FRED S. KLEINER

The Glanum Cenotaph Reliefs

Greek or Roman?

The so-called Mausoleum of the Julii at Glanum (figs. 1 and 2) is today, with the neighboring Roman arch, the virtual emblem of the modern town of St-Rémy-de-Provence[1]. In the Middle Ages it had already given its name to the chapel of Saint-Pierre-de-Mausole (ecclesia Sancti Petri ad Mausoleum, 1080) and to the monastery of Saint-Paul-de-Mausole (Sancti Pauli Mausolei, 1117) and has attracted the attention of tourists and scholars alike for centuries. The first recorded mention of the monument in its own right is in a 1521 manuscript of Andreas Alciatus and the earliest extensive description, in verse, was written as long ago as 1609 by Pierre Rivarel[2].

The Glanum cenotaph figures prominently in the antiquarian literature of the 17th, 18th and early 19th centuries[3], the major interest lying in the transcription and expansion of its abbreviated inscription[4], and speculation on the identity of its patrons and the iconography of the four socle reliefs[5]. It was not until 1867, however, when L. Lohde published a 14-page essay on the monument in the Bonner Jahrbücher, that the cenotaph became the subject of a detailed art historical analysis[6]. Three years earlier, in a short passage appended to F. Ritschl's study of the quadrifrons inscription, H. Brunn had attributed the Julii monument to Greek artists[7]. Lohde sought, on the contrary, to establish

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[1] The Glanum Cenotaph. A Study of the Great Relief Panels (Columbia University 1973) was the author's dissertation. Financial support during the preparation of the dissertation was provided in part by the Samuel H. Kress Foundation (travel grant during the Summer of 1970) and the Woodrow Wilson National Fellowship Foundation (15-month dissertation grant during the period October 1971 – December 1972). See now the author's: Artists in the Roman World. An Itinerant Workshop in Augustan Gaul. Mélanges Ecole Franç. Rome 89, 1977, 661–666.

[2] H. Rolland, Le mausolée de Glanum. Gallia Suppl. 21 (1969) 10–13 (= Rolland, Mausolée).

[3] The absence of a burial chamber classifies the 'mausoleum' as a cenotaph. Rolland, Mausolée 28; 74–78.

[4] The various solutions have been collected by Rolland, Mausolée 65–69.

[5] Among the earliest to travel to and describe 'Les Antiques' were de Bomy (1633), Bouche (1664), Spon (1683), Peilhe (1718), Moreau de Mautour (1733), Durant de Breval (1738), d'Anville (1760), Barthélemy (1761), Ménard (1768), J. Papon (1777), Lamy (1779), S. Papon (1780), Marchand (1781–83), Achard (1787), Durand de Maillane (1805), Millin (1808), de Laborde (1816), Villeneuve (1826) and Mérimée (1835). For full citations, see Rolland, Mausolée 79–88.

[6] L. Lohde, Das Denkmal der Julier zu St. Remy. Bonner Jahrb. 43, 1867, 133–146.

[7] F. Ritschl, Priscae latinitatis epigraphicae supplementum quinqum (1864) = Opuscula philol. 4 (1878) 562 f.

the 'Roman treatment' of the architecture and the 'participation of Tuscan artists' in the carving of the great relief panels[8]. Thus, from the outset, the question 'Greek or Roman?' was posed, a question which has never ceased to be debated and which has never been answered satisfactorily.

The essentially Greek nature of the Julii reliefs was defended in 1882 by A. Conze in a study aptly entitled 'Über das Relief bei den Griechen'. Conze's viewpoint was that painting and relief were closely related, simultaneously evolving facets of Greek art. The St-Rémy panels, which he termed 'Reliefgemälde', constituted the culmination of a continual striving on the part of Greek artists to achieve pictorial effects in relief sculpture. The Glanum 'Reliefgemälde' surpassed, in Conze's opinion, even the Pergamene Gigantomachy frieze in the representation of dense groups of figures moving freely in space[9]. Conze's judgment was echoed by others, notably O. Bie and E. Courbaud, who based their observations upon the folio plates and exhaustive description of the Julii reliefs published in 1888 and 1891 by the German Archaeological Institute[10]. Bie believed that the characteristic form of Hellenistic battle relief was the 'Reliefbild' and found that the St-Rémy panels were purely Hellenistic in form and content – 'das früheste erhaltene Originalwerk hellenistischer Historienbildnerei'[11]. Courbaud, while including the Julii monument in his study of Roman historical reliefs, nevertheless excluded the cenotaph panels as products of Roman art. They were 'Hellenistic and Pergamene', like the reliefs on Roman battle sarcophagi[12].

Underlying all these arguments was the generally held opinion that a Hellenistic pictorial tradition was natural in an area of the ancient world like Southern Gaul that had been exposed to Greek art and Greek culture for hundreds of years[13]. Nevertheless, in 1895, F. Wickhoff attempted to reclaim the Julii reliefs as monuments of Roman art. Wickhoff saw the St-Rémy panels as an important step in an Italo-Roman development toward pictorial illusionism in sculpture that culminated with the passageway reliefs of the Arch of Titus. Whereas the Flavian reliefs achieved the illusion of figures moving freely in space using 'sculptural means', the Glanum artist relied upon 'painterly means' to achieve a similar effect[14]. As Lohde, Wickhoff attributed the cenotaph reliefs to a workshop influenced by the Etrusco-Roman art of Central Italy and compared the Glanum panels to the reliefs on Etruscan cinerary urns. He viewed the 'Reliefgemälde' as a characteristically Italic reaction to the pictorial art of Hellenistic Greece which documented the direction

[8] Lohde op. cit. 145 f.

[9] A. Conze, Über das Relief bei den Griechen. Sitzber. Berlin 1882, 563–577.

[10] E. Hübner, Die Bildwerke des Grabmals der Julier in Saint-Rémy. Jahrb. DAI 3, 1888, 10–36. – H. Brunn, Antike Denkmäler 1 (1891) 7 f. pls. 13–17.

[11] O. Bie, Kampfgruppe und Kämpfertypen (1891) 141–143: 'Hier finden wir zum ersten Male das hellenistische Reliefbild im abschließenden Rahmen . . . Gut hellenistisch sind die Pilaster . . . gut hellenistisch die Girlande . . . Die ganze Art der hellenistischen Wanddekoration erkennen wir noch in ihm wieder'.

[12] E. Courbaud, Le bas-relief romain à représentations historiques. Bibl. Ecole Franç. d'Athènes et Rome 81, 1899, 328.

[13] I have questioned the existence of a 'Greek substratum' in Hellenistic Gaul in a separate study: F. S. Kleiner, Gallia Graeca, Gallia Romana and the Introduction of Classical Sculpture in Gaul. Am. Journal Arch. 77, 1973, 379–390.

[14] F. Wickhoff, Die Wiener Genesis (1895): 'die Plastik soll mit ihren Mitteln das erreichen, was eine ganz ausgebildete Malerei erreicht, den Eindruck völliger Illusion' (44). [Die Julierreliefs] 'sind wirklich Reliefgemälde, d. h. Gemälde, die ungeschickt und mit Zerstörung der ihnen eigentümlichen Wirkung in Reliefs übersetzt worden sind' (39).

1   Glanum (St.-Rémy-de-Provence). Cenotaph of the Julii.

Roman art in Italy might have taken if a classicistic court style had not been introduced in the capital under Augustus.

Wickhoff's contention that the St-Rémy artist, although Italic in spirit, drew his inspiration from Hellenistic painting was contested in 1925 by J. Sieveking and C. Weickert[15]. These scholars, in striking contrast to Conze, believed that painting and relief were independent disciplines and that a comparison between sculpture and painting would not bring a solution to the problem. The St-Rémy reliefs were creations of Roman art, different from anything Greek that had preceded them. In Greek reliefs the background was neutral, but in the cenotaph panels the background was an integral part of the total spatial representation. The essential characteristic of Roman vs. Greek relief was 'die Zusammenfassung aller Figuren durch das vereinigende Band des sie umgebenden Raumes'[16]. The Sieveking–Weickert theory had many adherents[17], including E. Garger, the author of the most comprehensive art historical analysis of the Julii reliefs to date. Garger believed that all the figures of the cenotaph panels could be explained in terms of the two chief tendencies of Roman art of the time – the reuse and adaptation of Greek motifs and the depiction of pictorial depth[18].

But the opponents of the 'Roman view' were also numerous. E. Loewy, e. g., felt that the Glanum reliefs were more akin to drawing than to sculpture proper and believed that the compositions, especially of the cavalry battle and boar hunt of the North and South sides, were derived from high classical Attic paintings by Polygnotos and Mikon[19]. F. Matz also emphasized the role of Greek painting in the formation of the St-Rémy compositions, but turned to the Hellenistic period for models. Matz contrasted the compositions of Hellenistic reliefs constructed 'auf die Raumdiagonale' with the 'ringförmige Figurenverbindung' and 'Zentralisierung' of compositions of the Roman period. In his opinion, the battle and hunt reliefs of the Glanum cenotaph were fully Hellenistic because they were systematically composed along diagonal lines[20].

This Greek vs. Roman controversy is still at the center of the most recent discussions of the Julii reliefs. F. Chamoux has been the primary exponent of the Greek viewpoint, attributing almost everything in the cenotaph compositions to earlier developments in Greek painting[21]. R. Bianchi Bandinelli, as Wickhoff, has insisted that the Glanum artist drew his inspiration from Hellenistic pictorial models but was basically Italic in spirit.

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[15] J. Sieveking, Das römische Relief. Festschr. P. Arndt (1925) 14–35. – C. Weickert, Gladiatoren-Relief der Münchner Glyptothek. Münchner Jahrb. N. F. 2, 1925, 1–39.

[16] Sieveking op. cit. 20 f. – Weickert op. cit. 27–29: 'räumliche Auffassung ist eine italische Eigenart'.

[17] E. Strong, CAH 9 (1932) 818. – W. Zschietzschmann, Die hellenistische und römische Kunst (1939) 19. – W. Technau, Die Kunst der Römer (1940) 92 f. – H. Kenner, Zum Römischen in der römischen Kunst. Jahresh. Österreich. Arch. Inst. 35, 1943, 47 f.

[18] E. Garger, Die kunstgeschichtliche Stellung der Reliefs am Julierdenkmal von St. Remy. Röm. Mitt. 52, 1937, 1–43, esp. 21.

[19] E. Loewy, Die Anfänge des Triumphbogens. Jahrb. Kunsthist. Slgn. Wien N. F. 2, 1928, 25 n. 99. – Id., Polygnot (1929) 47 f.

[20] F. Matz, Bemerkungen zur römischen Komposition. Abhandl. Mainz (1952) 645 f. – Cf. Id., Die Stilphasen der hellenistischen Malerei. Arch. Anz. 59–60, 1944–1945, 89–112.

[21] F. Chamoux, Sur un bas-relief du mausolée de Saint-Remy. Comptes-Rend. Séances Acad. Inscr. et Belles-Lettres 1945, 177–183. – Id., Les Antiques de Saint-Rémy de Provence. Phoibos 6–7, 1951–1953, 97–111. – Id., Observations sur la survivance des thèmes helléniques dans la sculpture provençale. Actes du colloque sur les influences helléniques en Gaule, Dijon (1958) 31–41. – Id., Peut-on parler d'un art plastique romain?. L'Information d'Hist. de l'Art 2, 1957, 105–108.
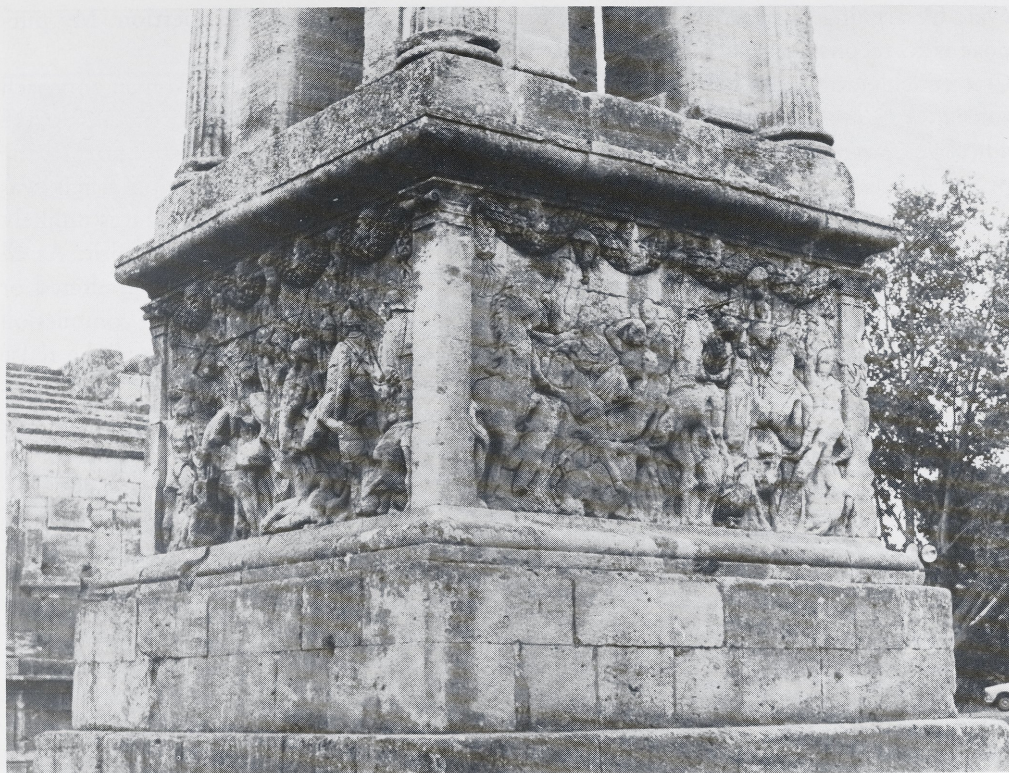
2   Cenotaph socle. West and South reliefs.

Working apart from the intellectualizing court style of Augustan Rome, the artist formed an important 'artistic language' which foreshadowed the 'true Roman' relief style of the Column of Trajan[22]. G.-C. Picard, seeing in the Provençal reliefs of the early Empire evidence for the resistance of the Italic spirit to the rationalistic Augustan classicism of the capital[23], has, as Lohde nearly 100 years before, traced the origin of the Glanum sculptor to the late Etruscan workshops of Central Italy[24]. The recent monograph on the cenotaph by the excavator of Glanum, H. Rolland, has not reconciled these contradictory judgments. Indeed, the author intentionally omitted a discussion of the problem, confining himself to an accurate description of the present state of the monument and the publication of new plans, elevations and detail drawings and photographs of the relief panels by Bruchet and Rigoir[25].
The present study is an attempt to resolve the Greek vs. Roman controversy – not, how-

[22] R. Bianchi Bandinelli, Storicità dell'arte classica² (1950) 90 f.; 217–220; 234 f. – Id., Roma. L'arte romana nel centro del potere (1969) 229: 'l'arte di questo tempo [di Traiano] che può finalmente dirsi pienamente romana'.
[23] G.-C. Picard in: R. Amy et al., L'arc d'Orange. Gallia Suppl. 15 (1962) 132–135.
[24] G.-C. Picard, Glanum et les origines de l'art romano-provençal. Gallia 22, 1964, 1–21. – Id., Les sculptures du mausolée des Julii à Glanum. Bull. Soc. Nat. Antiqu. France (1963) 31–34.
[25] Rolland, Mausolée 7: 'Notre but a été de présenter le monument en nous tenant hors des hypothèses que son intérêt sollicite'.

ever, by arguing in favor of either viewpoint, but by rephrasing the question. My purpose is to reconstruct a creative process, not to label the results.

One consideration in particular underlines the futility of the Greek vs. Roman approach to the Glanum reliefs. The research of the last century has clearly demonstrated that the adjectives 'Greek' and 'Roman' have hindered rather than facilitated a solution to the problem posed by the monument. The workshop that carved the cenotaph reliefs was probably unaware that it was adhering to a 'Greek' or 'Roman' tradition and it is unlikely that the individual sculptors regarded themselves as 'Hellenic' or 'Italic' in spirit. As all ancient artists, they proceded from the models available to them and copied, altered or abandoned their models according to personal inclination, the nature of the commission and the wishes of the patron. Neither 'Greek' nor 'Roman' art monopolized the reuse and adaptation of older forms, the invention of new motifs and compositions, or the representation of space and agitated movement.

Each of the four socle reliefs of the Glanum cenotaph constituted a different formal problem for the designer and each elicited a different formal solution. Thus, no one relief may be said to be 'typical' of the monument. Nevertheless, the hunting relief of the South side is especially suitable as a test case in the 'Greek or Roman?' controversy. What follows here is a thorough examination of that relief.

The South relief

The South relief represents a boar hunt in a forest (figs. 3–7). The setting is indicated by two tall bare tree trunks to the left and right of the center of the panel. The boar is depicted charging from behind the right-hand tree. Its hindparts are hidden by the trunk. The animal is encircled by a hunting party of six men, S9–14, two of whom, S11 and 12, are on horseback[26]. The equestrian figures are immediately to the left and right of the tree and are shown in complementary, if not mirror-image, attitudes. Both are dressed in short tunics and mantles and lean toward the boar from atop their rearing horses. They are armed with long spears.

At the right edge of the panel, two nude hunters, S13 and 14, attempt to wound the boar. S13 is depicted frontally, waiting for the opportunity to strike the animal with the double-headed axe he holds over his head. Below him, S14 is about to thrust a spear into the left side of the boar. The hunter is seen from the rear, leaning away from the animal. He is accompanied by a hound. Two other hunters, S9 and 10, are opposite S14 on the other side of the boar. S10, dressed in a short tunic, has fallen in the path of the beast. He leans back upon his left arm and raises his right hand over his head, as if to shield himself from the charging animal. S9, nude save for the mantle worn over his shoulders, bends toward the fallen hunter. He extends his spear toward the boar in an attempt to keep the animal from trampling S10.

In contrast to the boar hunt of the right half of the South relief, the focus of attention at the left side of the panel is divided between a wounded man, S8, and a horse that has

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[26] The numbering scheme (fig. 3) is that used by Rolland, Mausolée 58, fig. 21. A detailed description is given by A. Schneider, Jahrb. DAI 3, 1888, 15–18, based on casts.

3 South relief, general view.
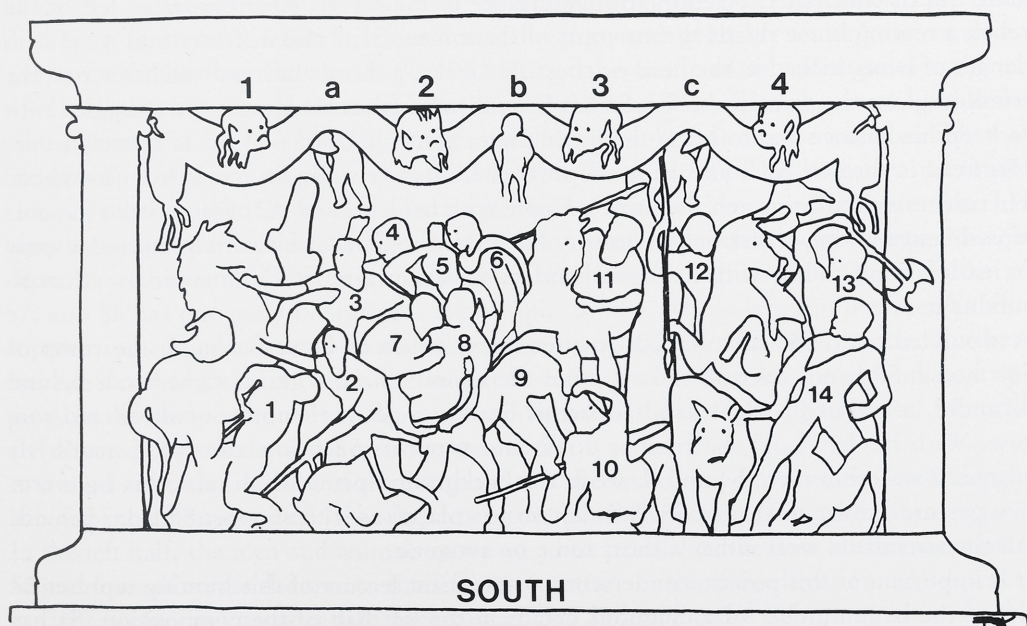
4 South relief, numbered diagram.

5   South relief, left half.

gone out of control. The action still takes place in the forest. At the extreme left of the relief, a rearing horse resists the attempts of three men, S1, 2 and 3, to restrain it. S3 is in danger of being kicked in the head or chest. He wears a short tunic and reaches across the trunk to grasp the animal's bridle. S1 has been thrown from his mount and struggles both to keep his balance and to bring the horse under control. Unlike S3, he is entirely nude. His head is thrown back and he attempts to withdraw a spear or arrow from his chest. He reaches upward to catch the horse's bridle with his left hand. S2, whose steed has collapsed beneath him, wears only a mantle. He holds the reins of his own horse and a spear in his left hand, while with his right hand he grasps a rein of S1's horse in an effort to subdue it.

A wounded man, S8, surrounded by attendants, seems to be seated upon the rump of S2's horse. S7 bends over S8 and supports the hunter's head with his right hand. Behind S7 and 8, S5 raises his right hand above his head in a gesture emotive of shock and sorrow. With his left hand, he reaches down and supports S8 below the dying man's left armpit. Two other men, S4 and 6, are in the background plane. Each raises his right arm in a gesture similar to that of S5. S6's left arm is placed as if to support S8 from behind. All the attendants wear either a short tunic or a mantle.

It is important at this point to underscore a significant feature of this hunting representation – the large number of ambiguous details in the left half of the composition. S1 has fallen from his horse and is trying to remove a spear or arrow from his chest. It is un-

6   South relief, right half.

likely that he would have received such an injury during the boar hunt, especially since the figure is a considerable distance from the prey and probably out of the range of weapons that have missed the mark. If S1 ist not the victim of an unfortunate accident, who is the enemy who has attacked the hunter? S2 straddles a fallen horse and holds the reins not only of his own mount, but of that of S1 as well. It is almost inconceivable that S2, occupied with keeping his own balance after the collapse of his horse, could simultaneously be engaged in an attempt to restrain a panic-stricken animal whose rider has been wounded, perhaps fatally. S8, the wounded hunter encircled by his companions, is depicted without sufficient means of support. He rests his right arm on the shoulder of S7, and S5 has one hand beneath his left armpit, but S6, whose left arm is placed as if to support some burden from below, makes no contact with the wounded hunter. Furthermore, S8 cannot be sitting upon the rump of a horse that has just hit the ground, as it appears in the composition. It is also uncertain whether the distressed gestures of S4 and 6 are directed toward the dying man or toward S1.

A second important feature of the South relief is the dichotomy between the left and right halves of the composition. In both parts of the panel the action is centered about a tree. In the left half, the men and animals move on a line parallel to the base of the monument. S2 and 3 reach across the tree to the left, S4–6 gesture in the same direction, S1's horse is in right profile and its rider falls back toward S2, S7 leans to the right, and so on. In the right half of the relief, the movement is predominantly from the background into the

7   South relief, wounded hunter.

foreground, i. e., perpendicular to the base of the monument. The boar and both riders charge from behind the tree, S10 is in the foreground in the path of the boar, etc. Only the trees, the costumes of the figures and the presence of horses unify the composition. S1–8 and S9–14 are engaged in different actions and move in perpendicular directions.

This division of the panel into two scenes, one centered on the boar, the other on a wounded figure, has led many scholars to conclude that the South relief does not depict a single incident, but two separate mythological stories or episodes. The earliest suggestion of this type was advanced by C. Fouque in 1837[27]. Fouque identified the right and left halves of the relief as representations of the Calydonian boar hunt and the death of Meleager respectively[28]. This interpretation receives some confirmation from representations of the Meleager legend on Roman sarcophagi, where the hunt and death episodes are often depicted together (fig. 8)[29]. There has been general agreement among those who

[27] C. Fouque, Fastes de la Provence 3 (1837) 376. – The Meleager cycle interpretation has been accepted by S. Reinach, Répertoire Statuaire 1 (1909) 385. – P. H. v. Blanckenhagen, Narration in Hellenistic and Roman Art. Am. Journal Arch. 61, 1957, 81. – F. S. Kleiner, Am. Journal Arch. 75, 1971, 234.

[28] I. Gilles has proposed a third subject, depicted alongside of the Calydonian hunt and the death of Meleager, 'le supplice de la femme adultère, attachée à un arbre et livrée nue à la brutalité d'un cheval' or 'le cheval de Piritoüs se nourrissant de chair humaine et dévorant un homme' (Marius et Jules César. Leurs monuments dans la Gaule [1871] 42). – Id., Précis historique et chronologique des monuments triomphaux dans les Gaules (1873) 61 f. – Id., Glanum. Saint-Rémy de Provence (1891) 28.

[29] C. Robert, Sarkophagreliefs III 2 (1904) 268–360 pls. 70–98. – A. Paoletti, Materiali archeologici nelle chiese dell'Umbria. Sarcofagi con il mito di Meleagro (1961). – H. Sichtermann und G. Koch, Griechische Mythen auf römischen Sarkophagen (1975) 42–44, no. 39. – G. Koch, Sarkophagreliefs XII 6 (1975) 87 f. no. 8

8 Meleager sarcophagus. Rome, Galleria Doria.

accept the Calydonian hunt interpretation that S8 is Meleager and that S11 and 12 are the Dioscuri, but identifications of the remaining hunters have varied greatly[30]. Whatever the names of the individual persons, the interpretation of the composition as two scenes from the life of Meleager has important consequences, as only von Blanckenhagen has realized, for the South relief would then constitute 'the first example of strictly continuous narration in one panel'[31].

Fouque's Meleager cycle interpretation was, however, rejected by most commentators, as was Rolland's 1934 suggestion that S8 be identified as Adonis instead of Meleager[32]. It was not until Chamoux reexamined the question in 1945 that a hypothesis was proposed that has gained wide acceptance[33]. Chamoux, as Rolland, retained the Calydonian hunt

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[30] Rolland, Mausolée 58: S9 Meleager; S10 Ancaeus. – Chamoux, Bas-relief (n. 21) 179 f.; Les Antiques (n. 21) 106 f.; Observations (n. 21) 34: S9 Meleager; S10 Ancaeus; S13 Theseus. – J. Bruchet, Les Antiques (1969) 53: S9 Idas; S14 Lynceus; S10 Meleager; S13 Theseus. – F. S. Kleiner, Am. Journal Arch. 75, 1971, 234: S14 Meleager and his dog; S13 Theseus; S9 Epochus; S10 Ancaeus.

[31] P. H. v. Blanckenhagen, Am. Journal Arch. 61, 1957, 81.

[32] H. Rolland, Saint-Remy de Provence (1934) 99–101; 112 f. – Cf. R. Bianchi Bandinelli, Le Arti 1, 1938–1939, 328. – G. Becatti, L'età classica (1965) 310.

[33] Chamoux supra (n. 30). – The Calydonian-Niobid interpretation has been accepted by the following: R. Lantier, Gallia 5, 1947, 220; 14, 1956, 119; id. in: Espérandieu, Recueil 12 (1947) 40 f. – J. Charbonneaux, L'art au siècle d'Auguste (1948) 64. – C. Picard, Revue Etudes Lat. 28, 1950, 260 f. – J. Aymard, Essai sur les chasses romaines. Bibl. Ecole Franç. d'Athènes et Rome 171, 1951, 118 n. 3. – P.-M. Duval, Revue Etudes Anciennes 57, 1955, 339. – G.-C. Picard, Revue Etudes Lat. 37, 1959, 256. L'art romain (1962) 115; L'arc d'Orange (n. 23) 133; Gallia 22, 1964, 15. – G. Becatti, L'arte romana (1962) 61. – F. Benoit, Art et

9   Niobid sarcophagus (detail). Rome, Vatican Museums.

interpretation for group S9–14, but saw in the left half of the panel a depiction of the
slaughter of the sons of Niobe. Chamoux compared the three principal motifs – S1, fallen
from his horse with an arrow or spear in his chest, S2, straddling his collapsed mount,
and S8, attended by an older man, S7 – with three Niobids and the pedagogue on three
Roman sarcophagi[34], the finest of which is in the Lateran collection in Rome (fig. 9)[35].
He explained this 'unique synthesis' by the 'total indifference' of the sculptor toward the
legends represented. The two myths were employed solely for their funerary significance
and were combined in a single panel only because of their common setting in a forest.
Despite the popularity of the Niobid-Calydonian theory, I believe that it, as well as the
Adonis and death of Meleager interpretations, must be rejected, because in each case one
or more of the indispensable personages of the myth is absent. The identification of
Adonis with S8 on the grounds that he was injured in a boar hunt carries little weight.
Wounded figures are common in Greek, Etruscan and Roman art, and the sarcophagi
that depict the Adonis legend show the hero in the arms of Venus, not an older man[36].

dieux de la Gaule (1969) 82; 108. – J. Bruchet, Les Antiques (1969) 49–53. – H. Gabelmann, Gnomon 44,
1972, 521 and Bonner Jahrb. 173, 1973, 196 n. 122. – Rolland has accepted Chamoux's identification of S1
and 2 as Niobids, but has retained his identification of S8 as Adonis, considering the entire panel to be an al-
lusion to the premature deaths of Caius and Lucius Caesar: Glanum (1949) text to pl. 12; Glanum (1960) 39,
107; EAA III (1960) 950; Glanum. Notice archéologique (1969) without pagination; Mausolée 59.

[34]   C. Robert, Sarkophagreliefs III 3 (1919) 373–385 pls. 99–102. – E. Loewy, Niobe. Jahrb. DAI 42, 1927,
80–136 fig. 6.

[35]   O. Benndorf and R. Schöne, Die antiken Bildwerke des lateranensischen Museums (1867) 296–299 no. 427. –
B. Andreae in: Helbig⁴ I (1963) 810 f. no. 1129. – Sichtermann and Koch op. cit. (n. 29) 49 f. no. 48.

[36]   W. Atallah, Adonis dans la littérature et l'art grecs (1966). – C. Robert, Sarkophagreliefs III 1 (1897) 7–24
pls. 2–5.

10   Etruscan urn, Calydonian hunt. Perugia.

The motif of S8, carried from the hunt, encircled by mourning companions, is much
closer to the wounded Meleager on Roman reliefs than to representations of Adonis and
Venus, but the identification of S8 as Meleager is also doubtful. The boar hunt to the
right includes figures that resemble the Dioscuri (S11 and 12), Ancaeus (S10), Theseus
(S13), and Meleager (S14), but the absence of Atalanta rules out an interpretation of the
scene as the Calydonian hunt. In ancient representations of this myth Atalanta is always
present, even when only two figures are depicted (fig. 10)[37]. Finally, Chamoux's identifi-
cation of S1, 2, and 8 as Niobids is unconvincing. Although S1 und 2 bear a marked re-
semblance to the Lateran Niobids (fig. 9), the formal relationship between S7 and 8 is
very different than that between the pedagogue and Niobid on the sarcophagus, and the

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[37] G. Daltrop, Die kalydonische Jagd in der Antike (1966) with bibliography. – Chamoux, Observations
  (n. 21) 34 has also drawn attention to the absence of Atalanta.

depiction of the sons of Niobe without either Apollo and Artemis or Niobe herself is un-paralleled in surviving representations of the legend[38]. Without Venus, Atalanta, Artemis, or Niobe, the cenotaph figures cannot be considered mythological heroes, however many formal parallels there may be between the South relief and representations of the Calydonian hunt, the massacre of the Niobids and the deaths of Meleager and Adonis. By excluding all women from the hunting scene, the Glanum designer has eliminated mythological subject matter from his composition. He has altered his models, adding and subtracting details as he saw fit, in order to instill a new, and probably contemporary, significance into the old forms[39].

The best name for the South relief is simply 'the boar hunt'. It is under the title of 'La Chasse' or 'Die Jagd' that the panel is discussed in most of the early literature on the monument, and this interpretation should be retained[40]. A single hunt is represented, with all the attendant danger and commotion that such an enterprise implies – wounded hunters, collapsed horses, panic-stricken animals, etc. The relief is not a fusion of two or three separate myths nor is any hunter represented twice in a continuous narrative. The hunt proper is at the right and the unfortunate consequences of the venture are depicted to the left[41].

The denial of mythological subject matter in the South relief does not, however, preclude the designer's reliance upon models which represented tales of the Greek heroes. This is unquestionably the case. The juxtaposition of a boar hunt including a pair of mounted hunters and a man wielding a double-axe with the carrying away of a wounded man clearly indicates a dependence on illustrations of the Meleager legend. The recurrence of two motifs in the left half of the panel on Niobid sarcophagi a century and a half later cannot be coincidental and a common prototype must lie behind the cenotaph and sarcophagus reliefs[42]. One may speculate on the nature and date of the formal sources of the South relief, but given the low survival rate of ancient works of art, especially paintings, specific models cannot be pinpointed. Certain details suggest, however, that the ultimate models for the St-Rémy hunt composition were paintings, not reliefs.

[38] Loewy op. cit. (n. 34). – R. M. Cook, Niobe and Her Children (1964).

[39] The horse at the left edge of the panel bears a saddle as well as a riding blanket, contrary to Greek practice. This is also true of the fallen horse in the North relief (N6). In both cases the saddles are depicted on the only horses without riders – i. e., where the omission would be most obvious and, if one assumes Greek models, the addition easiest to make.

[40] The most notable exception is P. Malosse, Monuments antiques de Saint-Remy, décrits et expliqués (1803) 55 f. Malosse proposed a Caesarian victory for the subject of the South relief, the defeat of the Allobroges and the capture of the daughter of Orgetorix.

[41] The most satisfactory explanation of the relief is, in my opinion, that of E. Cahen, Les monuments de l'époque gallo-grecque et gallo-romaine en Basse-Provence in: Les Bouches-du-Rhône. Encyclopédie départementale IV 1 (1932) 87–89; 92 f.: 'à droite, la scène de chasse proprement dite; à gauche, un épisode . . . vers la droite, – la Chasse au sanglier – et vers la gauche – les Chasseurs blessés – elles sont reliées par la présence, ici et là, des chevaux et de leurs chevaliers, également partagés entre les deux représentations'. Cahen goes too far, however, in identifying the four 'horsemen' of the relief (S9, 1, 11, and 12) with the Caius Julius of the quadrifrons inscription, and his three sons, Sextus, Lucius, and Marcus. – F. Brommer, Das Eberrelief vom Juliergrabmal in St. Rémy. Röm. Mitt. 81, 1974, 318–320, has recently also argued for a non-mythological interpretation of the South relief. The interpretation put forward here, which represents a departure from my previous published remarks on the relief, first appeared in my unpublished 1973 dissertation (supra n. 1).

[42] A male Niobid on a collapsed horse was depicted in Hellenistic sculpture in the round. L. Banti, Luni (1937) 49 pls. 19–20. – B. Schweitzer, Späthellenistische Reitergruppen. Jahrb. DAI 51, 1936, 158–174.

The obliquely foreshortened horses of S11 and 12, and the rearing horse seen from be-
hind in a three-quarter profile at the left of the panel, are particularly revealing. There are
no comparable representations of foreshortened horses and riders among the preserved
equestrian reliefs of the High and Late Classical period. Only two reliefs, of Hellenistic
date, approximate the sophisticated draftsmanship of the St-Rémy relief: the frieze of the
Aemilius Paullus monument in Delphi[43], erected shortly after 168, and the roughly con-
temporary fragmentary frieze from a tomb at Lecce, now in Budapest[44]. On the Lecce
frieze the horse at the right may be compared to Glanum S11. The horse carries a rider
whose torso is in an almost frontal position and whose right arm is raised and carries a
weapon, but the animal is shown in right profile and without any turn of the head, unlike
the St-Rémy motif. The central motif of the Lecce frieze is more adventurous. The
horse's head is viewed from behind and is turned to the right with the man shown almost
frontally, but the body of the horse is in strict profile. On the Aemilius Paullus monu-
ment, horse no. 5[45], the riderless horse, is depicted in an almost identical fashion to the
central Lecce horse – the body in left profile, the head twisted back into a three-quarter
right profile viewed from behind. Delphi horse no. 14 is only partially preserved, but it is
the most remarkable horse in the frieze. It is seen from the rear in a three-quarter profile
with its forelegs up in the air, as is the rearing horse at the left of the St-Rémy South re-
lief; the position of the Delphi horse's head is uncertain.
The horse seen from behind in the Aemilius Paullus monument impresses one as a tour-
de-force of foreshortening in relief inserted into an alien context. The 13 other animals in
the frieze, with the exception of the riderless horse, are all depicted in simple profile posi-
tions. The dependence of the Aemilius Paullus motif on a painted prototype has been
maintained by Kähler and others and the possible association of the painter and
philosopher Metrodorus of Athens with the Delphi monument lends additional weight to
this opinion[46]. In any case, such a motif is unknown in relief sculpture prior to the mid-
second century[47], although the foreshortened representation of a rearing horse viewed
obliquely has a long prior history in Greek painting. It is in the realm of Greek
draftsmanship, rather than in relief sculpture, that one must also look for models for the
horses of the South relief of the Glanum cenotaph[48].
In the mid-fifth century B. C., the Athenian monumental painter Mikon achieved con-
siderable fame for his representations of horses, especially those in his Amazonomachy in

[43] H. Kähler, Der Fries vom Reiterdenkmal des Aemilius Paullus in Delphi (1965).
[44] A. Hekler, Relieffragment aus Lecce. Jahresh. Österr. Arch. Inst. 18, 1915, 94–97; id., Die Sammlung an-
tiker Skulpturen, Budapest (1929) 100–103 no. 92. – Kähler op. cit. 20–23. – B. Andreae, Motivge-
schichtliche Untersuchungen zu den römischen Schlachtsarkophagen (1956) 29–30.
[45] The numbering scheme follows Kähler, op. cit. 24.
[46] Kähler op. cit. 19; 21–23. – G. Becatti, Metrodoro e Paolo Emilio: un'ipotesi. La Critica d'Arte 6, 1941,
70–73.
[47] See, however, infra p. 122: Vatican oval cista.
[48] This approach has been championed by the following, among others: Wickhoff op. cit. (n. 14) 39: '. . . die
Verkürzungen, z. B. der vor- und zurückspringenden Pferde, so wie sie gegeben sind, nur in der Zeichen-
kunst ausbilden können. Sie haben in keiner Art von Reliefbehandlung Analogien . . . Es ist die griechische
Malerei, welche die Vorbilder lieferte'. – R. Bianchi Bandinelli, Zum Problem des 'Illusionismus' und der
Originalität in der etruskischen Kunst (1933) 24. – Chamoux, Les Antiques (n. 21) 107; Observations (n. 21)
37. – Andreae op. cit. (n. 44) 26: 'Innerhalb des Reliefstils gibt es keine Entwicklung zu den Julierreliefs. Sie
muß in der Malerei vor sich gegangen sein, wo wir die Entwicklung einzelner Motive verfolgen konnten'. –
Kähler op. cit. (n. 43) 22.

the Stoa Poecile[49]. This painting, of course, no longer exists, but reflections of it may be found in contemporary Attic vase painting[50]. A great number of red-figured vases of the period are decorated with representations of the battle between Greeks and Amazons and certain examples include boldly foreshortened horses that may derive from Mikon's large-scale painting. The most famous of these is an Attic red-figured calyx-crater in New York by the Painter of the Berlin Hydria, datable between 460 and 450[51]. The center of one side of the crater is occupied by an Amazon seated upright on a horse depicted directly from the front. Such a head-on representation of a horse and rider was possible for the fifth-century draftsman, but is without parallel in the relief sculpture of the time. A less well-known, but no less significant, experiment in foreshortening appears on a contemporary Attic red-figured calyx-crater in Geneva, where the Amazon and horse are seen directly from the rear[52]. As on the New York crater, the Geneva rider sits rigidly upright upon the animal, but in the Geneva Painter's vase the Amazon's head is turned to the right.

By the last decade of the fifth century, Greek vase painters had begun to experiment with the rendition of obliquely foreshortened horses and riders seen in three-quarter profile views, although similar motifs may have been employed earlier in monumental painting. One of the earliest successful examples is an Apulian red-figured volute-crater in the Jatta collection in Ruvo decorated by the Sisyphus Painter[53]. One side of the vessel is dominated by an Amazon on a rearing horse. The animal and the rider are both shown in three-quarter right profiles. The horse's head is turned and the Amazon twists around to face an attacking Greek foot soldier. The motif may be compared with mounted hunter S11 on the Glanum cenotaph although the Sisyphus Painter's vase antedates the relief by almost 400 years.

Once invented, the motif enjoyed a long popularity. Similar representations of riders on rearing horses depicted from an oblique point of view may be traced throughout the fourth century and into the Hellenistic and Roman periods. Among many examples on fourth-century red-figured vases are the following: Poseidon with his trident in the Gigantomachy on an early fourth-century Attic amphora from Melos in Paris[54], a mounted Amazon on a mid-century Sicilian calyx-crater in Syracuse[55], one of the Dioscuri in the Calydonian hunt depicted on an Apulian volute-crater of about 340 in Berlin (fig. 11)[56], and another Amazon on an Attic 'Kertsch style' pelike in Leningrad, datable

[49] A. Reinach, Recueil Milliet. Textes grecs et latins relatifs à l'histoire de la peinture ancienne 1 (1921) 154–157 nos. 136–140. – E. Loewy, Polygnot (1929) 21–24. – E. Bielefeld, Amazonomachia (1951) 11–18.

[50] D. von Bothmer, Amazons in Greek Art (1957) esp. 161–184.

[51] Metropolitan Museum 07.286.86. – E. Pfuhl, Malerei und Zeichnung der Griechen (1923) fig. 507. – G. M. A. Richter, Red Figured Athenian Vases in the Metropolitan Museum of Art (1936) 129–131 no. 99 pl. 99.

[52] Musée d'Art et d'Histoire MF238. – A. Bruckner, CVA Suisse 1, Genève 1 (1962) 20–21 pl. 16.3.

[53] Jatta 1096. – H. Sichtermann, Griechische Vasen in Unteritalien aus der Sammlung Jatta in Ruvo (1966) 35 no. 39 pl. 60.

[54] Louvre S1677. – Pfuhl op. cit. (n. 51) fig. 584. – A. von Salis, Die Gigantomachie am Schilde der Athena Parthenos. Jahrb. DAI 55, 1940, 215 fig. 20.

[55] Museo Nazionale 55838. – A. D. Trendall, The Red-figured Vases of Lucania, Campania and Sicily (1967) 602 no. 101 pl. 236.3.

[56] Staatliche Museen F3258. – E. Gerhard, Apulische Vasenbilder des Königlichen Museums zu Berlin (1845) pl. 9. – E. Loewy, Polygnot (1929) fig. 45. – Daltrop op. cit. (n. 37) pl. 22.

11   Apulian volute-crater, Calydonian hunt. Berlin.

around 310[57]. During the last third of the fourth century, obliquely foreshortened horses seen from the rear also begin to appear on red-figured vases. Two examples may be cited: the mounted Amazon on an Attic 'Kertsch style' pelike in Warsaw[58], and a second Amazon depicted on the neck of an Apulian volute-crater in Munich[59]. In both cases the

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[57] Hermitage B2230. – K. Schefold, Kertscher Vasen (1930) 20–21 pl. 24a; id., Untersuchungen zu den Kertscher Vasen (1934) 55 no. 505.

[58] National Museum 138531. – M.-L. Bernhard, CVA Pologne 6, Varsovie 3 (1964) 14–15 pls.: 23, 26.2. – Schefold, Untersuchungen 58 no. 572.

[59] Pfuhl op. cit. (n. 51) 795.

riders are shown in exaggerated contrapposto positions with their torsoes swung around to face a pursuing Greek foot soldier. The rear view of these painted animals and the pronounced torsion of the Amazons' attitudes go beyond any of the equestrian motifs on the South relief of the Glanum cenotaph. Such representations constitute evidence that fourth-century painters were exploring the possibilities of linear foreshortening for mounted figures long before comparable motifs were attempted in relief sculpture[60].

A series of gems dated by Furtwängler to the third and second centuries B. C. is situated between these fourth-century painted examples of foreshortened animals and the rearing horse on the Aemilius Paullus monument. The intaglio technique of the gem-cutter lies midway between painting and relief sculpture and it is not surprising to find examples of oblique linear foreshortening on engraved gems earlier than in relief sculpture proper. Two of the pieces illustrated by Furtwängler depict cavalrymen seen in three-quarter left profiles from the rear[61]. With these gems may also be grouped an early third-century bronze oval cista from Vulci in the Vatican Museums[62]. The frieze of the cista represents an Amazonomachy in very low relief, but the design of the figures is more akin to the incised mythological representations on contemporary Etruscan cistae and mirrors than to Hellenistic relief sculpture. One of the mounted Vulci Amazons is seen from behind in a three-quarter right profile. In contrast to the equestrian figures on fourth-century painted vases, but like the horsemen on the two gems, both the Vatican Amazon and her horse are shown with the back to the observer.

The derivation of these equestrian motifs from monumental painting is generally recognized. In the famous Alexander mosaic from the House of the Faun at Pompeii[63], a near-copy of a late fourth-century painting by Philoxenus of Eretria[64], the Persian in front of Darius's chariot attempts to restrain such a boldly foreshortened horse. The animal is seen directly from the rear with its neck twisted and its head in a three-quarter left profile.

The obliquely foreshortened horses of the South relief of the Glanum cenotaph thus have few precedents in relief, but comparable – indeed, even more sophisticated – motifs may be found on painted vases centuries earlier than their appearance at St-Rémy. In particular, the motif of S2 attempting to subdue an unruly horse is paralleled, although not duplicated, on the mid third-century loculus slab of Pelopides from the Soldiers' Tomb near Alexandria[65]. Moreover, the indication of a wooded setting by bare tree trunks is characteristic of numerous Greek vase paintings and the Philoxenus painting of Alexander and

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[60] See also the third-century painted frieze above a doorway in Mustafa Pasha Tomb I, near Alexandria (armed riders holding pateras on rearing horses seen obliquely from the front): B. R. Brown, Ptolemaic Paintings and Mosaics and the Alexandrian Style (1957) 52–57 no. 34 pl. 24.1. – A. Balil, Sobre la pintura en el mundo helenístico. Revista de Guimarães 70, 1960, 448 fig. 1. – F. Villard in: J. Charbonneaux et al., Hellenistic Art (1973) 103 fig. 96.

[61] A. Furtwängler, Die antiken Gemmen 1 (1900) pl. 27, 31. 33; vol. 3,284. – Cf. E. Garger, Röm. Mitt. 52, 1937, 18–19. – C. Weickert, Münchner Jahrb. bildende Kunst N. F. 2, 1925, 31.

[62] E. Gerhard, Etruskische Spiegel 1 (1843) pls. 9–10. – G. Camporeale, L'amazzonomachia in Etruria. Studi Etruschi 27, 1959, 128 pl. 15.

[63] F. Winter, Das Alexander-Mosaik aus Pompeji (1909). – A. W. Byvanck, La bataille d'Alexandre. Bull. Ant. Besch. 30, 1955, 28–34. – B. Andreae, Das Alexandermosaik (1959) with previous bibliography.

[64] Pfuhl op. cit. (n. 51) 756–765. – H. Fuhrmann, Philoxenos von Eretria (1931).

[65] New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art 04.17.3. – Brown op. cit. (n. 60) 16–17 no. 4 pl. 5. – Villard op. cit. (n. 60) 130 fig. 128.

12   Hunting mosaic, Palermo (reconstructed).

Darius, but is found in relief sculpture only where the dependence of the reliefs upon painting is likely, if not certain.

Monumental Greek painting has often been cited in connection with the boar hunt of the South relief of the Glanum cenotaph. In 1928 Loewy proposed that a mid fifth-century Athenian painting by Micon representing the Calydonian hunt was the specific model for the cenotaph boar hunt[66]. Loewy associated the relief with a series of representations of the Calydonian hunt in several media and of varying temporal and geographical character that he believed reflected a single Miconian painting. In a separate study, I have reexamined the set of derivative works collected by Loewy and determined that the Glanum hunt differs significantly, both iconographically and stylistically, from the other members of the group and from the fifth-century original upon which they were based[67]. Moreover, a few of the motifs in the South panel have no parallels in mid fifth-century

[66] E. Loewy, Polygnot (1929) 47 f.; id., Jahrb. Kunsthist. Slgn. Wien N. F. 2, 1928, 24 f.
[67] F. S. Kleiner, The Kalydonian Hunt. A Reconstruction of a Painting from the Circle of Polygnotos. Ant. Kunst 15, 1972, 7–19.

painting. In particular, obliquely foreshortened horses such as those of S11 and 12 are not found in Greek art before the end of the fifth century[68]. Furthermore, in surviving representations of boar hunts in ancient art the boar is normally shown in strict profile moving from left to right or vice versa (e. g. fig. 8). This is the case, without exception, in the Archaic period, throughout the fifth century and in the first half of the fourth century. Not until the Apulian volute-crater in Berlin of ca. 340 (fig. 11) and the Apulian amphora in Trieste of ca. 330 is the boar shown charging forward with its head turned[69]. One is reminded of the famous 'Immolatio boum' painted by Pausias in which the artist depicted the animal in an oblique frontal view rather than lengthwise, as had previously been done, a feat which *postea imitati sunt multi, aequavit nemo*[70].

Formal comparisons such as these lend credence to the hypothesis of Wickhoff and Chamoux that the boar hunt of the South relief is derived from a single monumental painting of the second half of the fourth century[71]. Wickhoff thought that this model would have been the equal of the Alexander-Darius painting in quality and Chamoux has spoken specifically of a work 'in the manner of Pausias and Philoxenus'. The Glanum composition is, in fact, similar in some ways to a hunting mosaic in Palermo (fig. 12) believed to be a copy of a second painting by Philoxenus of Eretria[72]. The two mounted hunters, disposed to the left and right of a central tree, the fallen figure threatened by the lion, and the central dog, ready to leap at the boar, have parallels in the cenotaph relief, but the profile depiction of the Palermo boar is very different from that of the animal charging from behind the tree at St-Rémy. More comparable in this respect are two Hellenistic Etruscan cinerary urns in Perugia (fig. 10)[73] and a terracotta lamp of the second half of the second century A. D. in Carthage[74], both of which probably derive ultimately from Greek pictorial compositions.

Despite these affinities between the cenotaph relief and fourth-century Greek painting, the former cannot be considered a copy of an earlier composition. It is likely that the key elements of the Glanum hunt – the two Dioscuri, the central tree and the boar, the wounded Ancaeus (S10) and his companion, as well as the hunter (S14) seen from the rear, accompanied by his dog – are based on a single Greek painting. But other elements of the model have unquestionably been rearranged or omitted. A Calydonian hunt without Atalanta is inconceivable and the Glanum Theseus (S13) is awkwardly placed – his axe will fall upon Pollux's horse instead of the boar. The whole composition is, in fact, more crowded than comparable Greek hunts. This is to be expected because the Glanum designer has allotted only part of his panel to the hunt proper and the figures have been

[68] Motifs I and J in the reconstruction proposed in Ant. Kunst 15, 1972, 17 fig. 6, which appear only in fourth-century and later reflections of the fifth-century panel, should, therefore, be omitted or adjusted to approximate more closely the foreshortened horses of mid fifth-century painting.

[69] Civico Museo S380. – Daltrop op. cit. (n. 37) pl. 23. – B. M. Scarfi, CVA Italia 43, Trieste 1 (1969) 14 f. pl. 14.

[70] Plin. nat. hist. 35, 126. – Recueil Milliet 258 f. no. 324. – O. J. Brendel, Immolatio boum. Röm. Mitt. 45, 1930, 196–226.

[71] Chamoux, Bas-relief (n. 21) 177–180; Les Antiques (n. 21) 106 f.; Observations (n. 21) 34–36. – Wickhoff op. cit. (n. 14) 39 f. – Cf. E. Pernice, Zum Alexandermosaik von Pompeji, in: Von der Antike zum Christentum. Festgabe V. Schultze (1931) 91–93.

[72] Fuhrmann op. cit. (n. 64) 228–270.

[73] H. Brunn and G. Körte, I rilievi delle urne etrusche 2, 1 pl. 1.1.

[74] Musée National 46.540. – J. Deneauve, Lampes de Carthage (1969) 211 no. 1037 pl. 94.

compressed into a restricted area. The remainder of the composition has been devoted to a series of motifs drawn from at least two sources.

To judge from Roman sarcophagi and other reliefs, S8 and the group of attendants and mourners that surrounds him are probably based on a Greek representation of the death of Meleager. A relief in the Galleria Colonna in Rome, found at Bovillae, and a group of related pieces collected by Amelung – a gem, an ivory box and a lamp – depict the carrying away of Meleager in a manner similar to that of the cenotaph relief[75]. The hero's body is shown in left profile and the elderly attendant leaning over Meleager is in right profile. Hunter S5 also has a parallel in the Colonna group of reliefs.

Von Blanckenhagen's suggestion that the juxtaposition of the boar hunt and the dying hunter in a single panel indicates the conflation of two Hellenistic paintings deserves serious consideration[76]. The existence of such painted mythological cycles is well attested[77]. But strict adherence to a Greek composition is nowhere evident in the left portion of the relief. The dual origin of motifs S1–8 in representations of the massacre of the Niobids and the death of Meleager has already been discussed, as have the ambiguous spatial relationships and impossible actions of some of the figures. It is clear that if Greek paintings lie behind this section of the relief they have been altered to such a degree as to make their original appearance unrecognizable. S6, e. g., whose left arm is placed as if to support S8, has been moved from behind the hero to a position above him. S5 holds the hero's body with only one hand; the other is raised in a mournful gesture. S3, perhaps associated with the group of mourners in the Greek composition, is here concerned with the frightened horse of one of the 'Niobids'. S2, who in the Niobid sarcophagi lifts his mantle in a protective gesture, reaches out for the rearing horse of S1. Most remarkable, the two sets of motifs have been 'unified' by setting Meleager on the rump of a Niobid's horse.

Whether the Glanum sculptor had access to drawings of entire compositions or fragmentary patterns in a workshop collection is unknown. In any case, he has rearranged and adapted his models for his own purposes, as he has omitted Atalanta from the Calydonian hunt. That his purpose was to relate some event of contemporary biographical significance rather than represent Greek myths is borne out not only by the elimination of certain Greek characters and the omission of all women, but by the addition, as in the North relief (N6), of a Roman saddle, contrary to Greek practice, to the one horse that is without a rider (S1)[78].

Conclusion

In the South reliefs the Glanum designer thus reveals both his reliance on Greek pictorial models and his readiness to adapt or abandon his models when they were unsuitable. This

[75] W. Amelung, Due sculture conservate nel Palazzo Colonna. Diss. Pont. Accad. 2, 8, 1903, 76–81, pl. 1. – G. Koch, Sarkophagreliefs XII 6 (1975) 118.

[76] P. v. Blanckenhagen, Am. Journal Arch. 61, 1957, 81.

[77] E. g. the Iliac cycle (*bellum Iliacum pluribus tabulis*) of Theorus mentioned by Plin. nat. hist. 35, 144. – Recueil Milliet 388 f. no. 518. – Cf. M. Thompson, The Monumental and Literary Evidence for Programmatic Painting in Antiquity. Marsyas 9, 1961, 36–77.

[78] See supra n. 39.

simultaneous dependence upon patterns for individual motifs and freedom with regard to the selection and arrangement of these forms is the essential ingredient of the Glanum master's style. This approach to pictorial composition is by no means limited to the South relief, but is characteristic of the other three socle reliefs as well. In the East relief e. g., the Glanum master has clearly drawn upon a Greek Amazonomachy for the central part of his composition, but he has mixed Roman civilians (E2, 4, 5, and probably 14) and Greek soldiers (E10–12, 16–18) with the mythological personages and personifications, and he has varied the scale of his figures without regard to their relative importance in the panel. (E6, e. g., is enormous and E16 is larger than E8, the central hero.)

It is because of the Greek sources for the majority of motifs on the St-Rémy reliefs and the eccentric way in which they have been combined with each other and with Roman motifs that the cenotaph panels have been called both 'Greek' and 'Roman' and been compared both to Hellenistic Greek painting and to late Roman sarcophagi. The century-old controversy surrounding the monument can only be resolved by recognizing that the four reliefs are neither 'Greek' nor 'Roman' but the products of an independent, provincial artist faced with a complicated and unusual commission. In light of the complexity of the commission and the absence of a prior tradition of classical sculpture in Gaul[79], it is not surprising that, wherever possible and suitable, the Glanum designer relied heavily upon Greek patterns. Nor is it surprising that he altered his models to meet new requirements. The style of the Glanum master seems to have been formed in response to his unprecedented commission. He sought models in the art of the past but was not bound by the rules of classical design. To judge from surviving Gallo-Roman reliefs, the Glanum master had no followers. His name is lost and his personal style appears to have died with him.

[79] See supra n. 13.

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4	drawing by author
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11	Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Photographische Abteilung
12	after H. Fuhrmann, Philoxenos von Eretria (1931) Abb. 9.