

# Sacrificial Scenes Performed by Those Who Except Emperors in the Roman Empire : Iconographies from *vici* and Private Contexts

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## Introduction

Considerable research on Roman religion have been published in the last ten years and, among those, sacrifice has been treated as an important part of Roman religion, as I. Gradel puts it, 'sacrifice was the core element in divine worship'<sup>(1)</sup>. Sacrificial scenes in the Roman period have had little academic attention, despite being one of the most important Roman religious practices for the understanding of Roman religion from the 2<sup>nd</sup> Century BC onward.

Fortunately, we have a lot of sacrificial scenes from the late Republican to the late Empire. In a book entitled *Rites of the State Religion in Roman Art* by I. S. Ryberg, which is the first book on the Roman religious scene, there are in all 116 figures and more than half of all scenes represent the sacrificial scene<sup>(2)</sup>. Her aim, in the book, is to understand the religious development from the Roman Republic to the late Roman Empire. The author first compares different relief representations of religious subjects and examines their contents in the light of the literary sources on the Roman religion. Above all, the author focuses on stylistic differences and similarities. What is still needed is discussion of the development of each religious scene and its relations to its social background.

There is also an article that examines the issue of Roman sacrificial scenes: R. Gordon's *The Veil of Power*, published in 1990<sup>(3)</sup>. The author examines the role of *princeps* in the scenes on major Roman monuments. He argues that the emperor's 'priestly' role in sacrificial scenes is not to be divorced from his role as a benefactor or *evergete* and these roles served together as a model for the élite of both Rome and the provinces. The author outlines the characteristics of the sacrificial scenes in two points. First, the sacrificant, an emperor,

receives greater emphasis than the main theme: the offering of a victim to the gods. Second, the main meaning of sacrifices in the Roman state: communication with the other world by the death of the victims was ignored, because sacrificial scenes mainly represent two different actions: the preliminary offering by the sacrificant and the scene of the slaying of the victim by the attendants. From these two points, the author concludes that sacrificial scenes are represented according to a schematic fashion which focuses on the role of the sacrificant, not the communicative function of the ceremony. This article seems stimulating as a first step in understanding Roman sacrificial scenes.

However, Gordon, in the article, ignores the sacrificial scene by those except emperors, as sacrifices performed by an emperor dominate Roman sacrificial iconography that exists. Though the number may be small, there are some extant sacrificial scenes that portray other persons performing the role of sacrifice.

It seems important to include them in the study of Roman sacrificial scene, as they show there existed a *vicomagistri's* type, different from sacrifices performed by an emperor, even in the beginning of the empire and how the Romans accepted sacrificial iconography in private spheres. In this paper, I would like to, first, explain the overview of Roman sacrifice, then, examine those sacrificial images performed by those who except emperors and, finally, argue sacrificial iconographies that performed by except emperors are also important in the study of Roman sacrificial scene.

## **General view of Roman Sacrifice**

It is known that sacrifices were essential on every festival and feast day, but, what was Roman sacrifice<sup>(4)</sup>? There were six main stages, as M. Beard puts it, in the traditional Roman animal sacrifice: the procession of victims to the altar ; the prayer of the main officiant at the sacrifice, and the offering of wine, incense etc. at the altar; the pouring of wine and *mola salsa*, salted flour, over the animal's head by the main sacrificant; the killing of the animal by slaves; the examination of the entrails for omens; the burning of parts of

the animal on the altar, followed by normally by a banquet taken by the participants from the rest of the meat<sup>(6)</sup>.

The meaning of Roman sacrifice is indicated by J. Scheid: ‘sacrifice established and represented the superiority and immortality of the former [the devines], and the mortal condition and pious submission of the latter [the mortals]’<sup>(6)</sup>. This division was symbolized by the rites and the gestures in the sacrificial ceremony. For example, the sacrificial banquet was more than a banquet<sup>(7)</sup>: the sacrifice divided the food into two parts, that for the deities and that for the humans<sup>(8)</sup>. In the rites, before the victim being slain, sacrificant would sprinkle salted flour over the victim’s back, pour a little wine onto its brow, then cut it along its spine. The use of knife also symbolized the shift from the animal being human property, signified by the sprinkling of the salted flour, to being the god’s property, signified by the pouring of the wine<sup>(9)</sup>.

### **Innovation of the sacrificial scene in the reign of Augustus**

Before examining examples by those who except emperors, the innovation of the sacrificial scene carried out by emperors, in the reign of Augustus, should be explained. This is because the sacrificial scene scheme, invented in his reign, influenced the sacrificial scene in general.

According to P. Zanker, after the battle of Actium, the victory of Octavian, the mood of pessimism and optimism remained side by side in Rome, especially among the upper class: they did not have any hope for the future, as they saw the civil war and other calamities resulting from a complete moral collapse; there was hope of a utopian sort, as Sibyls, prophets and politicians promised a new age of peace and prosperity<sup>(10)</sup>.

The *Princeps*, in this mood, had to show their citizens that he was concerned with rebuilding the state and Roman society: he had to create the impression that he tries to work on the cause of the ills that plagued Rome<sup>(11)</sup>. The principle themes of his reform and restoration were, as Zanker points out, “renewal of religion and custom, *virtus*, and the honour of the Roman people”<sup>(12)</sup>. This is started with the program of religious revival in 29 BC,

when cults, many of which existed in name only, were newly constituted with statues, rituals, garbs, and chant. Then follow efforts to rebuild *publica magnificentia*, public buildings such as temples, and restoration of Roman virtue, virtue in the sense of physical and moral excellence, in the Parthian campaign in 20 BC.

In order for this propaganda to penetrate into the minds of the Romans, the Princeps needed to cooperate with architects and artists. In this process, new pictorial vocabularies were probably created<sup>(13)</sup>, including new images of sacrifice, which were essential on every feat. As Zanker suggests, artists created new approaches: the dramatic experience of the ritual slaughter was represented by representing the moment of the final blow and by pushing this scene into the foreground; the temple façade represented nearby the ritual scene takes on a deeper symbolic meaning and is spotlighted by the accomplishment of the sacrifice<sup>(14)</sup>.

As the Augustan cultural and decorative innovations were seen extensively around Rome, these new pictorial vocabularies of sacrifice spread. As an example of the new sacrificial scenes in the reign of Augustus, the Aeneas relief (Fig. 1) will be examined<sup>(15)</sup>. Aeneas is sacrificing a pig on his arrival in Italy, a topic chosen from the legend of Aeneas. The panel will be described briefly. To the right of an altar, made up with rocks and garlands, Aeneas, dressed in toga and his head covered with a veil, stands. In the left half, behind a pig stand two *camilli*. The right one carries a pitcher and a bowl of fruits and cakes, while the other *camillus* looks at Aeneas. Above the sacrificial scene appears a temple, in which seated gods with spears in their hands watch over the sacrifice. They are probably the *Penates Publici*, the household gods brought by Aeneas from Troy.

The pictorial vocabulary of sacrifice, invented at the reign of Augustus, dominated the images of sacrificial scenes even after the reign of Augustus. As an example, a cup from Boscoreale will be examined. Two cups were found in 1895 as a part of a hoard, of 109 pieces of gold and silver plate and coins, all of which belonged to the owner of a wine producing *villa rustica* on the south-eastern slopes of Vesuvius nearby the modern village, Boscoreale. The Boscoreale cups comprise two cups: a cup representing the rule of

Augustus, and another showing the sacrificial ceremony by Tiberius. The latter will be referred to here as the Tiberius cup, which is suggested by A. L. Kuttner that it cannot be later than the Augustan or early Tiberian reign<sup>(16)</sup>.

Let us first describe the Tiberius cup (Fig. 2)<sup>(17)</sup>. To the left of a tripod altar a figure in a cuirass, probably Tiberius, appears, although the upper part of his body has been obliterated. Immediately after him follow an attendant, a flautist and a *lictor*. Behind the altar appear two *lictores* with *fasces* and an attendant. All of these figures, except for the *lictor* at the far left, are turning to Tiberius on the left of the altar. Right next to the altar group, the *papa* lifts an axe over his head to strike the victim, which is held by two kneeling *victimarii* on each side, one pulling his head down, the other waiting with a knife in his hand. A third *victimarius*, behind the victim, turns his head to look backwards. To the right is the temple of Jupiter adorned with a garland of laurel.

As Kuttner indicates, the Augustan sacrificial scheme is native to large scale imperial commemorative monument: reliefs of state monuments either in the capital or set up elsewhere in the empire by state commission<sup>(18)</sup>. It must have been an important image, as it appears for a long time from the Villa medici relief, under the reign of Claudius, to the Severan arches in Rome<sup>(19)</sup>. The sacrificial scene scheme was, thus, used for public purposes, so one may think it is emperors who perform a sacrifice in such scenes. However, the pictorial vocabulary of sacrificial scene was not only limited in the imperial contexts, but also can be found in sacrificial scenes performed by those except emperors.

### ***Vicomagistri***

In the reign of Augustus, a lot of sacrificial scenes carried out by *vicomagistri* were also produced. The neighborhoods of ancient Rome were called *vici*, which has been a confusing concept for a long time. *Vicus*, according to J. Bert Lott, “was a group of dwellings fronting on a stretch of a single road and containing one crossroads where the inhabitants worshipped their Lares [Roman household deity] and celebrated Compitalia [the moveable

festival for Lares]. *Vicomagistri* were then the neighborhood officers”<sup>(20)</sup>. This definition, as the author mentions, comes from anecdotal sources, a small number of testimonies, because statistical sources, that is, the total number, population and the size of the Rome’s neighborhoods, remain unclear<sup>(21)</sup>.

To my knowledge, we have four representations, in which *vicomagistri* are in the process of sacrificing. Three of the four were made in the reign of Augustus, so the changes under his rule from the earlier system need be explained. In earlier system of *vici*, originally created by a sixth king of Rome called Servius Tullius, the city had been divided into four regions which were subdivided into a number of *vici* respectively. Within the crossroads of each vicus, there were shrines to the Lares. In the late Republic the colleges responsible for the cults at crossroads became a focus for political protest and Julius Caesar had tried to suppress them.

On the other hand, Octavian paid increasing attention to individual *vicus*, began as early as 33 BC<sup>(22)</sup>, when Agrippa restored a monument for the *Vicus Salutaris*. In 7 BC, Augustus divided Rome into 14 districts and 265 wards, ensuring that there was a shrine at each *compitum*, where roads met. He ordered that two statues of the *lares* and one of *Genius Augustus*, a Roman deity who was the guardian spirit of Augustus, should be placed in each shrine and that sacrifices should be executed during the *Compitalia* and that each vicus should have four *magistri*<sup>(23)</sup>.

This reorganization transformed the cult of the *vici*: they become cults of the *Lares Augusti* and the *Genius Augusti* from 7 BC onward. Beard regards this transformation as “the public ward cults now considered of cults that had previously been the private cults of Augustus and his family, located within his own house”<sup>(24)</sup>. Even after this reorganization, the epithet “*Augusti*” kept attached to the deities of the *lares* and *genius*, and the cult of *lares Augusti* developed.

With the social background in mind, four *vicomagistri*’s sacrificing images will be examined. First is the Belvedere altar (Fig. 3)<sup>(25)</sup>, made 12-2 BC. Augustus, followed by two togati, distributes statuettes of the *Lares Augusti*, across an altar, to two *togati*. Four *vicomagistri* stand, two by two, at either side of the altar. This scene represents a scene known from literal evidences,

which show the event Augustus distributed new cult statuettes of the Lares Augusti to the local resident by touring Rome's neighborhoods<sup>(26)</sup>. Bert Lott suggests it is difficult to assign this altar to a particular vicus, as the altar lacks the year of dedication and the names of four *magistri*<sup>(27)</sup>. Animal sacrifices are not represented here.

Next, the front side of the altar (Fig. 4)<sup>(28)</sup>, made before 7 BC, shows the *Genius* of the Caesars standing besides two *Lares*. The *Genius* holds a *patera* in one hand and probably a now lost *cornucopia*, the goat's horn filled with fruits and flowers, in the other; the youthful *Lares* dance and hold rhytones, a liquid container shaped like a horn. In addition to the decoration, described above, the altar was inscribed in large letters 'sacred to the *Lares Augusti* and the *Genius* of the Caesars'. Below the inscriptions, there are the fragmentary names of the four dedicators, who are identified as 'the first officers who entered office on August I'. In other words, they were the first officers of this neighbourhood after the Augustan reorganization.

At either sides of the altar, indicated above as fig. 4, two veiled *vicomagistri* are represented. One sprinkling incense from his jug, the other pouring a libation, are represented. Behind a garlanded rectangular altar stands a flautist, dressed in *toga* (Fig. 5)<sup>(29)</sup>. On the other side of this altar, a similar scene is represented. One pours a libation from a *patera* in his right hand, while the other extends his right hand (Fig. 6)<sup>(30)</sup>. As Bert Lott suggests, the repetition of two identical scenes shows that it was important to mention all four *magistri's* performing the rite<sup>(31)</sup>. Their names are identified by the inscription<sup>(32)</sup>.

The relief (Fig. 7)<sup>(33)</sup>, produced in 2 AD, represents a sacrifice to the *Lares* and *Genius Augusti*. Four *vicomagistri* extend their hands above a rectangular altar. *Lictor* is represented to their left. Behind the altar appears a veiled flautist. In front of the altar are represented two *victimarii*, one holding a bovine animal, the other carrying his mallet over his left shoulder. They stand by the victims, a bovine animal and a pig. It is clear that the names of the four *magistri* were inscribed on the front and both sides of the altar, though they are now so fragmentary that it is impossible to read them<sup>(34)</sup>. In this relief, the sacrificial victims are unnaturally small, so that, as Bert Lott indicates, they

would not hide the *magistri* as the central focus of the scene<sup>(35)</sup>. Four officers stand two by two like the Belvedere altar.

In the frieze, dated between 42 AD and 50 AD (Fig. 8)<sup>(36)</sup>, four barefoot youthful *vicomagistri*, *tunicate* and with shawls draped over their heads, hold objects on their hands. The object of the first has broken off; the next three figures hold statuettes of two Lares and a *togate Genius* respectively. Unlike other iconographies that four *vicomagistri* are represented by the altar two by two, they participate in a procession to the altar. In the procession, it seems odd that only they stand in a frontal pose. This is probably because it was important to show each *magistri* as clearly as possible, when making a monument including *vicomagistri*.

Some generalizations can be made on the *vicomagistri's* sacrificial iconography in comparison with the sacrificial iconography performed by an emperor. First, in each example, four *vicomagistri* are equally represented in the scene, so that only one *magistri* does not stand out. Second, the identification of four *magistri* seems also to be important, as two examples, produced for a particular vicus, show names of the *vicomagistri* represented. Third, as long as the four iconographical evidences concerned, the slaying of a victim is not represented. Finally, even in the case of sacrificial animals being represented, sacrificial animals are not emphasized.

### **The altar of C. Manlius**

The so-called altar of C. Manlius (Fig. 9)<sup>(37)</sup>, dated to 7 BC, was uncovered in or by the theatre of Caere, modern Cerveteri, with sculptures<sup>(38)</sup>. Recent publication makes it very likely that it was found *in situ*, centrally located in the orchestra of the theatre. In this connection it needs to be noted that a fragmentary building inscription suggests that Manlius may have had the theatre erected. Its place of discovery, clearly a public place, and the sacrificial scene of the altar, which comes from the Augustan sacrificial scheme, led most scholars to believe that it was produced in relation to the imperial cult.

However, its interpretation creates some problems, as the altar is not dedicated to an emperor. The inscription on its front side reads 'To Gaius



Manlius, son of Gaius, *ensor* for life, his *clientes* to their *patronus*'<sup>(39)</sup>. Beneath the inscription appears a sacrificial scene. In the right half of the front side of the altar, a veiled priest is pouring a libation over the flame of a rectangular altar. Behind the altar appear a *camillus*, a flautist and the head of an onlooker. In the left half, the victim is being held down by two *victimarii* and a *popa* holds an axe over his head to slay the victim. Behind the bovine animal stands a *victimarius* holding *mola salsa* (?) on a plate. Each of the altar's short sides presents the same image, a *Lar* stands frontally on a piece of rock with his right hand holding a *patera* and with his left hand holding a *rhyton*. On each side of the Lares is depicted a laurel tree: they are clearly the two laurels decreed by the Senate in 27 BC to be planted on either side of the door to Augustus's house.

Since its discovery in 1846, the altar has been thought to be one of the strangest of all imperial monuments, and different interpretations of the scene have been proposed by M. Taylor, Ryberg and M. Torelli. Most scholars have taken the two laurels to signify that the Lares are those of the emperor, and that the cult scene on the front side therefore depicts a sacrifice to the *Genius Augusti*. M. Taylor's explanation of the motive for this is that Manlius's clients, who set up the altar, were prominent in the cult of *Lares Augusti* and the *Genius* of the emperor<sup>(40)</sup>. Ryberg recognizes the problem of Taylor's interpretation, the discrepancy between this motive and the inscription on the front, and suggests Manlius was a *sacerdos* in the imperial cult<sup>(41)</sup>. M. Torelli ignores the question of the Lares represented in the altar, and suggests the front side represents a sacrifice to Manlius's *Lar Genialis*, the supernatural entity of protecting the reproduction of a clan<sup>(42)</sup>. However, there is no evidence of a *Lar Genialis* in any source, so, as Gradel points out, this notion is regarded as a rather modern invention. As indicated by Gradel, all three interpretations have a common problem, the lack of concordance between the altar's iconography and its inscription<sup>(43)</sup>.

Gradel concludes that this altar was dedicated to Manlius himself, not to his *Genius*, in the divine fashion: that is to say, in the same way it would have been dedicated to a divinity<sup>(44)</sup>. He indicates two reasons. Laurel trees on either side of the Lares do not always denote a connection with the imperial

cult: imperial symbols such as two laurels are often found to have been taken over and used iconographically in social groups that have no claim to them. For example, laurel trees are common in the paintings of Pompeian *lararia*, which were private household shrines or chapels found particularly at Pompeii. Secondly, the cult of Manlius was different from the household cult, which was widely practised in Roman society. The household cult consisted of slaves and freedmen, who worshipped the *paterfamilias* (the father of the family), his Genius and his Lares; the cult of Manlius is, according to Gradel, different in that it does not consist of such a household cult. The inscription and images show no indications of the worshippers being slaves and the altar was found in a theatre, not in a house.

### **Marriage Sarcophagus**

In the reign of Antonius (138–161 AD), the theme of wedding, a ceremony between husband and wife, was one of the popular scenes for coffins decorations. Often, the wedding scene was combined, side by side, with other subjects, such as military scenes or sacrifices. The purpose of this juxtaposition was, as Kleiner indicates, “not only to present both the public and private side of a man’s career but to encapsulate the deceased’s *virtus*, *clementia*, *pietas* and *concordia* in comprehensive visual images”<sup>(45)</sup>. In other words, the combination of several motifs shows multiple sides of his virtues and life.

Fig. 10 shows the sarcophagus of a Roman general<sup>(46)</sup>. At the center of this panel is represented a sacrifice scene that takes place in front of a temple, probably the Temple of Jupiter Capitolinus in Rome, because of the oak wreath in the pediment. A youth pours a libation over the flame of the tripod altar, while, to his right, a kneeling victimarius hold a bull to be slain by the popa with his ax. The sacrificant, a youth, is different from the general represented in twice in the right and left part of this relief. Kleiner suggests three possibilities for his identification: either he represents the deceased man in his youth; the son of the couple in the wedding; or just personifies *pietas* and does not represent a specific person<sup>(47)</sup>.

The moment of slaying the victim and the architectural setting are two elements represented in sacrificial representation, from the reign of Augustus, mainly for major public monuments. However, in this example made probably for private use, these two elements are also represented, making this a good example of art in the service of an ordinary citizen imitating the iconography of imperial monuments.

## Conclusion

The influence from the sacrificial scene performed by emperors was so strong that the sacrificial scene scheme, invented in the reign of Augustus, was imitated in private contexts. This is clear from the examples of the so-called altar of C. Manlius and marriage sarcophagus. Each work shows different ways of accepting the sacrificial iconography. In the altar of Manlius, the sacrificial iconography was employed probably in the private context except the household cut; in marriage sarcophagus, the sacrificial iconography decorated coffins for the Romans.

It is academically noteworthy that *vicomagistri* are represented in the process of sacrificing in the four examples. In these iconographies, it is no doubt that four *vicomagistri* are equally represented in each scene, so that only one *magister* does not stand out. It is in the reign of Augustus or slightly after that *vicomagistri's* sacrificial scenes, which are different from the Augustan image, were created. These methods of representation are quite unique among other ancient works.

- 1 Gradel, I., *Emperor Worship and Roman Religion*, Oxford, Clarendon Press, 2000, p. 2.
- 2 Ryberg, I. S., *Rites of the State Religion in Roman Art*, Rome, (American Academy in Rome), 1955.
- 3 Gordon, R., From Republic to Principate, in: Beard, M., and North, J. (eds.), *Pagan Priests*, London, Duckworth, 1990.
- 4 For general view of Roman sacrifice, see Balty, J. C., and Boardman, J. et al. (eds.), *Thesaurus cultus et rituum antiquorum*, vol. 1, Los Angeles,

- Getty Publications, 2004, pp. 183–235.
- 5 Beard, M., North J., and Price S., *Religions of Rome: Vol. 2*, a source book, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1998, p. 148.
- 6 Scheid, J., *An Introduction to Roman Religion*, Edinburgh, Edinburgh University Press, 2003, p. 94.
- 7 For details of Roman banquet, see Balty, J. C., and Boardman, J., et al. (eds.), *Thesaurus cultus et rituum antiquorum*, vol. 2, Los Angeles, Getty Publications, 2005, pp. 260–297.
- 8 Scheid. op. cit., p. 94.
- 9 Scheid. op. cit., p. 83.
- 10 Zanker, P., *The Power of Images in the Age of Augustus*, translated by Shapiro, A., Ann Arbor, University of Michigan Press, 1988, pp. 101–102
- 11 *ibid.*
- 12 *ibid.*
- 13 *ibid.*
- 14 Zanker, op. cit., pp. 114–115.
- 15 Koeppel, G. M., Die historischen Reliefs der römischen Kaiserzeit 5, Part 1, *Bonner Jahrbücher* 18, 1987, pp. 101–157, fig. 2.
- 16 Kuttner, A. L., *Dynasty and Empire in the Age of Augustus*, Berkley, University of California Press, 1995, pp. 128–130.
- 17 Kuttner, op. cit., 1995, pl. 8.
- 18 Kuttner, op. cit., 1995, pp. 131–132.
- 19 *ibid.*
- 20 Bert Lott, J., *The Neighborhoods of Augustan Rome*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2004, p. 14.
- 21 Bert Lott, op. cit., 2004, p. 15.
- 22 Bert Lott, op. cit., 2004, p. 83.
- 23 Adkins, L. and Adkins, R. A., *Dictionary of Roman Religion*, New York, Facts On File, Inc., 1996, p. 130.
- 24 Beard, M., North, J., and Price, S., *Religions of Rome: Vol. 1*, a History, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1998, pp. 184–185.
- 25 Bert Lott, J., op. cit., 2004, fig. 8.
- 26 For the literal evidence see Ovid, *Festi*, 5. 145–146.

- 27 Bert Lott, op. cit., 2004, p. 218.
- 28 Bert Lott, op. cit., 2004, fig. 12, a.
- 29 Bert Lott, op. cit., 2004, fig. 12, b.
- 30 Bert Lott, op. cit., 2004, fig. 12, c.
- 31 Bert Lott, op. cit., 2004, pp. 140–141.
- 32 ibid.
- 33 Bert Lott, op. cit., 2004, fig. 13.
- 34 Bert Lott, op. cit., 2004, p. 200.
- 35 Bert Lott, op. cit., 2004, pp. 142–144.
- 36 Gradel, I., *Emperor Worship and Roman Religion*, oxford, Clarendon Press, 2002, figs. 7. 1. 3.
- 37 Gradel, op. cit., 2002, fig. 11. 1.
- 38 Gradel, op. cit., 2002, p. 251. For the findspot, see Fuchs, M., Liverani, P., and Santoro, P., *Il teatro e il ciclo statuario Giulio-Claudio*, Caere, 1989.
- 39 Gradel, op. cit., 2002, pp. 251–253.
- 40 Taylor, L. R., The Altar of Manlius in the Lateran, *American Journal of Archaeology* 25, 1921, pp. 387–395.
- 41 Ryberg, op.cit., 1955, pp. 84–85.
- 42 Torelli, M., *Typology and Structure of Roman Historical Relief*, Ann Arbor, University of Michigan Press, 1982. pp. 16–20.
- 43 Gradel, op. cit., 2002, p. 255.
- 44 Gradel, op. cit., 2002, pp. 251–260.
- 45 D. E. E., Kleiner, *Roman Sculpture*, New Haven, Yale University Press, 1992, p. 303.
- 46 Kleiner, op. cit., 1992, fig. 271. There exist other five sarcophagi showing similar iconography. Other five sarcophagi are now preserved in: Florence, Uffizi; Los Angeles, County Museum; Frascati, Villa Taverna; Poggio a Caiano, Villa Reale; Rome, Villa albani.
- 47 Kleiner, op. cit., 1992, p. 303.

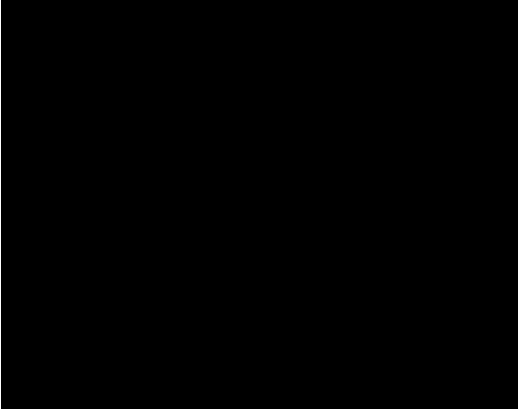


Fig. 1, Aeneas Relief, Rome,  
Ara Pacis Augustae.



Fig. 2, Tiberius Cup (a part), Paris, Louvre.

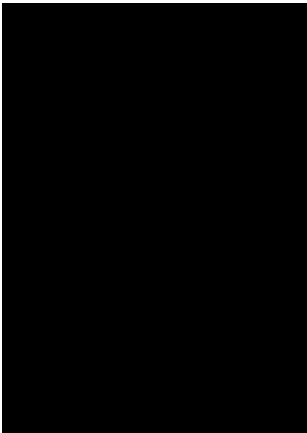


Fig. 3 (left), Altar,  
Vatican, Museo  
Vaticano, Inv.  
1115.



Fig. 4 (right), Altar  
(front side),  
Vatican, Museo  
Vaticano,  
Inv. no. 311.

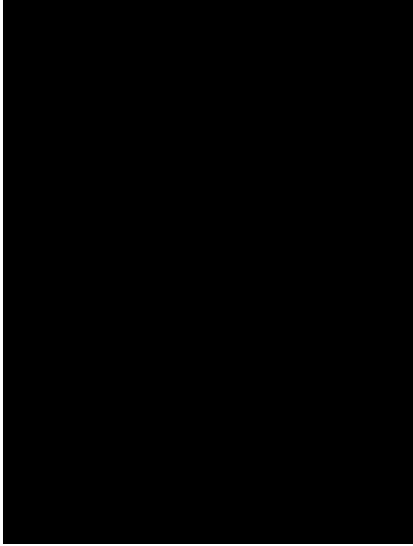


Fig. 5, Altar (short side), Vatican,  
Museo Vaticano, Inv. no. 311.

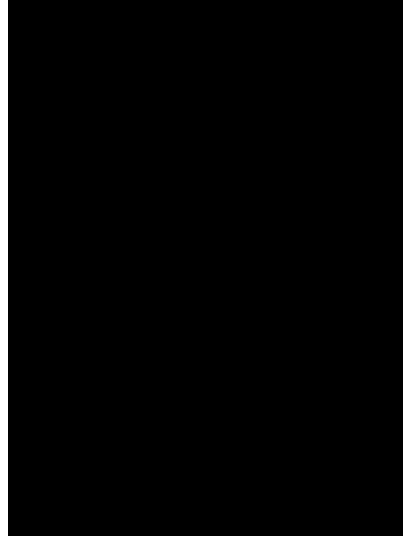


Fig. 6, Altar (short side), Vatican,  
Museo Vaticano, Inv. no. 311.

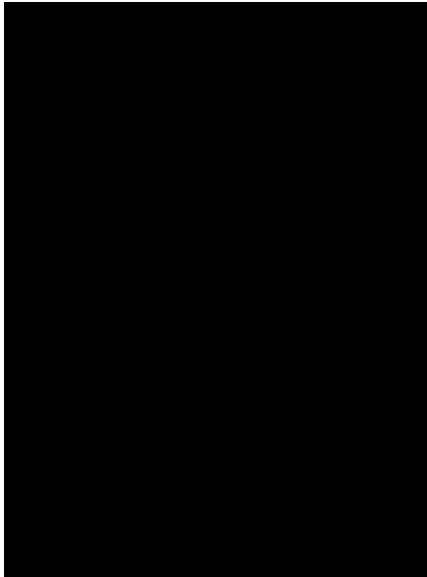


Fig. 7, Altar, Rome, Museo Nuovo,  
Inv. no. 855.

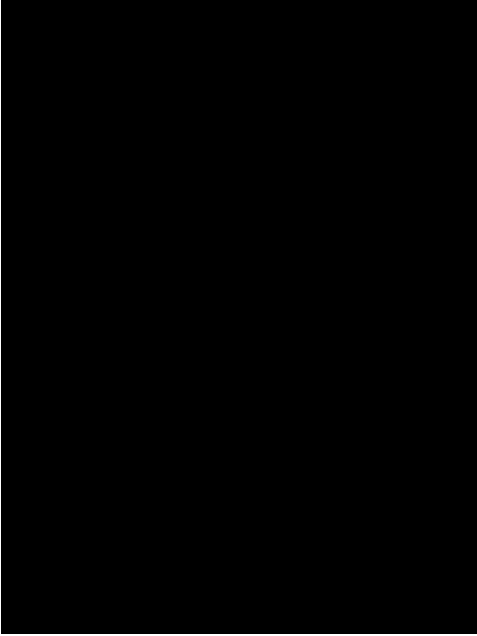


Fig. 9, Altar, Vatican, Museo Gregorio Profano 9964.

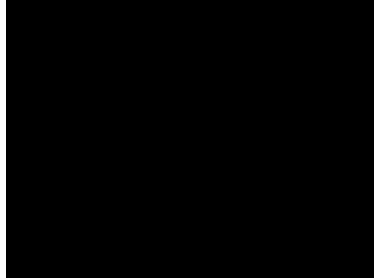


Fig.8, Frieze of the *vicomagistri* (a part), Vatican, Museo Vaticano

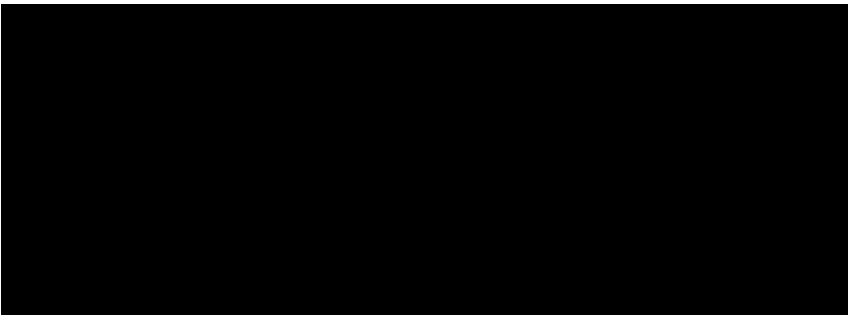


Fig. 10, Sarcophagus, Mantua, Palazzo Ducale.