

A ROMAN TERRACOTTA CANTHARUS WITH BATTLE SCENES IN MAINZ*

In memoriam Dierk Wortmann

Our knowledge of monumental paintings of pre-Roman times is extremely scanty. We must rely heavily on literary references and, with luck, on later copies. But paintings, in addition to being written about and copied, also influenced in many ways the work of countless artisans: occasional painters, book illustrators, silversmiths, potters, sculptors etc. Some of this work has come down to us as distant, often distorted reflections of long-lost masterpieces.

The battle relief of the cantharus to be presented here (Pl. 22–25,3)¹) is such a reflection, distant and distorted, to be sure, but interesting nonetheless because of its uniqueness and its place of origin: the vase allegedly was found in the region of Pergamon.

The clay is a dull orange-yellow. There are a number of dark reddish-brown patches in recessed areas such as drapery folds and indentations between the acanthus leaves²). They are widespread only on one side, which we shall call B, while side A is almost devoid of them.

Our vase has not the elegant lines of the well known hellenistic and Roman silver canthari³). Compared with these it is plump and stiff; the handles, each with a dividing groove, are droopy and do not extend in cantharus-fashion above the lip. Its upper zone is only slightly concave and the rim does not flare outward very far. Among metal vessels the

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Département des Antiquités Grecques et Romaines, Musée du Louvre (Pl. 26,1,2) – Deutsches Archäologisches Institut, Abteilung Istanbul (Pl. 26,3) – The Walters Art Gallery, Baltimore (Pl. 25,4) – Römisch-Germanisches Zentralmuseum Mainz (Pl. 22,24,25,1–2).

Drawings (fig. 1; Pl. 23,25,3) by H. Ribbeck (Mainz).

¹) Mainz, Römisch-Germanisches Zentralmuseum, inv. O. 39286. H.: 0.125 m, H. of relief zone: 0.052 m, diameter at lip: 0.081 m. Foot and stem are modern.

²) These patches are not remains of a metal coating as an examination by Dr. Josef Riederer of the Bayerische Staatsgemäldesammlung has shown (cf. note 37). They could stem from a coating of very fine clay or from a polishing after the vase had dried to a leathery consistency. I would like to express here my appreciation for Dr. Riederer's help in this matter.

³) D. E. Strong, *Greek and Roman Gold and Silver Plate* (1966) 94, 95 f. 114 f. 134. Pl. 26 A.

closest corresponding form is that of the late hellenistic-early imperial cantharus (Pl. 25,4)⁴).

The body of the vase (foot and stem are modern) consists of two levels. A lower zone is decorated with a ring of seven fleshy acanthus leaves from under which rise twenty-eight elongated tongues or godroons, concave in section⁵). The relief, which depicts the same event on both sides (Pl. 23,1-2), is framed below by a simple torus-scotia-torus moulding and at the top by an irregularly traced groove setting off the lip.

The cantharus was not thrown on the wheel, but formed in moulds such as the one illustrated in Pl. 26,1. Two such negative half-moulds, each impressed with the relief, godroons and acanthus leaves, were probably clamped together, the clay applied and smoothed down on the inside⁶). When the clay had dried and shrunk sufficiently the compound mould was dismantled, the seams at each side of the vase smoothed over and handles and foot were added. During this process the surface of the moulding, godroons and acanthus leaves was damaged somewhat. Finally the vase was dipped to produce the glossy surface, then fired⁷).

That two half-moulds were indeed used is most evident upon examination of the acanthus leaves. Whereas on side B the tip of one of them points upward toward the collapsed warrior on the relief there is no leaf in exactly the same position on side A. The relation of the godroons to the relief scene is also different on both sides. On B the heel of the reclining river god touches the base moulding exactly above the axis of one of the tongues; on the other side that foot has shifted slightly to the left. But even within the relief composition itself there are a number of discrepancies. Let us take, for example, the last figure on the right. On A there is ample space between his right leg and the collapsing horse to the left for the arm and head of the falling rider, who is nude. On B, however, this rider, clothed this time, is jammed into a much smaller area. If it were not for the horse I doubt we would be able to identify at all the shapeless mass he has become.

⁴) Baltimore, Walters Art Gallery, inv. 57929. Handles are missing. *Arch. Anz.* 1907, 358 f. Abb. 3.4. — Strong *l.c.* (cf. note 3) 114. — On the cantharus in Roman times: W. Hilgers, *Lateinische Gefäßnamen. Bezeichnungen, Funktion und Form römischer Gefäße nach den antiken Schriftquellen. Bonner Jahrb. Beih.* 31 (1969) 46-48. 136-138.

⁵) The godroon is derived from beaten metal-work: F. Oswald - T. D. Pryce, *An Introduction to the Study of Terra Sigillata* (1920) 72. Ones of convex section appear on the cantharus in Baltimore (Pl. 25,4). — For silver vessels with the concave godroon cf. the four ivy beakers from Hildesheim: U. Gehrig, *Hildesheimer*

Silberfund (1967) 25 fig. 27f. — The elegant silver cantharus from Tarentum, now in Paris coll. Rothschild, has godroons with acanthus leaves at the base: P. Wuilleumier, *Le Trésor de Tarente* (1930) Pl. 6. — J. Schäfer, *Hellenistische Keramik aus Pergamon* (1968) 84 Abb. 15,1.

⁶) The finger marks, clearly visible on the interior surface, are too irregular for the smoothing down to have been done on the wheel.

⁷) The interior does not seem to have been treated for gloss. In the description of this procedure I have followed R. C. Charleston, *Roman Pottery* (s. d.) 5 f. 12-14.

Turning to the left part of the relief we see that the rocky landscape immediately behind the first warrior is quite different in each of the versions, almost touching his head on B while leaving a considerable gap there on A. For the time being these examples will suffice to illustrate our point. More discrepancies in the relief will become apparent as we describe the individual figures⁸).

The manner in which this cantharus was manufactured would seem to indicate that a number of similar pieces should easily be encountered. I have, however, been able to find only two comparable fragments⁹). One is a terracotta mould in the Louvre for a vase identical to ours in shape though with a different type of representation (Pl. 26, 1. 2.)¹⁰). Its provenance is unknown and this is especially disappointing since, being a mould, it can only have come from the place of manufacture. There are, however, indications which will enable us, in a roundabout manner, to locate its origin. In spite of the fragmentary condition the similarity to the Mainz cantharus is striking. It has the same stiff form, exactly the same base moulding below the relief zone and the same number of godrooms as far as I can tell from the photograph and, most important, the measurements correspond exactly¹¹).

In an article on Roman relief bowls from Corinth Doreen C. Spitzer convincingly established that city as the seat of a factory producing a characteristic type of relief-decorated bowl which enjoyed considerable diffusion all over the ancient world¹²). The

⁸) A look at the relief projection shows that on B the relief juts out much farther than on A where it is contained within the circumference of the lower moulding. Mould B must therefore have been deeper at points. The reworking thus seems to have been executed in the mould itself.

⁹) Among the works on pottery of the Roman period I have found no mention or profile sketch of this form. Certainly more examples of this type of vase must be preserved either in Pergamon, or perhaps in Berlin or Istanbul. This kind of ware was unfortunately not dealt with in the monumental *Altertümer von Pergamon*: „Noch mehr als für die Königszeit müssen wir für die Kaiserzeit darauf verzichten, auf alles mannigfaltigste Kleine einzugehen, das die Funde geliefert haben.“ A. Conze, *Altertümer von Pergamon* (1885 ff.) I 298.

¹⁰) Paris, Louvre CA 272. Ch. Daremberg, E. Saglio, *Dictionnaire des Antiquités Grecques et Romaines* (1877 ff.) IIa 1246 fig. 3182. — D. C. Spitzer, *Hesperia* 11, 1942, 183. 187 fig. 19. — G. Ballardini, *L'Eredità Ceramistica dell'An-*

tico Mondo Romano (1964) 51 fig. 62.

¹¹) H.: 0.089 m; diameter at lip.: 0.08 m; H. of relief zone: 0.052 m. For this information I would like to express my thanks of the Département des Antiquités Grecques et Romaines, Musée du Louvre.

¹²) Doreen C. Spitzer, *Roman Relief Bowls from Corinth. Hesperia* 11, 1942, 162–192. To Spitzer's list we may add: *Not. Scavi* 1950, 10–12 (from Venetia). — A. M. Fallico, *Ceramica Romana del Territorio di Chiaramonte (Sicilia). Rei Cret. Rom. Faut. Acta* 11/12, 1969/70, 8–15. — H. Walter, *VI. Bericht über die Ausgrabungen in Olympia* (1958) 62 ff. and Abb. 51. — *CVA Deutschland* vol. 16, Pl. 96 (Schloss Fasanerie, no. 253 and 254). — F. Courby, *Les Vases Grecs à Reliefs* (1922) 438–447 had placed these bowls which he called *pyxides* in hellenistic times and thought that the subject matter of the battle scenes, a Galatomachy, was inspired by the sack of Delphi in 279 B.C. He did not know the fragment from Pergamon: p. 191, note 15.

reliefs depict scenes of mythological and ritualistic content as well as hunting and battle scenes. A mould was found in Corinth and from excavation evidence the author was able to date this ware between the mid second and late third century A. D. Recently examples were found in Olympia where the context allowed a date in the first half of the third century¹³). In connection with this ware the Louvre mould is also discussed and found to be "similar in fabric and color" to the Corinthian bowls. Its relief is considered to belong to the category of ritualistic scenes "although the three figures represented are not exactly like any found on the Corinth fragments."¹⁴) In fact Spitzer even finds that the bearded man at the right holding out an offering "corresponds very closely" with a figure on a fragment in Pergamon (Pl. 26,3)¹⁵). That fragment, however, has the remains of a handle and, unlike the Corinthian bowls, the moulding below the relief zone clearly flares outward¹⁶). Since all details of this fragment not only correspond very closely but clearly are identical with the Louvre mould it must come either from that very mould or from a similar one¹⁷). Contrary to what Spitzer would lead us to believe, however, this does not mean that we have evidence for ware exported from Corinth to Pergamon. On the contrary, it can be shown that the Corinthian ware under discussion actually made use of motifs deriving from Pergamene ware¹⁸). We may thus even go so far as to con-

and looking to his right. He supports himself on his right arm and places his left hand on his hip. Behind him stands, also frontally, a trumpeter, his right hand (beyond the break) holding the instrument and his left on the back of his head. The next figure is a woman seated or kneeling on the ground or on a rock. She faces right and holds on her lap an infant, giving it her breast. Further to the right, before a tree whose spreading, leafy branches touch the upper edge, a warrior stoops to lift a wounded companion whose limp right arm hangs between his legs. These very scenes, along with nine others, appear on the Corinthian bowls (Spitzer *l.c.* [cf. note 12] 172-179). Her fig. 8 is a drawing of these motifs. From left to right the motifs of the Pergamene sherd in Berlin correspond to her scenes g, i, a.). To be sure, the Corinthian examples by far outweigh in number the one Pergamene fragment, but what about the quality? The trees on the bowls in Corinth, cypresses, are extremely summarily rendered whereas the tree on the sherd from Pergamon, a different type, perhaps a plane tree, is very naturalistically formed; even in the minute

¹³) Cf. note 12: Walter.

¹⁴) Spitzer *l.c.* (cf. note 12) 183. As she notes on p. 163 f., it has "several outstanding deviations from the usual (i. e. Corinthian) characteristics" (parentheses mine).

¹⁵) Spitzer *l.c.* (cf. note 12) 183. The Pergamon fragment: p. 166, fig. 4 and p. 163: "in the Museum at Pergamon".

¹⁶) Spitzer *l.c.* (cf. note 12) 164 fig. 2 for profiles of the bowls.

¹⁷) The Pergamene sherd measures 0.067 m in height. Its relief zone measures exactly 0.052 m in height. This corresponds exactly with the Louvre mould and the Mainz cantharus (cf. note 1 and 11).

¹⁸) A look at the bowls with battle scenes will establish that artisans in Corinth indeed used motifs from Pergamene ware. In the *Altertümer von Pergamon* Conze published the fragment of a relief bowl of the same type with battle scenes apparently from a Galatomachy. It was dated „in nicht zu späte römische Zeit“ (*Altertümer von Pergamon* I 297, fig. 101). Spitzer appears not to have known this bowl fragment. From left to right we see a man, probably wounded, sitting frontally on a rock

clude that in all likelihood the mould in the Louvre came from Pergamon or nearby. The alleged provenance of our cantharus from the same region strengthens this conclusion. Its handles are similar to the remains on the Pergamon fragment and the height of the relief scene corresponds exactly¹⁹).

The mould in the Louvre, the sherd from Pergamon and our vase represent a shape which, to my knowledge, has not yet been catalogued among the many forms of ceramic ware of Roman times (Pl. 25,3). Considering the date of the bowls made in Corinth we should not be far off the mark in dating the Mainz cantharus to the late second or early third century A.D. It was made in or near Pergamon.

Before we start describing the battle scenes of our vase we must recognize the difficulties involved. The moulds were already considerably worn when the reliefs were formed. Consequently many details essential for accurate description and interpretation are difficult if not impossible to recognize. As we go along it will become evident that we must rely heavily on mould A for the original details of the scene which became partly obliterated and altered after mould B had been reworked.

In the left quarter of the relief a reclining, semi-nude river god dominates a rocky landscape. He is resting his head on his right arm which in turn is leaning on a rock. With his left hand he grasps the stalk of a reed which deploys its leaves before and above his head. His legs are draped, except for his left foot.

Two other figures form part of this personified landscape. From behind the summit of the rocks appear the heads and shoulders of two veiled women. Witnessing the struggle below, they both lean on the rocks with their elbows, their right arms enveloped in their garments.

Immediately to the right of the mountain the battle rages. On the left a bareheaded warrior stands in the background facing right. On his neck, a close-fitting, collar-like indentation seems to indicate that he is wearing a *chiton*. At any rate this is the way the reworker of mould B understood it, giving his garment very pronounced but strange folds encircling the arm and chest for which there is absolutely no indication on A. His

scale one detects the individually spreading branches with their foliage. The subject matter also points in that direction. Galatomachies are primarily a Pergamene topic. There can be no doubt about it: the Corinthian bowls of the third century A.D. are, in their form and in some of their decoration, derivative of Pergamene ware. This solution is, I think, more convincing than Spitzer's who would have it that Corinthian potters were inspired by the invasion of the Costobocs, between 168 and 180 A.D., into Greek lands as far as Eleusis

(177f.). A. Schober, *Jahrb. Dt. Arch. Inst.* 53, 1938, 137ff. mentions the fragment from Pergamon and the examples from the Greek mainland, but he does not realize the difference in quality. He believes that the famous Pergamene sculptural groups of Gauls were the models for the motifs on these bowls. This does not, however, take into account the landscape elements in these scenes, which are more likely to have come from painting.

¹⁹) Cf. note 17.

hair is quite bushy in the manner of barbarians and he is bearded. The object between him and the next standing figure seems to be a rectangular shield. On A we see its inner surface and the arm carrying it. B has eliminated that arm. With his right hand our warrior grasps the shoulder of a companion who has fallen onto his right knee, hidden behind the legs of the river god. His left leg, bent at the knee, is plainly visible, covered to mid-thigh by his *chiton*. With his right hand he supports himself on the god's knee. On A horizontal folds encircle the upper right arm, but on B this arm is entirely covered with them, just like the arm and chest of the man standing behind him. Fastened on his right shoulder he wears a *chlamys* whose folds, cutting across below his chin, completely envelop his feebly raised left arm and fall down from it, almost reaching his knee. The upward tilted head is too badly worn to make out details of his helmet, except that it is of a general conical shape and has a knob on the apex. Judging from the mass of the head either the helmet had cheek guards or the warrior a beard.

A comparison of this group on both sides will show that A preserves more of the original details than B. The folds of the *chlamys* are better understood and the *chiton* falls more naturally on the thigh. The relief projection is also especially strong at this point on B. No doubt the obliteration of the finer details on mould B is due to reworking²⁰).

An attacking warrior in the background is partially hidden by the wounded man's *chlamys*. His body faces towards the right as if he had been running in that direction, but his head is turned sharply in the direction of his right shoulder and the bearded man whom he is about to strike with his sword. He wears a short sleeved *chiton*²¹) and carries on his left arm a round, convex shield – very badly rendered on B – seen foreshortened, with a raised border. His helmet is of a roughly hemispherical form with a projecting rim and a plume. It may have cheek guards.

In the foreground a fourth combatant approaches from the right wearing a short *chiton* of heavy, coarse material, perhaps leather or fur, attached on his left shoulder only and girt at the waist. On his left arm is an elongated, oval shield, somewhat foreshortened, with a lozenge-shaped *umbo* over a long spine which divides it vertically. His helmet is of ogival form with a raised rim and may have cheek guards. In his right hand, drawn back behind his head, he holds a sword which would be at least .80 m. long. If it is foreshortened it may even be longer. He stands straddle-legged with his weight on the

²⁰) The folds on the arms of these men resemble the arm guards shown on the Pergamene balustrade reliefs (*Altertümer von Pergamon* II, 2, 109–111 and Pl. 43; 46,4; 47,2; 50,4). — S. Reinach, *Répertoire de Reliefs Grecs et Romains* (1909ff.) I 213, 1.2; 215, 1. Since they always appear in pairs the wearers cannot have carried shields, for then the one on the left arm would have been encumbering and superfluous. Xe-

nophon, *περὶ ἱππικῆς* 12, recommends, for the cavalry, arm guards which, however, were different for the left and right arms. Droysen, *Altertümer von Pergamon* II 110 thinks they were worn by chariot drivers. It is obvious that this cannot pertain to the figures on our relief.

²¹) The folds on the shoulder are quite natural on A. On B they are again of the schematic type encountered on the warriors to the left.

left in a manner suggesting that he had just come forward from the left and turned sharply to his right in order to strike, at the same time leaning back to avoid a counterblow. Let us stop an instant to consider these four figures. The first two clearly belong together while a third attacks them. It is quite evident that one attacker is sufficient, for the wounded man is incapable of fending for himself and his companion is very vulnerable with his burden. The fourth warrior, therefore, is superfluous, having no adversary for whom the mighty blow is meant. We must understand him as a figure quoted out of context. Two more figures remain to be examined. The last one at the right is identical with the fourth in the weapons he carries and in the action. On B his stance is also practically identical whereas his legs are closer together on A and he leans forward more, his weight on his right leg. His blow is aimed at a man who is slipping forward off his collapsing horse, extending his right arm to ease his fall. Again more details are preserved on A, where we see the face of this rider and his nude back. Between the legs of the warrior to his left appear not only the right side and bent foreleg of his horse, but also his own right leg. On B this leg has disappeared, the rider has been given a *chiton* and his whole body has been severely compressed²²).

What is the nationality of these fighters? The elongated oval shield worn by two of them is the Gallic *thyreos*, which may vary considerably in shape and size²³). The fact, however, that the *thyreos* was also used in other armies of hellenistic times should warn us not to be too hasty in identifying all men equipped with it as Gauls²⁴). Let us look at other elements. The *chiton* of heavy material, leather or fur, attached on one shoulder appears frequently in Galatomachies²⁵), and the ogival helmet with or without cheek guards is Celtic²⁶). The sword carried by the fourth and sixth warriors is at least 0.80 m long and

²²) This is another indication that mould B was reworked. Celtic horsemen – and our man is a Gaul (p. 195) – are represented nude or seminude, as Galatomachies on Roman battle sarcophagi show: B. Andreae, *Motivgeschichtliche Untersuchungen zu den römischen Schlachtsarkophagen* (1958) Taf. 1–4.

²³) “au bras de tous les Galates peints, gravés, sculptés indépendants ou mercenaires”: P. Cuissin, *Revue Arch.* 1927 I, 307. A list of examples is given by Cuissin pp. 307–319, fig. 59–61. — Cf. M. Launey, *Recherches sur les Armées Hellénistiques* (1949/50) 531. — J. Moreau, *Die Welt der Kelten* (1958) 66f. The size, as far as can be calculated from the monuments, varies from 0.80 to 1.50 m in height and from 0.40 to 0.60 m in width (Cuissin l.c. 316). They may be oval, hexagonal or roughly rectangular.

²⁴) Launey l.c. (cf. note 23) 534. Cf. the frieze of the monument of Aemilius Paullus at Delphi: H. Kähler, *Der Fries vom Denkmal des Aemilius Paullus in Delphi* (1965) 35 and the Census relief in the Louvre: H. Kähler, *Seethiasos und Census. Die Reliefs aus dem Palazzo Santa Croce in Rom* (1966) Taf. 4 and 5.

²⁵) Terracotta frieze from Cività Alba in Bologna, Mus. Civ.: G. Q. Giglioli, *L'Arte Etrusca* (1935) Tav. 382. — Etruscan ash urns: H. Brunn, *I Rilievi delle Urne Etrusche* (1870–1890) III Pl. 121,7 and 122,9.

²⁶) Pergamene balustrade reliefs: *Altertümer von Pergamon* II Taf. 43–44. According to Couissin l.c. (cf. note 23) 56f. ogival helmets had not been in use in Greece for a long time and were introduced by the Gauls in the early third century B.C.

is being used to strike. This long broadsword is a common Celtic weapon which, according to Polybius and Livy, had no sharp point²⁷). The combined evidence established beyond a doubt that our two warriors with *thyreoi* are indeed Gauls. The only horseman in the scene is also a Gaul. Not only does the very same motif appear on a roughly contemporary Roman Galatomachy sarcophagus²⁸), but the nudity of the rider in both instances is also typical for Gauls²⁹). Why is he being attacked by another Gaul? The only answer is that, here again, figures are quoted out of context.

The attacker in the background has, as we have seen, a fairly convex round shield with a diameter that can be calculated as being 0.60 to 0.70 m. In size and shape it resembles the well known, richly decorated *aspis* of the Macedonian hoplites³⁰). The absence of decor here could be attributed to the summary rendering of all details on our cantharus. This type of shield was also used in the Pergamene armies, as the Galatomachy engraved on a piece of bronze mounting of the hellenistic period found in Pergamon shows³¹). As for the helmet of our soldier, we can say no more than that it corresponds only superficially to the Macedonian *κωνος* also worn by the heavy infantry³²). On the grounds of the *aspis* we may, with caution, identify our attacker as a Macedonian or Pergamene hoplite. Even a tentative identification of the group at the left is unfortunately impossible.

²⁷) Polybius 3, 114,5: ἡ δὲ Γαλατικὴ μάχαιρα μίαν εἶχε χρεῖαν τὴν ἐκ καταφορᾶς καὶ ταύτην ἐξ ἀποστάσεως and 2,33,5: . . . διὰ τὸ μηδαμῶς κέντημα τὸ ξίφος ἔχειν Livy 22,46, 5 mentions *praelongi (gladii) ac sine mucronibus*. Celtic swords have been found. They measure ca. 0.90 m. (Moreau *l.c.* [cf. note 23] 22; 68f. pl. 21.45. — *Altertümer von Pergamon* II 132f.). — Short, pointed swords like the one with which the Gaul in the Terme museum is killing himself were the arms of the chiefs, whereas the regular warriors carried the long sword: E. Künzl, *Die Kelten des Epigonos von Pergamon* (1971) 9.

²⁸) Rome, Villa Doria Panfilii: Andraea *l.c.* (cf. note 22) 15,8 and Taf. 3. — Inst. Neg. Rom 8413. — On a sarcophagus in the Museo Nazionale, inv. 8569 (Andraea *l.c.* [cf. note 22] 14,5 and Taf. 4) the Gaul has not fallen as far forward, and on the sarcophagus from the Vigna Ammendola in the Museo Capitolino (H. Stuart Jones, *A Catalogue of the ancient Sculptures preserved in the municipal Collections of Rome. The Sculpture of the Museo Capitolino* [1912] 74,5 Pl. 14. — Andraea *l.c.* [cf. note 22]

14,3 Taf. 1) the horse appears without the rider. Cf. p. 00.

²⁹) Diod. 5, 30,3.

³⁰) On the Macedonian *aspis*: Launey *l.c.* (cf. note 23) 354–356. Macedonians with *aspis* on the Aemilius Paullus frieze (Kähler *l.c.* [cf. note 24] Taf. 4.7.12.20.21). Macedonian prince with *aspis* on the frieze from the large dining room of the villa near Boscoreale (A. Stenico, *Roman and Etruscan Painting* [1963] Pl. 77. — A. Rumpf, *Malerei und Zeichnung der klassischen Antike. Handb. d. Archäologie* IV [1953] Taf. 52,1). — *Aspides* also appear on the balustrade reliefs from Pergamon (*Altertümer von Pergamon* II Pl. 44,1; 45,2; 45,1? where they are decorated and Pl. 47,1.2; 44,2, where they are blank).

³¹) *Altertümer von Pergamon* I 250. 251 Fig. 1. I do not know the whereabouts of this piece today. If correctly dated, it is a valuable example of a fairly detailed representation of a Galatomachy not long after the victories over the Gauls. There is some depth in the frieze, suggesting that the engraver might have borrowed motifs from painting.

³²) On the *κωνος*: Launey *l.c.* (cf. note 23) 356f.

If the hoplite attacking them is indeed a Pergamene (the three Gauls at the right could indicate this, for the Galatomachy is a Pergamene topic *par excellence*) then they could also be Gauls. The bushy head of hair and beard would support such an identification³³). Though the rectangular shield – or better, the shield with a corner – is not at all like the oval shield of the Gauls at the right, Celtic *thyreoi* of roughly rectangular and hexagonal shape are known³⁴). The elaborate dress of the wounded man need not be an objection, for we know that some Gauls wore colorful *chitones* and cloaks³⁵). What is left of his helmet is absolutely useless for our purposes. A serious problem is raised by the dress of the standing warrior. Is it meant to be a close-fitting, long sleeved tunic? The reworker of mould B thought so, but he added heavy folds indicating that it presented him with a problem as well. Nowhere in Galatomachies nor in battles involving other barbarians do we see this T-shirt type of tunic. As tempting as it is, considering the rest of the composition and the origin of the vase, to see in this group two more Gauls, the insoluble problems are so numerous that we had better leave standing the question they raise.

The battle picture we have described certainly is not the invention of the potters who manufactured this vase. The three instances of quotation out of context prove that it is an abbreviation of a larger composition and the uncertainties we have run up against in the wounded-helper group force us to consider conflation of two, perhaps more sources. Where did our potter borrow this scene?

At the onset we have contrasted our vase with its metal cousins and found that it most closely corresponds, in shape, to late hellenistic and early imperial silver canthari. It is known that plaster impressions were frequently made from decorated silver vessels which were “probably made throughout the main centres of the Empire especially in the eastern provinces”³⁶), and that these were subsequently used to produce a cheaper ceramic ware – sometimes even gilded or silvered – with the same or similar representations³⁷). But even silver vessels cannot have been the original medium for scenes such as ours. We must look for them in the realm of painting.

³³) Celts who were not nobles wore a beard according to Diodorus 5,28,3. Cf. Künzl *l.c.* (cf. note 27) 10 Pl. 14. If this group represents two Gauls, the standing one may be the *παρραπιστήης* of the wounded man: Diod. 5, 29,2.

³⁴) Cf. p. 194 and note 23. All three types appear on the balustrade reliefs from Pergamon (*Altertümer von Pergamon* II 131 Taf. 43–50). — Reinach *l.c.* (cf. note 20) I 211–215. — Couissin *l.c.* (cf. note 23) 307–308 fig. 59–65.

³⁵) Diod. 5, 29,2.

³⁶) Strong *l.c.* (cf. note 3) 137.

³⁷) Plin. n. h. 33, 157. — O. Rubensohn, *Helleni-*

stisches Silbergerät in antiken Abgüssen (1911). — D. B. Thompson, *Mater Caelaturae. Impressions from ancient Metalwork*. *Hesperia* 8, 1939, 285 bis 316, esp. 312f. — Spitzer *l.c.* (cf. note 12) 163. — Strong *l.c.* (cf. note 3) 139. — Oswald-Pryce *l.c.* (cf. note 5) 88: “The relatively thin walls and the glossy lustrous glaze of many early examples of form 30 indicate the influence of metal work and it is probable, that the silver cups of the Augustan age, such as those found at Boscoreale played no mean part in its development”. Form 30 is that of the Corinthian bowls. On gilded or silvered ceramic vases: Courby *l.c.* (cf. note 12) 529–532.

The landscape at the left is quite at home in paintings of hellenistic times³⁸). Rocky elevations with nymphs half hidden behind them and looking down upon the action are numerous in paintings of the Roman period³⁹), but undoubtedly originate in Greek art⁴⁰). The reclining river god with various attributes may also be traced back to hellenistic times⁴¹). On the Telephos frieze of the great altar of Pergamon which has been called a painting in relief two river gods, the *Ceteus* and *Selinus*, are present as the hero establishes a sanctuary during the foundation of the city⁴²). In our description of the battle scene elements of perspective have already been noticed. The group of the wounded man and his companion and the collapsing horse and rider are meant to have a great deal of spatial depth which is not primarily a characteristic of relief sculpture. These elements can originally have come only from painting, where the illusion of spatial depth originated through the use of foreshortening and perspective⁴³).

Examining the position of each of the figures on a hypothetical ground plan will, better than words, demonstrate the amount of spatial depth present in the composition (fig. 1)⁴⁴). One notices the use of diagonals leading forward from the background. Similar construction can be seen, for instance, on the friezes on the arch at Orange and the mausoleum at Saint-Rémy as well as on Roman battle sarcophagi⁴⁵). It is very probable that all three examples derive from painting. Due to the translation of the original motifs from painting to relief some of the techniques of achieving depth, such as the use of diagonals, have, of course, suffered. The rider slipping off his horse is meant to be falling diagonally toward the front right, but our potter was unable to render this in a completely satisfying manner.

³⁸) G. Rodenwaldt, *Die Komposition der pompejanischen Wandgemälde* (1909) 8.

³⁹) W. Helbig, *Wandgemälde der vom Vesuv verschütteten Städte Campaniens* (1868) nos. 155 (VII 13,4), 305 (VI 7,23), 353 (VI 10,1), 354 (IX 3,5), 956 (VIII 4,34), 971 (VIII 4,34), 1240 (VIII, 4,4), 1390 (VI 9,6). Add. VI 15,1: Cyparissus (K. Schefold, *Die Wände Pompejis* [1957] 142 [e]. — Philostratus, *imag.* II 4,15 describes a painting of Hippolytus in which "those mountain peaks over which you used to hunt with Artemis take the form of mourning women that tear their cheeks". Helbig refers to these half hidden figures as *σκοπιαί* (peaks), but it is doubtful whether Philostratus saw in this word a personification. Rodenwaldt *l.c.* (cf. note 38) 194 prefers the form nymphs.

⁴⁰) Rodenwaldt *l.c.* (cf. note 38) 192.

⁴¹) *RE.* VI A (1909) s.v. "Flußgötter" 2786

(Waser). — W. H. Roscher, *Ausführliches Lexikon der griechischen und römischen Mythologie* (1884ff.) I 2 s.v. "Flußgötter" 1094 (Steuding).

⁴²) Block 50. *Altertümer von Pergamon* III 2, 196 (Winnefeld). — C. Robert, *Jahrb. Dt. Arch. Inst.* 3, 1888, 94. — H. Schrader, *Jahrb. Dt. Arch. Inst.* 15, 1900, 132f. — Reinach *l.c.* (cf. note 20) I 219, 50. — K. Stähler, *Das Unklassische im Telephosfries* (1966) Pl. 23 a.

⁴³) Sculpture in the round must be ruled out because of the landscape represented. Cf. note 18: Schober.

⁴⁴) Long arrows indicate the direction taken by the whole figure. Short arrows denote the direction of glance or action if different.

⁴⁵) R. Amy etc., *L'Arc d'Orange. Gallia Suppl.* 15 (1962) 131 Pl. 28. — R. Rolland, *Mausolée de Glanum. Gallia Suppl.* 21 (1969) 47–64 Pl. 25 to 28. 39–46. — Andreae *l.c.* (cf. note 22) Taf. 1–4.

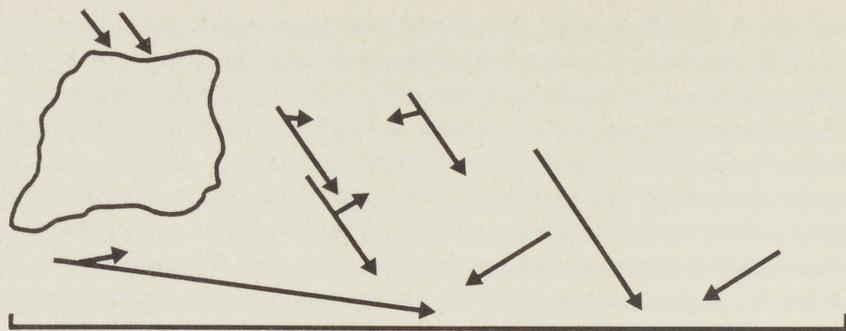


Fig. 1 Schematic ground plan of battle scene.

If we are correct in our interpretation there is only one Greek (or victor) in the scene while all the rest are barbarians (or defeated warriors). It is equally strange that only one horseman should be represented. A comparison with larger battle compositions will explain, I think, what has happened here. On the reliefs of the arch at Orange the foreground is filled with infantrymen (Romans and barbarians) and fallen horses with their riders. The cavalry is in the background⁴⁶). The figures of our battle scene were very likely taken from a relatively forward plane of the original composition or compositions. Whoever made the choice decided to use as many barbarians or defeated enemies as he could, thereby even relieving them of their opponents. May we see in this eclecticism a practice of Pergamene silversmiths in late hellenistic or early imperial times? The form of our vase, as we have seen, indicates a prototype in metal of that period.

Is a reconstruction of the painting at all possible? An extremely exhaustive study of a group of late Antonine and Severan battle sarcophagi has led to such a reconstruction⁴⁷). For reasons expounded in an excursus (p. 200), I believe, however, that such attempts are questionable. This holds true in the case of our relief in particular, where we cannot be certain whether it goes back to one or more original paintings. We must content ourselves with the conclusion that our battle scene is a very distant and impoverished relative of a grand and noble battle painting – or paintings. As the Mainz cantharus was made in or near Pergamon it is only natural to think of paintings in that city as the ultimate prototype for the figures of our relief. The subject matter, Galatromachy, literally demands that we do. Is it far fetched to see in a ceramic vase of the imperial period elements of hellenistic painting four hundred years older? Not at all. Our cantharus is in good company. That Pergamene art furnished artisans and artists of the ancient world with countless samples for the representation of battle scenes has long been recognized⁴⁸).

⁴⁶) Amy *l.c.* (cf. note 45) Pl. 28.

⁴⁷) Andrae *l.c.* (cf. note 22).

⁴⁸) F. Lenormant, *L'Arc d'Orange. Comptes-Rendus Acad. Inscr.* 1857, 232 ff. esp. 245. — S.

Reinach, *Les Gaulois dans l'Art antique et le Sarcophage de la Vigne Ammendola. Revue Arch.* 1888, II, 273–284; 1889, I, 11–22. 187–203. 317–352 esp. 349.

Among the examples that demonstrate this are the battle sarcophagi mentioned above⁴⁹), the statues of conquered Dacians made after Trajan's victories north of the Danube⁵⁰), and the battle relief made during the reign of Tiberius for the arch at Orange⁵¹). Pergamon was a thriving city in imperial times⁵²) and its treasures of classic masterpieces provided artists with a veritable storehouse of models.

It remains to be seen whether the relief of our cantharus is just a perfunctory representation of a battle with barbarians like the Galatomachies on the Roman sarcophagi or whether something more specific is meant.

For many years during the third century B. C. Pergamon was forced to pay tribute to the Gauls of central Asia Minor until Attalus I defeated them around 233 B. C. at the sources of the river *Caicus*⁵³). After this spectacular victory which was the beginning of many more successful campaigns Attalus took the title of King and Saviour⁵⁴). These victories over Gauls were glorified in numerous sculptural votive monuments on the acropolis of Pergamon and in other Greek sanctuaries. The Gigantomachy frieze of the great altar is a mythical rendering of these events. But there were certainly also paintings. In an *excursus* on the Gauls Pausanias mentions one⁵⁵). Considering that our cantharus gives us but a sampling of figures from larger compositions, is it not remarkable that so much emphasis should be placed on the river god who occupies no less than half of the entire width of the small relief, and on the mountains which occupy a quarter of the field? These figures, which do not appear on the battle sarcophagi, evidently were a very important part of an original composition which our eclectic editor did not want to miss. I think we may venture to say that in the relief of the Mainz cantharus we catch a glimpse, however corrupt and incomplete, of a monumental painting depicting that renowned victory of Attalus named after the river at whose sources it was won, a battle that made a king of Attalus and a metropolis of his city⁵⁶). Pergamon, four hundred years later, still basked in the sun of former greatness and proudly displayed what survived of the great masterpieces.

Just as today souvenirs with motifs taken from classic works of art are sold in great

⁴⁹) Andrae *l.c.* (cf. note 22).

⁵⁰) Künzl *l.c.* (cf. note 27) 1-5.

⁵¹) G.-Ch. Picard, in: R. Amy etc. *l.c.* (cf. note 45) 118-122. From the holes in the architrave by means of which bronze letters were fastened the dedicatory inscription has been reconstructed. The events represented in the battle reliefs probably took place in 21 A.D., the inscription itself is dated 26-27 A.D. (*l.c.* 143-152 [Piganiol] and 157 [Duval]).

⁵²) *Altertümer von Pergamon* I 282 ff.

⁵³) For an excellent summary of the situation in the third century and the role of the Gauls as

mercenaries of hellenistic kings cf. Launey *l.c.* (cf. note 23) 490-534. — A. Wienicke, *Keltisches Söldnertum in der Mittelmeerwelt bis zur Herrschaft der Römer* (diss. Breslau 1927) was inaccessible to me. The exact date of the battle is not known. Cf. most recently Künzl *l.c.* (cf. note 27) 11.

⁵⁴) *RE.* II 2 (1896) s.v. "Attalos" 2159 (Wilcken). — E. V. Hansen, *The Attalids of Pergamon* (1971) 31 f.

⁵⁵) Paus. I 4,6. — Hansen *l.c.* (cf. note 54) 332.

⁵⁶) On the topography of the Caicus cf. Hansen *l.c.* (cf. note 54) 1-4.

numbers, in all materials, in varying degrees of quality and for all pocketbooks, so it must have been in ancient times, particularly during the period of Roman domination when Pausaniases toured the famous sites. The Mainz cantharus is not a pretentious souvenir, true, but in our position we cannot be choosy.

EXCURSUS

PERGAMENE GALATOMACHY PAINTINGS AND ROMAN SARCOPHAGI

According to B. Andreae sculptors of Roman Galatomachy sarcophagi, on which similar motifs reappear with variations, used contemporary sketch or sample books in which these motifs made their way – in this case – from the original Pergamene painting to their workshops. This is stated at the very beginning of his study with the implication that the motifs had been transposed faithfully from the original medium⁵⁷). The hypothetical painting reconstructed with the help of the sarcophagi results from this argumentation⁵⁸). But one cannot help asking the question: do the sarcophagus reliefs really have to be based directly on “original examples or faithful replicas of such examples”⁵⁹) and nothing else? Is it probable that the sarcophagus makers of Rome were satisfied with nothing less than *bona fide* motifs stemming from a painting executed in Pergamon about 350 years before their time? Apart from sketch books there were certainly numerous other channels such motifs could have travelled through time and across the ancient world from the hellenistic centers of the east to imperial Rome. One, for example, is the book illustration⁶⁰), which can stem, ultimately, from a work of monumental art⁶¹). Illustrations in books have also influenced the relief decoration of silver and ceramic vases in hellenistic and Roman times⁶²). We can easily see how silver vases would have contributed to the spreading of motifs taken from monumental art⁶³). Furthermore, in searching for prototypes of the sarcophagus reliefs of imperial times must we not reckon strongly with works executed in Rome and visible in many parts of the city during imperial times? Andreae does mention this as a probability as far as the representations of the general in the midst of the battle is concerned⁶⁴). If this holds true for one motif one asks: why not for all the rest? A glance at remaining works of sculpture in Rome

⁵⁷) Andreae *l.c.* (cf. note 22) 17.

⁵⁸) Andreae *l.c.* (cf. note 22) 74–80. 78 Abb. 1. — *Rend. Pont. Accad.* 41, 1968/69, 152 Fig. 3.

⁵⁹) Andreae *l.c.* (cf. note 22) 17.

⁶⁰) E. Bethe, *Buch und Bild im Altertum* (1964). — K. Weitzmann, *Ancient Book Illumination* (1959). — For reflections of miniatures on Roman

sarcophagus reliefs cf. Weitzmann *l.c.* 71 ff. 130 Fig. 79.81.

⁶¹) Bethe *l.c.* (cf. note 60) 75.

⁶²) Weitzmann *l.c.* (cf. note 60) Fig. 76–78. — U. Hausmann, *Hellenistische Reliefbecher aus attischen und böotischen Werkstätten* (1959) 42–45.

⁶³) E. Künzl, *Bonner Jahrb.* 169, 1969, 380–390.

⁶⁴) Andreae *l.c.* (cf. note 22) 74.

tells us that Galatomachies continued to provide artists with battle motifs during the imperial period (cf. p. 199). That second century sarcophagus sculptors, in composing their Galatomachies, relied solely on sketches taken faithfully from a Pergamene painting is therefore, I believe, improbable. Is it not more likely that their work derives from paintings which were undoubtedly executed in Rome for any number of occasions anytime from the late republic to the late Antonine or Severan period? In the words of S. Reinach: "Il est probable que les motifs de l'œuvre original – ou plutôt des œuvres originales – ont été répétés, modifiés, combinés à l'infini; . . . Toute hypothèse sur la nature de la source perdue serait vaine, car nous n'en possédons sans doute que des imitations médiates, des imitations de dixième ou de vingtième main"⁶⁵).

⁶⁵) *Revue Arch.* 1889 I 350.