

Another example can be found in the Palazzo Quirinale, Rome (Huskinson, 1996: 65 No. 9.34, No. DP 1163). Here the Victories support an empty tabula ansata. At the corners are placed small Cupids with lowered torches. There are two comparable examples in the Vatican Museum Collection (Amelung, 1903 i: 910 Pl. 120 No. 240, *ibid.* p: 863 Pl. 107 No. 159). The slabs show two flying Cupids, who support clipeus with portrait busts. In another example, again in the Vatican Collection, flying Cupids appear to be holding a medallion decorated with the head of a Medusa (Amelung, 1908 ii: 127-128 Pl. 14 No. 51). In the Museo Capitolino in Rome appear Cupids as supports while holding busts (Jones, 1912: 38 Pl. 8 No. 36a) or tabula ansata or clipeus (*ibid.* p: 72 Pl. 15 No. 1). In contrast to Cupids the number of sarcophagi which show flying Victories as supporters is small. There

is another relief in the Ince collection of the front of a child's sarcophagus (Ashmole: 1929: 119 No. 397). Two hovering Victories hold a clipeus with portrait bust of a boy. Below it a rock is indicated, while a snake attacks a recumbent panther. A Cupid holds a garland at each corner. As this form (clipeus with a portrait) of composition was popular at the end of the second century AD for the decoration of adult and child sarcophagi, the Ince relief on the basis of the treatment of the draperies and the hair, probably dates to the same time.

1.7 DECORATIVE ORNAMENTS

1.7.1 SARCOPHAGI DECORATED WITH LIONS

No. 17A-E Pl. 17

A- LION PROTOME

Subject: a lion head

Type: protome

Inventory No: Ince No. 214, Blundell's Eng. -, Michaelis No. 195 or 372?

Ashmole No. 195?

Literature: Michaelis, 371, 410, n. 195, 372; Ashmole, 74-75, n. 195.

Provenance: Mausoleum of Augustus ?

Current location: External frieze of the Pantheon

Original location: External frieze of the Pantheon

Measurements: Unfortunately I was not able to measure the lion because of the light.

Material: marble

Ashmole's catalogue has no inventory number for this piece. He only briefly mentions it under the description for No. 195 (Ashmole, 1929: 74-75). Michaelis does, however, discuss a lion protome (Michaelis, 1884: 371, 410 No. 195 and 372), as does Blundell under No. CCXIV (Blundell, 1803: 77).

STATE OF PRESERVATION:

The nose and right part of the upper lip and cheek and some parts of the left cheek of the lion are missing. A minor fragment is also missing from the tip of the right eyebrow and the tip of a curl on the right side of the head. The lower chin including the lip and teeth is broken and looks very fragmentary. Again the colour of the head is very dark. Weathering can be seen over the whole head, especially on the very top.

DESCRIPTION:

A bust of a powerful lion is placed on the outside of the frieze of the Pantheon. The lion is shown snarling and terrifying with a wide open mouth on its slim face. The facial features are expressively carved. His eyes are very small and seem to pop out of their sockets and the forehead is large. His mouth has been deeply hollowed. Abundant hair covers both cheeks almost to the chin so that the face looks rather slim. The execution of the hair is very skilful and divided by deeply grooved channels. The iris is indicated in the small eyes with a crescent-shape drilled channels. The lion may be similar to one of the lion heads in the Pantheon.

B, C, D, E LION PROTOMES (as key-stones on four arches of the Pantheon)

Inventory No: Ince No. 225, Blundell's Eng. -, Michaelis No. 205, Ashmole No. 195

Literature: Michaelis, 372, n. 205; Ashmole, 74-75, n. 195.

Provenance: Two found near the Palatine Hill, and one probably in the ruins of the Mausoleum of Augustus, bought from Piranesi.

Current location: Fixed as key-stones of the four large arches of the Pantheon.

Original location: Fixed as key-stones of the four large arches of the Pantheon.

Dimensions: Unfortunately I was not able to measure the lions because of the height.

Material: White marble

The lions are described from left to right as one enters the Pantheon from the Hall.

Now it is not possible to decide which are Nos. 195 and 205.

B- LION PROTOME ON THE FIRST ARCH

STATE OF PRESERVATION:

The tip of the nose is broken and is chipped away in places. The left eyebrow appears to have been restored. The right eyebrow is slightly worn. A number of minor chips are visible on the hair locks to the left side of the head. Otherwise the preservation of the head is good, a consequence of it having been placed inside the building.

DESCRIPTION:

The lion turns left and looks forward with a snarling face. It has very abundant hair that surrounds the face, which is rather slim; the cheek bones stand out, as does the big nose. Again features are expressively carved; the narrow forehead is wrinkled and frowning, and muscles of the face and the contorted veins clearly shown. The eyes are small and wide open and the iris is indicated with the

crescent-shape drilling mentioned above. The mouth is also wide open and deeply grooved, and has four teeth. The lion's attractive and abundant hair is voluminous. The heavy locks fall on top of each other and again are divided by deeply drilled channels. Slender bridges of marble can be seen between some of the locks, for decorative effect and as proof of the sculptor's skill in controlling the drill (Walker, 1990: 35). Slight indications of chisel marks also can be seen on the locks. The execution of the hair just under the chin is different from that of the sides. Here it is marked by a chisel but not so deeply grooved. With all these features the lion holds our attention.

C- LION HEAD ON THE SECOND ARCH

STATE OF PRESERVATION:

There is a crack across the abundant hair of this lion: starts from the right side passes under the chin and runs almost vertical to the left cheek. Other than this, the preservation of the head is good.

DESCRIPTION:

Another powerful lion, it is placed on the keystone of the second arch. This lion is also shown snarling but different in appearance to the previous one. Again the mane stands out clearly all around the face, and is abundant and impressive.

The face is rather larger than the previous example but only part of it is visible because of the hair. The mouth is wide opened and grooved. With the swollen upper lip, the deeply grooved mouth looks more impressive. There is an impression of three teeth on the upper part of the mouth, which helped the lion to look more terrifying. The broad forehead is covered by hair on each side; only some part of the flesh can be seen. The features applied to the previous lions are also found here, such as the contorted veins. Under the scowling eyebrows the eyes are small and grooved with the iris indicated in the same treatment. There are also two small lines of wrinkles on both sides of the eyes. The nose is large and rather flat. The hair is parted in the middle with heavy hair locks tumbling down on each side and covering the face. Again the hair is very voluminous and the treatment appears the same with the previously mentioned examples.

D- A LION HEAD ON THE THIRD ARCH

STATE OF PRESERVATION:

There are a number of minor cracks on the head of this lion. One of them is on the furrowed forehead, another is on the left side of the head which starts at the heavy hair locks and passes down through the left cheek towards the mouth. Finally there is one on the right side, over the locks. Furthermore the ends of the heavy locks at the neck are missing. Otherwise the state of preservation is good.

DESCRIPTION:

This head is placed on the keystone of the third arch and its proportions are smaller. The head looks rather different to those already discussed but the same facial features are found here such as the muscle of the face and contorted veins. Again the face is large, and the hair is less abundant than in the other two pieces. The furrowed forehead is triangular in shape and the eyebrows stand out prominently. The eyes are small, round and deeply grooved around the edge of the eyeballs and the pupils are also grooved. The nose is big with the large upper lip covering a large proportion of the face. The bone structure of the nose is indicated. The large mouth is deeply grooved and the tongue hangs out of the mouth. The folds of the flesh are especially clear on the neck, which shows the flesh in three folds. The mane is combed backwards at the top but there is only one lock which falls on the forehead. The heavy mane locks at the sides have been drilled out deeply and treated the same as the others mentioned above. They fold in on each other creating the impression of waves at the sides.

E- A LION PROTOME ON THE FOURTH ARCH

STATE OF PRESERVATION:

The nose and area around it have been slightly worn but in general the preservation is good.

DESCRIPTION:

This is the fourth and last lion in the interior of the Pantheon. It is fixed onto the keystone of the last big arch. The lion is snarling and again features are expressively carved. Abundant hair covers all its large face. The forehead is narrow and is triangular in shape. The furrowed eyebrows are joined just above the large and flat nose. On the large face the eyes are small and drilled out around the eyeballs. The iris is rendered with a crescent-shape drilled channel. The lower part of the broad cheeks is covered by a dense mane and the texture of the cheeks looks smooth. The mouth is deeply grooved, and a number of teeth are indicated. The heavy locks of the mane at the top of the head and at the sides divided by deeply drilled channels and slender bridges are seen between them. The heavy-hair locks and their treatment, and expressive features are the common feature of all the lions but they vary from one another.

COMPARISON

In the British Museum appear two lion head ornaments from a sarcophagus, which are very similar to the Ince heads (Walker, 1990: 35 Nos. 39A-B). The lions are shown snarling. The heads are slightly turned and projecting. The mouths are wide open and abundant thick manes surround the faces and finish beneath the mouth. The style is very florid and vivid as in the Ince heads. The

features are expressively carved with muscles of the face and contorted veins clearly shown. The eyes seem to pop out of their sockets. The iris is rendered with crescent-shaped drilled channels ending in two deep holes made with a vertically-held drill. The manes show virtuoso drill work. The same treatment appears on the Ince heads, where the locks of hair are divided by deeply drilled channels. Slender bridges of marble have been left between some of the locks, for decorative effect and as proof of the sculptor's skill in controlling the drill. The strands of hair were created with lightly held points and chisels. The London heads belong to the second half of the second century or the third century AD (Walker, 1990: 35).

An oval sarcophagus in the Vatican Museum shows two projecting lion heads placed on the front (Amelung, 1903 i: 431-435 Pl. 45 No. 180). The lion heads are identical; the foreheads are broad, the eyes small, the mouths open and the noses large. The manes are not as thick and abundant as the Ince lions. The mane is visible at the sides and is grooved, as in the Ince heads. A strigillated sarcophagus in the Vatican Museum has two lion heads placed on the sides of the front of the sarcophagus (Amelung, 1908 ii: 306 Pl. 29 No. 1028). The large faces are surrounded by thick manes. They have the same fierce look. The foreheads and the noses are large, the eyes are small, the mouths are open wide and are deeply grooved with the teeth indicated on the upper and lower jaw. The manes are grooved into deeply drilled channels. This pair of heads very much resembles the abundant hairstyle of the Ince lions.

Similar heads occur on a sarcophagus in the Museo Capitolino (Jones, 1912: 83 Pl. 17 No. 2). This is an oval sarcophagus showing a lion hunting scene. The piece has two large lion heads near the upper edge on the right and left of the centre, which are not connected with the scene. The prominent mouths, noses and cheek bones, the large foreheads, the small eyes, and particularly the abundant and deeply grooved manes are the consistent features of this type of heads. These heads are similar to the Ince lions. An oval sarcophagus of the Four Seasons shows two lion heads on either side in the Museo Palazzo dei Conservatori (Jones, 1926: 265 Pl. 105 No. 10). The heads are slightly different from one another, although both have protruding faces. The faces are large and have the same facial features mentioned above. The hair stands out clearly and consists of deeply drilled channels, a common features of the heads.

The lion head motif was commonly used on vat-type (lenoi) sarcophagi. A number of vine-type sarcophagi shows lion heads with Dionysiac topics (Turcan, 1966: Pl. 50, 34, 30). In these plates the heads are surrounded by heavy and thick manes that are deeply grooved. Another type where the lion head motif appears is a type of strigillated sarcophagi (an example is given above). The strigillated sarcophagi form a large group, beginning in the mid-second century and become particularly common in the later third century. One of common types of strigillated sarcophagi is decorated with lion heads (Huskinson, 1996: 61-62). The Ince heads probably once decorated sarcophagi of strigillated or vat-type types.

These heads belong to a large group of lion's head protomes appearing on sarcophagi mostly made in Rome and Ostia (Walker, 1990: 35). The snarling lions are considered the earliest of the series (for detail see Walker). Many of the earlier sarcophagi decorated with lions' head protomes seem to be the work of specialised sculptors particularly adept at carving Proconnesian marble (Walker, 1984: 211-212).

The Ince heads are very similar to the British Museum heads. The forms and the sculptural technique, involving deep carving and drilling, as in the case of the British Museum examples, suggest a late date for the Ince heads, probably the second half of the second or the third century AD.

1.7.2 SIDE OF A SARCOPHAGUS

No. 18 Pl. 18

**POSSIBLY SIDE OF A SARCOPHAGUS DECORATED WITH A
MEDUSA HEAD ABOVE GARLAND**

Subject: Medusa head above garland

Relief type: Side of a sarcophagus

Inventory No: Ince No. 289 Blundell Eng. 88 Michaelis No. 242 Ashmole
No. 242

Literature: Michaelis, 380, n. 242; Ashmole, 91, n. 242.

Provenance: Unknown

Current location: The Pantheon, external frieze; c. 5m. above ground level; east-facing

Original location: The Pantheon, external frieze

Dimensions: Height: 28cms Length: 37cms

Material: Luna marble

STATE OF PRESERVATION:

This relief is placed in the main frieze of the Pantheon. A patch on the upper left and right side of the relief, including both volutes of the festoons and the fruit in the middle of the garland, have been restored (Ashmole, 1929: 91). There are two cracks on each side of the relief; they both pass vertically through the garland and go to the bottom line of the relief. Two big chips are missing on the top right and left corner of the relief. Otherwise the relief is in a good state of preservation, although again it has been discoloured. Almost the entire relief looks

dark with only some parts of the flying ribbons above the head of Medusa being slightly whiter.

DESCRIPTION:

It is placed in a festoon of flowers. Medusa was noted for her personal charms, and the beauty of her locks; but on account of her incontinence, Minerva changed those locks into serpents: this gave her a countenance of pain, which is said to be an emblem of the remorse of guilty conscience. (Blundell, Account, No. 289)

This relief belongs to the side of a sarcophagus. Medusa's head is placed above a richly decorated garland in the middle of the relief. On each side, where the garland hangs from round volutes, long ribbons flutter and meet above her head. Two more ribbons also flutter on both sides of the garland below, which looks heavy and is richly decorated with fruits, flowers and leaves. Among the oak leaves are placed fruit of quinces and flowers. Above the garland is the plump face of Medusa with wings on her head. Her hair is long and curly. At the crown of the head two snakes are depicted. The cheeks, nose and lips are large but the eyes are small. She looks rather serious. The garland is in high relief but the head is in low.

COMPARISON

This is a common type of representation for the decoration of side of Roman sarcophagi. Medusa heads were used on some early sarcophagi, but probably first on the side panels. They were also used in the lunettes of sarcophagi. The Ince relief is a side of a sarcophagus. The style is Hadrianic, especially the deep carving around the leaves at the edges of the garland and Medusa head. The slab probably dates to AD 120-130.

2. SACRIFICE SCENE FROM AN ALTAR

A SACRIFICE OF A BULL

No. 19 Pl. 19

Subject: A sacrifice

Relief type: religious relief probably from an altar

Inventory No: Ince No. 280, Blundell Eng. 105, Michaelis No. 277, Ashmole No. 277

Literature: Michaelis, 392, n. 277; Ashmole, 102, n. 277, Pl. 46; Ryberg, 48, Pl. 11, Fig. 25.

Provenance: Unknown

Current location: Museum storeroom

Original location: From the Garden Temple

Dimensions: Height: 39cms Length: 106cms Thickness: 4.5cms

Material: Luna marble

STATE OF PRESERVATION:

Restorations can be seen from the left side: on the first figure's head and third figure's forearm and the head and half of the right leg of the first slaughterer, most of the head and face of one of the attendants who is just behind the cow and the head and the right foreleg of the cow. Furthermore a large crack divides the scene between the second slaughterer and the cow, and the crack runs almost into the middle of the slab. The whole right side of the relief, from the cow in the middle, has been restored. The colour of the marble and the execution of the figures are different from the ones on the left. The treatment of the eyes and the hair are different on the restored part. Some details, especially the heads, have been retouched. There is also a triangular patch above the head of the cow. Minor fragments are missing from the corners and sides of the relief but these are not important. Besides this damage, chips are missing especially on the right arm of the third attendant and again on the right arm of the first attendant. His face is also badly weathered particularly the nose and the eyes. In general the faces of all the figures are so damaged, that the features cannot be identified clearly. Traces of whitewash survive around the relief, probably from the attachment of a wall.

DESCRIPTION:

Such specimens of sacrifices are very rare, and much sought after by the antiquarians. In this they are leading a bull to the altar, with the usual attendants and instruments of sacrifice. (Blundell, Engravings, Pl. 104, no. 93)

This relief shows a Roman sacrificial scene of a cow. At the right stands a sacrificial attendant, the acolyte, who is rather short and holds a casket of incense in his hands and is dressed in a long tunic. Next to him stands a sacrificer in profile who holds a patera in his lowered right hand while the left hand grasps the edge of his long toga, which almost covers his head. Close to his side we see a burning altar with flames, adorned with a garland at the front, and above it a narrow-necked jug (*guttus*). By the altar stands a bearded and wreathed sacrificial slaughterer with his skirt girded up about his loins and long boots. He also carries a long-handled axe with his left hand while he grasps the woollen fillets which adorn the cow. Behind the cow we see two more attendants in profile who are walking and facing to the right with high-girded skirts again, the foremost of whom holds the cow by one horn. These two figures seem to be wearing different types of hats. On their side a second slaughterer stands, again with a long axe over his left shoulder. The scene is closed with three youths (attendants) at the left end of the relief who are dressed in long togas and carry a branch in their hands. All the attendants have curly hair which is encircled with a wreath. They also appear in profile and turn their heads to the right while watching the main event. These young figures overlap each other and the group with the cow, but the rest stand clear and calm

on the same ground level and almost at the same height. The background is left empty and the relief is not high; the background reliefs are slightly lower than the others.

COMPARISON

In the Vatican Museum Collection is a relief with a representation of a sacrifice which is similar to the Ince relief (Amelung, 1908 ii: 647-49 Pl. 61 No. 415). The movement of the sacrifice is from left to right. On the right stands a bearded sacrificer in a tunic and toga with sacrificial bowl (patera) in his right hand while the left holds folds of the drapery that also covers his head. He performs a libation onto a burning altar that is placed diagonally by him on the ground. There is no decoration on the altar. On the other side of the altar stands another sacrificer, this time a woman, dressed in a tunic and a mantle. She is presented in the same gesture. Her right hand holds the drapery of the mantle that covers her head while the raised left hand holds a patera, and waits her turn. Behind the woman stands a well-built bull and behind it a slaughterer (popa). The upper part of popa's body is naked. He holds an axe in his right hand while the left holds the bull's head. Woollen fillets (vitta infula) adorn the large bull. The upper part of the Vatican slab is decorated with a garland and is supported by three paterae with alternating bucrania.

This garland decoration was common at the time of Augustus; the best known example is the interior perimeter walls of the Ara Pacis Augustae. The Vatican example is comparable to the Ara Pacis, because the scene takes place in a

secretly decorated interior (ibid. 648-649). The composition and execution of this relief is similar to the Ince relief although the right side of the Ince relief is restored. Both reliefs are flat. It has been said that the Vatican relief dates to the Hadrianic period, based on the restored bearded head of the sacrificer, but this is not certain. The possibility of an early date is greater, as for the Ince relief. The drapery folds of both the Vatican and the Ince reliefs are more reminiscent of the Augustan period. The inner altar of the Ara Pacis shows the procession of sacrificial victims; two heifers, a sheep, popa figures, and at the left a number of sacrificial attendants in togas and a camillus (Ryberg, 1955: 42 Pl. 11 No. 22b). A direct adaptation of the altar relief, in composition, figure types, style and date, is the Ince relief. Except for the three restored figures of the Ince relief, both figures and the composition derived from the inner altar. The popa conducting the bull and the massed group of three togati are closely modelled on the corresponding groups in the altar frieze, while the leading togatus represented from the back has a parallel in the lictor facing Augustus in the Imperial procession (Ryberg: 1955: 48).

In both the Ara Pacis relief and the Ince example the figures clearly stand in an empty background. The sacrificial procession of the inner altar was an important link in the long development of the style (Ryberg: 1955: 48 see fn. 48) and its influence may be detected not only in the direct descendants of the Ara Pacis but also in other types, such as the Suovetaurilia reliefs of the Roman era and the triumphal processions of early Imperial friezes (Ryberg: 1955: 48). Sacrifices were common to the Imperial cult, sometimes for religious rites or for the emperor himself. Sacrifices were usually in the form of cows, sheep and pigs. A panel relief

in the Museo Palazzo dei Conservatori shows a sacrifice by Marcus Aurelius before the Temple of Jupiter Capitolinus (Jones, 1926: 22-25 Pl. 12 No. 4). In the centre of the panel he stands to the right with his left hand holding the drapery of his veil while the right offers a sacrifice above a small tripod. Behind the tripod stands a camillus, who holds a box of incense with an open lid. The emperor is followed by three bearded men in tunic and toga on the left side. On the right side of the relief, next to the camillus, stands a flute player. A popa or sacrificial assistant with an axe in his left hand, and dressed in a garment that leaves the upper part of his body bare, is placed on the far right of the relief. The head and shoulders of a bull can be seen just behind the short figures of camillus and the flute player. In the background are two buildings. There are numbers of reliefs in collections in England which show the sacrifice of a bull. One was a large bronze relief formerly in Petworth House, Essex (Michaelis, 1884: 613); another is in Wilton House, Wiltshire, this time with bull and popa (Michaelis, 1884: 679).

When it comes to what these reliefs show, one of the oldest sacrificial rites in Rome was the Fordicidia held on April 15th. It consisted of the slaughter of pregnant cows (*hordae* or *fordae*), one in the Capitol and one in each of the thirty curiae. The cows were offered to Tellus. The unborn calves were torn out and burnt, and their ashes kept by the Vestal Virgins (Fowler, 1899: 71). If the Ince relief indeed shows the Fordicidia rite, then there is no representation of the second cow (the missing animal might have been represented in the original). It also seems that the cow in the Ince relief is not pregnant. Another important rite was the Saturnalia started on December 17th, when again there was sacrifice. The festival,

in the sense of a popular holiday, was extended by common usage to as much as seven days: Augustus limited it to three in respect of legal business, but the three were later increased to five (Fowler, 1899: 268). This festival was another important occasion and left its traces and parallels in medieval and modern customs occurring about the time of the winter solstice (Fowler, 1899: 268-273). There are several well-known features of this rite. On December 17 there was a public sacrifice at the Temple of Saturn by the Forum followed by a public feast. During the sacrifice Senators and Equites wore the toga but laid it aside for the convivium (Fowler, 1899: 271). In the Ince relief the main sacrificer on the right, and the three attendants wear a toga. A white cow, along with two piglets, was also sacrificed by the Arval brothers, five kilometres outside Rome on the Via Campana (Aust, 1899: 192-197). Sacrifices were also made to Pax.

The Ince relief probably dates to the end of the first century BC, perhaps around the same time of the Ara Pacis (13-9 BC); the Ince relief could even be a direct adaptation of the inner altar of the Ara Pacis, especially in its style (Ryberg, 1955: 48 fn. 48).

3- CINERARIA AND MODERN MINOR RELIEFS

POSSIBLY FRONT OF A CINERARIUM DECORATED WITH FOLIAGE

No. 20 Pl. 20

Subject: Vegetation

Relief type: It is possible that it is a front of a cinerarium

Inventory No: Ince No. 329, Blundell Eng. 119, Michaelis No. 299, Ashmole No. 299

Literature: Michaelis, 398, n. 299; Ashmole, 109, n. 299.

Provenance: Unknown

Current location: The Pantheon, external frieze; c. 5m. above ground level; west-facing; well-illuminated

Original location: The Pantheon, external frieze

Dimensions: I was not able to take the measurements.

Material: marble

STATE OF PRESERVATION:

This is the first relief on the external frieze of the Pantheon. According to Ashmole the piece is certainly modern (Ashmole, 1929: 109). However, Michaelis writes that this quadrangular slab is from a cinerarium (Michaelis, 1884: 398). And to be sure similar motifs do appear on cineraria. I think the slab belongs to a cinerarium decorated with vegetation. The execution and the state of preservation show that the slab might be ancient. An encrustation or moss can be seen across the whole relief, especially on the vine shoots and acanthus leaves. There is a small triangular patch on the upper part of the frame, which may be a restoration. Two small cracks are also to be seen next to the patch. The border of the frame has weathered badly and is chipped away. A number of minor fragments are missing from the upper left side of the frame. Again the surface of the vine leaves on the slab is very badly chipped. Generally, the whole decoration has not survived well. The surface of the foliage decoration looks dark in some parts but white in others.

DESCRIPTION:

The foliage of this is finely wrought, and is teeming with seeds, which some birds are pecking. The branches here, as in the Acretoriums, spring out of the lotus, which, with the birds destroying the seeds, is said, by some antiquarians, to be an emblem of generation and destruction, to show the perpetual rotation of matter. (Blundell, Account, No. 329)

At the middle of the bottom of the relief is placed an acanthus plant in low relief. From this spring two large curved-leaves of acanthus. Between the two branches of the acanthus are placed two vine-shoots which rise symmetrically. Above the foliage two birds can be seen almost above each other while pecking at berries or grapes. Among the foliage, at the tip of the vine shoots on the each side, bunches of grape are represented. Below, at the bottom right and the left corner of the relief, are two small birds, one holding a butterfly in its beak and the other probably a berry. The relief is not very high nor very artistically executed.

COMPARISON

This example in the Ince Collection might belong to the front of a cinerary urn, of the late Augustan-Tiberian period. The relief is low and not very artistically treated. A similar example exist in Paris (Koch and Sichtermann, 1982: 46 No. 16). Here an acanthus motif with its foliage is placed in the middle of the side of a cinerarium. Out of the acanthus emerge two large curved-leaved branches and other twigs that end with berries. Above the acanthus two birds can be seen pecking at the berries. The Ince relief shows the same composition but the leaves appear more abundant. Two small birds are placed in the bottom left and right corners of the Ince relief. No animals are represented in the Paris relief. During the late Augustan-Tiberian period the typical forms of cinerary urn developed with their long-lived decoration. Normally the urns of the early periods are decorated on all four sides. The decoration of most of the specimens consist of fruit garlands

which are fastened to bucrania. Along with the widespread use of the garland decoration, a more specific decoration for urns developed. This was in form originally purely vegetable. Twigs of ivy and creepers cover the fronts (Koch and Sichtermann, 1982: 46). There was a tendency to fill the whole surface with ivy and vine decorations. The corner pillars and columns are replaced by twisted plant stems. The Ince relief probably belong to this group with its vegetable decoration, as does the Paris relief. The akroterion, No. 45 Pl. 45, (*in situ*, Greenhouse) in the Ince Blundell Collection shows the same motif, with the branches springing out of an acanthus in the middle (Ashmole, 1929: 105 No. 285). The beautiful floral patterns consisting of acanthus leaves, tendrils and berries and small animals among the foliage, are reminiscent of the lower register of the Ara Pacis while naturalistic scrollwork comes via reliefs from the Temple of Athena at Pergamon (Strong, 1990: 83).

A MARBLE SLAB DECORATED WITH AN EAGLE AND WREATH

No. 21 Pl. 21

Subject: Wreath and an eagle.

Relief type: A marble slab

Inventory No: Ince No. 296, Blundell Eng. - , Michaelis No. 381 , Ashmole No. 381

Literature: Michaelis, 411, n. 381; Ashmole, 116, n. 381.

Provenance: Unknown

Current location: The Pantheon, external frieze; c. 5m. above ground level; west-facing; well-illuminated

Original location: The Pantheon, external frieze

Dimensions: Height: 47cms Length: 37cms

Material: marble

STATE OF PRESERVATION:

This relief is very badly worn on the eagle, the wreath, and on the surface of the relief. Most of the details on the decoration have been erased by weathering. A big crack runs around the head of the eagle and on some parts of the wreath. Because of the weathering there are no identifiable features on the eagle. According to Ashmole, the head of the eagle is restored but this is doubtful (Ashmole, 1929: 116 no. 381). The broken piece of the wreath and the head of the eagle are the same kind of marble as that of the relief. A large fragment is also missing from the body of the eagle. There are numbers of black marks; one is on the body of the eagle and the others on the wings of the eagle. These small marks might have been used for an attachment of an object or become apparent due to weathering. Elsewhere chips are missing on the surface of the slab, particularly at

the top left, bottom and on the right side of the relief. It is unlikely that the relief has been restored.

DESCRIPTION:

In this scene an eagle stands with expanded wings in a wreath of foliage. The body is shown frontally, with the head in profile and the legs parted. Almost nothing can be seen in detail on the body of the eagle. The wings on the background are very badly eroded but the right wing looks slightly wider than the left. The eagle is executed in high relief but the wings are in low relief. The wreath around the eagle appears to be made of laurel? leaves and stands in high relief. Again because of heavy weathering on the whole relief there is not enough detail on the texture of the wreath. The slab in which the relief is placed is plain as are the representations of the eagle and the wreath.

COMPARISON

The Museo Capitolino has a three-sided fragment with reliefs, probably a tripod base (Jones, 1912: 32-33 Pl. 8 No. 22a). On the third side an eagle with outstretched wings is placed on a wreath made of ears of corn.

This type of decoration, an eagle with expanded wings in a wreath of foliage, is not common for ash chests. The Ince relief is probably a marble slab which may be a part of a tripod base.

A MARBLE SLAB DECORATED WITH FOLIAGE AND VASE, modern

No. 22 **Pl. 22**

Subject: Vegetation

Relief type: A marble slab

Inventory No: Ince No. 330 Blundell Eng. 119 Michaelis No. 300

Ashmole No. 300

Literature: Michaelis, 398-399, n. 300; Ashmole, 109, n. 300.

Provenance: Unknown

Current location: The Pantheon, external frieze; c. 5m. above ground level; west-facing; well-illuminated

Original location: The Pantheon, external frieze

Dimensions: I was not able to take the measurements.

Material: marble

STATE OF PRESERVATION:

This relief is in a generally good state of preservation and is placed in the main structure of the Pantheon. There is a small crack on the top left decorated border of the relief that also runs towards the vine shoots below it. Above the frame at the top left side, the relief is slightly darkened because of air pollution. In contrast the reliefs on the left side (west) of the entrance of the Pantheon are better preserved (in terms of discoloration) than the right (east). This applies to this decorated slab. The entire decoration and the surface are worn but there are no large missing parts or broken fragments.

DESCRIPTION:

The entire decoration is surrounded by an elegant frame. In the middle, out of a beautiful vase with two handles, springs a Roman style palmette in an ornamental style with slightly curved ends. Above the rims of the vase emerge two vine shoots, one above the other from a single twig and with a flower at each curved end. The two flowers on the bottom line are the same with lace work around their edges and are different from the ones above; their flowers consist of petals. Two small insects, a butterfly on the left and grasshopper on the right, are depicted on the vine shoots at the bottom of the relief. On the vase a lizard can be seen chasing a caterpillar. The vase is rather squat but the foliage decoration of the slab is prominent and the edges of the vine leaves and the flowers are grooved. The relief is very low.

COMPARISON

This fragment is modern. The execution is neat and clean, and the relief is very shallow. The frame is very regular and the treatment of the vine shoots and the flowers in the middle appear very finely grooved and gives the impression of being modern. The vase and the palmette on the top are perfectly carved. The vine shoots surround the whole surface of the relief. The Museo Capitolino collection shows the front of a large cinerarium decorated with acanthus scrolls and flowers (Jones, 1912: 59 Pl. 11 No. 23). Here there is no representation of a vase but there are certain motifs that are reminiscent of the Ince slab, namely the vine shoots.

Another cinerarium in the Museo Nazionale Romano shows a vase on the front, from which springs ivy decorations and finishes with the berries at the ends (Köch and Sichtermann: 1982: 47 No. 20, no 34158). Two birds are placed on the rim of the vase. Above the vase and birds, there is a tablet with an inscription. In spite of the differences, the motifs are similar, as for instance in the vase and vegetable decoration. The pattern on the Ince relief is reminiscent of the floral design on the Ara Pacis. The Ince slab is a modern copy and the motifs on which are similar to cineraria of the first half of the first century AD. Then there was a tendency for purely vegetable decoration on cinerary urns.

**FRONT OF A CINERARIUM DECORATED WITH A HEAD IN A
MUSSEL SHELL**

No. 23

Pl. 23

Subject: A head placed in a shell

Relief type: Front of an ash chest

Inventory No: Ince No. 363

Blundell Eng. 138

Michaelis No. 336

Ashmole No. -

Literature: Michaelis, 407, n. 336.

Provenance: It is not clear

Current location: The Pantheon, external frieze; c. 5m. above ground level;
north-facing

Original location: The Pantheon, external frieze

Dimensions: I was not able to take the measurements.

Material: marble

STATE OF PRESERVATION:

There are a number of cracks on the relief. The largest runs vertically over the inscription and passes through a head of a swan on the right side of a bust of a man. This crack marks the restored right side of the relief, which appears different in execution. For example the swan, the tripod and the inscription on the right appear rather coarse in treatment compared to the left side of the cinerarium. There are two other smaller cracks on the lid. The lid of this ash chest is on different cinerarium. The relief is weathered and traces of stains cover the whole relief. Other than these blemishes and the restoration, the state of preservation is good.

DESCRIPTION:

The front of this ash chest has been placed into the frieze of the Pantheon on the rear side and faces the back garden. It is the last relief on the frieze. At the bottom of the scene a bust of a man is placed in a mussel shell. On either side of the bust are two swans with twisted, extended necks which almost touch the inscription tablet above them and the mussel shell. The frame of the inscription is projecting and finely cut. On either side of the cinerarium is a tripod with lion foot legs and decorated with two masks back to back and with an omphalos. These masks appear different in execution from each other. The group on the left shows a young, and old bearded mask with a pilos. The masks on the right appear rather younger and probably wear a pilos too. These masks are badly weathered but all have straight hair.

The man looks downwards and looks old. He is dressed in a short sleeved chiton, which only consists of drapery lines. He has curly hair, a narrow forehead, a large nose and small eyes and lips. The hair is grooved and coarse. The chest is placed on the frieze with a lid. The lid is decorated and fits the chest. Above the swans and the man is cut an inscription on a tablet. The text reads:

D.M.C.Q.F.IAN	D(is) M(anibus) C() Quintus F(ilius) Ian ()
CARPIDI ET Q.	Carpidi et
C.Q.F.IUSTO C.	F(ilius) Iusto C()
AMARYLLIS	Amaryllis
MATER FECIT	Mater Fecit

This inscription appears in *CIL* volume VI in no. 13674 and 13930; there are many copies, though they are not uniform. The letters need to be carefully examined, especially as the right side of the slab, including some letters of the inscription, is restored. The inscription needs further examination during conservation work.

(To the) g(ods) (of the) s(hades). (For) C(aus) S(on of) Q(uintus)

Pan (carpus?) Carpidi(us) and (for) O(uintus) C(aus) S(on of) C(aus)

Iustus C(aia?) Amaryllis (their) mother made (this monument)

COMPARISON

This type of representation, a portrait bust placed in a shell-niche on the front and flanked by dolphins, is a motif that was frequently used for cineraria, together with variations of shells with sea-birds and erotic figures. These symbols from the world of Venus serve to transfer the extolled features of the goddess to the revered dead (Sinn, 1991: 104). The cinerary urn of Claudia Prepusa in the Lateran Museum is similar to the Ince example (Sinn, 1991: 103-104 No. 87 Pl. 218-219). A bust of a woman is placed in a shell-niche and is flanked by two dolphins that are swimming downwards. Above them is an inscription which is integrated into the upper moulding. At the corners are tripods with lion foot legs and an omphalos above them. On the lid two birds confront each other, each with a berry in its beak. At the corners of the lid are placed akroteria. The hairstyle tends towards the early Flavian period, although the exact date can be concluded from the sketch-like miniature portrait (Sinn, 1991: 104). The same composition appears on the Ince cinerarium, but this time the shell bust is flanked by swans rather than dolphins. In the Lateran example there is no indication of masks on the tripods and the tripods appear rather squat compared to the Ince relief. The Lateran urn appears more sketchily and less precisely worked (Sinn, 1991: 104). The inscription of the Ince relief is projecting, similar to the Lateran example. The treatment of the hair of the Ince relief is rather prominent and coarse, resembling the Flavian examples. The Ince relief is a rough work and is probably a Neronian-Flavian example of the second half of the first century AD.

4- CAMPANA RELIEFS

RELIEF, ROMAN CHARIOTEER, Modern

No. 24 Pl. 24

Subject: Chariot race

Relief type: Campana

Inventory No: Ince No. 274 Blundell Eng. - Michaelis No. 373 Ashmole
No. 373

Literature: Michaelis, 419, n. 373; Ashmole, 114, n. 373; Borbein, 39, fn. 200.

Provenance: Unknown

Current location: Museum storeroom

Original location: The Garden Temple portico; c. 2m. above ground level; south-
facing

Dimensions: Height: 30cms Length: 44cms Thickness: 2.5cms

Material: Luna marble

STATE OF PRESERVATION:

This relief is very badly weathered and almost entirely worn away. The relief was built into the façade of the Garden Temple and was therefore exposed to damage over the years. The relief was originally set in a kind of projecting frame that is not original and which has not been so severely damaged. The edges of the relief are restored but many fragments have since broken away, especially at the bottom of the relief where the chariot is situated. Traces of whitewash can be seen at the corners and edges, especially prominently on the left upper corner of the relief. Many chips have broken away from the charioteer with some parts of his head missing. The body, including his arms, his outfit, and the quadriga and the wheel of the chariot are all damaged. The horses are similarly damaged, including the hip, legs and body of the first horse in the foreground, and the heads, the bodies, the hind legs and forelegs of the horses in the background. The metae on the right hand of the relief are also badly damaged and worn. The whole background of the relief has been broken with almost nothing left of the original. The fragment had been badly affected by pollution but has recently been cleaned by the Liverpool Museum Conservation Centre and a copy of it made to put into the original place.

DESCRIPTION

A charioteer is here represented in the Circus Maximus, running full speed with four horses in his quadriga, as was usual with the Romans. There appears also the metae, or ending posts, which are yet extant in the circus at Rome. The circus

is a large piece of ground enclosed, for an immense number of people to see the games (Blundell, Engravings, No. 274)

A charioteer stoops over a chariot, with a whip in his right hand and the bridles of the four horses in his left. He is in a circus running at full speed in his quadriga. The metae are on the right. The four horses of the chariot have been placed behind each other and their forelegs have been raised to demonstrate that they are running. All of the horses have the same arrangement of bridles over their necks. The relief is shallow but the hind legs of the horses are even shallower. Three metae have been arranged one after the other and can be seen on the right side of the relief on the foreground. The charioteer is dressed in an exomis. The execution of the relief is not particularly successful, especially the horses which are very far from natural.

COMPARISON

The Ince relief is a modern copy of one of the so-called Campana reliefs (Ashmole, 1929: 114). Although Campana reliefs appear in terracotta the Ince relief was executed in marble. The reason for this might be that it is a modern copy or the artist's preference. The scene on the Ince relief depicts a racing charioteer in the circus. A similar example is in the British Museum in London (Borbein, 1968: 39-40 Pl. 6 No. 1). The terracotta Campana plate in London exhibits typical characteristics of the products of this workshop. In it a charioteer drives a quadriga

at full speed in the circus. Metae are also indicated. Beside the metae, on the right edge, a second rider (a hortator), who accompanies the four horse chariot, can be seen from behind when passing the pillars. In front of the horses is a crouching figure, probably the sparsor, whose task was to sprinkle water on the sandy grounds. The foreshortening of the four horses, the metae and the hortator gives the impression of the scene being set in a large space. The relief consists of several layers. The eye of the spectators is drawn by means of gradation of the horses in the team and the three metae into the depth and as the rider on the right edge of the plate is viewed directly from behind. The gaze is drawn around the end pillars. These pillars are not in the same plane as the team of the horses, because the presence of the sparsor is in front of them (Borbein, 1968: 39-40).

A relief in the Collection of Antiquities in Vienna (as cited in Borbein, 1968: 40 fn. 204, Pl. 84 No. 16) from the same workshop exhibits similar characteristics of style; it depicts an accident during a chariot race. On both plates, the Vienna and the London, the rich decoration of the metae is striking in the detail. This indicates that the depiction was probably produced after Claudius had had the pillars gilded in the Circus Maximus. Other reliefs, again one in the British Museum and the other in Berlin, show prisoners in a chariot (Borbein, 1968: 40 Pl. 7 No. 7.1, 2). If one compares the London relief with prisoners in a chariot in the British Museum and with the plate in Berlin it is clear that the raised relief on the London example is greater, thereby producing more light and shadow effects. These characteristics suggest that the London example can be dated to the Flavian period (Borbein, 1968: 39-40). The same composition and similar characteristics of

style appear in the Ince relief. The columns of the metae, the charioteer and the horses stand at different levels. The position of the driver and the horses are the same as the London relief. Unfortunately the Ince relief is very badly damaged so that some details are lost, such as the sparsor (if it was ever shown), and some details in the decoration. There are other examples with the same subjects (as cited in Borbein, 1968, p. 39 fn. 200). The Ince relief is a modern marble copy, perhaps of the London relief, because they are strikingly similar.

RELIEF, LION AND BULL, modern

No. 25 Pl. 25

Subject: Lion and bull

Relief type: Campanian

Inventory No: Ince No. 275 Blundell Eng. - Michaelis No. - Ashmole No.
373 a

Literature: Ashmole, 114, n. 373a.

Provenance: Unknown

Current location: Museum storeroom

Original location: The Garden Temple Portico; c. 2m. above ground level; south-facing

Dimensions: Height: 27cms Length: 37cms Thickness: 2cms

Material: Luna marble

STATE OF PRESERVATION:

This relief had been placed into the main structure of the façade of the Garden Temple and was the companion piece to the relief mentioned previously (No. 24). Both were placed on either side of the main entrance. The relief is in a projecting frame. Again, the relief had been discoloured by air pollution. The fragment was recently cleaned by the Liverpool Museum Conservation Centre. The head, including the neck of the bull which is lying on the foreground of the relief, is original, but the rest has broken away. Some of the background, including the right and the left side and the upper part of the relief, has been restored, and is slightly different, being white in colour. The animal figures, the lion and the bull, are standing on a different surface colour, which makes a sort of frame for the figures. I assume that this is the original background to the figures. There is a crack at the top right corner of the relief which passes diagonally behind the lion and passes its tail and hind legs to finish at the bottom of the frame. There is another split just behind the head of the bull. The surface has been chipped away in some parts of the background. There are slight encrustations on the surface of the right and left side of the relief and on the border of the original frame of the animal figures. White mortar traces can be seen on the adjoining parts of two different

backgrounds. The background looks as if it was once whitewashed, as traces can be seen on the relief.

DESCRIPTION:

In this scene a powerful lion approaches a bull which is lying on the ground. The bull has been felled by its attacker and lies face-down on the ground. The bull has a long face, large eyebrows and eyes and an open mouth. His hair is grooved and stands prominently. The lion looks terrifying with fierce eyes and an animated face. Again the mane of the lion is gouged out voluminously. The relief is not very high but the execution of the lion's inner leg in the background is even shallower than the foreground ones. The wrinkles of the bull's neck, because of the way it bends, have been indicated by thin vertical lines. Furthermore, the neck of the bull is coarse and very thick if compared with its slim face. Although again similar subjects occur on the Campana reliefs (Ashmole, 1929: 114) the technique and marble are similar to the modern relief of the Roman charioteer mentioned above; therefore this piece could be modern too.

COMPARISON

During my research I have not found an exact parallel copy of the Ince lion and bull. However, Nike Tauroktonos was a popular decorative motif on Campana reliefs. This motif shows a Nike while slaying a bull. There are many known

examples of the motif. For example a number of Campana panels in the British Museum, the Museo Nazionale and the Vatican Museum show Nike kneeling on one leg and holds a bull from the mouth (Borbein, 1968 Pl. 16-19). She holds a knife in one hand that is lowered or raised. Here the treatment of the bull's necks, which are thick, coarse and consist of vertical grooved channels, reminds me the Ince bull. In addition the slim but powerful lion of the Ince looks similar to a lion in the Campana reliefs which shows Herakles and the Nemea lion fighting (Borbein, 1968 Pl. 31-32). Two similar terracottas of Nike Tauroktonos are in the Woburn collection (Angelicoussi, 1992: 106-107 No. 88 Figs. 389-390). The wrinkly coarse neck also appears here. Such examples were used as interior decoration of domestic architecture. On the basis of these evidences probably the Ince relief is a copy of a Roman Campanian relief of the first century AD. The execution of the Ince lion and the bull looks modern.

5- NEO-ATTIC RELIEFS

RELIEF, BACCHIC SCENE, modern

No. 26 Pl. 26

Subject: Bacchic scene

Relief type: neo-Attic relief

Inventory No: Ince No. 313

Blundell Eng. 112

Michaelis No. 288

Ashmole No. 288

Literature: Michaelis, 394, n. 288; Ashmole, 105, n. 288, Pl. 44; Fuchs, 112, fn. 14.

Provenance: ?

Current location: The Pantheon, external frieze; c. 5m. above ground level; east-facing; in deep shadow

Original location: The Pantheon, external frieze

Dimensions: Height: 26.5cms Length: 44cms

Material: marble?

STATE OF PRESERVATION:

The frame of the relief has been restored. The face and the arms of the Maenad on the extreme right of the scene are missing while the face of the Maenad in the middle of the slab has been worn. A large portion from the head of a Satyr, who is placed between two Maenads, is absent. Although the relief is severely weathered on the figures and on the background the model is accurate. The relief is mutilated but apparently free from restorations (Michaelis, 1884: 394). The whole relief looks very dark because of air pollution. Although this type of relief is

ancient, the composition is modern. The lyre appears rather large. The figures, particularly their faces, draperies and the lyre are regular and finely executed. The pose of the Maenad on the right is rather different. The deep carving of the figures is different from original neo-Attic reliefs as the thick frame that surrounds the relief. Similar types of figures appear in many ancient neo-Attic reliefs. According to Ashmole no part of the relief is antique (Ashmole, 1929: 105).

DESCRIPTION:

According to Henry Blundell this is a copy from an original antique piece (Blundell, 1803: 90-102). The original was too decayed to be restored; for this reason a copy was made, which we see today.

On far right is a Maenad, with her head thrown back, dancing with ecstatic movement while playing a flute. Both her hands, and the flute are now broken, but their traces can be seen; in Ashmole's catalogue her left hand and the traces of right hand and the flute were intact (Ashmole, 1929: 105 Pl. 44 No. 288). She is dressed in a very voluminous chiton which leaves her back and left leg, including the hip, bare. On her left stands a naked young Satyr figure, en face, dipping his head slightly right and dancing with crossed legs. His left arm holds a pedum while the right hand holds a syrinx before his breast. He has a shrewd look on his young face and had curly short hair (according to Ashmole's photography Pl. 44 No. 288); now the face of the Satyr is absent. Next to the Satyr, almost in the middle, stands another Maenad playing a lyre. She is dressed in a chiton, which leaves the

upper part of her body partly nude. Her short curly hair is parted in the middle. She looks young. Again her drapery folds are very voluminous and show the features of the body beneath them. On the far left, a bearded and drunken Silenus can be seen in the arms of another young Satyr, who keeps him from falling, while he stoops over an object which look like a small plank. Silenus' shaky legs are covered by a cloak but the upper part of his body is bare. He also wears a hat. A second Satyr is shown naked, has hair short and curly, and is trying to hold Silenus tightly under his arms. The background is left empty and all of the figures stand on the same ground level. The execution of the drapery is very skilful. The figures look neat. The style appears 'neo-Attic' (Michaelis, 1884: 394).

COMPARISON

A similar relief appears in the Museo Conservatori (Jones, 1926: 281-282 Pl. 112 No. 4). The relief shows a Bacchic procession on a plain background, moving from left to right. A Maenad figure is shown with voluminous drapery that leaves the right side of her body naked; she is playing a tambourine. Behind her stands a young Satyr with a double flute and a panther's skin over his left shoulder. At the extreme left stands another Satyr with a pedom in his right hand and a panther's skin wrapped over his left arm. By him a Dionysiac panther walks by and looks up at him. Although the figures are executed slightly differently to the Ince relief there are similarities in the composition. In the Conservatori relief a bearded

old Silenus and a Satyr figure who accompany the Silenus are not represented. These types are common neo-Attic subjects (Jones, 1926: 282).

The Capitolino catalogue shows a sarcophagus relief of the triumph of Dionysos (Jones, 1912; 216 Pl. 53 No. 86). Here the group is headed by a Maenad who is dressed in a very voluminous chiton that leaves the right breast bare; she dances ecstatically. The Ince Maenad also has voluminous drapery. The pose of the Capitolino and the Ince Maenad figures are very similar to each other.

The Vatican collection shows a relief with a Silenus and Satyrs (Amelung, 1908 ii: 520-521 Pl. 66 No. 326a). The drunken old Silenus with tipsy legs, who is bearded and rather plump, is supported by a young Satyr. Here again the position of the figures and the motifs are similar to the Ince relief. The composition is lively too. Again stock motifs were used for certain types of composition. The Vatican catalogue shows another Bacchic relief (Amelung, 1908 ii: 707-709 Pl. 78 No. 438). All of the figures are represented on a plain background and stand clearly on a projecting base. The types of the figures used in this relief are reminiscent of the other Bacchic figures mentioned above; for example the Maenad supported by a young Satyr, and an old bearded Silenus. Here there is a slight variation in the composition. In this case the Maenad is drunk and is supported by a Satyr. The young Dionysos with a thyrsos is shown on the left, and the old and bald Silenus is almost naked and leads the scene. The drapery folds are regular and finely executed and the figures are slender as in the Ince relief.

Finally the Woburn Abbey collection number 102 is a neo-Attic relief which shows a Silenus and two Satrys (Angelicooussis, 1992: 114 No. 102 Fig. 438). An identical relief in the Vatican (Amelung, 1908 ii: 520-521 Pl. 66 No. 326a) mentioned above, was formerly in the possession of Cavaceppi. In the Woburn relief a pot-bellied drunken Silenus stumbles forward, his fall broken by a young Satyr who supports him around the middle. Silenus wears a cloak, high boots and ivy wreath while the Satyr has a nebris. A second Satyr holds a wine skin over his left shoulder, and a pine wreath crown lifts up Silenus' drapery. The iconographical formula is a neo-Attic translation of a Hellenistic invention (Angelicooussis, 1992: 114 fn. 1). Although B. Hundsatz recently published the marble as an antique, close examination suggests that the Woburn relief is most probably a copy of the Vatican pieces from Cavaceppi's workshop (Angelicooussis, 1992: 114). The composition and certain details recall the Ince relief, notably the drunken Silenus and supporting Satyr. The Ince relief is a copy from well-known Bacchic type in neo-Attic style.

RELIEF, LIBATION SCENE, (religious ceremony), modern

No. 27 Pl. 27

Subject: Libation

Relief type: Probably neo-Attic

Inventory No: Not mentioned in the Ince, Ashmole and Michaelis catalogues accounts.

Literature: -

Provenance: Unknown

Current location: External frieze, the Pantheon; c. 5m. above ground level; east-facing; in deep shadow

Original location: External frieze, the Pantheon

Dimensions: I was not able to take measurements.

Material: marble ?

STATE OF PRESERVATION:

This relief has been darkened very badly by air pollution. It is also badly worn. A number of chips are missing on the surface, although there are no other substantial cracks. The middle part of the relief is white in colour, probably due to the running rain water from the roof. Slight weathering is apparent on the skirt of the kneeling women who holds a flute on the left.

DESCRIPTION:

This relief shows a religious ceremony. A woman is dressed in a short sleeved chiton, holding a tray in her left hand and turning her body to the right, her right hand is pouring a libation from a big phiale onto an altar almost in the middle of the relief. She is rather stocky and a long mantle hangs from her left shoulder to her feet. On the left two female figures accompany her with their musical instruments. The one at the furthest left is rather slim and is dressed in a long short sleeved chiton and plays a kithara. The woman next to her kneels on her right leg while playing a double flute in both hands. The right arm and the shoulder of this figure are naked while the remains of her drapery flow over the left shoulder. However, the lower part of her body is covered by a cloak. On the far right of the relief is another woman, who is dressed in a long sleeved chiton and carrying more liquid for the woman who is performing the libation. This serving figure also wears a hat on her head. This may be the servant of the noble lady in the middle of the scene. Next to the servant, on the ground, lie two vases, both with very outstanding rims; one is taller and is a water bottle. The other vase has a slim base and a body decorated with straps. Next to these vases stands a boy who is playing a double flute so that his cheeks look swollen. He is also dressed in a long, short-sleeved chiton which leaves his right shoulder bare, and a mantle hangs over the left shoulder. His proportions are very small compared to the noble lady next to him. The altar in the middle is placed diagonally to the bottom edge of the relief and has an elaborate base, and is decorated with garlands which hang from bucrania at the corners. The relief is not very high. The background has been left

empty. Due to pollution, full facial and other details cannot be seen clearly. All of the figures are standing on the same ground level, which projects significantly.

COMPARISON

During my research I have not found a similar example to the Ince libation scene. The plain borders, especially the projecting ground is the same as the bas-relief mentioned below (No. 28), and both might have been by the same hand. The relief is not mentioned by Henry Blundell, which suggests that again this is a modern copy, probably of an ancient sepulchral monument or a neo-Attic relief. The figures stand out clearly on the same ground level and the empty background are more reminiscent of the neo-Attic reliefs. The execution appears to be modern too. This is especially visible on the rather different placement of the altar in the middle, on the draperies and on the two fine vases.

RELIEF, WOMAN (APHRODITE) AND EROS, modern

No. 28 Pl. 28

Subject: Aphrodite and Eros

Relief type: Probably neo-Attic

Inventory No: Not mentioned in the Ince, Ashmole and Michaelis catalogues accounts

Literature: -

Provenance: Unknown

Current location: External frieze, the Pantheon; c. 5m. above ground level; east-facing; in deep shadow

Original location: External frieze, the Pantheon

Dimensions: I was not able to take measurements.

Material: marble ?

STATE OF PRESERVATION:

I believe that this is a companion piece to the preceding example. The evidence for this is that the borders of both reliefs are the same, plain and probably have similar dimensions (I was unable to take the measurements due to inaccessibility of these pieces). Generally speaking the state of preservation is good but again the relief looks very dark due to air pollution. Minor chips are missing on the ground level, with weathering to the figures and to the background.

DESCRIPTION:

In this scene an elaborate, long curtain is suspended at the corners of the slab; the curtain hangs from each side and again fastens in the middle just above the head of the woman. The woman, probably Aphrodite, dressed in a short-sleeved chiton and a cloak over left arm, sits on an elaborate couch in a serpentine twist towards her left and looks ahead. Her right leg bends while the left rests on the ground. The right arm holds part of her drapery and a book, that is placed between her and an Eros. She has long hair that is drawn into a bun on her crown. Beside her, a beautiful cushion lies on the head of the couch. In front of her stands the naked Eros who rests his right leg on a stool on the ground and his left leg on the ground. The Eros faces the woman while holding her left arm with his right hand, and his left hand touches the book. The couch and the stool are low. The figures are in high relief and all stand on the same ground level and the attractive curtain loops up forming the background. The way Aphrodite sits on the couch is reminiscent of the 'Mother Earth' relief of the Ara Pacis Augustus in Rome. The relief is a modern copy, probably of an ancient sculptural monument or a neo-Attic relief. This example was probably executed by the same hand as the libation scene mentioned above.

COMPARISON

A Roman terracotta Campana relief in the British Museum is a similar composition to the Ince relief (Walters, 1903: 386 No. 531). The scene represents

visit of Dionysos to a mortal (Theoxenia). In the centre of the scene two men reclining on a couch. On the right is the god Dionysos advancing. On the left of the couch a woman is seated who looks very similar in style to the Ince lady, especially the way she sits and holds part of her drapery. The difference here is that a himation covers her head, arms and knees. A very striking feature, against the wall in the background is a large curtain suspended so that it hangs in a similar way to the Ince background curtain. The similarity of the London relief to the sepulchral banquet reliefs is obvious. It, however, belongs to a class of reliefs best presented by the well-known Townley marble (Walters, 1903: 386) (Smith, 1904 iii: 240-44 No. 2190). A Greek sepulchral banquet relief of a hero in the Vatican Museum also depicts a curtain against the wall in the background (Amelung, 1903: 713 No. 596 Pl. 77). The relief shows a man reclining on a couch, beside him sits a woman who turns towards him. There also appears two boys around them. The British Museum example shows neo-Attic features. Both types, the Vatican and the British Museum, are lacking background detail (Borbein, 1968: 183 Pl. 39: 1-2).

The Ince relief is probably a copy from a Roman Campanian terracotta relief, treated in the neo-Attic style and composition. The subject of the Ince relief appears different but the composition very much resembles the London fragment. The whole execution of the Ince example appears to be modern. This particularly visible on the rather finely executed curtain in the background and the way it hangs and on the cushion, couch and on the stool.

6- DECORATIVE ORNAMENTS

DIONYSIAC MASK, PROBABLY DIONYSOS, modern

No. 29 **Pl. 29**

Subject: Dionysos

Type: A mask

Inventory No: Ince No. 306, Blundell Eng. -, Michaelis No. 388, Ashmole No. 388

Literature: Michaelis, 411, n. 388; Ashmole, 117, n. 388.

Provenience: Unknown

Current location: External frieze, the Pantheon; c. 5m. above ground level; east-facing; in deep shadow

Original location: External frieze, the Pantheon

Dimensions: Height: 29cms

Material: Pentelic marble

STATE OF PRESERVATION:

This mask looks modern. This assessment is based on its execution and texture. The face also appears more animated than usual. The eyebrows, eyes, eye

lids, nose, hair and taenia executed regular and neatly. The tip of his nose and the end of the curls have been restored. The texture of these curls is different to the original hair. The tip of the nose is now broken off. Almost the entire mask is badly weathered by air pollution, but the left side of the face and ivy leaves and berries on the head have not suffered as badly, and show the original colour of the marble. The explanation for this might be the direction of the wind. There are two small splits on both cheeks and one at the end of a long curl on the left side. These are not significant, and generally speaking the head is in a good state of preservation.

DESCRIPTION

The Ince head shows a very vivid and impressive mask of a young Dionysos. It is placed on the external frieze of the Pantheon, almost facing the Ince Blundell dairy (now its laundry). The mask looks forward. The eyes and the mouth are the most impressive parts of the mask because they are hollowed out deeply and stand out impressively. The mouth is also open wide and the cheeks are broad. The nose is straight and regular. The eyebrows are drawn and eyelids are heavy and indicated sharply. His wavy long and abundant hair is parted in the middle, drawn to the sides and covers the ears, encircled by a narrow fillet (taenia) on the forehead and decorated with ivy leaves and berries on the crown. The forehead is narrow and almost covered by exuberant curly hairs.

COMPARISON

In the Museo Capitolino there is a mosaic panel with two masks; one is tragic, the other comic (Jones, 1912: 154 Pl. 35 No. 37a). The tragic mask has long, discoloured curly hair and wide open mouth and eyes. The cheeks are broad and the skin is fair. The hair is parted in the middle and brushed into three snake-like ringlets on either side of the face. The mosaic mask is more reminiscent of the Ince mask. Furthermore, in the Museo Capitolino (Jones, 1912: 96 Pl. 27 No. 17) and the Museo Conservatori (Jones, 1926: 134 Pl. 49 No. 11), are the busts of the youthful Dionysos with the same elaborate hair design; it is loose and parted in the middle, brushed to the sides and tied into a knot behind with a crown of ivy and berries (vine and ivy wreath with grapes and berries in the Capitolino example). A taenia encircles both heads. The same facial features of the Ince head reappear; a clean face and broad cheeks but without the deeply hollowed mouth. In these examples the mouths are only slightly open.

Another fine example is from the Villa of Oplontis, Torre Annunziata near Pompeii (Ramage and Ramage, 1995: 79 Fig. 2.39). This villa was built in the first century BC and eventually belonged to Poppaea, wife of Nero. The painting shows a peacock and a theatre mask (probably tragic) in front of a row of receding columns. The theatrical mask has the same features as the previous mentioned pieces: deeply grooved eyes and mouth, smooth and broad cheeks, and a taenia which surrounds the head. The mosaic mask in the Capitolino, the Ince mask, and the theatrical mask of the Villa of Oplontis have the same worried and horrified

expressions on their faces. All these heads and masks show a common form of representing the young Dionysiac mask or tragic masks and the head of the young god Dionysos. This tendency is derived from a Greek original of the fourth or third century BC, and was copied over the course of the centuries. Therefore the Ince mask is probably a modern copy of a Greek original.

A HEAD OF SAPPHO ON A MEDALLION

No. 30 Pl. 30

Subject: Sappho

Relief type: A medallion relief

Inventory No: Ince No. 578, Blundell Eng. 145, Michaelis No. 142, Ashmole No. 142

Literature: Michaelis, 366, n. 142; Ashmole, 59, n. 142, Pl. 2.

Provenance: Unknown

Current location: The Pantheon, external frieze; c. 5m. above ground level; west-facing; well-illuminated

Original location: The Pantheon, external frieze

Dimensions: Height: 27cms

Material: Pentelic marble

STATE OF PRESERVATION:

Almost all of the nose, the neck, and the background are restored. There are numerous cracks on the face. The biggest split starts from the crown and runs along the edge of the hair between the face through to the neck. This split divides the head into two pieces. The hair has worn badly, especially at the front and around the ear. The face is rather better preserved. It appears that the face was once broken but has since been restored. The hair above the forehead is also restoration. The whole face is modern with its regular features. The colour of the marble of the face and of the hair is different. The neck is badly worn and minor chips are missing. The ear and the hair around it are also badly worn. The eyes might have been filled with different material, because the sockets were deeply hollowed out. A prominent split can be seen on the chin starting from the lower lip which follows the chin and finishes at the neck. There are two slightly visible cracks on the cheek. The long roll of hair at the back of the head has been darkened by air pollution, but the rest maintains the original colour of the marble. Other than the cracks the preservation is good.

DESCRIPTION:

This head is a fine profile of that poetess, called the tenth muse. She composed nine books in lyric verse, of which only a few fragments remain. It is called a Sappho from its curled hair, and beautiful resemblance to some heads of that name in Rome. (Blundell, Engravings, No. 145)

A head of a female is placed on a medallion in profile. According to Michaelis this is a head of the Greek poetess 'Sappho' (Michaelis, 1884: 366 No. 142). Her long face looks very clean and neat. She has a large forehead, drawn eyebrows, big ears, almond shaped eyes and broad cheeks. The eyes were hollowed. The lips are large and closed. The nose is slightly large. Her abundant long hair is parted in the middle, gathered and folded at the back, and was encircled by a broad fillet on the top and under the hair. The texture of the hair at the forehead and at the folded part is marked by vertical chisel marks. She has a rather cold expression, with no emotions visible on her face.

COMPARISON

The Ince Sappho is a replica of the heads in the Terme and Baracco museums in Rome, and of that at Athens (National Museum, inventory No. 648) (Ashmole, 1929: 59). It may well be the missing part of a fourth fragmentary replica, from the Caelian, now in Budapest. The Ince head is a very fine copy from a bronze original of about 470 BC (Ashmole, 1929: 59) (Hekler: 26 Pl. 1 No. 4). The Terme Museum holds a large head of a goddess or empress which belongs to a monumental sculpture in Severe Style (Helbig, 1969: 163-164 No. 224 Vol. 3). The hair was carefully worked but it lacks delicacy. Here the hair style appears the same as on the Ince head. The Baracco head is very similar to the Terme head (Helbig, 1966: 629 No. 1870 Vol. 2). The difference here is that the hair consists of heavy waves (like a superstructure) on the forehead, and appears stronger than

other known examples. The hair is combed upwards at the neck and is held into a bun by a hair-band, as in many known examples (Helbig, 1966: 629).

The Esquiline head is a copy of first century AD, with early fifth century BC features. The Esquiline Venus in the Museo Conservatori shows a similar hair dressing to the Ince head (Jones, 1926: 150-153 Pl. 54 No. 37). The hair of the Venus is copied an archaic arrangement. Here, which is different from the Ince head, the hair on the forehead is arranged in a thick fringe and its texture is indicated on the head from back to front. The rest of the hair is folded and made into a knot at the back of the head using a broad fillet around it. The Ince Sappho's long hair is also folded into a knot at the back but there is no indication of the thick fringe. Her hair is drawn to the sides at the front.

The Ludovisi Throne in the Terme Museum in Rome consists of three marble slabs decorated with reliefs (Pedley, 1993: 227). The front panel shows the birth of Aphrodite from the waves. She is accompanied by two women figures on the either side of her. One side panel on the left of the relief shows a naked young girl playing a double flute while her legs are crossed as she sits on a folded cushion. Her hair is reminiscent of Sappho's and is perhaps knotted at the back; what is different to Sappho's is that it is bound by a snood. The other panel shows a fully draped woman also sitting on a folded cushion. The impression we get from the veiled head is that she has knotted hair at the back of her head, perhaps the fashion among Greek women of the early fifth century BC.

ceilings, of the fluted columns- specimens of the different architectural orders, and of the variant forms of the orders- of metopes and the like, as much as possible. Finally everything in the way of sculpture, medals and curious marbles that can be discovered by means of assiduous and indefatigable excavations. This excavation ought to be pushed on as much as possible be its success what it may”.

As has been shown, Elgin was in a hurry to take the sculptures. The Greeks also had no love for the Ottomans. During this time there had already been murmurings among the Greeks about their antiquities while the work was progressing at Acropolis.

Under the terms of the *firman* of 1801 Elgin and Lusieri probably exceeded what was reasonable. In Lord Elgin's memorandum to the House of Commons Select Committee in 1802, he pointed out that the sculptures would have been mortar if he had not taken them, and he gave an effective description of 'the house of the old Turk' (Disdar). Disdar when questioned confessed, 'laughingly' according to Elgin, that he had made mortar out of the marble statues of the Acropolis. The story of 'the old Turk' is said to have occurred in May 1802. But it is known that the first panel was removed in 1801, long before Elgin visited Athens.

By the end of his expedition, Elgin had obtained the best pieces of the Acropolis. In 1802 Elgin bought a small ship, the *Mentor*, and sailed to Alexandria with many boxes of moulds and sculpture. There were also three marble torsos, a piece of the frieze and a marble throne, all looted from the Parthenon. Unfortunately the ship sank but the cargo was soon retrieved. In February 1803, the vessel *Brakel* sailed from Athens with more pieces from the Parthenon. These included the statues of the east

pediment, Theseus, Demeter, Kore, Iris, the single 'Fate' and the pair of 'Fates', and from the west pediment Hermes and Ilissos. There were also two metopes and seventeen cases of Parthenon friezes and other pieces from all over Greece.

On his way home to England in 1803 Elgin was taken hostage by the French general Boyer, and was held in France until 1806. During those years and onwards, Lusieri acted as if his master's orders were still extant. During Elgin's captivity in 1806, sculptures continued to arrive to London. On his return to Britain, he displayed the sculptures in a shelter adjoining his temporary house at the corner of Piccadilly and Park Lane. Two years later, in 1809, Elgin was in financial difficulties, and the exhibition was closed to the public; Elgin's idea was to convert the house into a private museum and to charge admission fees. A. H. Smith wrote to Elgin that the admission fees would meet the expenses of maintenance, and he suggested selling the house and passing the marbles to the Government. In 1810, the British Museum called upon William Richard Hamilton (who was appointed Elgin's private secretary at the Istanbul embassy, and was later a trustee of the British Museum) to ascertain Elgin's intentions over the marbles. Hamilton acted as Elgin's agent in the disposal of the collection.

In his memorandum of acquisition Elgin claimed £62,440 for his expenses, but the Prime Minister of the time, Spencer Perceval, suggested £30,000.

As Elgin was in financial difficulties, from July 1811 the Duke of Devonshire kept the marbles in a shed at Burlington House. In the same year Hamilton offered Elgin £40,000 but he still insisted that his expenses had been greater. The assassination of Spencer Perceval on 11 May 1812 terminated all negotiations. Soon after,

Burlington House was sold and the problem of storage of the marbles became acute. At the same time Elgin was offered £35,000 by a committee of the British Museum, which was set up specially for the purpose of purchasing Lord Elgin's collection. Again he hoped to profit from the discussion and once more the argument began as he wanted £50,000.

After a long debate, in 1816 Elgin agreed to sell the collection for £35,000, on the condition that the entire collection be kept in the British Museum and be known by the name of "The Elgin Marbles" (Hitchens, 1987: 57).

Throughout the acquisition, Elgin misled the House of Commons about his motives, exceeded the *firman*, took advantage of the uncertain policies of the era, paid bribes to Turkish officers and generally exploited his position. In doing so, he severely damaged the Parthenon, showed no care for the feelings and wishes of the Greek people, and claimed to have the marbles for the nation although he kept them in his house until financial urgency necessitated their sale (Hitchens, 1987: 56-58-59).

The arguments over the legality and the rightfulness of Elgin's transfer began soon after the work of removal started (Hitchens, 1987: 59). The first important figure in the debate was Lord Byron, the Romantic poet who had stayed in Greece and whose devotion to the 'Greek problem' is very important. His publication *The Curse of Minerva* showed his opposition to Elgin's behaviour. In 1795, John Bacon Sawrey Morrit, Member of Parliament for North Allerton, had visited Athens and expressed the view that the Greeks were 'decidedly and strongly desirous that the marbles should not be removed from Athens' (Hitchens, 1987: 63).

Hugh Hammersley of the House of Commons Committee of Supply made the first recorded proposal for the return of the marbles in 1816. The reply to Hammersley from John Wilson Craker was that "the idea of sending them back to the Turks was chimerical and ridiculous" (Hitchens, 1987: 63- 64). Like many of his contemporaries, he did not want to recognize the Greeks 'owning' their antiquity. The number of British parliamentarians who favoured retention was greater than those who were against. Other Englishmen of the day, however, were not so easily reassured about the excellence of Elgin's acquisition. Edward Daniel Clark, the Cambridge Professor, was shocked when he saw the damage done to the structure and symmetry of the Pantheon. He did not accept that the real intention was to rescue the sculpture; if so, he argued, 'why not exert the same influence which was employed in removing them, to induce the Turkish government to adopt measures for their effectual preservation ?' (Hitchens, 1987: 64).

The engraver H. W. Williams, author of *Travels in Italy, Greece and the Ionian Islands* believed that the removal of the sculptures was beneficial to fine art, especially for British artists in opening their eyes to the simplicity and beauty of the study of nature. Williams did not confront the argument, which has been deployed down the generations, that if his own countryman had not done the deed, then some other nation would have perpetrated it. The French may well have had them if Elgin had not removed the marbles (Hitchens, 1987: 65).

The Hon. Frederic Sylvester North Douglas in his essay *On certain points of Resemblance Between the Ancient and Modern Greeks* was sympathetic to Elgin's

case as set out in the *Memorandum*, yet added that it was an injustice to deprive a helpless and friendly nation of any possession of value to them (Hitchens, 1987: 65).

Both during and after their national revolution, the Greeks expressed themselves strongly about the removal of the marbles (Hitchens, 1987: 65). The most impressive individual was the Greek general Makriyiannis, the great popular leader of the revolt of 1826. Another prominent besieger of the Acropolis was Kyriakos Pittakis who later became the first general Keeper of Antiquities of Greece. At the height of the War of Independence, the Greek authorities attempted to preserve their classical heritage. In 1825, Alexander Mavrokordatos, Secretary-General of the provisional Greek Administration, wrote to a Dutch colonel who had been excavating for his benefit that "a formal complaint was in preparation...you will remedy the situation by restituting the seized antiquities" and went on "the export of any antiquities is prohibited by law. ...We shall never cease to claim what belongs to us...". It seems evident that there was a consciousness of the Greek heritage at all levels (Hitchens, 1987: 67)

The next important name in the story of the marbles was Frederic Harrison, an English historian, who wrote on the subject in 1890-91 in the London magazine *The Nineteenth Century*. In an article called 'Give back the Elgin Marbles', he argued that "(The) marbles are to the Greek nation a thousand times more dear and more important than they can ever be to the English nation, which simply bought them. And what are the seventy-four years that these dismembered fragments have been in Bloomsbury when compared to the 2240 years wherein they stood on the Acropolis". He continued,

"...the half is in London, the other half is in the possession of the Acropolis Museum; if we honestly respect great art, that the original be set up as a whole" (Hitchens, 1987: 67-68). Harrison also commented on the Parthenon's significance to the Greeks. A counter-argument came from the editor of the magazine, J. Knowles. In an article entitled 'The jokes about the Elgin Marbles' Knowles wrote that if the marbles were returned to the Greek government, they would be sold to New York or Berlin.

After the Harrison-Knowles debate, there appeared three individuals who developed the argument. These were Constantine Cavafy, George Nathaniel Curzon and Sir Roger Casement. In April 1891, Cavafy argued in the *Rivista Quindicinale* for the restitution of the marbles. George Curzon was opposed to Harrison's suggestion and sent a letter to the *Fortnightly Review* saying that the marbles could be seen by more people if they were kept in London. Curzon only favored their return if the sculptures were re-fixed in their original place and suggested that exchange might be possible for the Caryatid and the panels of the missing portion of the Panathenaic procession. In July 1891, a poem by Sir Roger Casement was published in the *Review of Reviews*, in which he argued that there was something inappropriate in separating the marbles from their Hellenic context.

In 1916, A. H. Smith published his classic defense of Lord Elgin, but was disingenuous in treating the issue as closed. It had never ceased to be a matter of controversy and there was no reason to believe, in 1916, that it ever would end. In 1924, Harold Nicolson, of the Near Eastern Department of the Foreign Office specializing in Greek affairs, said that some action should be taken by the Government

about the marbles, especially appropriately on the anniversary of Byron's death. But this could not be accepted by Ramsay MacDonald, the Prime Minister of the day. Nicolson also considered the *firman* and said that it could not have been understood by Elgin. Sir Philip Sassoon, a Trustee of the National Gallery and the Tate and Wallace collections, wrote to *The Times* that "... the noble ruins of the Parthenon and the glorious atmosphere of Athens would not be a better setting than Bloomsbury for the most exquisite marbles in the world" (Hitchens, 1987: 73-75).

The views of men such as Nicolson and Sassoon were by no means dominant in the foreign office or among politicians. Greek opinion was something that most British governments felt able safely to disregard. In 1939, Nikos Kazantzakis, the writer, visited England, after which the issue was largely overshadowed by the Second World War (Hitchens, 1987: 75). Nevertheless, in January 1941 the Tory MP Thelma Cazalet asked the Prime Minister whether or not he would introduce legislation to enable the Elgin Marbles to be restored to Greece at the end of hostilities. She was answered by Clement Attlee, then Lord Privy Seal and deputy to Churchill, who said that "His Majesty's Government are not prepared to introduce legislation for this purpose" (Hitchens, 1987: 75). The British Museum was invited to state its views and replied with a detailed memorandum reviewing the historical, legal and practical considerations. The legal section of the memorandum made the point that an act of the Parliament would be necessary for the restitution of the marbles (Hitchens, 1987: 76).

W. L. C. Knight, who succeeded Nicolson in the Greek section of the Near Eastern Department of the Foreign Office, showed great interest in the return of the

marbles and concluded that "For the gift to be complete and completely acceptable it should comprise, in addition to the frieze, the Caryatid and the column from the Erechtheum which all together constitute the Elgin marbles" (Hitchens, 1987: 77). Knight's memorandum was forwarded to higher authority with a note from his superior, James Bowker, who was a deputy head of the South-Eastern European Department. He proposed the return of the marbles after the war with a set of conditions. His views were not based on the principle that the antiquities should return to their place of origin but that before their return, arrangements should be made for their housing, exhibition, and preservation. In effect, the Foreign Office and the British Museum privately relinquished the main elements of their moral claim to the Parthenon Marbles in the course of that year 1941 (Hitchens, 1987: 78). However no further decision was taken.

Twenty years later, on 9 May 1961, Harold MacMillan, the Prime Minister, was asked a question in Parliament about whether the time had not now come to restore the marbles to Athens. He replied that "This is a complicated question which can hardly be dealt with without a great deal of consideration There is a problem in here. I will not dismiss it from my mind, but it raises important questions and would require, I imagine, legislation" (Hitchens, 1987: 79). On the following day *The Times* published an article entitled 'Bought and Paid for'. The editorial ridiculed the Prime Minister for waffling about not having 'dismissed the idea from his mind' and argued, 'the sooner he does so, the better' (Hitchens, 1987: 79).

In the 1960s another, very different figure in the debate, was the novelist and essayist Colin MacInnes. He published an article scornfully entitled "Elgin" 'Marbles' in *New Society* in January 1963. In this he argued that "...if all alien works were returned whence they came, there would no longer be any museums". The Greek poet Odysseus Elytis visited the British Museum and told MacInnes about the marbles: "I (Elytis) had a feeling of desolation. They have yellowed, but I believed that, if they return one day the sun will restore to them their initial color" (Hitchens, 1987: 80-82).

During the late 1960s and the 1970s, the Greeks continued to press for the return of the marbles. Their efforts were not helped by their failure to find any significant British sympathizers. As a result the issue went quiet and the discussion entered a sort of recession. Between 1967-1974 Greece was under the dictatorship of the Colonels; academic and popular concern with the question was stifled due to the policies of the fascist junta, as many scholars and teachers were kept in prison. This too contributed to a relative silence on the part of Greek society and government. George Seferis, the future diplomat and Nobel prize winner, enriched Greek poetry more than any of his contemporaries with Greek liberation.

The restoration of Greek democracy in 1974, the renewal of cultural and political links in Greece and her accession to the European Community in 1981 gave the argument a new impetus. When Melina Mercouri was the Minister of Culture in 1982 the subject attracted enormous international attention. In 1982, the British architect James Cubitt and his Greek wife Eleni, along with the playwright Brian Clark and Prof. John Gould, suggested that a committee might be formed against the policy

of the British Museum. They contacted Prof. Robert Browning, who had expressed a similar opinion in an interview with the BBC in 1982. In a short time, they had engaged the attention of newspaper editors, columnists, Members of Parliament of all parties and producers of radio and television debates (Hitchens, 1987: 83-84).

The argument against the return of the Marbles has evolved over the years. The arguments of retentionists and the counter-arguments can be summarized as follows:

1- The removal of the marbles to Britain was immeasurably helpful to the fine arts and to the study of the past. Traces of the effect of the Parthenon are to be found in architecture, sculpture and painting all over Britain.

2- The marbles were safer in London than they would have been in Athens. If the marbles were in Greece they might or might not have survived damage; it is very difficult to prove the contrary although we do know of the extraordinary care and protection taken by the Greeks during the War of Independence.

3- The marbles are safer in London than they would be in Athens. This is the strongest argument for the recessionists and is also the argument that carries the most weight among the Greeks. The pollution of Athens by industrial waste and domestic fumes, exhausts, factories and unplanned urban development are all cited. B. F. Cook, the former Keeper of Greek and Roman Antiquities in the British Museum, has argued that the marbles might be returned when the atmosphere of Athens is purer than the atmosphere of Britain. There have been efforts to reduce the pollution and preserve the Acropolis from further decay after the military dictatorship. Furthermore, in 1983, the

Greek government announced a ten year plan for the Acropolis. The aims were to restore and protect the Acropolis from pollution (Hitchens, 1987: 94).

4- Lord Elgin acted in the spirit of a preservationist. Elgin can be counted an ancestor of the preservationists only if one takes him at his own (later) valuation. There is no objection to admitting that he was a 'benefactor' whether by design or by accident. His first action was to take the marbles to Broomhall in Scotland. Even if his fallback justification could be accepted, it would not necessarily justify the continued retention of the marbles, but would justify the removal of the entire acropolis (Hitchens, 1987: 96).

5- The return of the marbles would set a precedent for the denuding of great museums and collections. It has been argued that the return of any fragment will be dangerous for the future of museums and collections. In June 1986, Sir David Wilson, the then Director of the British Museum, accused those who wanted the return to be guilty of cultural fascism (Hitchens, 1987: 99). Taken to its logical conclusion the result would be the end of 'international' collections. In fact, the British Museum has already made restitutions, for example the Ethiopian manuscript and the sceptre and orb of the King of Kandy to Ceylon in 1930.

6- The Greeks of today are not authentically Greek and have no title, natural or otherwise, to Periclean or Phidian sculpture. On the other hand, even if they are not ethnically descendants, if the language, landscape, national consciousness and philosophic and artistic tradition do not amount to continuity, it is difficult to see what

does. The Greeks preserved their heritage and identity moreover through many centuries (Hitchens, 1987: 103).

The Parthenon marbles consist of 115 panels of frieze, of which 94 are still extant, either intact or broken, and of which 36 are still *in situ* or are in the Acropolis Museum. Of the original 92 metopes, 39 are on the temple or are in the Acropolis Museum. The British Museum holds 56 panels of frieze, and 15 of the surviving metopes. One panel of the frieze is in the Louvre. There are also 17 pedimental figures in the British Museum. What we see is almost half of the surviving sculpture of the Parthenon is in London, most of the other half being in Athens.

Neil Kinnock, the leader of the Labour Party in the mid 1980s, made a promise to return the Marbles to their original land when they came into power. But in May 1997, as one of its first acts, the incoming Labour government rejected a request from the Greek government. In June 1998 Chris Smith, Secretary of State for Heritage, rejected the restitution of the Marbles, saying that "they will not be returned to Greece because of the air quality of Athens", and also saying that "very great care has been taken of them".

The argument over the Elgin marbles has recently been revived; a book by William St Clair claims that the Marbles were damaged in the 1930s because of over-cleaning by the British Museum. (St Clair, 1998: 281-313). *The Guardian* (June 8 1998) newspaper took up the story in an article arguing that the Elgin Marbles were irreparably damaged. Staff at the museum had used metal scrapers in an effort to make the ancient sculptures white. According to St. Clair, the episode was hidden by the

Museum Trustees. The cleaning was carried out at the request of Lord Duveen, the wealthy art dealer, who erroneously believed that classical sculptures were originally white. Taking exception to their honey-coloured patina Duveen ordered workmen to spruce the marbles up, shortly before they were installed in a new gallery which he was financing. A museum spokesman, Andrew Hamilton, said that "we did not deny at the time that this unfortunate over-cleaning was carried out. It was a secret and terrible act but the damage had been exaggerated". St. Clair claims that in 1984 he was prevented from seeing relevant British Museum papers but has since been given full access (Harding, 1998: 9). "They have been kept in very good condition-very great care has been taken of them ever since," Chris Smith, the Culture Secretary, said in June 1998.

In 1983, in a debate in the House of Lords about the British Museum, a minister declared that the Elgin Marbles 'had been well cared for by the British Museum'. In January 1997, a letter in *The Times* could claim, without much risk of contradiction, that in London the Marbles had been 'meticulously cared for'. Even Melina Mercouri, then the Greek Minister of Culture, acknowledged 'the excellent care given to the marbles by the British Museum' (St. Clair, 1998: 305-6). St. Clair argues that, what is now needed is for the Government to insist on a full, open, international study of the historic surfaces as they stand at the present day. The aim of the inquiry would be to determine what has been taken off, what has been put on, and generally to assess the extent of the damage to the sculptures from the time when the Elgin Marbles were first entrusted to the Museum's care, and report on their present state. The inquiry should be asked specifically to consider the effects of the 'cleaning' of the 1930s. St. Clair also points out that the damage cannot be reversed or remedied, and

publishing the results of an honest study into their present state would be the first step towards restoring the Museum's reputation (St. Clair, 1998: 313).

In an article of June 18 1998, in *The Daily Telegraph*, Nigel Reynolds mentions Greece's inquiry into damage to the Elgin Marbles 60 years ago which was largely hushed up until June 1998. George Papandreou, Greece's deputy foreign minister, visited the Marbles on June 17, and said that 'the Museum's recent offer to hold an international seminar of marble experts next year to examine the damage could be "partisan"'. Britain's ambassador to Athens was also handed a formal request given by Evangelos Venizelos, Greece's Culture Minister, for an independent inquiry to assess the extent of the damage. However Dr Dyfri Williams of the Greek and Roman Antiquities Department said that St Clair had exaggerated the damage, and that no more than 10 per cent of the marbles had been harmed. A spokesman for Chris Smith, who has made clear that he is opposed to the marbles being return to Greece, said a response would be given to the Greek government 'in due course'.

An article called 'Europe's Marbles' was published by *The Times* June 22 1998. The article argued that the Elgin Marbles are uniquely important to Greece's 'rediscovery', after centuries of foreign occupation, of its ancient heritage. Modern Greece does not have sole claim to the legacy of 5th century Athens. The Parthenon's role in the rebirth of Greek ideals dates from the first display of the Elgin Marbles in London in 1807. This reactivated an international enthusiasm for all things Greek which continues to this day. It was in London that the Marbles became a symbol of Greek cultural heritage. The Elgin Marbles are central to the rebirth of classical Greece

through foreign eyes, and are the common property of Western civilization. It is the British Museum which made them so; and it is within its halls, open to mankind, that they should remain.

The Parthenon Marbles is a very sensitive and important case-study in considering the ownership and return of cultural treasures. Over the years, since Elgin brought the Marbles to England, the subject has received enormous attention. What Elgin did was not fair. He regarded himself as acting in the spirit of a preservationist and wanted to improve the arts of his country. He accused the Turks of converting marbles into lime; however the Turks, at that time, would have been taught the value of these monuments through seeing travellers from distant countries paying homage. Elgin was, in a way, a destroyer. Before Elgin, the marbles had remained largely intact, despite an inevitable degree of damage over the centuries. He misused the *firman* and took advantage of uncertain policies and bribed Turkish officials. However, Elgin could have used his post as a benefactor to fine arts in another way. This was contacting high-ranking individuals in the Turkish government in order to make them take actions for the preservation of the marbles. The *firman* was for his advantage rather than preserving the marbles for the world. As far as I can discern the preservation and recording that he initially mentioned did not occur until later on. In the first instance Elgin wanted to remove from Athens as much marble as he could. Wanting to improve the art of Britain, which is suggested about Elgin, is not a good case for the removal. Art treasures such as this would be better understood and appreciated in the places where they were originally fitted. Travel guides and drawings of the marbles had already been published by the time of Elgin.

5.4 Conclusion

In considering cases like the Great Altar of Pergamon in Berlin, the Mausoleum of Halikarnassos in the British Museum and many more monumental sculptures, they have clear origins and contexts, and the foundations are well-preserved or are replicated accurately as in the case of the Staatliche Museum in Berlin. In this situation, returning the sculptures would be successful. The city of Athens in Greece now has access to international funds and expertise specifically for the repatriation of the Elgin Marbles. And they are in the process of planing of a building to contain these marbles to prevent car exhaust fumes from eroding the marble. They are also intending to make replicas of the sculptures and re-erect them on the Parthenon façade.

It has become *de rigueur* to argue that ancient art is best appreciated in its ancient context. The argument is strongest where works of art retain their original integrity as a group, and where the original context still exist. Both of these factors are true for the Parthenon marbles, which are also a special case because of their artistic quality. The Ince Blundell collection is still intact as a group and my thesis has demonstrated that these pieces originated from the city of Rome and its environs, however in contrast to examples like the Elgin marbles there is no way of recovering the specific context of each individual sculpture as these pieces were not intended to be displayed in a single unit within Rome. Many of Ince pieces are of well-known repertoire which were commonly used by the artists of Rome and were produced over a time period of up to 400 years. The Ince collection, with its large variety of pieces, clearly represents what the workshops of Rome were achieving during the early and

late Imperial period, and this would be lost if the collection was broken up and returned'. It is a collection of individual pieces, as mentioned above, with no clear context. Because there is no clear context, the collection is less important to Rome than Elgin Marbles are to Athens, Rome is not asking for them back. Lord Elgin and Henry Blundell were two wealthy aristocrats who were part of the neo-classicist movement which heavily influenced the eighteenth and nineteenth century European culture. In short the Ince collection is more valuable as a collection, representing the sociological history of European culture in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries.

I now turn to the ethics of private acquisitions in the eighteenth and nineteenth century, particularly the Ince Blundell Collection. Most of the Ince antiquities were bought legally from the dealers, restorers and important villa sales of the eighteenth century. Blundell paid for what he bought. The antiquities particularly from the villa sales and the modern sculptures must have been acquired legally. This can be seen as the legal side of his actions. In addition, some of Ince antiquities were also acquired from excavations in and around Rome. If we consider the acquisitions from the dealer's houses and private excavations there appear questions. We are not sure whether all the excavations, which were often carried out by the British, were legal. Some were probably illicit with no regard for archaeological context. There was a huge demand for antique sculptures in Rome by English aristocrats in the eighteenth century. Many excavations took place to feed the demand so it is likely that many antiquities in the market were illicit. For example some of the excavations supported by Jenkins and presumably other important individuals of the era were not ethical. Many private aristocrats, along with Blundell, collected as much as they could and many private

country collections were formed in England during the eighteenth century. The desire to collect antiquities in a way encouraged illicit excavations in and around Rome. People today, like Blundell, buy illicit antiquities. We may think that Blundell and many aristocrats did not act properly, but they followed the tradition that was established much earlier. In the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries these activities can be seen as legal. In Rome at this time there was a massive established market with its own famous dealers and restorers. This resulted in the destruction of some sites and transfer of ancient marbles to Europe, particularly to England and to Italian museums. If we turn to Elgin's activities in the nineteenth century, he was not so different from the English aristocrats. The aims were simple: the possession of fine works of art. Blundell and many others helped and encouraged the acquisition of illicit material through buying antiquities from the excavations. Today illicit excavations still continue in Italy and many parts of the Mediterranean and there is not much difference in its nature. And this alluring trade of antiquities, of course, will continue.

Blundell's conservation of his sculptures was not good, especially for the pieces that were placed on the external parts of the buildings. He did not pay high regard for these pieces, but probably did not foresee the problem of the sculptures decaying. Most of them are now in a sorry state; fragments are broken and worn away. But the way he displayed his sculptures is admirable with the buildings that were built especially to accommodate his collection. The reconstruction of the Pantheon and the Garden Temple in classical context was admirable. The sculptures fitted well in their surroundings.

For the better understanding and appreciation of the Ince Collection as a whole the ancient and modern pieces must be displayed together either in a building, especially built to accommodate the sculptures, or in their original surroundings.

THE CATALOGUE

Sources of information on the marble types in this catalogue followed Bernard Ashmole's identifications.

1- METROPOLITAN SARCOPHAGI DECORATED IN RELIEF

1.1 SCENES FROM DAILY LIFE

1.1.1 BATTLES

No. 1 Pl. 1

ROMANS IN BATTLE, FRONT OF A SARCOPHAGUS

Subject: Battle scene

Relief type: Front of a sarcophagus

Inventory No: Ince No. 520, Blundell Eng. 122, Michaelis No. 303, Ashmole No. 303

Literature: Michaelis, 399, n. 303; Ashmole, 110, n. 303, Pl. 40, Andreae, 14, 35, 41, Pl. 3.

Provenance: Bought at Lord Cawdor's sale

Current and original location: Pediment of the Pantheon: c. 5.5m. above ground level; south-facing; well-illuminated.

Dimensions: Height: 73cms Length: 228cms

Material: Parian marble

STATE OF PRESERVATION:

This sarcophagus is placed on the pediment of the Pantheon. The relief is badly worn, especially on the heads, faces and bodies of the figures and on the horses. Because of this weathering there are few traces of facial features; for example the head of the first horseman is completely worn. The right leg of the first foot-soldier on the left is missing. In addition a large crack lies on the first mailed horseman on the left and goes on to the draped corpse on the ground. A number of fragments are missing on the top edge of the relief but these are not important. There is no large scale restoration but a few small patches can be seen on the relief. The head of the nude barbarian on the left corner is absent and a crack lies over his body. There is another crack on the left just behind the first barbarian on the ground, but again is not very significant. Fortunately the relief has not been much darkened by pollution, although there is extreme weathering.

DESCRIPTION:

The sculpture of this large bass-relief (8 feet by 3) is in great preservation: but the battle of which it remains a memorial, or what it originally alluded to, is not known. Its size, and the confused manner in which the ancients wrought groups of this, are very remarkable. Bought at Lord Cowder's sale. (Blundell, Engavings, Pl. 122, Cat. 520)

This scene shows Romans in battle with barbarians. At each corner of the relief is placed a tropaeon with a nude barbarian at its foot, sitting on the ground; the barbarians' hands are bound behind their backs. These two figures make a border to the scene. On the left of the slab a mailed, fully armed Roman horseman gallops over a draped corpse lying on the ground while he holds a sword with his right hand. Next to the horseman a nude foot-soldier with helmet and sword and a shield on his left arm turns his back and fights towards the first horseman. The foot soldier is threatened from the right by another Roman horseman in armour who brandishes a sword and holds a shield. Beneath this horseman another barbarian, dressed only in a cloak, is wounded in his chest. He hardly holds his head upwards and supports himself from the ground. Next to this barbarian, on the ground, lies another barbarian on the back of his prostrate horse. This barbarian is dressed in tight trousers and cloak. Over this figure, at the far back, a bearded foot soldier with a large shield decorated with branches of a tree, raises a short sword against the second horseman. Between these two figures, almost in the middle of the whole scene, stands a fourth barbarian, who looks rather young and noble, and the face shows agony with an open mouth. He is holding a shield with his left hand and sinking backwards while the right hand grasps a spear which has pierced his breast. He is nude but for a chlamys which hangs over his back. Further right, the

third fully-armed horseman draws his sword against a foot-soldier dressed in tunic, boots and helmet and with a shield adorned with branches, but worn now. Beneath the foot-soldier on the ground lies another corpse again on his back, his breast transfixed by a spear. He holds the spear with his right hand and the left hand lies on the ground with his shield placed next to his body. The position of his head looks very dramatic. On the extreme right, a fully-armed Roman trumpeter blows a long tuba while the left hand holds a short sword. All the Roman figures are dressed in short tunic, are helmeted and their drapery folds are easily recognised. However the treatment of these folds is not very artistic. The manes of the horses are grooved, especially that of third horse. All the Romans are clean-shaven although they are all very badly weathered. Except for the figures the whole background has been left empty. The scene is cut in very high relief and all the figures stand clear. The whole composition is very neat.

COMPARISON

This is a subject that was commonly used by the Romans for relief sculpture or to decorate sarcophagi in the late Imperial period. From the early Imperial period, from the time of Augustus, few commemorative sculptures have survived. One of them is the frieze from a building of the late Augustan period, now in Mantua (Strong, 1990: 88). This is a commemorative relief with a military scene that shows a battle between Romans and Gauls. In the Mantua relief, in the Palazzo Ducale, armoured horsemen with swords and shields, naked barbarians, and dying figures with twisted bodies can be seen on the ground. These type of

figures are well established for later periods and may have had a common source. Another example is a relief on the monument of the Julii at Saint-Remy, dating to first century BC or AD (Strong, 1990: 117). In this frieze, a group of horsemen and barbarians engage each other in different attitudes. These two reliefs have many similarities, such as mounted and armoured warriors and a clear composition. Only the foreshortening of the horses is different here.

The Ince example is similar to the Mantua and Julii at Saint-Remy reliefs, especially in the composition, the type of figures and the clear but engaging composition. However, the main inspiration for this type of decoration is based not on the realities of a Roman military engagement, but upon the traditional battle composition of Hellenistic art which is reflected in such works as the Alexander mosaic and the relief panels of the monuments of the Julii at Saint Remy (Strong, 1990: 88). The inspiration for this type of decoration comes from the Pergamene commemorations of their victories over the Gauls in the third and second centuries BC. The influence of this dramatic style runs through the history of Roman sculpture. It has been suggested that the individual figures and groups of the sarcophagi were taken not from sculpture, but from paintings of Pergamene battles. On Roman sarcophagi, the scenes are 'updated' by the inclusion of Victories and trophies and by the Roman dress of the victors, but in modelling as well as composition the feeling of Hellenistic art still dominates (Strong, 1990: 205).

Similar figures and groups appear on most of the sarcophagi of the period. On the Ince example the trophies are placed at the edges and the captive barbarians sit by the trophies with their hands bound behind their backs. The action is very lively, the composition is clear and the groups are related to each other. This is similar to the Ammendola sarcophagus in the Museo Capitolino which shows a battle between Greeks and Gauls, but this time the composition is much more developed and highly organised (Jones 1912: 74-75 Pl. 14 No. 5). The simplest and earliest designs of battle scenes are based on groups consisting of few figures.

The sarcophagi with battle-scenes which appear in the 160s might be connected with the Roman wars with the Marcommani and Sarmatians. This flourishing time lasts until about 200 AD; in the late 3rd century only the high quality great Ludovisi battle sarcophagus was created (Koch and Sichtermann, 1982: 90-92). The 20 surviving sarcophagi of this type in Rome can be divided into 2 classes: an early group of battle sarcophagi and a later mass combat sarcophagi form. The first class, which flourished around AD 170-190, shows single battle groups equally distributed over a low relief. Good examples of the mass-battle sarcophagi in Rome include the Ludovisi sarcophagus in the Museo Nazionale Romano, the so-called Ammendola sarcophagus in the Museo Capitolino, a sarcophagus of the Via Tiburtina in the Museo Nazionale Romano, and a sarcophagus in the Villa Doria Pamphilji (Koch and Sichtermann, 1982: 90-92). The scenes are crowded by mounted, armoured, and foot soldiers and naked barbarians. The overall composition is a *melée*. Similar motifs and figures appear on most pieces: the barbarian falling from his horse, the mounted figure thrusting

back at his enemy, the suicide of a barbarian chief. As mentioned above, it can be assumed that the type of the soldiers is connected with the late Hellenistic, especially the Pergamene art; a painting by Phyromachos is assumed to be original (Koch and Sichtermann, 1982: 91). In some of the later examples, including the remarkable example from the Via Tiburtina, the great massing of figures obscures the overall composition (Strong, 1990: 205).

The Villa Doria Pamphilji sarcophagus is comparable to the Ince relief (Ashmole, 1929: 110). Again here at the corners of the scene, by the tropaeon, sit a nude barbarian. Their hands are bound at their back. Two mounted horsemen on the left gallop over a barbarian lies by his prostrate horse on the ground. The composition, naked and dying barbarians, Romans with flying draperies and galloping horses are particularly similar to Ince relief (Andreae, 1973: Pl. 3). The Ince relief probably dates to the second half of the second century AD., perhaps around AD. 190, and is probably a late example of the first class of sarcophagi because it is not as good as the mass combat scenes nor does it consist of single battle groups.

1.1.2 HUNTING

No. 2 Pl. 2

HUNTING SCENE, FRONT OF A SARCOPHAGUS

Subject: Hunting scene

Relief type: Front of a sarcophagus

Inventory No: Ince No. 524, Blundell Eng. - , Michaelis No. 393, Ashmole No. 393

Literature: Michaelis, 412, n. 393; Ashmole, 118, n. 393, Pl. 49.

Provenance: From Hadrian's Villa at Tivoli. Bought at Christie's, May 1800

Current and original location: Portico of the Pantheon; c. 3m. above ground level;
south-facing

Dimensions: Height: 150cms Length: 137cms

Material: Parian marble

STATE OF PRESERVATION:

On this fragment of a sarcophagus the colour of the relief is much darker than the original colour. It has been badly affected by modern air pollution. The nose of the

bearded horseman at the top left hand corner is missing at the tip and his raised right arm has also been restored. A large patch on the exposed naked right leg can be easily recognised. Another horseman, just under the first one, also has many missing fragments, including parts of his right arm (the tip of his fingers, the elbow, the upper arm and the mouth of his horse). Furthermore his sleeved tunic is slightly worn at the front and his face including the cheek, the nose and the hair is damaged. His projecting right leg is broken at the thigh. This fragment must have been broken in the distant past, certainly before the damage caused by air pollution. The springing lion in the middle of the scene is badly weathered and a fragment from his left foot is missing. Some minor pieces also are absent from the mouth. The left hind leg of the hound just beneath the lion is also missing. Above the lion, a third horseman stands with a weathered face and hair while the head of his horse is missing from the neck. His nose is restored. The fourth horseman is less badly weathered on the tunic and is generally in good condition but his nose is restored too. A fragment is missing on the head of the helmeted warrior who is at the top right hand corner of the relief and on his horse. Furthermore his right knee, part of right foot, part of right hand, and lower half of the sword (which is missing now) are restored. The face of the bearded man below, in the right corner, has fractured badly, especially his nose and cheeks. There is a small patch on the left shoulder which is whiter than the natural colour of the relief, that is a restoration. Furthermore the top of his head and part of the face on the left are restored. The projecting mouths of all the horses are restored. The lion and the ibex on the ground are weathered badly. In addition, the panther behind the lion is slightly weathered. The whole left edge of the relief is broken from the top to the bottom. Moulded frame at the

op and sides and strip of background at each side are restorations. Finally, minor chips are missing at the bottom of the moulded frame.

DESCRIPTION:

The sculpture of this bass-relief is bold and spirited, and has a good effect from its present situation. There is probably some mystical allusion in it, to illustrate which may be a subject for the learned antiquarian. It was found in Adrian's villa. (Bhundell, Account, No. 524)

The front fragment of this large sarcophagus shows a Roman hunting scene with the action that goes with the chase. In the middle a lion is chased by a hound; the lion bounds left towards a bearded horseman in tunic and cloak, at the top left hand corner of the relief. The horseman raises his right hand. His horse gallops towards the lion who is shown with an abundant mane and mouth open wide. Beneath the horseman a second bearded horseman holds his horse by its bridle and glances at the lion. Before him, on the ground, lies another lion and an ibex killed by the horsemen. A third horseman stands with his horse just above the lion, his cloak blowing, and brandishes his sword at the lion. He is also bearded, has short hair and is glancing upwards. At the top right corner we see the fourth horseman with billowing cloak as well as a helmeted warrior on his horse; they raise their swords against a panther springing from behind the lion. While this episode is happening, below in the right corner, a bearded man in sleeved tunic and cap is cowering on the ground and holds his shield for protection from the panther.

Stylistically the qualities of the draperies are unnatural and very linear. The execution of the figures and the proportions is not particularly successful; the figures are squat, the horses are small, and the heads of the horsemen are bigger. Grooving can be seen on the heads and beards.

COMPARISON

This relief belongs to a sarcophagus that was used by individuals of high status. The Roman hunting sarcophagi form a large and very important group and are a basis for determining the date of the sarcophagi between 220/30 to the Constantinian period. The lion hunt sarcophagi type follows the wild boar form (Hippolytos sarcophagi). The wild boar type was replaced by the lion c. 220/230; lion hunt sarcophagi were widely used and distributed in the later Roman imperial period. Wild boar hunts are more mythological than lion hunts (Koch and Sichtermann, 1982: 92-93). In the earlier examples of hunting scene sarcophagi the two subjects (scenes) were executed on the same panel; the representation of the chief huntsman commander and the lion hunt are together, with a Virtus figure placed in the middle of the relief. This two-scene type of sarcophagus was used until the 4th century AD. Around AD 250 the two scenes were linked into one. Andreade (1980) assumes that one-scene sarcophagi were created for civilians without military rank and that the two scene type were designed for high officials (Koch and Sichtermann, 1982: 94).

At first sight the Ince relief appears a mess, but with the diagonally placed jumping animals and the officials who are shown raising hands with swords, the composition can be easily understood. This is a very lively composition. The group of mass figures overlap with each other yet each figure is visible. Their dresses were executed very linearly. The four officials with short chitons and flying chlamys, the springing animals (a lion and panther), the dead beasts (a lion and an ibex), a dog with a collar and a figure on the ground who is trying to protect himself with his shield are all features commonly found in this kind of relief. A very similar example from S. Elpidio in Rome is the front of a sarcophagus. Here on the left chief huntsman commander is shown while a similar hunting scene to the Ince relief appears on the right (Koch and Sichtermann, 1982: 95, Pl. 88). Again the execution of the draperies is very linear. A dead ibex lies on the ground while the lion and the panther are springing forward. The dog with a collar, a man on the ground trying to protect himself and the marching horsemen particularly the position of their raised arms are very similar features.

There are also numbers of sarcophagi in the museums of Rome that show similar scenes, for example a sarcophagus from S. Callisto (Koch and Sichtermann, 1982: 95 Pl. 87) and one in the Vatican Collection (Amelung, 1903 i: 829 Pl. 92 No. 36). The left part, particularly the upper portion, of the Vatican relief is missing. The remaining fragment shows a lion and a hound springing from the right corner, and a dead lion on the ground. What looks to be a huntsman sits on the left corner. By him stands his horse. Because of the execution of the drapery folds which is rather linear and simple, as is the workmanship, the Ince sarcophagus is

probably a late example, perhaps at the end of the third century or early fourth century AD. There is no clear anatomical accuracy in the bodies.

1.1.3 BUCOLIC SCENES

No. 3 Pl. 3

HERDSMAN AND HERD, SIDE OF A SARCOPHAGUS, usually represented with the myth of Selene and Endymion

Subject: Herdsman

Relief type: Side of a sarcophagus

Inventory No: Ince No. 328, Blundell Eng. 112, Michaelis No. 287, Ashmole No. 287

Literature: Michaelis, 394, n. 287; Ashmole, 105, n. 287, Pl. 48; Robert, III.1, 61, n. 39², Fig. 39²

Provenance: Unknown

Current location: Museum storeroom

Original location: The Garden Temple

Dimensions: Height: 59cms Length: 59cms Thickness: 5cms

Material: Greyish island marble

STATE OF PRESERVATION:

The top right corner including the horns and back part of the goat is restored. A small patch can be seen on the left edge. Minor chips are missing at the borders. There are traces of whitewash at the edges. There are several other minor cracks on the tree just behind the herdsman on the left. Another small crack is beneath the small calf, almost in the middle. Some patches appear on the arms and legs, on the exomis and the boots of the herdsman. The lower part of the tree in the middle, the boots and some parts of the legs and the herdsman's staff shows signs of restoration. Unfortunately almost all the relief is badly weathered including the head and the body of the herdsman, the trees, the animals in the ground, the calf's body and its face, and the background of the relief itself. The edges of the relief are in irregular shapes.

DESCRIPTION:

This is the side of a sarcophagus. In this scene a solitary herdsman is standing on a rocky platform in a pastoral landscape. The oak tree on the left makes a border to the scene. We see him while he faces to the right in his exomis and long boots and looks at his herd between two trees. He leans on his staff with his right hand and takes a support while his left elbow rests on the top of the staff and the hand supports the head. The left arm and hand are executed awkwardly. A mallet stands next to his right foot on the ground (much worn now). Next to him, on the forepart, a calf moves while a sheep lies in the background under the tree. Above the sheep a goat lifts its forefoot to the tree and browses the foliage. The drapery of the short exomis has been gathered

beneath the right arm and leaves a slit on the right leg; this leaves his right shoulder and legs bare. He carries his bundle on the right side of his body. The herdsman is represented as a tall strapping young man with neat features; he has short curly hair, a broad forehead and cheeks, and large eyes. The nostrils consist of two drilled holes as the edges of the leaves of the oak tree. However, the execution of the relief is not successful. The proportions of the body are poor and his height is the same as the trees. The animals in the background are as big as the one to the front. The trees are executed very roughly. Atmospheric depth has been ignored. The relief is shallow and not a very good work.

COMPARISON

Bucolic and rural representations appear first on sarcophagi only in contexts with mythological scenes like the sleeping Endymion, the abduction of Persephone or the killing of the Niobids; within the Endymion sarcophagi already the early ones show shepherds' scenes. The representations are realistic and show shepherds resting, standing (leaning on something), milking and along with sheep carrier; often there are goats eating from trees. There are also cows, sheep and more rarely horses and dogs. Often smaller buildings are set in countryside and slightly bent trees, straw and reed are represented. Similar representations are found on lids as well (Koch and Sichtermann: 1982: 116-118).

A similar scene is visible on the side panel of the sarcophagus of Selene and Endymion in the Museo Capitolino (Jones, 1912: 313-314 Pl. 82 No. 3a). In the

Capitolino relief again a solitary young herdsman stands in a country setting with his stock. The young herdsman stands on the left side of the relief and faces right while leaning on his staff. He wears a short tunic and long trousers. Before him, on the ground, are placed two cows, one behind the other. The one at the front is sitting on the ground. The other one is rather small, perhaps a calf, and faces towards us. Above the calf stands a sheep on a projecting rock which browses the tree next to it. This oak tree finishes the scene to the right. The young shepherd has short cropped hair and a pointed nose. His leaning position, especially the position of the arms and hands on the staff, the head profile, the cows, and the grazing animal are characteristics of this sort of relief. This end panel of a sarcophagus was also executed very roughly and is shallower than the long side of the relief. The proportions are unsuccessful, the herdsman is taller than the animals and his height is the same as the tree, as it is in the Ince example.

The Museo Conservatori in Rome contains another example (Jones, 1926 : 160 Pl. 59 No. 9a). This relief also forms the short end of a sarcophagus. A shepherd leans on his staff with the weight on his left leg with the legs crossed. He is bearded with a wrinkled face and has long curly hair which has been treated in the Pergamene fashion. He is dressed in a short chiton that leaves the left shoulder bare. There are two dogs, one in front of him, the other running in the background. On his right and left sides stand two olive trees. Again the whole composition and execution, which is rough and shallow, is similar to the reliefs mentioned above.

Another similar example is to be found in the Vatican Museum (Amelung, 1903 i: 735 Pl. 78 No. 630). This is a votive relief to Silvanus. It has the deity on the left and a young herdsman on the right separated by an altar. Close to the altar is a boar. The position of the herdsman on the left is the same as the herdsman previously mentioned. The herdsman leans on his staff with crossed legs while his left hand supports his head. Above the boar is a sheep, placed on a projecting tier. The design is Hellenistic. A Hellenistic terracotta lamp on the front shows a naked bearded herdsman sitting on a rock (Pfuhl, 1923: 280 Pl. 662). Behind him is a tree that extends nearly all around the lamp's face. In front of him are animals, including a goat browsing at the tree. This is the tree which the herdsman sits beside. Next to the goat there is what is probably a hare. The herdsman puts his right elbow on his right leg and supports his head while his left arm is loose and he looks down. The motifs on this lamp, the solemn herdsman, a tree, rocky ground and a flock of animals, appear in the sarcophagi mentioned above. The motif of a herdsman with his stock of animals was a well-known topic on Hellenistic reliefs and paintings, before they appear on Roman sarcophagi (Pfuhl, 1923: 832, 911). The Ince relief is likely to have been a stock piece from workshops in Rome' and probably dates to the late third century AD. The use of drilled holes for the leaves and nostrils also points to this date.

HERDSMAN AND HERD, END OF A SARCOPHAGUS

No. 4 Pl. 4

Subject: Herdsman

Relief type: Side of a sarcophagus

Inventory No: Ince No. 335 Blundell Eng. - Michaelis No. 391 Ashmole No. 391

Literature: Michaelis, 411-412, n. 391; Ashmole, 117, n. 391, Pl. 48.

Provenance: From the Villa Borroni

Current location: Inside the Pantheon

Original location: The Garden Temple

Dimensions: Height: 48.5cms Length: 57cms Thickness: 7.5cms

Material: Parian marble

STATE OF PRESERVATION:

Traces of whitewash can be seen very clearly on the upper part of the relief including around the edges. Minor chips are missing from the edges which are now irregularly shaped. There is a prominent crack which passes through the middle of the relief almost diagonally through the body of the sheep which is under the seat of the

herdsman; it also goes through the legs of the herdsman, through two goats in the background, and to the tip of the leaves of the oak tree at the far right side. The right lower half of the relief is restored; this includes all of the tree except the tips of two leaves, two goats just beneath the oak tree except for their tails, the ram at the right bottom corner of the relief, the herdsman's legs almost beneath the knees and the tail of the ram beneath him on the bottom left corner of the relief. The herdsman's right arm is restored from the shoulder. The whole relief is badly weathered, especially on the face of the herdsman and the bodies and the faces of the animals. Traces of whitewash are visible on the exomis and a small bag, on the ram at the left corner and on the goat's face in the middle of the relief.

DESCRIPTION:

This relief is set in a small rectangular slab and probably belongs to the end of a small sarcophagus, maybe that of a child. A herdsman sits on a rock and leans against an oak tree, which is on the left and makes a border to the scene. He is dressed in an exomis and high boots, with the laces only slightly visible. He is facing right and looks downwards, leaning on his staff with his right arm, at his side a small bag fastened to his exomis. Beneath him, on the left corner of the relief, a ram sits in a bushy place. On the right of the scene four more goats and a ram are placed in four planes, one above the other. At the top sits a goat on a rocky platform; beneath him are two more goats facing right sitting on the same kind of rocky platform. Below them the fourth goat sits on a platform and faces right. At the bottom right hand side of the relief sits a ram, with

prominent horns, who looks upwards. An oak tree starts on the right just behind the ram, which is in shallow relief except for the leaves, and makes a closing border to the relief. The flowers and fruits are shown on the trees and the ~~restored~~ ones are executed differently, in rather higher relief than those on the left. Small plants on the ground can be seen just beneath the legs of the herdsman.

The herdsman has short cut hair and a beard. The ~~face~~ has been heavily worn so that few facial features are visible. His body is ~~represented~~ proportionally larger, especially his restored arm. A short exomis leaves the ~~herdsman's~~ right shoulder and legs bare. The folds of the exomis are knotted under the ~~right~~ shoulder, from which hangs his bag. The folds are treated very simply; they consist of grooved channels and are in low relief. The texture of the unrestored animals on the left side of the relief shows no indications of fur, but the restored animals show ~~slight~~ chisel work on their bodies. The representation of the animals is not very ~~successful~~, being very simply executed. Atmospheric depth has also been ignored. The ~~trass~~ are squat because of the limited space for decoration. The relief is low. It is not an artistically very successful example though it is a very basic and simple representation.

COMPARISON

The Ince relief would probably have belonged to the side of a sarcophagus. An example in the Museo Capitolino shows a similar composition and motifs to the Ince example (Jones, 1912: 313-314 Pl. 78 No. 3). The front of the Capitolino example shows two scenes from the myth of Selene and Endymion divided in the

middle by the standing figure of Aura. The scene on the left represents an old bearded but bald shepherd who sits on a rock and bends forward to his dog which stands in front of him. Beside him is the oak tree. There are also animals placed above each other on three projecting tiers. The flock consists of a ram and a goat on the ground, a ram and a sheep on the middle tier and again a goat and a sheep on the uppermost tier. The shepherd in the Museo Capitolino wears a short-sleeved tunic, which leaves his left shoulder bare.

There is another example in the Vatican Museum (Amelung, 1903 i: 492-493 Pl. 51 No. 274). Here, on the lid of a sarcophagus, in the middle of the relief, a shepherd sits on a rock and is dressed in an exomis. In front of him are a dog and two cows standing on the ground. Behind him are a female pig and a dog (without a head). At the back two bare trees can be seen. The Vatican example shows another composition similar to the Ince relief with the same sitting pose and bucolic environment. This sort of scene is a common representation of the myth of Selene and Endymion, while the design perhaps derives from a Hellenistic relief or painting.

A relief from the Munich Glyptothek Museum by Polyphemos shows a lonely, naked and bearded herdsman, or perhaps Herakles, sitting on a rocky ground by a pine tree (Schreiber, 1890: LXXV). From his left shoulder hangs a lion skin. On his right is a dog, on his left is bearded figure of Priapos-Lord. On the lower register are placed three cows standing and one sitting. The rock background and animals on different registers are features of Hellenistic reliefs.

Another relief, probably again by Polyphemos, shows an old and bearded herdsman sitting by the tree on a rock (Schreiber, 1890: LXXVII). By him stands a goat. On the upper register are two more goats. One is sitting on the rocky platform, the other is browsing from a tree. Next to this goat is a dog curled up and sleeping. This relief and its composition is very similar to the Ince relief and probably many other reliefs with the same composition.

The Museo Capitolino collection shows a relief representing Endymion, who also sits asleep on rocky ground. This representation of Endymion is unique and has no likeness to any other relief or painting of the myth (Jones, 1912: 219 Pl. 53 No. 92). The rock treatment of the background here is again similar to the Polyphemos relief in Munich. A relief fragment from the Paris Cabinet de Medailles probably shows two herdsmen and a cow browsing on the left by the herdsman who is in the middle (Schreiber, 1894: CV). There is a small relief fragment from Rome's Villa del Grande (Schreiber, 1894: CX) which shows a goat by the tree trying to reach the foliage on its raised legs. These reliefs shows similar motifs which may have originated in the Hellenistic period as has been shown above, and continued to be copied by artisans of Rome when there was a need.

The execution of the beard, which was grooved, and the drapery folds appear unnatural which suggests a late date for the Ince relief probably mid or late third century AD.

1.2 MYTHOLOGICAL SUBJECTS

1.2.1 ACHILLES

No. 5 Pl. 5

ACHILLES IN CHARIOT, FRAGMENT OF A SARCOPHAGUS

Subject: Achilles

Relief type: Front of a sarcophagus

Inventory No: Ince No. 285 Blundell Eng. 107 Michaelis No. 279 Ashmole No. 279

Literature: Michaelis, 392, n. 279; Ashmole, 103, n. 279, Pl. 42; Koch and Sichtermann, 130.

Provenance: Unknown

Current location: Museum storeroom

Original location: From the Garden Temple

Dimensions: Height: 39cms Length: 65cms Thickness: 4cms

Material: Greyish island marble

STATE OF PRESERVATION:

Several minor fragments are missing from the top right corner, from just above the blowing cloak of Achilles and from the edges of the relief. But these losses are unimportant. The large crack on the left side effectively divides the relief into two pieces. The entire right side of the relief is old except for the largest part of the blowing cloak, the tail of the biga, the lower half of the spear, and Achilles's right lower leg, which are all restored. The rest of Achilles, the biga and the horses, the Victory figure and the naked reclining figure, the personification of Skamandros which lies beneath the chariot, are original. Otherwise the right hand of the soldier has been chipped away and a crack lies around the voluminous drapery of the Victory figure. Although severely cleaned and with some details retouched, generally speaking the relief is in a good state of preservation.

DESCRIPTION:

Achilles, driving right, stands in a fast moving biga and turns his head to the right, facing back. He is dressed in short-sleeves and full-armour and has a very beautiful helmet. In his right hand he grasps a spear while the left holds a rounded shield. Achilles is shown in extremely attractive armour, with a cuirass decorated on the front. In his trail a billowing cloak flows from his right shoulder. A figure with long hair lies on the ground under the two horses. The upper part of the figure is naked while the lower part is covered by a piece of cloth. The figure raises up his right hand in a gesture of mourning. This is Skamandros or some other local god. At the far right a Victory

figure with open wings makes a border to the scene, holding a whip in her lowered left hand and a piece of cloth in her right palm while she leads the horses. She is dressed in a short-sleeved long chiton that leaves the left leg nude when advanced. Deep carving can be seen on the folds of the draperies of the figures on the right, which produces dark and shade on the relief, and shows the figures voluminously. The hair of the two female figures, the eyes and mouth as well as the mane of the horses are deeply hollowed.

The execution of the figures is not particularly skilful; some differentiation in execution can be noticed. The drapery folds on the restored side of the relief are different, are not very grooved and are less voluminous than the original side. A small part of the helmet of Achilles and the hair of the Victory are executed on the frame of the relief. The proportion of the horses is smaller than the Achilles in the biga, but the Victory is executed larger. Skamandros is also represented in smaller proportion. There is no detail on the facial features of the figures, only strong drilled holes can be seen on the eyes, mouths, and nostrils. This is same criticism can be made of the animals too. The hair of the figures and the manes of the horses consist of deeply drilled short channels. The relief is not very high. This fragment of a sarcophagus probably belongs to the late Imperial period.

COMPARISON

A panel of mosaic and marble in the Museo Capitolino Collection in Rome shows scenes from the life of Achilles (Jones, 1912: 45-47 Pl. 9 No. 1). One of the scenes shows him in his chariot dragging the body of Hector to the Greek camp. Here Achilles wears a helmet and possibly a cuirass without a tunic. His left hand holds the reins while the right holds a sword slung on a sword belt. Two horses of the chariot team run at full speed while the nude corpse of Hector is fastened by ankles with thongs. A Victory (Nike) figure appears at the front of the chariot with open wings and a wreath is in her right hand. The left holds a branch and precedes the chariot. Behind Hector's body the walls of Troy can be seen. The scene is finished at each end by a tree. The position of Achilles and his chariot and the Victory figure who leads the horses are similar to the Ince relief.

The same composition appears in strip X of the Capitolino Tabula Iliaca in the Museo Capitolino collection (Jones, 1912: 168 Pl. 41 No. 83). Here, on the left, Hector stands at the Scaean Gate and waits for Achilles, who is on the right. In the centre Achilles seizes the fallen Hector by the hair. The scene on the far right shows Achilles dragging Hector's naked corpse, which is fastened behind his chariot, running at full speed, around the walls of Troy. However there is no representation of the Victory in the relief. Otherwise the composition is the same as the Ince relief.

A fragment in the Oxford University Galleries is the front of a sarcophagus with Trojan scenes (Michaelis, 1884: 566-568 No. 111). The scene on the right

depicts a chariot drawn by two horses guided by a fully armed warrior, probably Achilles, dragging Hector's corpse. Behind the chariot stands Achilles armed, with chlamys, breastplate, boots, helmet and spear. Again there is no representation of Victory here. Another relief, in the Woburn Abbey Collection in England, shows the front of a sarcophagus with representations of Patroclus, Achilles and Hector (Angelicoussi, 1992: 79 No. 63 Figs. 273-274, 300). On the left, in the middle, stands Achilles by his chariot, armoured, his shield on his left arm, and with a chlamys over the left forearm. He drags the left leg of Hector's nude corpse, which was fastened to the chariot but now only parts of the legs remain.

All of these scenes show the same motifs and compositions. Stock motifs were used in the representation of such scenes whatever the purpose of the relief. This subject also appears on eastern sarcophagi. In the Ince relief the drapery folds consist of strong and deeply drilled channels. The unnaturalistic execution of the bodies and the representation of hair, facial features and manes of the horses, which is strongly drilled, suggest a late date for the relief. The Ince sarcophagus therefore probably dates at the end of the third or fourth century AD. Unlike their predecessors the sculptors of this period may have lost interest in the anatomy of the figures and the drapery folds.

1.2.2 AMAZONOMACHY

No. 6 Pl. 6

AMAZONOMACHY, FRONT OF A SARCOPHAGUS

Subject: Amazonomachy

Relief type: Front of a sarcophagus

Inventory No: Ince No. 333, Blundell Eng. 107, Michaelis No. 280, Ashmole No. 280

Literature: Michaelis, 392-392, n. 280; Ashmole, 103, n. 280, Pl. 42; Koch and
Sichter mann, 138, fn. 1.

Provenance: Unknown

Current and original location: Placed outside the dairy (now the laundry); c. 4m.
above ground level; south-facing; well-illuminated

Dimensions: Height: 44cms Length: 64cms

Material: Pentelic marble

STATE OF PRESERVATION:

The relief is now placed in a frame outside the dairy, above the arch that encircles the main entrance. The relief is unrestored and is in one piece. The frame into which the relief has been set with a filling of plaster at the two corners on the right has been restored. The relief is broken at the upper and bottom right hand corners and on the upper left corner. The relief is broken on all sides. Many fragments are missing from the edges. The surface is badly weathered and worn all over. It is chipped away on the face, especially the chin, of the Amazon figure on the foreground. Her right forearm is also broken from the elbow and both her legs have broken away at the knees. The youthful warrior, his horse and the shield in his hand have weathered badly. The lower part of the horse has also broken away, and its mouth is chipped away. The left foreleg of the horse is broken, and only one fragment of the knee remains on the Amazon figure on the foreground. Traces of moss can be seen on the shield and on the horse, especially on the neck. The winged Medusa head on a round large shield has been badly erased; almost nothing can be seen. The raised right arm of the second Amazon figure in the far background is chipped away on the elbow and worn on the face. There is a crack, which runs on the cap of the Amazon on the foreground and passes through on the neck of the second Amazon to the mouth of the horse. The facial features are very badly worn.

DESCRIPTION:

This alludes to history of the Amazons, a nation in which the women were celebrated for their warlike exploits. One of the holds a shield, with a head of Medusa sculptured on it. (Blundell, Account, No. 333)

This fragment of a sarcophagus shows an Amazonomachy, a battle between Amazons and Greeks. In this scene, from the right a youthful warrior with a Corinthian helmet on his head, and a big rounded shield (decorated with a winged head of a Medusa) on the left arm rides a horse towards an Amazon. She stands on the foreground and tries to protect herself against him with a pelta in her advanced left hand. She is dressed in a chiton which leaves her right breast naked. She wears a Phrygian cap on her head, from which her long curly hair falls. Above her, on the background, appears another Amazon on horseback again with a Phrygian cap and with the same dress, emerges from the background with an axe (bipennis) in her hand, and tries to protect her comrade against the assailant. The young warrior, his horse and the second Amazon are shown in profile. The Amazon on the foreground bends her head slightly downwards and is represented frontally by a plump face. Her short chiton is rather voluminous but not very artistically treated. The figures in the foreground are executed in high relief. They both have rather idealised faces. To the left below is a horse's leg which must belong to the animal on the right.

COMPARISON

Scenes of Amazons in battle with armed warriors, probably Greeks, were frequently used by the Romans for their sarcophagi, especially from the Antonine period onwards. The subject was much favoured and approximately sixty urban Roman Amazon sarcophagi and fragments are known. Most of the early specimens (c. AD 140/50) show battles between Greeks and Amazons. Later, around AD 200, scenes of Achilles and Penthesilea appear in the centre. The latest examples occur in the third century (Koch and Sichtermann, 1982: 138).

The Ince relief is the front of a sarcophagus, in which only three figures survive. The relief is high and the composition clear. The horseman and the Amazons have a Greek look. A very similar example is held in the Vatican Museum (Amelung, 1908 ii: 169-176 Pl. 18 No. 69). The Vatican relief is again the front of a sarcophagus with a representation of Amazons in combat with Greeks. The left side of the composition is particularly similar to the Ince example. In the Vatican relief on the left an Amazon on foot is attacked by a mounted bearded figure who wears a Corinthian helmet and carries a shield decorated with the head of a Medusa. The Amazon tries to protect herself from her assailant with a sword and pelta. She wears a short chiton that covers her right breast. Above her, another Amazon figure can be seen on horseback with a short chiton and a helmet; she tries to protect her comrade with her raised right hand that carries a sword. By contrast the Amazons of the Vatican wear a kind of roundish hat. The mane of the horse in the background is grooved, and is rather different in treatment to the Ince relief.

Another sarcophagus with an early representation of a similar subject appears in the Museo Capitolino (Jones, 1912: 323-324 Pl. 81 No. 18). Here the figures are arranged in groups but with order in the scene, with diagonally rising arms of Amazons and Greeks and springing or falling horses. The scene is not very crowded and the figures stand in high relief, and the background is left empty.

The Ince relief reflects a Greek model more accurately than most of the surviving examples (Ashmole, 1929: 103). The Amazonomachy subject was a very common and was favoured for sculpture as early as the fifth century BC; the frieze of the Temple of Apollo Bassae, now in the British Museum, shows a fight between Amazons and Greeks (Pedley, 1993: 281). Here the voluminous draperies, the raised hands and the overlapping of the figures are the characteristics, and the same features also found in the Ince relief. An Amazonomachy frieze also appears in the Mausoleum of Halikarnassos, and is again in the British Museum (Boardman, 1993: 139-140 No. 131). Here the figures are more slender and clearly depicted; likewise they do not overlap. The Greeks appear naked with only Corinthian helmets and round shields for protection. One of the scenes shows a raised head of a horse which is very similar to the horse head in the Ince relief. The overlapping figures of the Ince relief are similar to the Bassae frieze, but the face of the horse is more similar to the Halikarnassos frieze.

The Ince relief is probably an early representation of the battles between Amazons and Greeks, and might be dated to the first half of the second century,

around 140/150, because of the execution of the figures, the composition and the motifs.

1.2.3 DIOSCURI

No. 7 Pl. 7

DIOSCUROS, PROBABLY SIDE OF A SARCOPHAGUS (to the left of the Pantheon portico)

Subject: Dioscuros

Relief type: Side of a sarcophagus

Inventory No: Ince No. 272, Blundell Eng. 102, Michaelis No. 271-272, Ashmole No. 271-272

Literature: Michaelis, 390-391, n. 271-272; Ashmole, 101, n. 271-272, Pl. 42.

Provenance: Bought from the Villa Altieri

Current and original location: The Pantheon Portico; c. 3m. above ground level; south-facing

Dimensions: Height (at present): 100cms Length: 104cms

Height (exc. restns.): 51cms Length: 76cms

Material: Luna marble

STATE OF PRESERVATION:

This and the following relief are built into the structure of the façade of the Pantheon at Ince Blundell Hall. Unfortunately this relief is very badly weathered, especially on the bodies of the figures and on the tail of the horse. The original colour of the relief has almost gone because of pollution, but it can just be seen on the hip of the horse and on the background. In addition numerous fragments are missing from the surface of the relief. The missing parts are as follows: the head of the Dioscuros is broken away including almost all of the face and hair, both shins and the knees, the left hand from the wrist and some minor fragments from the drapery folds. Of the horse the right foreleg, a minor fragment from the left leg and a small fragment from the right hind foot are missing, with more extreme damage to the lower end of the staff. The head of the horse including the eyes, mouth and mane are also absent. Furthermore large fragments are missing on the surface of the background. A crack starts from the tail of the horse and passes through his hind legs and goes out to the drapery of the cloak and the legs of the Dioscuros and finishes at the front legs of the horse. The tip of the spear and a small piece from the chest of the Dioscuros are also lost. The restored parts include the head, the hat, the left forearm, both legs from above the knees, and the top and bottom quarters of the shaft; and of the horse, the head and neck, both forelegs, and the

hind legs from the hock downwards, the lower quarter of the tail and almost all the background. The frame of the relief is also broken away on the bottom edge of the relief, which now looks white. It appears that the piece was once extensively repaired, but that these parts have now fallen away. Except for these pieces the relief is antique.

DESCRIPTION:

There are many fabulous stories related of these two heroes of antiquity. They were said to have often appeared to armies before battle, mounted on white horses, as a certain omen of victory. They were supposed to be the sons of Jupiter, and at their death were made by him constellations, to which the star here on their heads alludes. The name of *Dioscuri* was also given them, as representing day and night, alternating setting and rising, one in the morning, the other in the evening.. Bought out of the Altieri Villa, where they were much noticed for their size and sculpture. (Blundell, Engravings Pl. 102, Cat. 272, 273)

In this panel a young man stands before a horse cut in profile while his body is shown in frontal pose and the head in profile. The horseman stands calmly with idealised features. The right leg of the horseman is bent slightly forward and the left carries the weight of the body. With his left hand the youth holds the bridle of the horse while the right holds the long staff almost in the middle. The head is missing, but must have had the same attitude as the head on the other relief (mentioned below), glancing forward; this is suggested by old photographs showing that the head was intact (Ashmole, 1929: Pl. 42 No. 271). The youth's long curly hair tumbles from a small conical hat with a hood as a star on the top

and loosened over the neck. He is shown almost naked except for the long cloak over the right shoulder and parts of his right arm. The horse looks noble and is depicted in profile; it walks arrogantly with a raised left leg and a beautiful long tail. The two legs on the background are depicted in rather lower relief than the legs in the foreground. Furthermore the body of the horse is somewhat bigger than real proportions. The height of the horse and the horseman are nearly the same. The mane of the horse is slightly indicated by chisel work. The musculature of the horseman is well shown on the chest, and stomach. All the figures stand on a plain ground and at the same level. The background is left empty but was once painted with pale yellow.

Comparison see next piece.

DIOSCUROS, PROBABLY SIDE OF A SARCOPHAGUS (to the right of the portico)

No. 8 Pl. 8

Subject: Dioscuros

Relief type: Side of a sarcophagus

Inventory No: Ince No. 273, Blundell Eng. 102, Michaelis No. 271-272, Ashmole No. 271-272

Literature: Michaelis, 390-391, n. 271-272; Ashmole, 102, n. 271-272, Pl. 42.

Provenance: Bought from the Villa Altieri

Current and original location: The Pantheon Portico; c. 3m. above ground level;
south-facing

Dimensions: Height (at present): 100cms? Length: 104cms?

Height (excl. restns.): 61cms Length: 69cms

Material: Luna marble

STATE OF PRESERVATION:

Again this fragment had been badly effected by the pollution. This is very evident on the horseman and horse except on parts of its cheek, its raised foreleg, some parts of the hind legs and its hip. There is a large crack beneath the horseman which starts from the horse's hind legs and passes through the staff and the legs of the rider and goes through to the forelegs. The right hand of the man is broken away at the wrist. A minor fragment is missing from the left front leg and on the ankle of the horse. Otherwise there are no other substantial missing parts or cracks. However the relief had been restored in parts, including the head, neck, left shoulder and most of the cloak upon it, the left hand, both feet, the ankles and the top and bottom quarters and a patch in the centre of the staff. Of the horse's head, the upper half of the neck, the right foreleg and the left from above the hock, most

of the hind legs, tail and the background are restored. The background was once painted pale yellow but is now discoloured in black. The frame that surrounds the figures is not original but the ground where the figures are standing is. Some minor fragments are missing from the bottom edge of the relief. The relief is not as badly damaged as in the previous example, generally the state of preservation is good.

DESCRIPTION:

This relief is a matching pair of the pendant relief on the façade of the Pantheon. This relief, and the one mentioned above, are set opposite each other in a similar position and share the similar features mentioned above. The whole composition is the same. The horseman's head in profile while the body in frontal, again stands by a horse in profile. His right hand holds the bridle of the horse while the left holds a staff. The pose is the same as his companion; one leg is forward while the other carries the weight. He is naked but for the long cloak which only covers his left shoulder, lower arm and loosens downwards. The hair has been treated in the same way; long curls fall from a conical hat with a star on the top of his head. The inner legs of the horse are in low relief.

Anatomical accuracy has been shown on the body of the Dioscuros. I agree with Ashmole's observations on the representation of the figures (Ashmole, 1929: 101); they are reminiscent of the horsemen in the frieze of the Parthenon in the British Museum, where the pose of the man standing in front of a horse in profile may have originated in the Early Classical period.

COMPARISON

The two Dioscuri reliefs probably belong to two ends of a sarcophagus, consistent with the low relief execution. The representation of the Dioscuri, standing in front of a horse, usually naked with only a cloak hanging over one shoulder, one hand holding a long spear while the other holds the bridle of a horse, are typical features. Dioscuri also appear around cineraria and in the provincial art of France and Britain.

The Ince Collection has another pair of representations of Dioscuri which were probably once the side slabs of a sarcophagus (Michaelis, 1884: 388 Nos. 264 and 265). These two slabs, Nos. 264 and 265, are decorated with naked Dioscuri figures standing by their horses, with one hand holding a club and the other a bridle. Only No. 264 has a lion's skin on his left shoulder; No. 265 is naked. Again in the Ince Collection, Nos. 198 and 199 are two heads which appear to be Dioscuri with caps, from which curly hair loosens downwards on the sides and forehead (Ashmole, 1929: 75 Pl. 4). There were once bronze stars on the top of the hats but all that is now left is a drill-hole (Michaelis, 1884: 372). Stars also appear in the Ince reliefs on the portico of the Pantheon. The Phaeton sarcophagus in the Uffizi Gallery in Florence shows representations of two Dioscuri for its sides (Robert, 1919: 424, Pl. CXII Figs: 342a-342b). The style is very similar to the Ince reliefs; standing by their horses' head in profile and the body is frontal with the same cloak and the staff. Dioscuri were depicted on sarcophagi with stories of Leda, Phaeton, Prometheus, daughters of Leucippus, Achilles, and scenes of marriage, on

front at the ends of hunting sarcophagi and Asiatic columnar type. They are easily recognised with their horses and hats (Koch Sichtermann, 1982: 144)

The Sidamara sarcophagus, an Asiatic columnar type in the Museum of Antiquities in Istanbul, shows two Dioscuri figures on either side of the sarcophagus in an aedicula formed by two columns (Strong, 1990: 231). The standing pose of the figures in front of their horses, the profile heads, frontal bodies and indication of musculature, with the advanced and weight-carrying leg, and a hanging chlamys around the neck are features shared by the Istanbul and Ince reliefs. Two Dioscuri figures also appear in a number of mythological sarcophagi decorated with Meleagros, with their usual style of representation; a chlamys, cap and spear. These include sarcophagi in the former Broadlands Collection in Hampshire, in the Richmond Collection in Surrey (with chlamys and egg-shaped cap on their head) and at Wilton House in Wiltshire (two Dioscuri again with chlamys on their back and egg-shaped cap: Michaelis, 1884: 223, 634-635, 696).

A flat topped stele in the Sparta Museum also shows two Dioscuri (Wace, 1906: 158 Fig. 38 No. 202). In the centre is a female figure clad in long ungirt chiton and holding in each hand a fillet wreath. On each side facing her stands a Dioscueros in profile and naked. They are in similar pose, standing by their horses; their inner arms hold their horses' bridles while the outer hands hold sheathed swords. Each wears a pileus.

This type of representation of Dioscuri was well-established for the reliefs and sculpture of the Roman era, and the style of composition had a much earlier

history; the west frieze of the Parthenon in Athens shows horsemen on or by their horses and the motif of a standing man before his horse might have originated in the first half of the fifth century BC (Ashmole, 1929: 101). The Ince reliefs are well-known representations of Dioscuri and might belong to the early sarcophagi production, probably the second half of the second century AD.

1.3 BACCHIC THEMES

No. 9 Pl. 9

DIONYSOS WITH THIASOS, FRONT OF A CHILD'S OVAL SARCOPHAGUS

Subject: Dionysiac scene

Relief type: Front of child's oval sarcophagus

Inventory No: Ince No. 286, Blundell Eng. 100, Michaelis No. 266, Ashmole No. 266.

Literature: Michaelis, 388-389, n. 266; Ashmole, 98, n. 266, Pl. 47; Huskinson, 33, n. 3.9; Turcan, 1966, 329, 525, Pl. 64b; Robert, IV, iii, n. 172.

Provenance: Unknown

Current location: Inside the Pantheon

Original location: The Garden Temple

Dimensions: Height: 35cms Length: 70cms Thickness: 6.5cms

Material: Luna marble

STATE OF PRESERVATION:

The top right corner of the relief has been lost. Furthermore minor fragments are missing from all the edges of the relief. The left and right edge are irregular in shape. The left upper leg of the Pan and lower end of the torch of the naked Cupid (boy) on the left are also missing. Weathering has had its effects on the relief, for example on the face of the Maenad, on the Cupid on the left, on the face of Dionysos, on the young Satyr and especially on the head and right shoulder of the Maenad figure in the background. The body of Pan and the trees at the sides have likewise suffered. Minor chips are missing on the cista. The relief is unrestored. With the exception of these the general preservation is good.

DESCRIPTION:

In the middle of the first bass-relief is Bacchus, to whom a Satyr is going to sacrifice a goat. There are several figures with musical instruments, and a boy with a lighted torch. (Blundell, Engravings, Pl. 100, No. 286)

The front of this child's sarcophagus shows a Bacchic thiasos scene. On the far left, a pine tree makes a border to the scene. By the tree, a Maenad stands in a long engirded chiton while she clashes large cymbals. She has a round face, large eyes and short curly hair. In front of her a naked Cupid (boy) holds a burning long torch upright in both hands. By him stands another pine tree. Next to this group almost in the middle of the scene an almost nude Dionysos can be seen. Only a cloak covers his back, left shoulder, part of the right thigh and the left leg. Dionysos is shown as a young man with squat features and curly short hair. With his right hand he rests on a long sceptre on the ground while the left arm lies on the shoulder of a young Satyr on his left and holds a cup carelessly in his left hand. The god is supported by the Satyr, whose head also turns to look directly at the god. Between them, on the ground, lies a panther with an open mouth whose head turns above and looks at the Satyr. Further right, next to the Satyr, a cista is placed in the foreground, out of which a snake wriggles. This is the cista mystica of the Dionysiac cult. The last figure on the right is a bearded Pan who puts his left foot on the lid of the cista. He also carries a nebris on his left shoulder, and swinging from his left hand is a curved pedum; he manages to hold a goat that sits on the ground at the end of the scene before the third pine tree. In the background, between the Satyr and the Pan, we see a Maenad with bloated cheeks and in a long girded chiton playing a flute. Further right, the pine tree with a few branches and a cone on its top concludes the scene. Each group of figures in the relief stands on a kind of flat base.

The figures are squat because of the small dimensions and narrow space for decoration, as this is a child's sarcophagus. The drapery folds of the figures are very linear and the bodies have completely lost their anatomical accuracy. The heads of the Maenad and Dionysos in the middle are large, disproportionately compared with their bodies. Almost all the hair of the figures have deep grooves and are all very unnatural looking. The Maenad with the cymbals has a broad forehead and her hair is combed backwards. All the facial features are executed very plainly and the mouths are hollowed out. The eyes of the Dionysos and the Maenad are large and depicted very simply. The execution of the twisting left arm of the Pan, which holds up the pedom, is very unsuccessful. The fur of the goat has been indicated with smooth chisel marks. This is the same on the goat legs of the Pan, but if we turn to the panther on the ground no indication of the fur can be seen. Wickerwork has been indicated on the basket.

This is a thin relief slab. The sarcophagus was decorated in not very high relief and the background is left empty except for the flute-playing Maenad and three pine trees.

COMPARISON

Dionysiac sarcophagi are characterised by the appearance of the god Dionysos with his followers and with scenes of the myths that are associated with him, but only rarely by his followers on their own. This type appears already during the early periods of sarcophagus manufacture. There are 420-430 known examples including fragments, and most of them are Roman-urban. Their scenes were most

popular in the decades around AD 200; round about AD 300 their manufacture gradually came to an end (Koch and Sichtermann, 1982: 191-194). In the Ince relief the young god is placed in the centre supported by a young Satyr, and the god's followers stand on each side.

A slab in the Vatican catalogue shows the front of a sarcophagus with a Dionysiac thiasos (Amelung, 1908 ii: 313-316 Pl. 24 No. 102λ). The central composition with the young Dionysos, the supporting Satyr, a dancing Maenad in long voluminous drapery, the panther with raised head at the god's feet, and the god's himation over his left shoulder and over the right leg are similar to the Ince relief. The motifs are again well-established features in this type of sarcophagi. The same composition appears on an oblong base in the Palazzo dei Conservatori collection (Jones, 1926: 122 Pl. 43 No. 83). On the left of the decorated slab, an elderly, almost naked, Satyr dances with a panther skin hanging on his outstretched left arm. A Maenad on the right is draped in a long chiton which flutters in the wind, and holds the neck of Dionysos who is in the centre. The god stands with crossed legs and rests his arm on the left shoulder of the Satyr. The lower part of the god's body is clad in a himation. The young god also holds a wine-pitcher in his right hand.

Similar motifs appear in an example in the Museo Nazionale in Rome (Koch and Sichtermann, 1982: 192-193 No. 224). In this example the Maenads are clad in voluminous long chitons which flutter behind them. The left Maenad plays a flute while the right holds a tambourine, and a half open cista with a snake is

placed by the Pan on the right side of the slab. The god is on the far left and supported by Satyr.

The Ince relief is a late example of this type of sarcophagus. The execution of the draperies, which are very linear, and the drilling on the hair (drilled channels) strongly suggests a late date, probably to the early third century AD. Sarcophagi with Dionysiac themes of revelry may have offered a kind of escape from the troubles of everyday life, and suggest that the deceased would go on to a better world (Ramage and Ramage, 1995: 229).

1.4 SEA CREATURES

No. 10 Pl. 10

NEREID SITS ON A SEA HORSE, FRAGMENT OF A SARCOPHAGUS

Subject: A Nereid

Relief type: Front of a sarcophagus

Inventory No: Ince No. 281, Blundell Eng. -, Michaelis No. 376, Ashmole No. 376

Literature: Michaelis, 411, n. 376; Ashmole, 115, n. 376, Pl. 47.

Provenance: Unknown

Current location: Museum storeroom

Original location: The Garden Temple

Dimensions: Height: 49cms Length: 47cms Thickness: 11cms

Material: Parian marble

STATE OF PRESERVATION:

Numerous patches can be seen on the left edge of the slab and on the waves on the bottom of the relief as well as on the left leg of the Nereid figure and the sea horse's jaw. We can easily see that there is a large vertical crack on the left side of the slab, which runs just behind a pigeon, passes its tail and goes down to the chin of the sea horse before extending into the waves. It seems to me that this part has been restored. Small cracks also appear on both legs of the Nereid and on the pigeon's left wing. The tip of the Nereid's nose is missing. This is probably due to weathering. A large proportion of the right side of the slab is missing, which was shown intact in Ashmole's book (1929), including Cupid's wing, parts of the waves, the background and a small piece from the top of the right corner of the slab. The Nereid, particularly the head, the cupid, the pigeon and the whole background are badly weathered and worn away.

DESCRIPTION:

The naked figure of a Nereid sits on a sea horse, who has a dolphin head and a twisted tail, and puts her feet into the waves. The goddess is shown as a naked girl, who turns her head left and with her right hand holds the billowing cloak which covers her head while her left hand takes support from the sea horse and holds a wreath. The left leg stretches out to the sea and her foot is placed in the waves while the right leg bends at the knee. Her hair makes a bun at the back but some curls escape which can be seen at the sides of the neck. On the left side of the Nereid, a Cupid stands on the tail of the sea horse. The Cupid puts his right leg forward and turns his head to the left and looks forward. Above on the left hand corner we see a flying pigeon. The sea horse raises his head with an open mouth, and rounded eyes are indicated on the head. The head of the sea horse is depicted as a dolphin but the body and the tail are that of an animal. The scale has been shown on the sea horse, especially around the neck and belly but not at the hip and on the tail. The goddess, the Cupid and the sea horse stand in high relief. The execution of the hair of the two figures and the garlands are the same, consist of deeply drilled holes. The left and right hand fingers of the female figure are proportionally larger.

COMPARISON

The Ince example is one of a large group of sarcophagi decorated with sea-creatures from the city of Rome, made from the early second to the fourth century AD (Susan Walker, 1990: 26) also see (Rumph, *Berl. Winck. Progr.* 95 (1935) 8; ASR, V.1 (1939), 73 no. 199). Koch and Sichtermann have noted that in the beginning, in the late Trajanic period there are garland sarcophagi in which sea-creatures are represented above the festoons. Soon the sarcophagi with 'sea thiasos' started to appear, first without a central motif, then with conscious emphasis by putting a Gorgon, dolphin or even a tree on the centre. The group is discussed and expanded by Koch and Sichtermann (Koch and Sichtermann, 1982: 195-197).

There are five similar examples to this relief in the Vatican Museum. One shows Nereids as they sit on Tritons and sea-centaurs (Amelung, 1908 ii: 250-252 Pl. 23 No. 91). Here the pose of the Nereids, their nakedness, the billowing cloak and their hair style are similar to the Ince relief. The curly hair is drawn by the sides and makes a bun at the back. In addition to this Cupids accompany each Nereid, and hold the billowing cloaks. In the Ince example a cupid stands by the Nereid but holds a garland which is around his neck.

In the other examples from the Vatican Catalogue are sea centaurs, Nereids and Cupids (Amelung, 1903 i: 177, 178- 299, 300 Pl. 24 No. 18 and Pl. 29 No. 192a). The attitude of the Nereids, especially the blowing cloaks and their raised hands, their sitting pose and the presence of Cupids, and an indication of sea on the

lower part of the reliefs, is again similar to the Ince relief. Slightly different in No. 18 is a piece of cloak covering the lower part of the Nereids which flank the medallion of a Medusa head in the middle of the slab and in No. 192a portrait of a child.

Another example shows the front left side of a sarcophagus with the same type of representation (Amelung, 1903 i: 873-874 Pl. 111 No. 190). A Nereid again sits on the twisted tail of a Triton with the same billowing cloak and hair style. She also turns left and takes support from the monster with her left arm. But the difference here is that the lower part of her body is covered by a piece of cloth. The position of her legs is very similar to the Ince example; the left is put forward, the right is bent and drawn. Beside her, on the right, two Cupids are shown, one sitting on a sea centaur's tail and the other riding it. The indication of the sea at the base of the reliefs is shown in all examples. This composition is very similar to the Ince relief. In the Vatican Catalogue there is another sarcophagus which shows the Nereids sitting on dolphins (Amelung, 1908 ii: 159-160 Pl. 17 No. 61). The Nereids are naked and their pose, the blowing cloak and the hair style are typical. However they sit on the dolphins in a different fashion. Similar motifs also occur in the Museo Conservatori Collection (Jones, 1926: 262-263 Pl. 105 No. 7). Here the clipeus is supported by a Triton on each side and on his back sit Nereids, one with a mantle which covers her lower legs and left shoulder the other also with a mantle which only covers the lower part of the legs. The sea is also indicated on the lower edge of the slab as in the Ince case. The pose of the Nereids and the hair style is again similar to this type of representation.

In all the examples noted above, we can see that the motifs appear without substantial differences. The same limited range of motifs was used to decorate many sarcophagi. For instance, the representation of a blowing cloak is very common in Roman art from the beginning of the Imperial period. An important example is the Ara Pacis "Mother Earth" relief which shows the personification of 'fresh water' and the 'sea'. It also has the same type of circle of billowing cloak over the head (Ramage and Ramage, 1995: 100-1 Fig. 3.22). We know that this model was repeated throughout the Roman Imperial period. The deeply drilled holes on the hair and on the wreaths and deeply drilled unnatural billowing cloak suggest a late date for the Ince Nereid relief, perhaps as late as the third century AD.

1.5 CUPIDS

1.5.1 RACING CHARIOTS

No. 11 Pl. 11

CUPIDS' CHARIOT RACE, FRONT OF A CHILD'S SARCOPHAGUS

Subject: Four Cupids race bigae in the circus

Relief type: Front of a child's sarcophagus

Inventory No: Ince No. 241, Blundell Eng. 91, Michaelis No. 247, Ashmole No. 247

Literature: Michaelis, 382, n. 247; Ashmole, 92, n. 247, Pl. 49; Huskinson, 47, n. 6.9;

Schauenburg, 65, n. 20, Pl. 7.1.

Provenance: Unknown

Current location: Museum storeroom

Original location: The Garden Temple

Dimensions: Height: 34cms Length: 105cms Thickness: 5cms

Material: Parian marble

STATE OF PRESERVATION:

Fragments are missing from the top and bottom of the left corner of this relief. The first charioteer's hair and his wing are badly weathered and some chips are missing. There are also blemishes on him and on the horse of the second chariot. A crack runs almost in the middle of the slab, starting from the top of the relief and passing through the head of the second charioteer to his fallen horse. A circular patch (was a water-hole), is visible under the third charioteer. The hole, which has been restored, has damaged the fourth chariot, especially its wheel. Some chips are also missing from the fourth chariot. All of the Cupids are badly weathered on their heads, especially on their faces and hair. A small piece is broken on the wing of the second charioteer. The body of a Cupid lying on the ground is badly weathered, especially the head. This Cupid is a sparsor, as he kneels under the third charioteer and has no wings. Except for these blemishes, the relief is in good condition. There are no substantial cracks or missing parts.

DESCRIPTION:

The first is said to be an emblem of human life, where winged boys are running races, falling over one another, and shortening their days by hurry and excess. bass-reliefs on this subject are very rare, and much valued by antiquarians. (Blundell, Engravings, Pl. 91, No. 241)

On the front side of this child's sarcophagus four bigae can be seen racing in a circus, each driven by a Cupid, moving from left to right in a lively fashion. The winner

is shown at the far right and behind him is a naufragium (wreck scene), the moment when a chariot comes to grief and throws its driver to the ground. Behind the first charioteer is a representation of a building, which consists of two Corinthian columns with an architrave above it. This is probably the Circus Maximus; further architectural details of the Circus are shown in low relief just behind the fourth charioteer. Next to the third chariot in the background, another single horse is ridden by a Cupid which is in rather lower relief compared to the others. This is a Cupid horseman (hortator) who waves in excitement or despair. Each biga is driven by Cupids while all the riders are tied to their horses by the reins around their waists and each one also carries a whip. The third Cupid stands upright in his chariot, turns his head and looks back to the falling driver behind him, whilst brandishing a whip. Under the third chariot we see a single kneeling figure, probably another Cupid acting as an umpire or sparsor. The horses of the second chariot are falling down and the rider is in confusion; he stoops over them and tries to manage the horses with their bridles. While this episode happens, the three Cupids at the front turn their heads towards him. The hair of the Cupids is cut short, especially visible on the forehead of the first and second charioteers, and is slightly gouged out; because of the weathering it looks flat on the crowns. The large plump faces have little in the way of sculptural detail; the nostrils, mouths and eyes consist simply of round drill-holes. The heads of the Cupids are disproportionately large compared to their bodies. If we turn to the horses, they are disproportionately small compared to the Cupids. The horses are lifeless, still and dull, reminiscent of horses in an amusement park. Normally the second horse of the chariots is shown in rather low relief. The architectural design in the background on the right and left is in low relief.

The design on the left shows two Corinthian columns and above it an indication of an architrave. The background of this type of relief subject is usually filled with the actual monuments of the Circus Maximus in Rome, depicted selectively and with varying degrees of artistic licence (Huskinson, 1996: 47). Humphrey (1986) compares them with the actual monuments. In this case the whole carving is not very high nor very artistic, and the architectural designs on the left and right seem unfinished. It is apparently a rough relief.

COMPARISON

This subject is a common type of representation for children's sarcophagi and there are numerous examples. This group of sarcophagi has been extensively studied by Schauenburg (Schauenburg, 1995). It shows Cupids in the guise of circus competitors and normally the whole race course is represented (Koch and Sichtermann: 1982: 210). The Catalogue of the Vatican Museum in Rome shows two reliefs comparable to the Ince example (Amelung, 1903 i: 317-318, Pl. 32 No. 8). The composition is similar in that it includes the four chariots, and in the position of the horses, the appearance of the circus, the fallen driver, the turning head of the winner with raised hand, the recumbent Cupid under the second charioteer, and the two accompanying Erotes for the first and last charioteer. A second example in the same catalogue (Amelung, 1903 i: 611-612 Pl. 65 No. 456) shows the same scene but this is rather crowded and each driver is accompanied by

a mounted Cupid, a hortator. Again the whole composition is similar to the Ince relief.

The Ince piece is also comparable to another example in the Museo Capitolino (Jones, 1912; 215 Pl. 53 No. 85). The Catalogue plate illustrates the faces of two sarcophagi. The one on the right shows Cupids racing in a circus. In the background are two structures, one with Corinthian capitals and an ova decorated with seven balls and another building again with two capitals and a beam carrying seven dolphins. These symbols were used to mark the number of circuits completed in a race; an egg was removed and one of the dolphins was turned in the opposite direction at the completion of each lap. In the Ince example there are only two Corinthian columns and an architrave but no indication of balls or dolphins. Furthermore there is only one accompanying Eros just behind the third charioteer, which suggests that the Ince example had not been finished. Both the Capitolino and the Ince scenes depict four bigae in the Circus Maximus, moving left to right with the winners shown at the far right.

The naufragium, the moment when one chariot comes to grief and throws its driver to the ground, is an important theme in these type of sarcophagi. In the second charioteer from the left on the Ince relief, and the third on the Capitolino relief (Pl. 53 No. 85), we see the confused drivers and their fallen horses. Another common motif is the Erotes on the ground beneath the chariots, acting as umpires or sparsor. Recumbent Erotes can also be seen in both examples. Another sarcophagus for a child with a Cupid's chariot race is in the Vatican Museum

(Amelung, 1908 ii: 660-661 Pl. 62 No. 419a); it shows small horses and chariots, naked Cupids, and Cupids with raised hands, all aspects of the composition which are comparable to the Ince example. In all of the examples mentioned above, the Cupids are naked except the first driver who wears a chlamys and the third who has a short tunic, (Jones, 1920: Pl. 53 No. 85), and the child sarcophagus (Amelung, 1903 i: Pl. 65 No. 456) on which some Cupids wear chlamides.

With over forty known examples, scenes of Cupids racing chariots in the Circus Maximus were a popular choice for the decoration of children's sarcophagi. The pieces were probably all produced by the same few workshops in the city of Rome between the mid-second and the late third century AD. (Humphrey, 1986: 196). The Ince relief dates to the mid-late Antonine period (Schauenburg, 1995: 65). They usually show four bigae, moving from left to right, of which the second or third has crashed. The interpretation of these scenes is disputed (Walker, 1990: 30). It was a long-lived composition with its motifs found in other subjects; the naufragium, for example, the movement of "shipwreck" when one charioteer is thrown to the ground, is used in other races and in fantasy chariot rides (Huskinson, 1996: 46). The scene of Cupids racing four bigae closely follows earlier Roman representations such as the paintings from the House of the Vettii in Pompeii which were Hellenistic in inspiration, and was further influenced by Cupid motifs on Attic sarcophagi (Vogel 1969: 157; Huskinson, 1996: 46). The reliefs described above (in the Vatican, Capitolino and Ince collections) are similar in form and appearance, with the same limited range of figure and motifs. This was a common form of representation which suggest that the workshops in Rome kept a

stock supply of pre-cut sarcophagi ready when clients, usually the parents of deceased children, required them. The interpretation of these scenes is disputed. Cumont (1942) saw their races as the analogy of the journeys of the souls in the chariot race to contemplate the truth. Another suggestion by him is that the scenes represent a children's paradise, is also doubtful.

1.5.2 MOURNING CUPIDS

No. 12 Pl. 12

FRONT OF A CHILD'S OVAL SARCOPHAGUS

Subject: Three Cupids

Relief type: Front of a child sarcophagus

Inventory No: Ince No. 282, Blundell Eng. - , Michaelis No. 377, Ashmole No. 377

Literature: Michaelis, 411, n. 377; Ashmole, 115, n. 377.

Provenance: Unknown

Current location: Inside of the Pantheon

Original location: Garden Temple (interior)

Dimensions: Height: 41.5cms Length: 60.5cms Thickness: 7cms

Material: Parian marble

STATE OF PRESERVATION:

The top of the left hand corner of the relief has chipped away. The top right corner of the relief and the tip of the right wing of the third Cupid are broken. The edges are ragged and minor chips are missing from them. Because of the placing of this piece on a wall, the bottom of the relief and the right and left edge are covered by traces of plaster. A small fragment is broken away from the bottom left corner of the relief, just behind the right foot of the first Cupid. Moreover the right arm of the first Cupid is missing almost from his shoulder, including the lower end of his torch ? (staff). The faces of the Cupids are badly weathered, especially that of the first Cupid along with his hair. There is not enough detail on the facial features of the figures because of weathering. A number of patches can be seen on the third Cupid, including his right knee and between the legs on the thighs. These are restorations. Small plaster patches can also be seen on the inverted torch of the second Cupid who is in the middle of the slab. Plaster patches in small scale are visible all around the relief. The long ribbons of the garland in the hands of the third Cupid are missing from the tip. The right foot of the Cupid in the middle is not depicted. Both Cupids' hands are badly chipped. Despite these small-scale damages, the relief is largely intact and is in a good state of preservation.

DESCRIPTION:

He is here asleep, in an easy attitude, leaning on his torch, which is extinct. On each side is a winged boy; one holds a festoon of flowers; the other holds a torch downwards. This is also lengthened by two front of cinerary urns Nos. 365 and 366. (Blundell, Account, No. 282)

This fragment probably formed part of the decoration of a small sarcophagus, probably that of a child. Three Cupids can be seen on a plain background, each with different gestures. The Cupid on the left is nude and leaning with his left elbow on a small column (maybe an altar) and takes support from it, from which a cloak (chlamys) is hanging which he has probably taken off. He turns his head to the left with an expressionless face and holds a slantwise torch ? (staff) with his both hands while his legs are crossed. His wings have been indicated slightly on the background in a very shallow relief. The hair consists of drilled holes and the same holes are visible at the corners of the mouths, nostrils, eyes and the garland.

Next to the first Cupid leans another Cupid in the middle on an inverted burning torch; he takes support while he sits on a rock asleep. His legs are crossed and the left foot is placed on a small piece of rock on the ground. The Cupid turns his head to the right and lays it on his right shoulder. The Cupid is shown with open wings and is almost naked except for the blowing chlamys in the background. Beneath the rock, close to him, a quiver is placed diagonally on the ground, and is tied to the rock by a rope. On the right, at the end of the scene, stands the third Cupid with open legs as if walking. He bends his head to the left while holding a garland in both his hands, from the tip of which the ribbons flies. The third Cupid is also dressed in a chlamys which is

fastened at his right shoulder by a round pin with drapery folds covering his entire chest. The left wing appears in the background but the right has not been indicated. Although the whole relief is high, the cloak is executed in very shallow relief. The long hair of the Cupid is drilled out; its execution is the same as the others, consisting of drilled holes, a far from the realistic treatment. The eyes are drilled and the mouth is slightly parted and drilled at the corners. The same treatment appears on the garland. The flowers are not realistically indicated, and are only drilled. In some parts the drapery folds are voluminous and treated roughly. There is only limited anatomical accuracy on the figures, and the proportions of the heads of the figures are larger than the bodies. The execution of the facial features has not been done successfully and are not clearly visible but broad faces and foreheads are dominant on all of the Cupid figures.

COMPARISON

I have not found an exact parallel for the composition of the Ince relief, but the same motifs were particularly used for representation of Cupids' mourning scenes.

A brief outline of the development and use of Cupid scenes on these sarcophagi shows that their greatest popularity was in the third century. But many of their regular scenes and figure types had been introduced by the mid-second century: Dionysiac Cupids, Cupids supporting garlands or images of the deceased, and Cupids enacting mythological events (Huskinson, 1996: 41). In Rome the

influences in their development came via architectural decoration, especially the friezes of the Temple of Venus Genetrix which were the direct source of several of the motifs used on these sarcophagi. The theme of Cupids engaged in ordinary human activities already existed in Campanian wall-paintings; and its appeal, if not always the same iconography, continues in many of "Cupid" subjects of the second and third centuries (Huskinson, 1996: 41). Cupids play an integral part in some stock designs as supporters of the major decorative feature, whether this is a garland, a clipeus, or an inscription (Huskinson, 1996: 42). They make regular appearances at the corners of sarcophagi (particularly of the clipeus and strigillated type). There they repeat well-worn types; resting on a rock, standing and mourning with torch inverted and eyes closed, or holding some vaguely "seasonal" attributes (Huskinson, 1996: 42).

A group of sarcophagi also shows Cupids but particularly in mourning attitudes. Mourning Cupids are represented with leaning upturned burning torch, sitting on a rock sleeping or standing. This motif is called mourning genius and is Hellenistic in origin like many of the Cupids on sarcophagi. There are earlier examples of the motif. The motif was used until the early Christianity. Generally they act isolated (Sichtermann and Koch, 1982: 207). In the Ince relief three mourning Cupids emerge with similar attitudes. Again the motifs are well-established for this type of sarcophagus decoration, with many of the reliefs using the same stock of figure types.

The subject of a relief in the Vatican is not the same, but similar motifs of Cupids appear in it (Amelung, 1903 i: 296 Pl. 29 No. 188). Again in the Vatican collection there is the front of a child's sarcophagus with a Dionysiac subject (Cupids) and with motifs similar to the Ince relief (Amelung, 1908 i: 180-181 Pl. 19 No. 73a). In the first Vatican example the representation of a Cupid on the right with a torch inverted and his long curly hair are similar to the Ince relief, although there are variations in the pose (Amelung, 1903 i: 296 Pl. 29 No. 188). There is no indication of the billowing cloak here. In the second Vatican relief, the chubby Cupids have fluttering cloaks, which are tied over their necks (Amelung, 1908 i: 180-181 Pl. 19 No. 73a). They all have long, curly hair. The Cupid on the left carries an inverted torch too.

The Ince Cupids are rather slimmer than those of the Vatican collection. The execution of the hair, and the garland of the Ince relief is simple, consisting of deeply drilled holes which suggest a late date, probably late third century AD. The relief is high and not of great sculptural quality. Only the Cupid on the left of the Ince slab has a slight indication of wings (there are no details on the wing), which suggests that the relief was not finished.

In Dionysiac subjects, accompanying Cupids can be seen as guides or companions to the dead child (Turcan, 1966: 428). In this role their attributes are important. They carry torches or garlands as well as the Dionysiac instruments and thyrsos (Huskinson, 1996: 43). In these sarcophagi the symbolism emphasises a happy life in the other world.

1.6 DECORATIVE SARCOPHAGI

1.6.1 GARLAND SARCOPHAGI

No. 13 PL 13

FRONT OF A GARLAND SARCOPHAGUS WITH MASKS

Subject: Garland sarcophagi with masks, boys and eagle

Relief type: Front of a child sarcophagus

Inventory No: Ince No. 284, Blundell Eng. 106, Michaelis No. 278, Ashmole No. 278

Literature: Michaelis, 392, n. 278; Ashmole, 103, n. 278, Pl 47; Turcan, 130; Koch and Sichtermann, 231, n. 14.

Provenance: Unknown

Current location: Museum storeroom

Original location: From the Garden Temple

Dimensions: Height: 33cms Length: 122cms Thickness: 6cms

Material: Parian marble

STATE OF PRESERVATION:

This child's sarcophagus is broken at the middle, just behind a Satyr's head, and patches of white plaster can be seen. Another crack is behind the first Bacchic figure in the second field. The crack makes a "V" shape and runs through the head of the young Bacchic figure. This part has been restored. Another large crack divides the eagle into two pieces with several loose elements. These are to be restored by the Liverpool Museum. Several cracks can be seen on the head, wreath of the young Dionysiac figure, and on the ribbons in the first lunette. Another crack is visible on the left thigh of the boy who stands on the left side and on the lower leg of the boy who is on the right. Numerous patches can be seen on the relief; for instance, one is just above the Satyr's head. There are additional restorations on the upper left border and on the top border of the relief. The relief is badly worn, especially the figures in the second lunette (Pan and the young Dionysiac mask) and the boy on the right. One eye of the Dionysiac mask in the second lunette has also been restored.

DESCRIPTION:

An eagle in the centre and a boy at each end, support a double festoon of foliage, forming two compartments, in each of which are two curious masks, male and female, confronting each other. "The ancients in such masks frequently represented Pan or Silenus, by which the generative quality of matter is supposed to be represented, which was animated by Bacchus; under which mythological phantom, the creative spirit was personified." (*The word of a learned friend.*) (Blundell, Engravings Pl. 106, No. 284)

An eagle in the middle and two boys at each end of this relief carry two heavy garlands made of laurel leaves which are tied around their necks. The ribbons hang from each end of the garlands over the shoulders of the boys and meet with the ribbons of the eagle beneath the heavy festoon, while the rest flows behind the boys. The garlands consist of laurel leaves, among them berries and a flower decoration in the middle. The execution of the garlands is realistic. The boys hold up one of their hands and try to manage the heavy garlands while their legs are parted. The eagle in the middle supports the garlands. Above the garlands, in each field are two Bacchic masks set in profile opposite each other. In the first lunette, on the left, a youthful ivy-crowned mask is set opposite the very animated face of a Satyr's head with dishevelled hair and large brutish ears. In the second lunette this is repeated by a Pan with bearded face, long ears and horns; opposite him is a youthful mask again. The boys at each end of the slab are naked and plump and have long curly hair gouged out. The execution of the masks in the compartments is very realistic and vivid. The carving on the faces of the figures produces light and shade which shows the figures as more animated. The execution of the masks is completely different to the boys. The Satyr on the left with an open mouth, the teeth, brutish ears and snub nose typifies the impressive shrewdness of a Satyr. The pupils are indicated on the figures in the fields.

COMPARISON

The urban Rome garland sarcophagi of the second and third centuries AD form a very large group. They have been collected and dealt by Herdejürgen

(Herdejürgen, 1996). Approximately 200 examples can currently be identified (Koch and Sichtermann, 1982: 223). A large list of garland sarcophagi from Rome are included in Koch and Sichtermann's book (Koch and Sichtermann, 1982: 231-235).

Dionysiac masks were the most popular filling motif for lunettes. Many sarcophagi of the later second and third centuries used this motif, but it does not seem to have been introduced until the middle of the second century. There can be one or two masks per lunette on such sarcophagi, and the favourite types are Satyrs, Sileni, Maenads, Pan and Dionysos (Davies, 1978: 361, 362). The earliest sarcophagus of this type, with Dionysiac masks in the lunettes, is in the Lateran Collection (Davies, 1978: 361). Here in the left lunette a Satyr and a Maenad, and in the right a Silenus and a woman with a wimple on her head are represented. Similar examples are in the Vatican Catalogue collection. In the Galleria Lepidaria are similar motifs (Amelung, 1903 i: 279 Pl. 26 No. 150). The heavily decorated garlands, this time made of fruits and flowers, are supported by a boy in the middle and a boy at each end. In the lunettes are two pairs of Bacchic masks set side by side. The boys at each end turn face to face and carry a pedum on their shoulders while the Cupid in the middle looks around while holding a panther by its tail. The flying ribbons can be seen on either side of the boys. In the first lunette are a young Satyr and an old bearded Pan; in the second lunette a Maenad with head scarf and a Silenus can be seen (Amelung, 1903 i: 279).

In the same catalogue (Amelung, 1903 i: 521 Pl. 54 No. 319) is the small fragment of a child's sarcophagus; only one lunette is intact. Here two Cupids hold a heavily decorated garland made of flowers. Only the left leg of the Cupid on the left is visible; the rest is missing. The Cupid on the right is better preserved; only his left arm is missing. Above the garlands is a mask of a woman facing right.

There are a number of other sarcophagi from Rome which show the same motifs. These include a sarcophagus in S. Maria Antiqua and another from the Museo dell Opera, in Orvieto (Koch and Sichtermann, 1982: Pl. 270- 273). Both of these examples are very similar to the Ince relief. In the S. Maria Antiqua relief, above the heavily decorated garlands with fruits and flowers, Bacchic masks are set opposite each other. A boy in the middle is a central support and holds a panther from its tail while the boys carry the garland at the sides. In the left lunette are placed the mask of a bearded Pan and a young Dionysiac mask with a vine wreath on the head, and in the right lunette is a Satyr and again a young Dionysiac mask. The composition is the same in the Orvieto example, although in the front, in the middle, is a cantharos, supporting the heavy garlands. In the left lunette is placed a young Dionysiac mask facing the mask of a bearded Pan. On the right again is a young Dionysiac mask facing a Satyr. A sarcophagus in Museo Nazionale Romano in Rome and another sarcophagus from the Carlsberg Glyptotek Museum in Copenhagen show theatrical mask motifs in the lunettes (Koch and Sichtermann, 1982: 223-235 Pl. 269, 277). This is a common type of decoration on sarcophagi of the Roman Imperial period. The masks are very vividly executed and belong mainly to Bacchic rituals.

The Ince relief is no exception and probably forms part of a child's sarcophagus of the late second century AD. Garland sarcophagi occupy an important early place in the development of Roman sarcophagi decoration, and form an extensive group in the decoration of Roman sarcophagi. They illustrate the conjunction of a Hellenistic design, the garland composition, with themes political, naturalistic, and funerary which were already popular in Roman art in the first century AD. The most common usually depict two garlands supported by three figures (usually Cupids), with masks or figured scenes in the lunettes. The design became very popular through to the third century. The most creative stage is in the Hadrianic period with richly decorated garlands and motifs. Children's sarcophagi have the same motifs in the lunettes; masks are common. Many garlands are woven from bay leaves with a four-petalled flower at their centre (Huskinson, 1996: 59). Heads and masks of all kinds seem to have emerged on the sarcophagi slightly after the mythological and Bacchic scenes, and continued to be used on sarcophagi made during the later part of the second century, into the third and even the fourth centuries (Davies, 1978: 363).

DEEDS OF PAN, FRONT OF A GARLAND SARCOPHAGUS

No. 14 Pl. 14

Subject: Garland sarcophagi with Dionysiac subject

Relief type: Front of a child's sarcophagus

Inventory No: Ince No. 277, Blundell Eng. 104, Michaelis No. 275, Ashmole No. 275

Literature: Michaelis, 391, n. 275; Ashmole, 102, n. 275, Pl. 47; Huskinson, 32, n. 3.1; Koch and Sichtermann, 231, n. 13; Robert, IV. i. n. 28; Matz, *ASR*, IV.1, 124, n. 28, Pl. 29; Turcan, 133; Herdejürgen, 1996, n. 42, Pl. 40, nos. 3-4.

Provenance: Bought from the sculptors Lisandroni and d, Este

Current location: Museum's storeroom

Original location: Garden Temple

Dimensions: Height: 36cms Length: 145cms Thickness: 6cms

Material: Luna marble

STATE OF PRESERVATION:

There are two small cracks at the top corners of the relief but they are not very big and are only slightly visible. Traces of whitewash appear in the second field, just above the figures. Some minor chips are also missing from the right and left edges of the relief. Restorations are evident on the face of the Nymph in the second field including the nose, the lips and one of the eyes and on the quince on the second garland. The right foot of the boy on the left is missing just beneath the knee. This is the same for the boy on the right; his left foot is missing. Furthermore the sheep's head is also missing. The faces of the boys and their arms and the figures in the fields, including

their heads and bodies and some parts of the background, are all weathered. But otherwise the relief is in good condition.

DESCRIPTION:

In the bass-relief above, two compartments are formed by double festoon of flowers and fruit, supported by three boys. In one compartment is a figure of Venus asleep, with her girdle about her, which, as described by Homer, is the symbol of all the charms and graces. (*See, in the Appendix of the Printed Catalogues, No. 8. Visconti's curious display of erudition on this Girdle.*) She is attended by satyr and a cupid. In the other compartments is a Silenus with his usual attendants. (Blundell, Engravings, PL 104, No. 277)

In this scene three boys carry two richly decorated and heavy festoons. The boy in the middle also holds the heavy festoons at their ends while he lifts a sheep by its tail and the ribbons flow behind him. Above, in each lunette, we see two episodes of Pan. In the first lunette a drunk Herakles, his head encircled by a fillet, is supported by a wreathed young Satyr and led forward while at his right a Pan supports him. The Satyr holds a burning lowered torch in his right hand. On the left an olive tree finishes this scene. Next to the Pan stands a bearded terminal figure, possibly of a Priapos-Lordon. In the second lunette a sleeping Nymph lies in a rocky cave while she rests her right arm on the rock. Her hip is covered by a piece of cloth but the upper part of her body is naked. On her right a sleeping Cupid leans against the rock while from the left a bearded naughty Pan approaches her and tries to hold her drapery with his advanced hand. As a decorative motif long ribbons flow behind the festoons and boys. On the relief the garlands are very predominant, in high relief and heavily decorated with vines

and grapes, quinces, pine cones, ears of wheat and flowers. The boy on the right turns his head to the left and steps forward, his legs parted. The left boy makes the same gesture but slightly bends his right leg. The boy in the middle, with Herakles, Pan, and the Satyr all have the same kind of grooving to their heads and beards. The boys at the sides have short and curly hair, much worn, the treatment of which is different to the other figures. The eye-pupils were once engraved but because of the weathering this is not visible now. The figures in the background are usually executed in low relief. The boys are bigger than the other figures; the proportion of their heads are larger than their bodies too. In short the anatomy of the figures is not very good.

COMPARISON

The main focus of the decoration of the garland sarcophagi lies in the small scenes in the lunettes which tended to be elaborated at the expense of the rest of the decoration. The scenes illustrate a wider range of myths and semi-mythological events than those used on cinerary monuments (Davies, 1978: 328). This class of sarcophagi is discussed by Altmann. (Altmann, 1902: 66, and for a discussion of the origin of the scenes above festoons, *ibid.* p. 77). In the Ince example the scenes above the lunettes are decorated with mythological scenes, particularly Bacchic. The Actaeon sarcophagus in the Louvre is the earliest piece in this group and shows similar features (Strong, 1923 i: 52 Fig. 30). Fully draped young female figures support the festoons which are made up of detailed fruits and flowers. In the right lunette on the front, Diana is represented bathing while a Cupid pours

water over her back and Actaeon is watching above. The scene on the left shows Actaeon struggling with the dogs.

The number of garland sarcophagi with Bacchic scenes in the lunettes is not great (Davies, 1978: 347). The Tebanianus sarcophagus in Pisa is the earliest of the Bacchic scene sarcophagus in the lunettes and shows a similar scene to the Ince relief. In the left lunette on the front a half-draped and reclining figure is approached by Pan. The reclining figure may be a Hermaphrodite or Dionysos. On the right scene two captives sit beside a trophy and to the right stands a naked youth. Not all the scenes show Bacchic subjects here. At the corners are two female figures (Victories) while a male figure (Mars) is in the front centre. A fragment of a garland sarcophagus in Vienna shows a standing baby Dionysos who is attended by a Maenad or Nymph and a Satyr and a Silenus (Davies, 1978: 350). Another early fragment is in the Campo Santo, Pisa which has Dionysos reclining in Ariadne's lap. Again the accompanying scenes are missing (Davies, 1978: 350). A late fragment from Naples has a scene of drunkenness above the central garland (Davies, 1978: 351). Here a drunken Pan or Silenus is carried by two Cupids and a young Satyr or else three Cupids. This composition occurs in the Ince relief. The themes of drunkenness and sleep were connected with Bacchic figures on the cinerary monuments. The scenes on these pieces differ very little from the scenes which appear on the cinerary monuments and in other decorative contexts, especially wall painting in the first century (Davies, 1978: 347-348, 350-352).

A number of similar sarcophagi with Dionysiac scenes can be also found in Newby Hall, Castle Howard, Cagliari and Ostia Museum (Huskinson, 1996: 32 Nos. 3.2-3.5). A late example of this type with scenes of Maenads and Dionysos is in the Vatican Museum (Amelung, 1908 ii: 317-318 Pl. 24 No. 102v). The scenes are badly weathered and worn but it seems that there was a dancing Maenad in the right lunette and Dionysos with a Maenad and Pan in the left. The composition is clear and the work is relatively good. The Ince example shows good workmanship, and is probably a work of the first half of the second century AD, when this type of decoration was at its early stage. The Ince piece was dated by Herdejürgen shortly before AD 140 (Herdejürgen, 1996: 105).

1.6.2 GRIFFINS

No. 15 Pl. 15

TWO GRIFFINS, FRONT OF A SARCOPHAGUS (Formerly the sides of No. 14)

Subject: Griffins

Relief type: Once sides of a child sarcophagus No. 14, but now converted into the front of a sarcophagus

Inventory No: Ince No. 260, Blundell Eng. 104, Michaelis No. 276, Ashmole No. 276

Literature: Michaelis, 391, n. 276; Ashmole, 102, n. 276.

Provenance: Unknown

Current location: Museum storeroom

Original location: From Garden Temple

Dimensions: Height: 36cms Length: 103cms Thickness: 6cms

Material: Luma marble with some grey spots

STATE OF PRESERVATION:

This double griffin relief has several major cracks, mainly around the griffins. The griffin on the left is cracked from its head to the feet, including the wing, the inner hind leg, and the tail. Of the other griffin, the crack runs on the right, from the top of the griffin's head to its claw to the ram's head, which lies just in front of the griffin on the ground. These cracks effectively make a frame for the griffins. The candelabrum in the middle and the rams skulls have been restored. The griffins once belonged to the sides of a sarcophagus. After restoration, the griffins were converted into the front slab of a sarcophagus with a modern candelabrum in the middle. Except for the griffins, the rest of the relief is modern. A marble fragment at the left bottom corner of the relief is missing, as is a minor fragment on the front right leg of the first griffin. The relief might have once been used as a decorative element; underneath the first griffin, a circular water hole can be seen which is probably restored. In addition to the cracks and restorations, traces of patches can be seen on the first griffin's body. There are traces of