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THE CEILING FRESCOES IN TRIER AND ILLUSIONISM IN CONSTANTINIAN PAINTING

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THE CEILING FRESCOES IN
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This paper was read at a Symposium on "The Age of Constantine: Tradition and Innovation," held at Dumbarton Oaks in May 1966. While preparing the text I received valuable criticisms and suggestions from Professors Ernst Kitzinger and P. H. von Blanckenhagen, for which I am most grateful.

ONE of the most spectacular revelations in the field of early Christian archaeology since World War II has been the discovery, underlying the Romanesque cathedral of Trier and the adjoining Gothic church of the Virgin, of a vast double basilica belonging to the period of Constantine (fig. 1). Coins found beneath the foundations show that the complex was built shortly after A.D. 326. No less dramatic was the discovery underneath the sanctuary of the north basilica of part of the foundations of a large rectangular room with painted walls and ceiling (fig. 2). The foundation of the north wall, which contained a door toward its western end, was found complete and showed that the chamber was seven meters wide. Circumstances have not yet permitted extending the exploration to the south, but it is certain that the room continued in that direction. Strewn on the floor were innumerable tiny fresco fragments which, when laboriously fitted together under the direction of the excavator, Theodor Kempf, have made—and still are making, for the jigsaw puzzle continues to grow—a major contribution to our knowledge of ancient painting at a crucial moment in its development.¹

The task of reconstructing the ceiling was greatly facilitated, and the accuracy of the results guaranteed, by the fact that on the backs of the fragments could be seen the imprint of the regular pattern of the woven reed matting which, being nailed to the wooden roof, provided a base to which the plaster of the fresco could adhere.² The ceiling imitated coffers, of which so far eight panels have been recovered, more or less complete (figs. 3, 4, 5). The panels were alternately rectangular and square, and contained, alternately, busts of comely and richly bedecked ladies, and pairs of dancing, winged putti. The ladies are shown with haloes behind their heads, a common device in late antique art for allegorical figures, like the Seasons.³ One of them, the best preserved, holds a box from which she withdraws a string of pearls (fig. 6). Another lifts her veil with her right hand (the lower portion of the panel is missing; fig. 7). The third maiden, more simply dressed, holds an object or objects of which not enough remains for identification (fig. 8).⁴ One pair of putti carries a long cornucopia (fig. 9), a second pair a flaming lamp (fig. 10), a third a sumptuous purple cloak (fig. 11).

Assuming that the coffering system was symmetrical the room must have been seven panels long, or something more than 7×14 meters. The panels

¹ For an account of the excavations and bibliography, cf. T. Kempf, "Trierer Domausgrabungen 1943-1954," in *Neue Ausgrabungen in Deutschland* (Römisch-Germanische Kommission des deutschen archäologischen Instituts [Berlin, 1958]), 368ff.; most recently, *idem*, in W. Reusch, ed., *Frühchristliche Zeugnisse im Einzugsgebiet von Rhein und Mosel* (Trier, 1965), 236ff.

² Cf. *ibid.*, pls. 39 c.d.

³ Cf. M. Collinet-Guérin, *Histoire du nimbe des origines aux temps modernes* (Paris, 1961); on the Seasons, G. M. A. Hanfmann, *The Seasons Sarcophagus in Dumbarton Oaks*, *Dumbarton Oaks Studies*, II (Cambridge, Mass., 1951), II, index, p. 222, s.v. "Halos."

⁴ The lyre reconstructed by the restorer is pure speculation; all that is actually preserved is the tip of an object projecting within the halo, and a portion of a thin rod covered by her right forefinger (the remaining fingers are modern).

with the female busts are more than a meter square, and the ladies are well over, perhaps double, life size. It can be determined from the fragments of the wall decoration, to which I shall return later, that the room was considerably more than four meters high.

The ceiling can be assigned with good reason to the first two-thirds of Constantine's reign. A mint-fresh coin datable to around 315 was embedded in the mortar of a piece of mosaic, presumably from the pavement, found with the fresco fragments. The *terminus ante quem* is the building of the church complex starting just after 326.⁵

There is by now a rather extensive bibliography on the frescoes, devoted for the most part to the problem of identifying the room and interpreting the subjects represented. They have, on the other hand, received practically no attention from the stylistic point of view, and my chief purpose here is to discuss them as works of art, though, as will be apparent, within a very limited frame of reference. I shall, therefore, offer only the briefest sketch of the current status of research on purely historical and iconographical questions.

Trier is known to have been the residence of various members of the imperial family during the first decades of the fourth century, and a palace there is frequently mentioned in the sources. They give no indication, however, as to where in the city it was located. According to one story part of the palace of Constantine's mother, Helen, was incorporated into the cathedral of Trier; but this account can be traced no earlier than the ninth century, and during the Middle Ages the Rhineland was rife with legends about the empress St. Helen.⁶ Yet, the imperial palace must have been somewhere, and most people, including myself, are of the opinion that this room was probably part of it. I suspect, however, that the strongest reason for thinking so lies in the character of the frescoes themselves, their truly regal grandeur and supremely high quality. They are what we imagine works carried out under personal, and private, imperial patronage must have been like.

There are two schools of thought concerning the identification of the figure panels.⁷ There are those who maintain that the female busts are portraits of members of the imperial family, namely, Helen, the mother of Constantine, Maxima Fausta, Constantine's wife, and Helen Junior, the bride of Constantine's son, Crispus. The identifications depend not so much on physiognomical resemblances—on the contrary, one has to assume that the artist idealized his sitters—as upon similarities of hair style and jewelry to contemporary

⁵ On the evidence of the coins, cf. T. Kempf, "Die vorläufigen Ergebnisse der Ausgrabungen auf dem Gelände des Trierer Domes," *Germania*, 29 (1951), 48; M. R. Alföldi, "Helena nobilissima femina. Zur Deutung der Trierer Deckengemälde," *Jahrbuch für Numismatik und Geldgeschichte*, 10 (1959-60), 81, note 17. It should be borne in mind that the floor probably received its decoration last. In a room of the later fourth century discovered at Ostia, soon to be published by Giovanni Becatti, of which the decoration was left unfinished, the *opus sectile* incrustation of walls and ceiling was executed first, while the pavement was never laid.

⁶ Cf. E. Ewig, "Kaiserliche und apostolische Tradition im mittelalterlichen Trier," *Trierer Zeitschrift*, 24-26 (1956-58), 147ff.

⁷ See the bibliography listed by Kempf in *Frühchristliche Zeugnisse*, 244f.

portraits. The most elaborate theory worked out so far on this basis is that the room was a kind of wedding chamber, decorated for the marriage of Crispus with the younger Helen in 321.⁸ Destruction of the room to make way for the church would have occurred in connection with the execution, on Constantine's orders, of Crispus and Fausta, who were supposed to have had an illicit relationship in, or about, 326. Apart from the coincidence of chronology, this theory has to recommend it the fact that some of the closest analogies for the ladies and their attributes are to be found in works connected with the ancient marriage ceremony. On certain Roman marriage sarcophagi, for example, the bride takes the veil (fig. 12) in a gesture similar to that of one of our ladies. On such sarcophagi three maidens are sometimes shown, presumably bearing gifts, one of which is an open box (fig. 13).

The portrait theory raises two difficult questions. Is it likely, or even possible, that members of the imperial family would have themselves depicted in a purely decorative context, and on a ceiling? No one has been able to cite a precedent for imperial portraits used in this way.⁹ Would members of the imperial family have had themselves portrayed in such informal, not to say frivolous guise? Alföldi has provided a partial response to this latter question by pointing to such familiar concepts as *Hilaritas*, or *Laetitia*, or *Gaudium Romanorum*, the depiction of the public joy and happiness with the peace and prosperity attributed to the emperor.¹⁰ There are medallions of Constantine in which *Gaudium Augusti nostri* is shown as a pair of winged putti playing with a garland (fig. 14). On a denarius of Hadrian, *Hilaritas populi romani* is shown as a maiden who appears to be draping her head (fig. 15). I am convinced that essentially Alföldi is right, and that the message, or at least the mood, of the ceiling is one of joy and happiness. But the fact remains that no portraits are known in which members of the imperial family are actually shown in such fashion.

Another school of thought holds that the busts have no reference to individual people, imperial or otherwise, but are personifications. The problem here is to determine what specifically the ladies might represent. For the lady grasping her veil, *Hilaritas* is one possibility, and an even more closely analogous device is often used for *Pudicitia* (fig. 16);¹¹ the relation to the gesture of the bride who symbolically takes the veil is evident. But I have been unable to discover a personification identified by a jewel box.

⁸ W. N. Schumacher, "Cubile Sanctae Helenae," *Römische Quartalschrift für christliche Altertumskunde und Kirchengeschichte*, 58 (1963), 196ff.

⁹ The only documented parallel is in the description of a room built by Basil I (862-886) in the Great Palace at Constantinople; Cf. J. P. Richter, *Quellen der byzantinischen Kunstgeschichte*, Vienna (1897), 364f., cited by Schumacher, *op. cit.*, 218.

The question is roughly analogous to whether imperial portraits might be used in floor decorations; it stands, *a priori*, in the way of attempts to identify imperial portraits in mosaic pavements, at Aquileia (H. Kähler, *Die Stiftermosaik in der konstantinischen Svedkirche von Aquileia*, Monumenta artis romanae, IV [Cologne, 1962]) and Piazza Armerina (see most recently, H. P. L'Orange, "Nuovo contributo allo studio del Palazzo Erculio di Piazza Armerina," *Institutum Romanum Norvegiae, Acta*, 2 [1965], 65ff.).

¹⁰ A. Alföldi, "Zur Erklärung der konstantinischen Deckengemälde in Trier," *Historia*, 4 (1955), 131ff.

¹¹ Cf. M. Bernhart, *Handbuch zur Münzkunde der römischen Kaiserzeit* (Halle, 1926), 98.

By far the closest analogy I have found for the general organization of the Trier chamber and its decoration are certain multiple-storied tomb structures at Palmyra in Syria. Two of these seem particularly relevant, the tomb of Jamlichus, dated A.D. 83, and the tomb of Elahbel, dated A.D. 103 (figs. 17, 18).¹² In both cases, the tomb chamber was a simple rectangular room with the walls articulated by pilasters that supported elaborately carved entablatures and flat, coffered ceilings. (The wall paintings of the room at Trier, as we shall see, also showed monumental pilasters supporting the coffered ceiling.) The coffers contained busts, and in one case, pairs of dancing, winged putti (figs. 19, 20).¹³ I might add that no systematic explanation of these ceilings has been found, either; the busts certainly do not represent the deceased, of whom sculptured effigies were placed in niches in the walls between the pilasters.

These analogies have led me to question whether the Trier chamber might not also have been a tomb. It is a question I cannot answer. The evidence at our disposal is simply not enough to support a decision as to what purpose the room served, or precisely what the figures mean, and I share the hope recently expressed by Kempf, that further excavations may help to resolve these problems. I cannot suppress the feeling, however, that the figures do not, in fact, have precise meanings definable in terms of fixed, conventional types. They seem, rather, to be deliberately suggestive, intended to evoke an ideal, indeed classical, mood of physical and spiritual well-being, from which turmoil and anxiety have been banished. This point should be borne in mind, along with the fact that the closest comparison for the room as a whole is a monument in far away Syria, as we consider the frescoes in their stylistic aspect.

The surface of the ceiling is defined by a framework of broad, red bands forming rectangular panels. To these bands is attached a twisted rope of gold with gold rosettes at the intersections. The individual panels are each surrounded by two frames; the outermost, common to all the panels, is a green band. The inner frames alternate, the busts having a red border, the putti a moulded egg and dart frame in simulated gold. Immediately surrounding the pictures, inside the innermost frame, is a dark blue, almost black, band. These frames are separated from one another by thin, intermediate white stripes that play an important role in the over-all effect. On two adjoining sides in each panel these stripes are more than twice as wide as the lines that form the opposite corner, where a stripe in a dark shade of the color of the frame makes up the difference in thickness. This system alternates; the light sides are at the top and right of the bust panels, at the bottom and left of the putti panels.¹⁴

¹² T. Wiegand, ed., *Palmyra. Ergebnisse der Expeditionen von 1902 und 1917* (Berlin, 1932), 54f. (Jamlichus), 48 (Elahbel). Our figures 17 and 18 are taken from Wiegand, pls. 34, 30, respectively, which in turn are reproduced after L. F. Cassas, *Voyage pittoresque de la Syrie . . .* (Paris, 1799 ff.).

¹³ Our figure 19 = A. Champdor, *Les ruines de Palmyre* (Paris, 1953), figs. on p. 150f., after Cassas. The engraving is inaccurate in details; see the description in Wiegand, *op. cit.*, 54.

¹⁴ This alternation introduces a subtle inconsistency, which mitigates the illusionistic effect of the scheme as a whole; similarly, the figures are illuminated from their left, despite their different orientations. Though we shall here emphasize the relative "illusionism" of the ceiling, such inconsistencies are important in that they maintain the "objective" self-sufficiency of the painted realm, as distinguished from the complete subjection to the spectator's viewpoint implicit in Renaissance perspective.

Differences are also introduced in the shading of the moulded frames of the putti panels. The top and right sides are somewhat darker than those at the left and bottom; this is true regardless of which way the panels face. The same system is carried through in the twisted rope border: the sides of the rope facing down and to the left are tinted a darker shade of gold than the sides facing up and to the right.

The effect of these devices is to create the impression that the coffers recede in measured steps away from the beholder, and the dark blue innermost border functions as a shadow cast by the coffer into its depth. Furthermore, we have the impression that the effect of relief is created by light streaming diagonally from upper right to lower left. It is probably not accidental that the light comes from the same corner that contained the door. The figures appear to exist behind this three-dimensional framework, and are set against a blue background that suggests the firmament. Here and there part of a figure or a fold of drapery overlaps the dark blue innermost band, implying that the figures protrude, or at least might protrude, forward from the space on the other side of the frame into the space on our side. Significantly, one of the ladies looks outward and her glance connects directly with our own.

It must be emphasized that the artist has not created the effect of a deep space receding beyond the limits of the surface. On the contrary, he seems to have been intent upon establishing the "hereness" and "nowness" of the objects, their solid, physical reality. To appreciate this fact we need only compare a painted coffered ceiling in Hadrian's Villa dating from about two centuries before: the forms of the moulding are hardly more than outlines; there is little impression of solidity or of light and air (fig. 21).¹⁵

The figures in the Trier ceiling are treated in a way analogous to the artist's over-all approach. The proportions are thick and the bodies and drapery seem to be made of substances that are somehow denser than usual. The brush is used to model the forms, and even when the individual strokes are visible, as in the sleeve of the lady with the jewel box, they suggest the sharp, craggy edges of a solid structure.

The effect of the ceiling would have been reciprocated and intensified by the painted decoration of the walls of the room, which must have been equally remarkable.¹⁶ The bits and pieces of fresco recovered are still to be reassembled; so no photographs are available. But the general make-up of the scheme can be determined, and it consisted of three main horizontal divisions. The lowermost was a dado painted to imitate marble inlay or incrustation. Above this, the main level, about four meters high, was divided into sections by monumental pilasters. In each section was a panel framed by a simulated golden egg and dart moulding, like those in the putti panels in the ceiling. Inside the panels were life-size standing figures. The uppermost level beneath the ceiling had small windows except on the north wall, which contained the

¹⁵ Cf. F. Wirth, *Römische Wandmalerei vom Untergang Pompejis bis ans Ende des dritten Jahrhunderts* (Berlin, 1934), 65f., fig. 28.

¹⁶ The wall decoration is described by Kempf, in *Frühchristliche Zeugnisse*, 240.

door; here the artist painted windows to imitate the real ones on the other sides of the room.

It is apparent from this account that the ceiling formed part of an elaborate and carefully thought out program to transform the surfaces of the ceiling and walls into a real and solid piece of architectural construction, which might well belong to this very room, and to populate it with figures equally real and solid. The background and significance of this particular form of illusionism will be the main focus of the discussion that follows.

It must be emphasized, to begin with, that the Trier ceiling, though exceptional in its probable association with an imperial building and in its extremely high quality, expresses an artistic point of view that is by no means unique during the period of Constantine. It can be found in a wide variety of monuments firmly dated to his reign, distributed over a wide area, and including various media. Almost the identical features appear at the same time at Aquileia, where a double basilica similar to that at Trier was built in the second decade of the fourth century. Traces of fresco decoration have been found in both churches and in certain of the subsidiary rooms in between. The decorations of the lower walls, in so far as they are known, are of two types. In one type the wall is painted to imitate panels of marble incrustation, divided in one room by huge painted columns (figs. 22 and 23 middle).¹⁷ In the second type a simulated latticework fence runs along the wall between painted fluted columns; both columns and fence are veined to suggest marble (fig. 23 top).¹⁸ At one point traces of the upper part of the wall were found, which showed an elaborately painted cornice with projecting brackets supported on pilasters (fig. 23 lower right).¹⁹ The ceiling fresco depicted a system of massive polygonal coffers decorated with rosettes.²⁰ Thus, the artist consistently created a reality that was, so to speak, coexistent with true reality; the structures depicted exist exactly where the wall is and no claim is laid to a more distant and impossible illusion. The forms are again solid and heavy in themselves and executed in strong, bright colors that also intensify the effect of corporeality.

A second example is a mosaic pavement from Antioch on the Orontes in Syria, dated by coins to the reign of Constantine (figs. 24, 25).²¹ The main section of the floor of the triclinium of the Constantinian Villa, as the building is called, has a diagonal design centered about a polygonal fountain. The square is surrounded by a broad border of a complex fret shown in three-dimensional perspective. Inside this the main composition is an X within a square, with acanthus scrolls along the sides and figures of the Seasons placed in the diagonals. A carefully studied illusionistic rendering of an egg and dart moulding frames the whole square and the trapezoidal figure scenes formed by the diagonals. The figure scenes, with their suggestion of air and atmosphere,

¹⁷ Cf. C. Cecchelli, in *La basilica di Aquileia* (Bologna, 1933), 151, fig. 9, 157, fig. 11 (= our fig. 22), pl. xxiii (= our fig. 23).

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, 167f.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, 171.

²⁰ *Ibid.*

²¹ D. Levi, *Antioch Mosaic Pavements* (Princeton, etc., 1947), 226ff., pl. LIIf.

seem to emphasize by contrast that the main structural framework of the floor has a real and tangible existence in this world. And again the hard, precise modelling, the almost oppressive richness and heaviness of form and color augment this sense of physical density. One feels one might walk without danger on the borders, but if one stepped over the edge one would plunge into an abyss. It might be added that the heads of the Seasons of the Constantinian Villa provide a very close comparison with the ladies of the Trier ceiling (fig. 26).

The famous silver medallion of Constantine, whose helmet shows the Christian Chi Rho monogram, provides an example in sculpture (fig. 27).²² The medallion was probably struck to celebrate the decennalia of Constantine in 315. It belongs to a type that is extremely rare in Roman coinage in which the bust is shown in a three-quarter view. The three-quarter view had appeared frequently on Greek coins, particularly of the Hellenistic period (fig. 28).²³ It fell completely out of use in Roman times, but was suddenly revived by the Gallic Emperor Postumus (260–268) just after the middle of the third century, apparently as part of a philhellenic reaction that took place in the period of the Roman Emperor Gallienus. Postumus is never shown with a helmet, and the bust is cut off at the upper shoulders (fig. 29).²⁴ The depiction of the Emperor cut off at a much lower point, wearing a crested helmet, leading his horse by the reins, and holding a shield, has close precedent in profile portraits of the Emperor Probus (276–282), also dating from shortly after the middle of the third century (fig. 30).²⁵ But there is no precedent at all for the combination of the two types that the Constantinian designer worked out. The effect of this fusion of types is immediately apparent. By turning the horse to profile and the figure to three-quarter view the artist forces the head through the abstract surface to which the Probus type adheres. By including the upper part of the body, along with the crested helmet, the horse, and the shield, he gives the impression that these are real objects that have been rather painfully compressed and cut off by the frame, in contrast to the comfortable and self-contained image of the three-quarter face Postumus type. Furthermore, the exaggerated size of the head and the special emphasis placed on the projecting crest serve to propel the forms forward at us.²⁶

²² K. Kraft, "Das Silbermedaillon Constantins des Grossen mit dem Christusmonogram auf dem Helm," *Jahrb. f. Numis. u. Geldges.*, 5 and 6 (1954/55), 151 ff.; A. Alföldi, "The Initials of Christ on the Helmet of Constantine," in P. R. Coleman-Norton, ed., *Studies in Roman Economic and Social History in Honor of Allan Chester Johnson* (Princeton, 1951), 303 ff.; M. R. Alföldi, *Die constantinische Goldprägung* (Mainz, 1963), *passim* (cf. index, p. 235, s.v. "Silber-multiplum . . .").

²³ A. Baldwin, "Facing Heads on Greek Coins," *American Journal of Numismatics*, 43 (1908–09), 113 f.

²⁴ R. Delbrueck, *Die Münzbildnisse von Maximinus bis Carinus* (M. Wegner, ed., *Das römische Herrscherbild*, III, 2 [Berlin, 1940]), 130, 134; O. Doppelfeld, "Von Postumus zu Konstantin," *Wallraf-Richartz-Jahrbuch*, 18 (1956), 9; A. Alföldi, "Die Vorherrschaft der Pannonier im Römerreiche und die Reaktion des Hellenentums unter Gallienus," in *Fünfundzwanzig Jahre römisch-germanische Kommission* (Berlin-Leipzig, 1930), 37 f.

²⁵ P. H. Webb, in H. Mattingly and E. A. Sydenham, *The Roman Imperial Coinage*, V, 2 (London, 1933), pl. 11, 7.

²⁶ A striking example of the use of subtle illusionistic devices in architecture at this period is provided by the Constantinian basilica at Trier. The upper row of windows of the apse is set more than a meter lower than the upper row in the side walls; both rows of windows in the apse are shorter, the lower row the more so, than those in the side walls (cf. W. Reusch, "Die kaiserliche Palastaula ("Basilika")," in *Die Basilika in Trier. Festschr. z. Wiederherstellung 9. Dezember 1956* [Trier, 1956], 34). The

These examples may suffice to show that the Trier paintings, while unusual, indeed unique in some respects, contain characteristics that are to be found in works in a variety of places and materials during the period of Constantine. The next point that must be discussed is whether the style we are dealing with is characteristic of the period of Constantine in the chronological sense as well, in that it contrasts with what had gone before. To answer this question fairly we must return to the very beginning of Roman painting and consider the familiar division of the decorations at Pompeii into four styles—first, second, third, and fourth—worked out by August Mau toward the end of the last century. It has in recent times become the fashion to criticize Mau's theory as too schematic; and certainly the division lends itself to oversimplification, both in respect to the character of the paintings themselves, which often show hybrid mixtures of the styles, and in respect to chronology, since the styles as he defined them cannot have succeeded one another in an orderly fashion. But a fundamental distinction remains, whether explicit or implicit, even in modern discussions; at Pompeii two basically different approaches to the wall are evident. In one of these the wall is conceived as an ideal limit and the main framework of the decoration consists of architectural elements that do not in themselves extend the space, but seem, on the contrary, to be the actual structure of the room. Within this frame of reference the possibilities range from a room in the House of the Griffins on the Palatine in Rome, dating from the mid-first century A.D. (fig. 31),²⁷ in which columns that seem to support the ceiling stand before a solid wall of veined marbling, to the cubiculum from Boscoreale in the Metropolitan Museum (fig. 32),²⁸ in which the columns stand in our space, while atmospheric cityscapes open beyond. In the second approach the artist carefully avoids the suggestion that the architectural framework might be real and solid and exist in the observer's world. He may or may not suggest a deep recession into space; usually he does both, as in the House of the Isis Priests at Pompeii (fig. 33), where flat, screen-like panels alternate with fantastic architectural vistas. The main point is that he does not create the illusion that we are confronted by a rational analogue of the actual world, but emphasizes instead that the decoration is just that—pure decorative fantasy, flimsy, insubstantial, paper thin, superficial almost in the literal sense of the word. In the one case we have a logical, if ideal, duplicate of the actual world, in the other reality is transformed into a never never world where the laws of time and gravity are dissolved. The Pompeian styles are, in a way, categorizations of the variety of interpretations and interpenetrations of these opposing points of view.

It has long been recognized that the development of Roman painting during the second and third centuries after Christ took its point of departure from

effect of this "perspective" treatment of the windows in the apse is to create the impression on the entering beholder that they continue the rows of windows in the side walls without interruption on the same level and scale, as though the diameter of the apse were equal to the full width of the hall.

²⁷ Wirth, *Römische Wandmalerei*, pl. I.

²⁸ P. W. Lehmann, *Roman Wall Paintings from Boscoreale in the Metropolitan Museum of Art* (Cambridge, Mass., 1953), pl. x.

the third and fourth Pompeian styles. The development, by and large, involved a progressive elimination of both the architectural and the spatial content of the Pompeian forerunners. In the walls from the House of Ganymede at Ostia, dating from the second half of the second century (figs. 34, 35), the delicacy and fragility of the forms is so extreme that it is difficult to read them as architecture at all.²⁹ The impression of space is just as strong as before, but it is not measurable in terms of objects set at clear and stable depths. The figures, usually called philosophers, that decorate the rectangular panels in one of the rooms are also symptomatic of this subversion of classical values (fig. 36). The impressionistic technique and phosphorescent coloring dissolve the surfaces of drapery and skin. Most important, the figures are not set squarely in the center of their panels, but seem to hover, ghost-like, from place to place, and even to float mysteriously across the framing borders.

The net result of this process was the emergence in the third century of the purely linear style exemplified by the so-called hypogeum of the Aurelii in Rome, dating from around 240 (fig. 37).³⁰ Narrow, flat strips of color, vaguely recalling the columns, arches, and mouldings of the earlier phases, spread like a spider web across the walls and vault. There is no differentiation between support and supported. The walls and ceiling are one continuous matrix in or before which the design seems suspended.

It will by now have become evident that the style of the Trier paintings constitutes a violent rejection of this tendency to "dematerialize" or "destructuralize" the decorative system. It seems to represent a return to the values of a bygone period in which an appearance of structural logic and a semblance of reality were among the artist's primary concerns. An essential observation, however—which I shall discuss presently—is that the return was not to the thin screens and airy vistas of the third and fourth Pompeian styles. Rather, we are reminded of the structural approach of the first and second styles, with their insistence that the limits of the walls of the room be replaced by a fiction that is at least potentially "true."

Viewed in this light, the Trier paintings take their place alongside a growing number of cases in which it can be shown that Constantinian artists consciously adopted much earlier forms.³¹ Thus, there is certainly a retrospective element in the phenomenon with which we are dealing.

²⁹ Wirth, *op. cit.*, 110f.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, 177f.

³¹ A. Rumpf, *Stilphasen der spätantiken Kunst. Ein Versuch*, Arbeitsgemeinschaft für Forschung des Landes Nordrhein-Westfalen. Geisteswissenschaften. Abhandlung, Heft 44 (Cologne-Opladen, 1955), 12f.; R. Calza, "Cronologia ed identificazione dell' 'Agrippina' Capitolina," *Atti della pontificia accademia romana di archeologia*, 3rd Ser., *Memorie*, 8 (1955), 119ff.

The identification by Calza of the seated female figure in the Capitoline museum, which belongs to a well-known type originating in Phidias or Alcamenes, as a portrait of the Empress Helen provides an especially notable instance of this classical revival. The doubt recently expressed by H. von Heinze (in W. Helbig, *Führer durch die öffentlichen Sammlungen klassischer Altertümer in Rom*, 4th ed [Tübingen, 1963-66], II, 154) that the statue itself may be an earlier work into which the portrait head of Helen was inserted, seems to me quite unjustified. The Capitoline sculpture is comparable in type, treatment of drapery, and portrait head to the seated figure of Helen in the Uffizi, where the head and body are carved from the same block (cf. G. A. Mansuelli, *Galleria degli Uffizi. Le sculture* [Rome, 1958-61], II, no. 171, p. 131).

Yet, it would be a mistake to regard the style merely as a kind of archaism. We have good reason to suppose, on the contrary, that it developed in response to a tradition that was very much alive. This point can perhaps best be approached by returning momentarily to the two groups of Pompeian styles discussed earlier. The question of their origins has given rise to as much debate as has that of their relative chronology. But here, again, one fundamental fact has been recognized by everyone who has occupied himself with the problem. While the fanciful and insubstantial screens and vistas are characteristic of the third and fourth styles in Italy and the Latin West, the structural approach, to which such names as "incrustation" or "masonry" style have also been applied, was broadly based throughout the Mediterranean during the Hellenistic period. Numerous examples are preserved outside Italy; on the mainland of Greece, in the Greek islands, in South Russia, in Asia Minor, and in Alexandria.³² Tombs found at Alexandria and at Kertsch, ancient Panticapaeum, in South Russia, may serve as illustrations. In the entrance chamber in one Alexandrian tomb, dating from the second century B.C. (fig. 38), the walls show, below, a dado of marble veneer and, above, a checkered pattern that imitates the faience tile decorations known from an early time in Egypt.³³ The ceiling is decorated with a design of polygonal coffers. In a second tomb at Alexandria, ascribed to the mid-first century A.D. (fig. 39), fifteen highly schematized pilasters carry an entablature in perspective.³⁴ The ceiling consists of square coffers containing floral rosettes in the center. In one of the Kertsch tombs, known only from nineteenth-century drawings, the wall was divided by Ionic columns or pilasters, which supported a cornice with an elaborate egg and dart moulding; between the columns were figure scenes on two levels (fig. 40).³⁵ Another example is one of a common tomb type at Kertsch, for which there is evidence of a date in the second century A.D. (figs. 41, 42).³⁶ It has a dado with panels of marble incrustation and continuous figure scenes above. The marble panels are divided by columns which support an entablature of brackets that seem to project forward into the space of the room. The ceiling of this chamber consisted, once more, of a pattern of square coffers with rosette designs inside.

An important fact in the present context is the remarkable tenacity of the structural approach in the Greek East; there it continued to reign virtually unchallenged, while its principles were compromised and ultimately abandoned in the West.³⁷ Evidence for this fact can be found as far removed into the

³² M. I. Rostovtzeff, "Ancient Decorative Wall-Painting," *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, 39 (1919), 147 ff.; C. M. Dawson, *Romano-Companian Mythological Landscape Painting*, Yale Classical Studies, IX (New Haven, 1944), 55 ff.

³³ The Alexandrian tombs have been surveyed most recently in A. Adriani, *Repertorio d'arte dell'Egitto greco-romano* (Palermo, 1966); cf. no. 142, p. 192 ff.; our figure 38 = R. Pagenstecher, *Nekropolis* (Leipzig, 1919), fig. 76, p. 118.

³⁴ Adriani, *op. cit.*, no. 145, p. 195 ff. Our figure 39 = B. R. Brown, *Ptolemaic Paintings and Mosaics and the Alexandrian Style* (Cambridge, Mass., 1957), pl. xxviii.

³⁵ M. I. Rostovtzeff, *Ancient Decorative Paintings in Southern Russia* (in Russian) (St. Petersburg, 1913-14), pl. xci, 2.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, pls. LXXIX, LXXXII, 4.

³⁷ The possibility of a continuous tradition of architectural painting in the East has also been suggested by F. Gerke, "Wandmalereien . . . in Pécs," (cited *infra*, note 43), following R. Pagenstecher,

eastern hinterland as Dura Europos on the Euphrates; in the mid-third-century paintings of the synagogue there, the basic framework of the decoration was established by four great pilasters in the corners that served as fictional supports for a ceiling of roof tiles suggesting figured coffers (figs. 43, 44).³⁸ But I can offer no more dramatic illustration of the contrast between East and West at this period than to compare with our mid-third-century tomb of the Aurelii in Rome (fig. 37), a tomb found at Palmyra in Syria (figs. 45, 46).³⁹ It is dated precisely to the middle of the third century, and the two works may thus be exactly contemporary. Yet, the contrast could hardly be more complete. The vault is covered with polygonal coffering; the juncture with the wall is marked by a series of continuous architectural mouldings—egg and dart, brackets, meanders—all shown in strong perspective. In panels on the walls, above dadoes imitating marble, winged victories stand holding over their heads medallions with portraits of the dead; they seem to perform a sustaining role, like caryatids. In the four corners, resting on the floor and supporting the cornice, are columns with foliate capitals and high bases. Thus, again, nothing extends the space beyond its actual limits; the surface of the walls and vault are replaced by a fictive structure of the same dimensions as the room itself.

The types and variations among the Eastern examples are infinite. It can be said in general, however, that they never display the dream-like atmospheric fantasies of the later Pompeian styles; and they never reduce the structural components to the levels of pure ornamental abstraction that emerged during the third century in the West. Instead, they tend to create, albeit partially or schematically, the illusion that what is depicted is in fact real.

One final comparison will illustrate these contrasting points of view: a mosaic pavement found at Antioch, dating from the second quarter of the third century (fig. 47), and a pavement from Ostia ascribed to the same period (fig. 48).⁴⁰ The Ostian floor belongs to a type that reached a great flowering in Italy in the second and third centuries, but which is unknown in the eastern Mediterranean at this period, namely the silhouette mosaic. The restriction to black and white eliminates at a stroke any sense of material substance or suggestion of depth. By contrast, the Syrian artist retains the full range of polychromy and his perspectivized fret, his elaborate frame with projecting cornices and foliate scrolls entwining heads, directly anticipate the floor of the Constantinian Villa we discussed earlier (figs. 24, 25). The figures show a no less marked contrast. In the Italian example they are coarse and awkward, prefiguring the primitivistic types that appear in official art at the

"Alexandrinische Studien," *Sitzungsberichte der Heidelberger Akademie der Wissenschaften, Phil-Hist. Kl.* (1917), no. 12, 20ff.

An important new example has recently been published by M. Dunand, "Tombe peinte dans la campagne de Tyr," *Bulletin du Musée de Beyrouth*, 18 (1965), 5ff.

³⁸ M. Rostovtzeff, *Dura-Europos and its Art* (Oxford, 1938), pl. XXI (= our fig. 43); C. H. Kraeling, *The Synagogue, The Excavations at Dura-Europos, Final Report, VIII, 1* (New Haven, 1956), pl. VII (= our fig. 44).

³⁹ Datable 241-259; cf. Levi, *Antioch Mosaic Pavements*, 551; J.-B. Chabot, *Choix d'inscriptions de Palmyre* (Paris, 1922), pl. XVI, 1 and 2 (= our fig. 46).

⁴⁰ Levi, *op. cit.*, pl. XXXV, cf. p. 167ff.; G. Becatti, *Scavi di Ostia. IV. Mosaici e pavimenti marmorei* (Rome, 1961), pl. CLXXXVIII, top, cf. no. 58, p. 33ff.

end of the century. In the Syrian mosaic they are nobly conceived and executed in the grand manner of Hellenistic tradition.

The implications of our discussion so far will already have become clear. We are led very near to a familiar theory concerning the origins of mediaeval art, namely, the theory of an Oriental influence. I do not, obviously, refer to the views expounded in the later writings of Strzygowski and his followers, according to whom mediaeval style stemmed from a vaguely defined group of Aryan peoples who wandered about the Asian hinterlands. Rather, I refer to the Oriental theory as it was first evolved by Strzygowski himself, along with Ainalov and other Russian scholars, who were impressed by the evident survival in mediaeval art of the Hellenistic traditions of the eastern Mediterranean. It is apparent, however, that to conceive of the classical tradition as merely having "survived" is grossly inadequate. In the Trier frescoes and works like them we are faced, on the contrary, with a full scale revival, a veritable new wave of classicism.

It has of late become something of a commonplace to speak of classical revivals in the art of the late empire. Alföldi has done perhaps more than anyone to help define and enrich our understanding of these Renaissance phenomena, especially under Gallienus in the sixties of the third century and again during the pagan revival in the later fourth century.⁴¹ The process of what might be called the regeneration of the classical heritage during the fourth century has been outlined by Ernst Kitzinger in his study, presented at the Symposium of 1959, of the relief fragment from the period of Theodosius in the Dumbarton Oaks Collection.⁴² They and others working along the same lines have provided ample evidence that the so-called popular style of the Tetrarchic portraits and the Arch of Constantine tells only part of the story of the transition from classical to mediaeval art.

By and large, these phases of renewed classicism have appeared to be more or less isolated and independent of one another. But now, with the period of Constantine taking a major, if not the major, place in the sequence, it seems likely that they are somehow related, the earlier "revival" preparing the way for the later. The fact that the three-quarter face medallion of Constantine seemed to have been based in part on prototypes of the period of Gallienus (figs. 27, 29, 30) may well be symptomatic of this interconnection, though admittedly I cannot cite a parallel example in painting, our picture of the third-century development in that medium being particularly dim. The influences from the Hellenic East may have been not so much the cause as the result of a general process whereby the abstract and spiritualizing tendencies of late antiquity were reconciled with the heritage of classical humanism.

If this was indeed the case, and I would emphasize that at present it can only be suggested, not affirmed, then two important questions arise. We have been inclined to associate these classical resurgences with moments of con-

⁴¹ Alföldi, "Vorherrschaft der Pannonier," cited *supra*, note 24, and the bibliography cited in the article by Kitzinger referred to in the next footnote.

⁴² "A Marble Relief of the Theodosian Period," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, 14 (1960), 38f.

servative, even *retardataire*, reaction on the part of the old aristocracy against the progressive movements of the period. The evidence leaves no room for doubt that to a certain extent this is true. But the fact that such a resurgence occurred under Constantine, and with unmitigated force in a Christian monument such as the frescoes at Aquileia, indicates that one ought not to think too narrowly in terms of a given political position, social stratum, or religious outlook. We shall see presently that in the course of the fourth century the new style even found its way into the lowly Christian catacombs. This also suggests that the Hellenistic revival, though perhaps fostered by a limited and reactionary segment of society, struck a deep chord and may at times have played a progressive role within the fabric of late antique development.

Definition of this role is the second problem with which the Renaissance of late antiquity confronts us. On one level this question can be answered very simply. It was in this structural style that the foundations of the great Western tradition of monumental church decoration were laid during the fourth and fifth centuries. This may be seen initially in the catacombs, where a radical transformation took place in the course of the fourth century.⁴³ In a Christian catacomb uncovered in the Via Latina in Rome and dated by the excavator to the second quarter of the fourth century (figs. 49, 50),⁴⁴ the tufa has been cut so as to simulate columns in the corner supporting an entablature with brackets and a cornice above. The paintings imitate marble panelling and egg and dart mouldings along the cornice. An arm of the chamber has its vault decorated with a complex design of polygonal and cross-shaped coffers. An instructive and probably contemporary example is provided by a painted tomb recently excavated at Silistra in Bulgaria (figs. 51, 52).⁴⁵ On the walls, figures of servants carry various objects toward the deceased and his wife. Above is a moulding of powerfully foreshortened projecting blocks, and the vault is decorated with a geometric coffering design. The similarity in general organization to the mid-third-century tomb at Palmyra (fig. 45) is very close indeed. Here, however, the figures are the demonically ugly types we associate with Roman art of the tetrarchy and the early reign of Constantine, and the rectangular borders, though significantly heavier, recall the flat strips of the third-century Aurelii tomb (fig. 37). Another feature that follows Roman tradition is the way the deceased and his wife, placed in the center panel of the wall opposite the entrance, project beyond the frame as if they were striding forward into the tomb chamber itself. We

⁴³ Emphasis on the revival of the "architectural" style in fourth-century catacomb painting was an important contribution of F. Gerke, "Die Wandmalereien der neugefundenen Grabkammer in Pécs (Fünfkirchen)," in *Spätantike und Byzanz*, Forschungen zur Kunstgeschichte und christliche Archäologie, erster Halbband (Baden-Baden, 1952), 125 ff.; *idem*, "Die Wandmalereien der Petrus-Paulus-Katakomben in Pécs (Südungarn)," in *Frühmittelalterliche Kunst*, *ibid.*, zweiter Halbband (Baden-Baden, 1954), 174.

⁴⁴ A. Ferrua, *Le pitture della nuova catacomba in Via Latina* (Rome, 1960), pls. 75 (= fig. 49), 77 (= fig. 50). A somewhat later date, ca. 350-370, has been suggested by E. Josi; cf. M. Simon, "Remarques sur la catacombe de la Via Latina," in *Mullus. Festschrift für Theodor Klauser (Jahrbuch für Antike und Christentum. Ergänzungsband I [1964])*, 327 ff.

⁴⁵ D. P. Dimitrov, "Le système décoratif et la date des peintures murales du tombeau antique de Silistra," *Cahiers archéologiques*, 12 (1962), figs. 1 (= fig. 51), 3 (= fig. 52).

have seen something like this in Roman painting as early as the second century at Ostia (fig. 36). But there are two important and interrelated differences. The first is that in the Ostia house the figures were completely independent of one another, suspended in isolated reverie. Here all the figures are part of a coherent scene that encompasses the whole chamber, and is sharply focused on the portraits of the owners, who confront the visitor. Secondly, in the Ostia house there was no apparent rationale that determined the figures' relation to their frames. In the fourth-century tomb the overlap is used specifically to accent the main figures and cast them forward toward the spectator, an effect that is greatly enhanced by the convergence of the perspective brackets immediately above them. Thus, whereas before the general impression was one of dreamy otherworldliness, here the optical devices are used to lend these strange, disquieting people a sense of urgent, concrete reality.

A further development, in the realm of court art, may be seen around the middle of the century in S. Costanza, the tomb in Rome built, presumably, for Constantine's daughter.⁴⁶ The walls above the columns were covered with a decoration of inlaid marble, known only from Renaissance copies (figs. 53, 54).⁴⁷ The marble incrustation simulated a two-storied system of pilasters which supported on the lower level a cornice with projecting arched brackets and on the upper level a kind of coffered ceiling.

In the middle of the fifth century this sort of multiple-storied architectural framework was adopted for the great fresco narrative cycles that decorated the basilicas of St. Peter's and St. Paul's Outside the Walls in Rome (figs. 55, 56).⁴⁸ Both decorations are lost, but are known, again through copies, to have created a fictive structure of columns and entablatures that was carefully integrated with the actual structure of the nave. Nothing extended the space; rather, the underlying implication was that the nave itself was the setting for the sacred events depicted.

Subsequently, in the course of the middle ages whenever there was a classical revival, this phase of the early Christian development seems to have been a primary source of inspiration. The upper chamber of the gate house of the Carolingian monastery at Lorsch, the famous Torhalle, was decorated with frescoes that created a kind of open loggia, with Ionic columns standing on a high parapet painted to imitate masonry blocks, and supporting a heavy, moulded cornice (figs. 57, 58).⁴⁹ The miniatures of the ninth-century Aratus manuscript at Leyden (fig. 59)⁵⁰ show astonishing analogies with the Trier ceiling panels. A heavy frame is provided by red and blue-black bands, with a

⁴⁶ Cf. H. Stern, "Les mosaïques de l'église de Sainte-Constance à Rome," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, 12 (1958), 157ff.

⁴⁷ Figure 53 = Madrid, Escorial, MS 28.II.12, fol. 22 (J. Wilpert, *Die römischen Mosaiken und Malereien der kirchlichen Bauten vom IV. bis XIII. Jahrhundert* [Freiburg i. B., 1924], I, fig. 84, p. 276); fig. 54 = Venice, Bibl. Marciana, MS Ital. IV, 149, fol. 19 (Stern, *op. cit.*, fig. 49).

⁴⁸ Figure 55 = Rome, Bibl. Vat., Arch. Fabb. di S. Pietro, Album (*ibid.*, fig. 121, p. 380); figure 56 = engraving by Piranesi.

⁴⁹ F. Behn, *Die karolingische Klosterkirche von Lorsch* (Berlin-Leipzig, 1934), fig. 28, p. 77 (= fig. 57), pl. 35a, b (= fig. 58).

On the Carolingian revival of early Christian architectural painting, cf. A. Grabar (and C. Nordenfalk), *Le haut moyen-âge du quatrième au onzième siècle* (Geneva, 1957), 65ff.

⁵⁰ Color reproduction in D. Bullough, *The Age of Charlemagne* (London, 1966), fig. 46, p. 120.

lighter strip between; the figure is set against a deep blue background simulating the sky, and subtly overlaps the border. The forms are modeled with continuous graded high lights that give the figure something of the quality of a piece of sculpture. The deep, saturated colors are almost overpowering in their intensity.

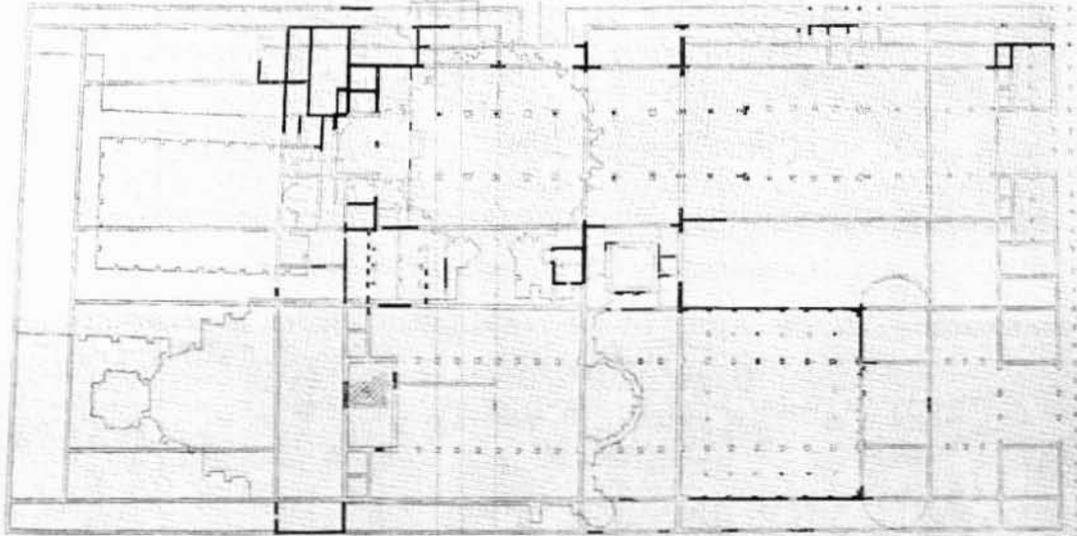
As a final example we may consider the fresco cycle of the Life of St. Francis in the upper church at Assisi painted around the turn of the fourteenth century (figs. 60, 61).⁵¹ Both the grandiose architectural framework with its pretentious claims to reality and, I venture to add, the exaggeratedly heavy, impenetrable figures owe much to the tradition with which we are concerned. The connection is historically plausible, since Pietro Cavallini, who is generally agreed to have played a key role in the formulation of the style of the St. Francis cycle, had only a decade before carried out a vast program of restoration of the fifth-century frescoes in Rome, both at St. Peter's and St. Paul's Outside the Walls.⁵²

In my view, however, it is not sufficient to regard the fourth-century Renaissance merely as a transmitter of classical traditions to the Middle Ages, though its importance in this respect is hardly to be underestimated. It contributed in a much more integral way, an insight into which is suggested by the fact that all our examples after the fourth century have come from the Latin West. Although the Hellenistic tradition contributed most of the optical devices, this whole phenomenon has no real counterpart in the Greek East during the Middle Ages. Optical subtleties are no less important there, but they serve entirely different ends. Indeed, one can scarcely imagine a fully developed Byzantine church decoration with an architectural framework that pretends to be a real and substantial part of the spectator's world. On the other hand, the notion that the picture has a physical existence analogous to, and on a par with, our own seems to be a constantly recurring theme in the West. It is precisely this conception of what I should call the "real presence" of the image that is served by the special brand of illusionism which appears in the Trier ceiling.⁵³

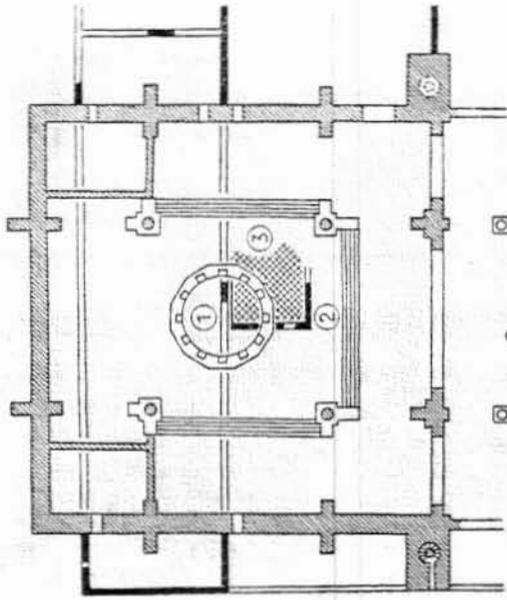
⁵¹ C. Gnudi, *Giotto* (Milan, 1958), pl. xiv (= fig. 61).

⁵² On the influence of the early Christian cycles on later mediaeval Italian monumental painting generally, cf. J. Garber, *Wirkungen der frühchristlichen Gemäldezyklen der alten Peters- und Pauls-Basiliken in Rom* (Berlin-Vienna, 1918); W. Paeseler, "Der Rückgriff der römischen Spätantike auf die christliche Spätantike," in *Beiträge zur Kunst des Mittelalters*, Vorträge der ersten deutschen Kunsthistorikertagung auf Schloss Brühl, 1948 (Berlin, 1950), 157 ff.; J. White, "Cavallini and the Lost Frescoes in S. Paolo," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, 19 (1956), 84 ff.

⁵³ The view of the Trier paintings presented here, namely, that they reflect a revival of classical tradition during the early fourth century accompanied by a strong influence from the Hellenic East, represents the "reverse" of a coin whose "obverse" I sought to describe in an earlier paper dealing with late antique mosaic pavement decoration ("The Hunting Mosaics of Antioch and their Sources. A study of Compositional Principles in the Development of Early Mediaeval Style," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, 17 [1963], 179 ff.). The argument there was that much of the "unclassical" character of early mediaeval art in the Greek East resulted from the adoption, at precisely the same period, of stylistic principles that had long been operative in the Latin West. Implicit in the first study was a conception of the classical tradition as essentially static and passive, but consideration of the Trier paintings has convinced me that it, too, was a vital, creative force during late antiquity. Taken together, the West-East, East-West crosscurrents defined in these studies illustrate the rise in importance and interfusion of heretofore largely regional styles, a general phenomenon that helped lay the groundwork for early mediaeval style in both East and West.



1. CONSTANTINIAN DOUBLE-CHURCH
with Later Mediaeval Structures superimposed



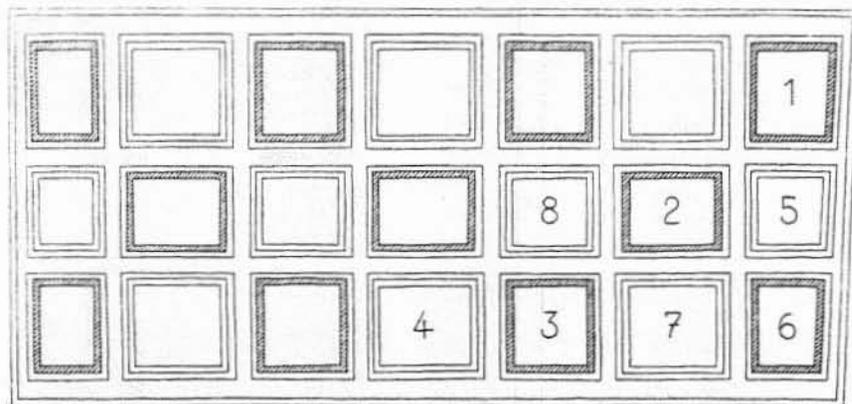
- 1 = KONSTANTINISCHE BASILIKA
- 2 = GRÄTIANISCHER UMBAU
- 3 = POLYGONALE ANLAGE
- 4 = QUADRATPODIUM
- 5 = LAGE DES PRUNKSAALES



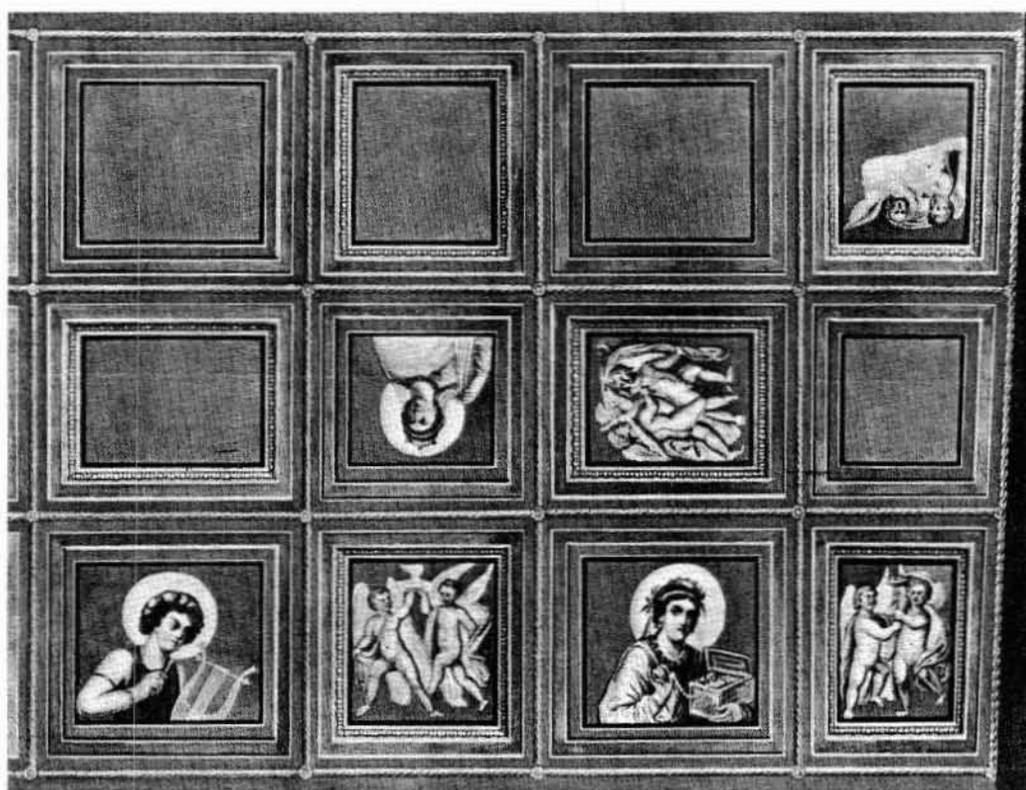
2. North Church. Plan showing Frescoed Chamber beneath East End of Church

1. Constantinian Double-church
with Later Mediaeval Structures superimposed

Trier



3. Reconstruction of Ceiling showing Panels so far recovered whole or in part



4. Reconstruction of Ceiling showing Portions preserved



5. Ceiling Panels 3, 7, 6



7. Ceiling Panel 8



8. Ceiling Panel 4



6. Ceiling Panel 7



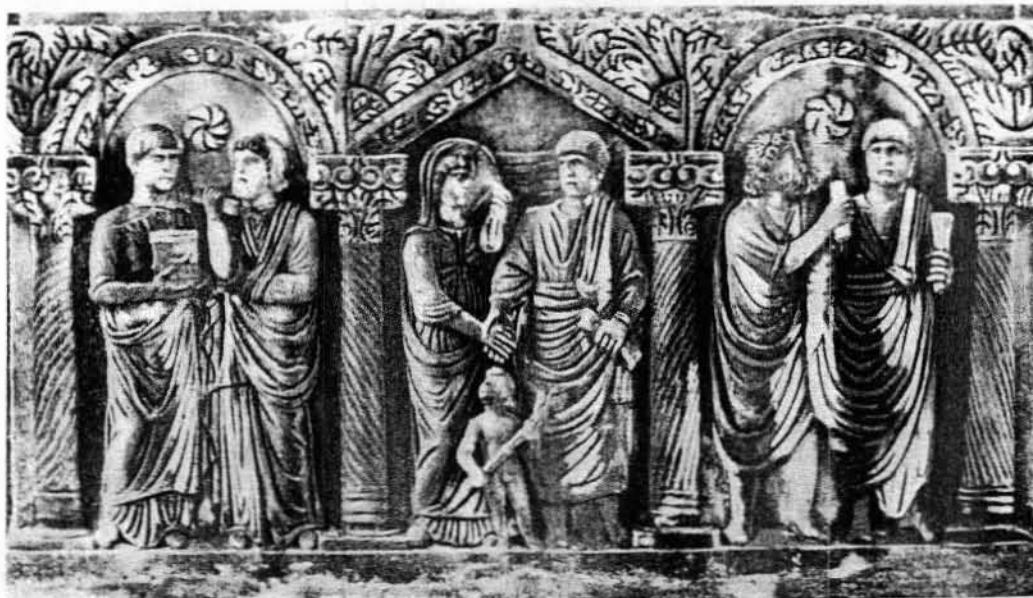
9. Ceiling Panel 6



11. Ceiling Panel 2



10. Ceiling Panel 3



12. Rome, Villa Savoia. Marriage Sarcophagus



18. Rome, S. Lorenzo fuori le mura. Marriage Sarcophagus, Side View



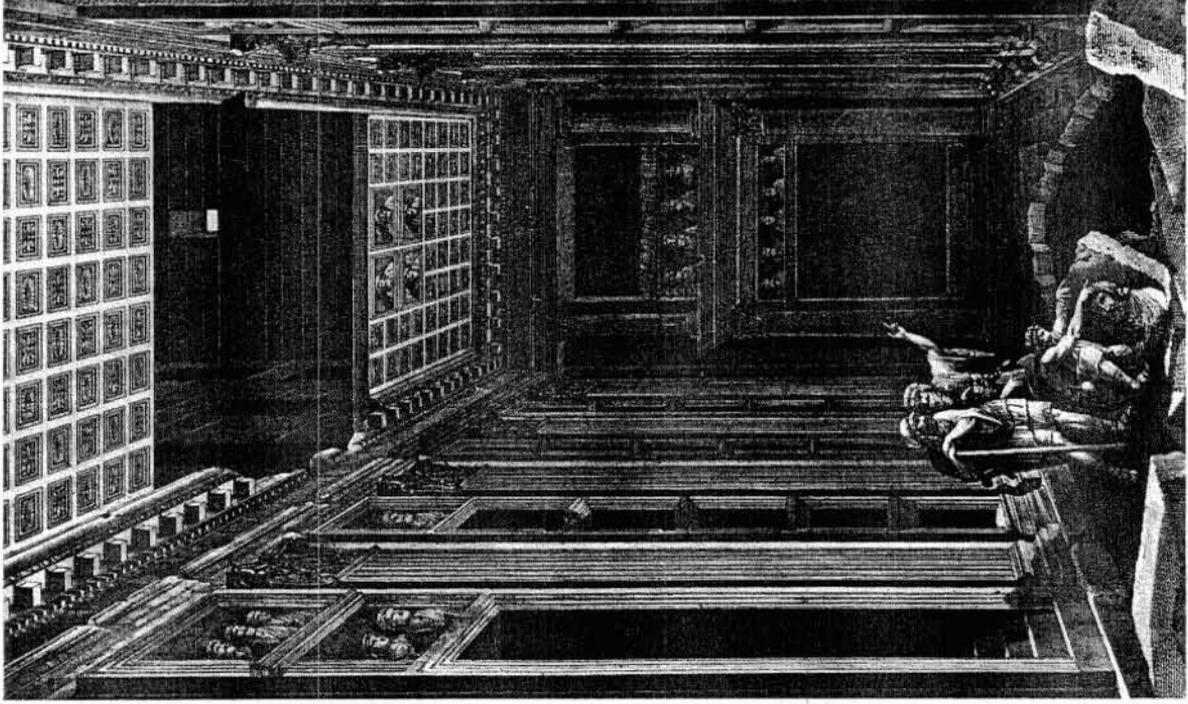
14. Washington, D. C., Dumbarton Oaks Collection. Gold Medallion of Constantine



15. London, British Museum. Denarius of Hadrian

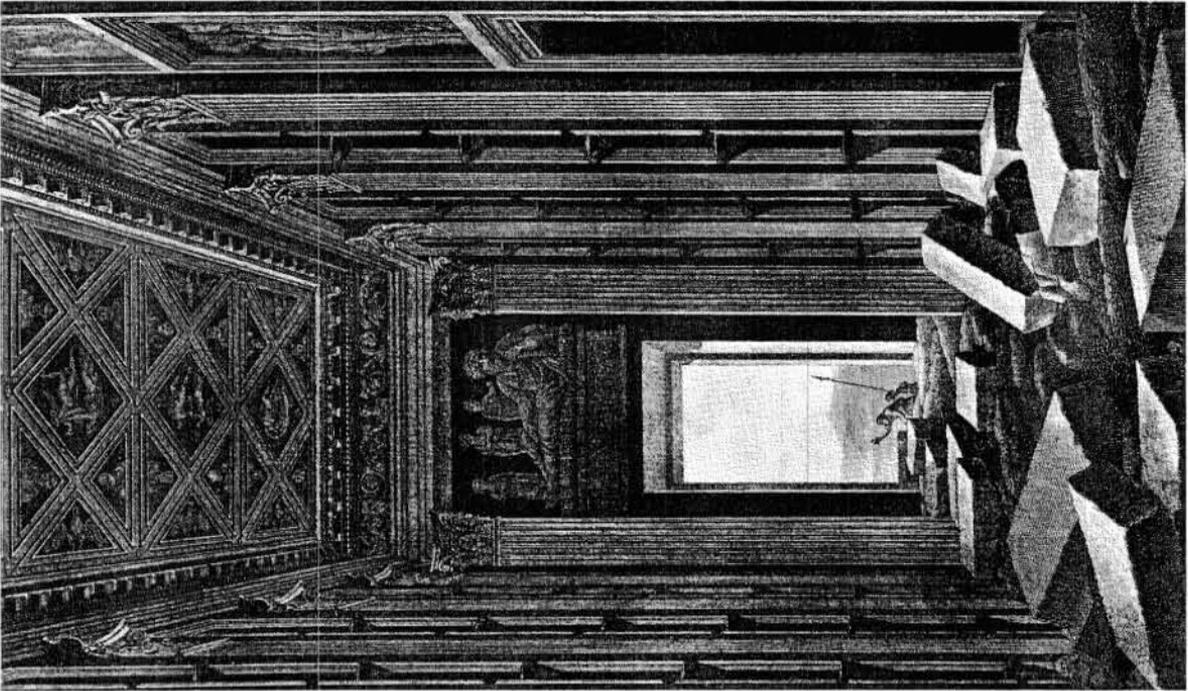


16. Dupondius of Etruscilla

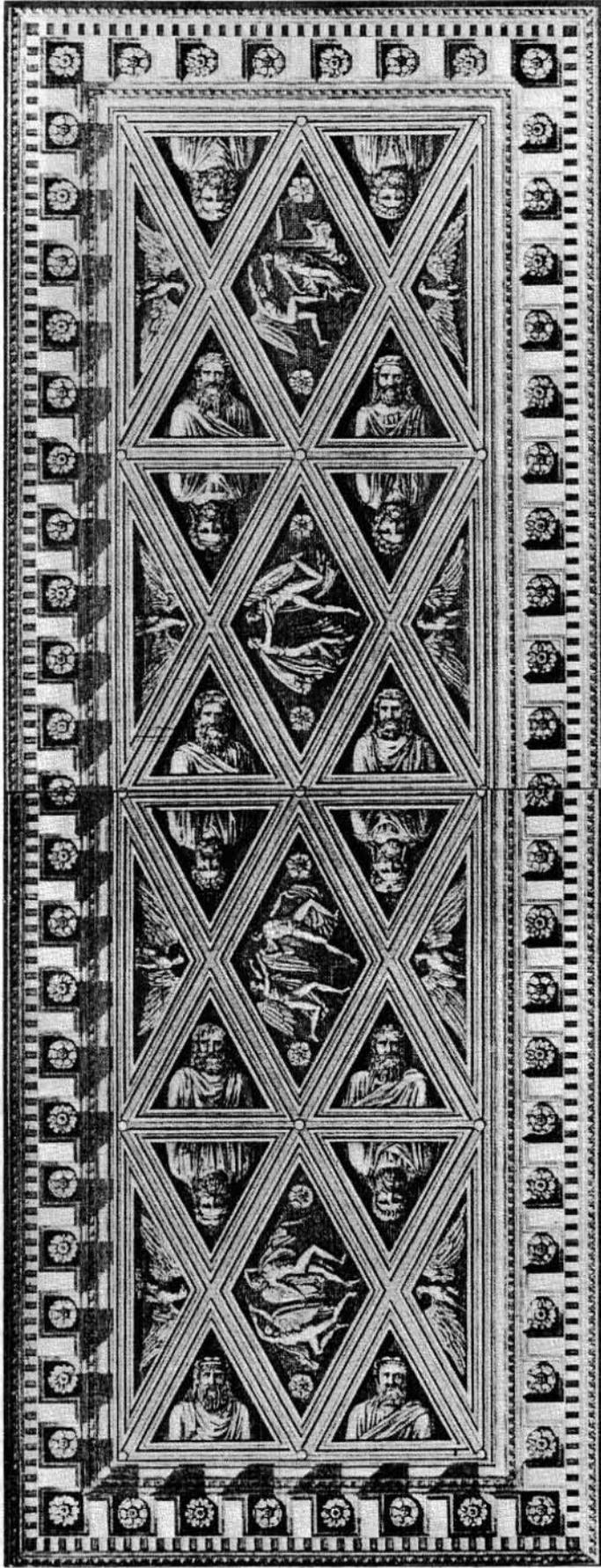


18. Tomb of Elahbel, Interior

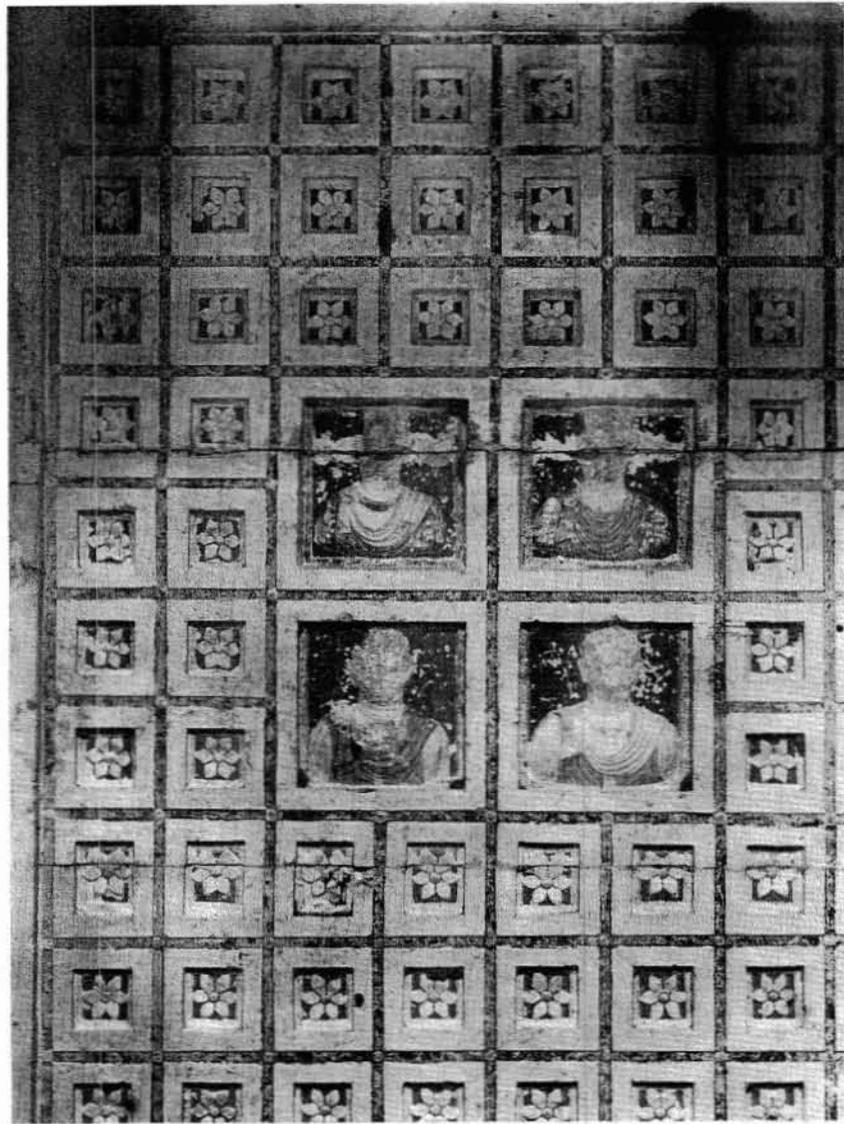
Palmyra



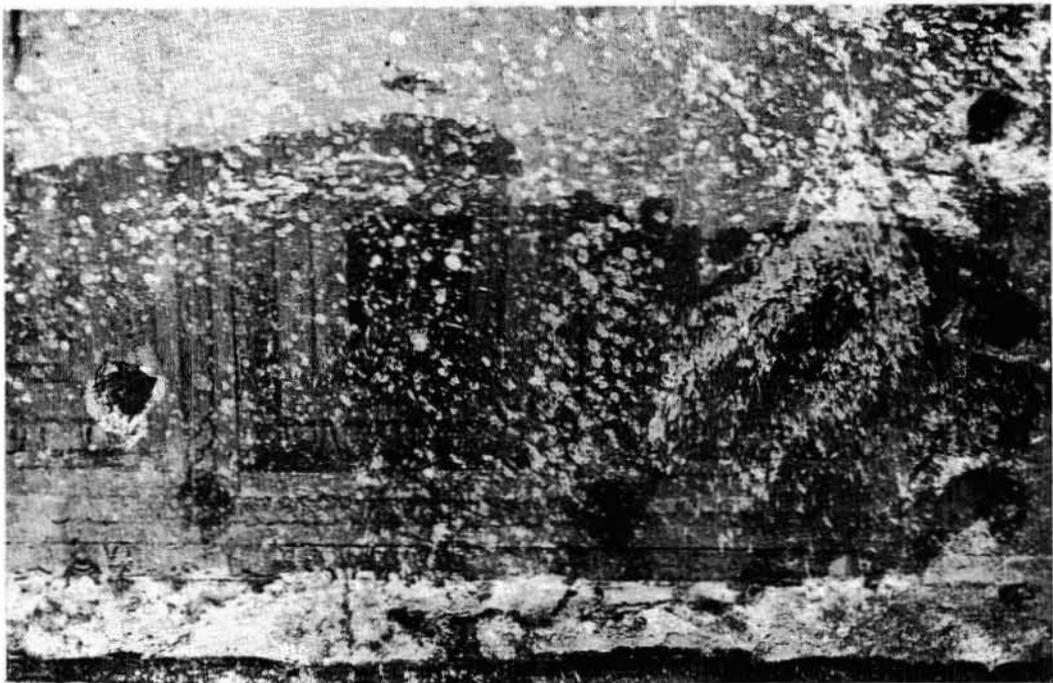
17. Tomb of Jamlichus, Interior



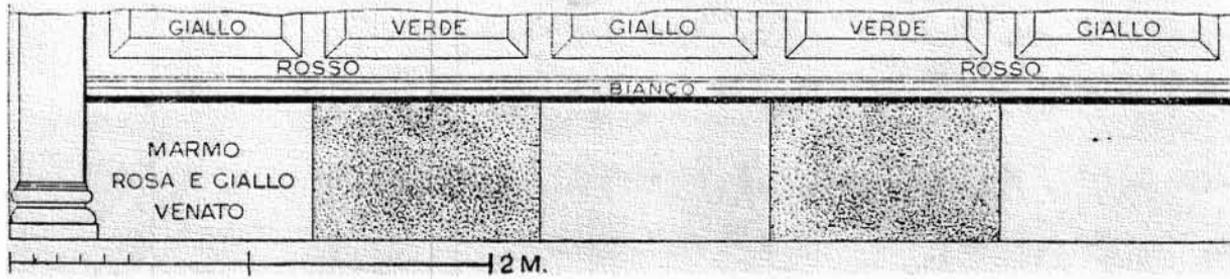
19. Palmyra, Tomb of Jamlichus, Ceiling



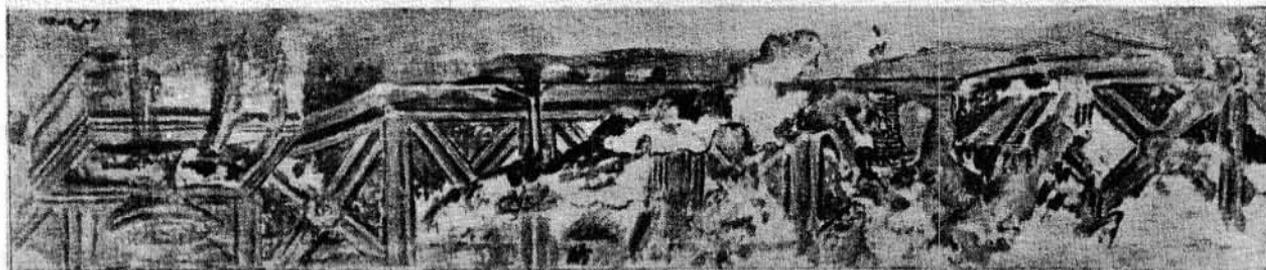
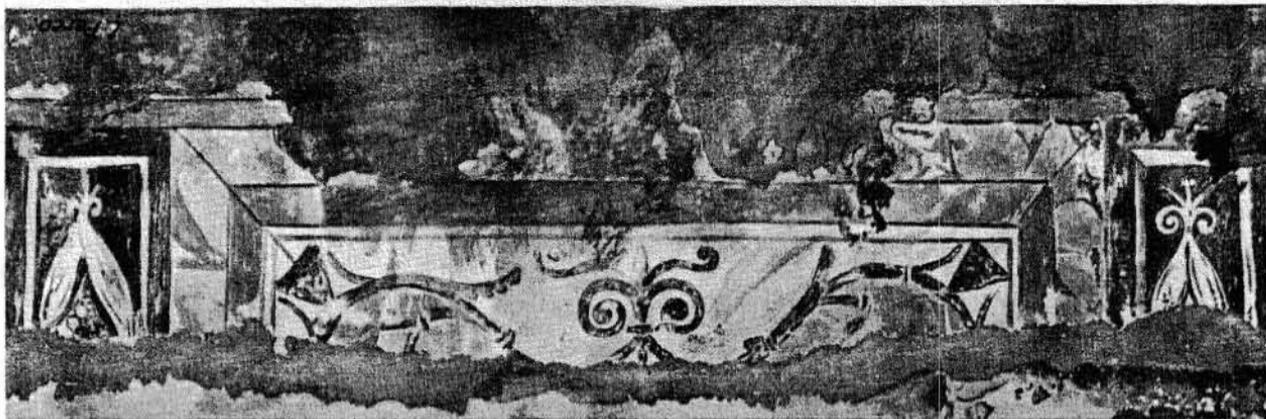
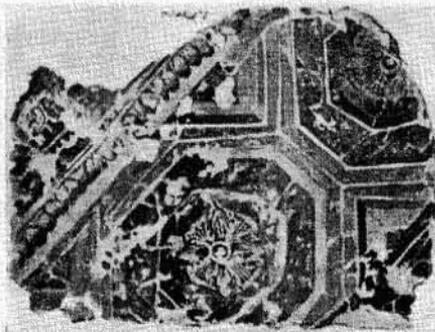
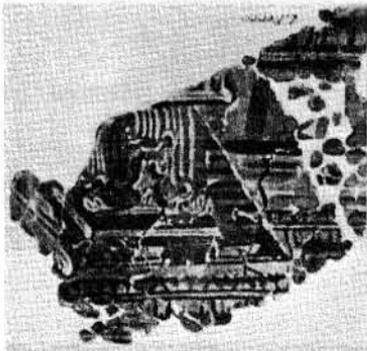
20. Palmyra, Tomb of Elahbel, Ceiling



21. Tivoli, Villa Adriana. Vault Decoration

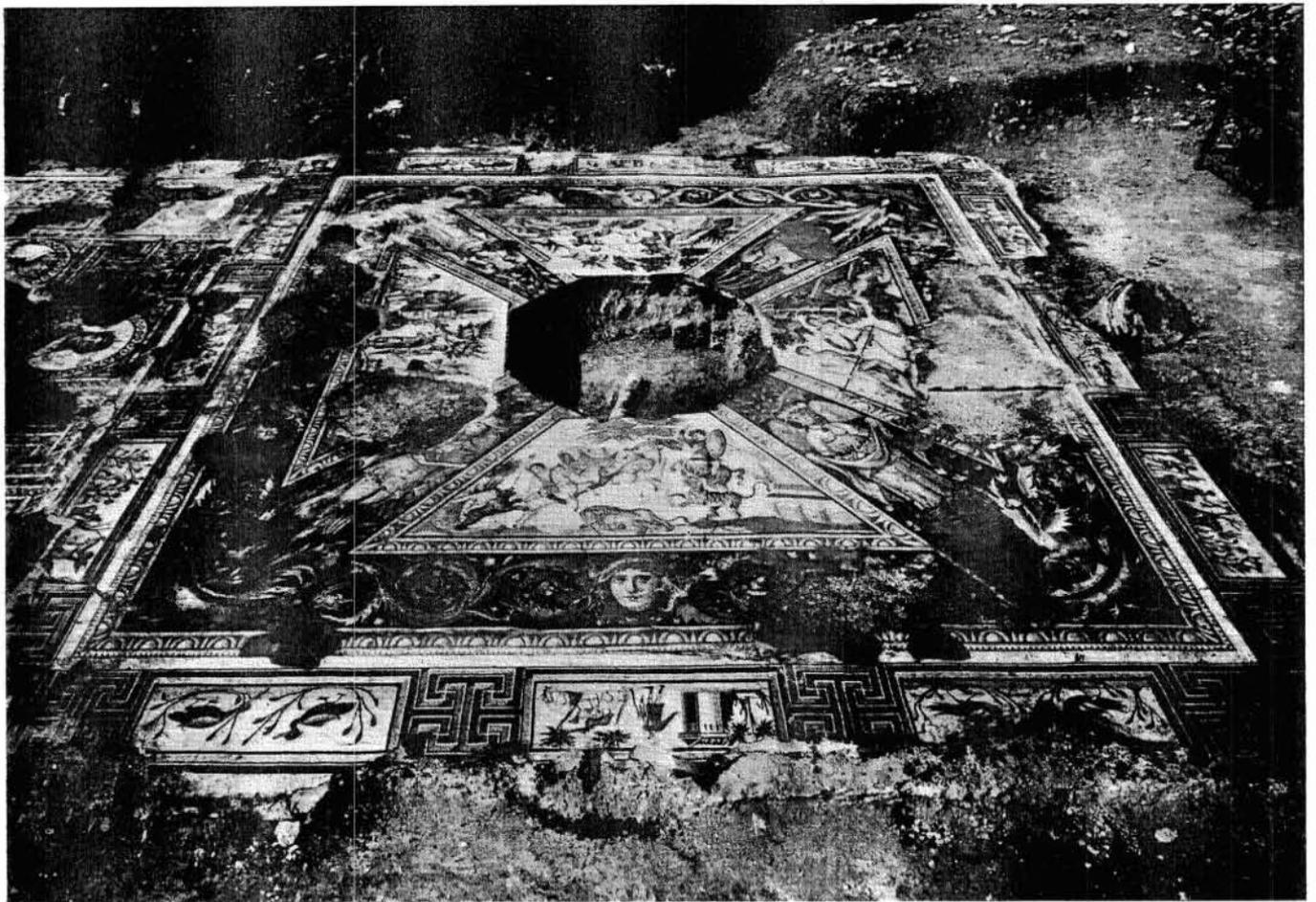


22. Reconstruction of Decoration of Lower Wall, Cubiculum V



23. Fresco Fragments
Aquileia, Basilica

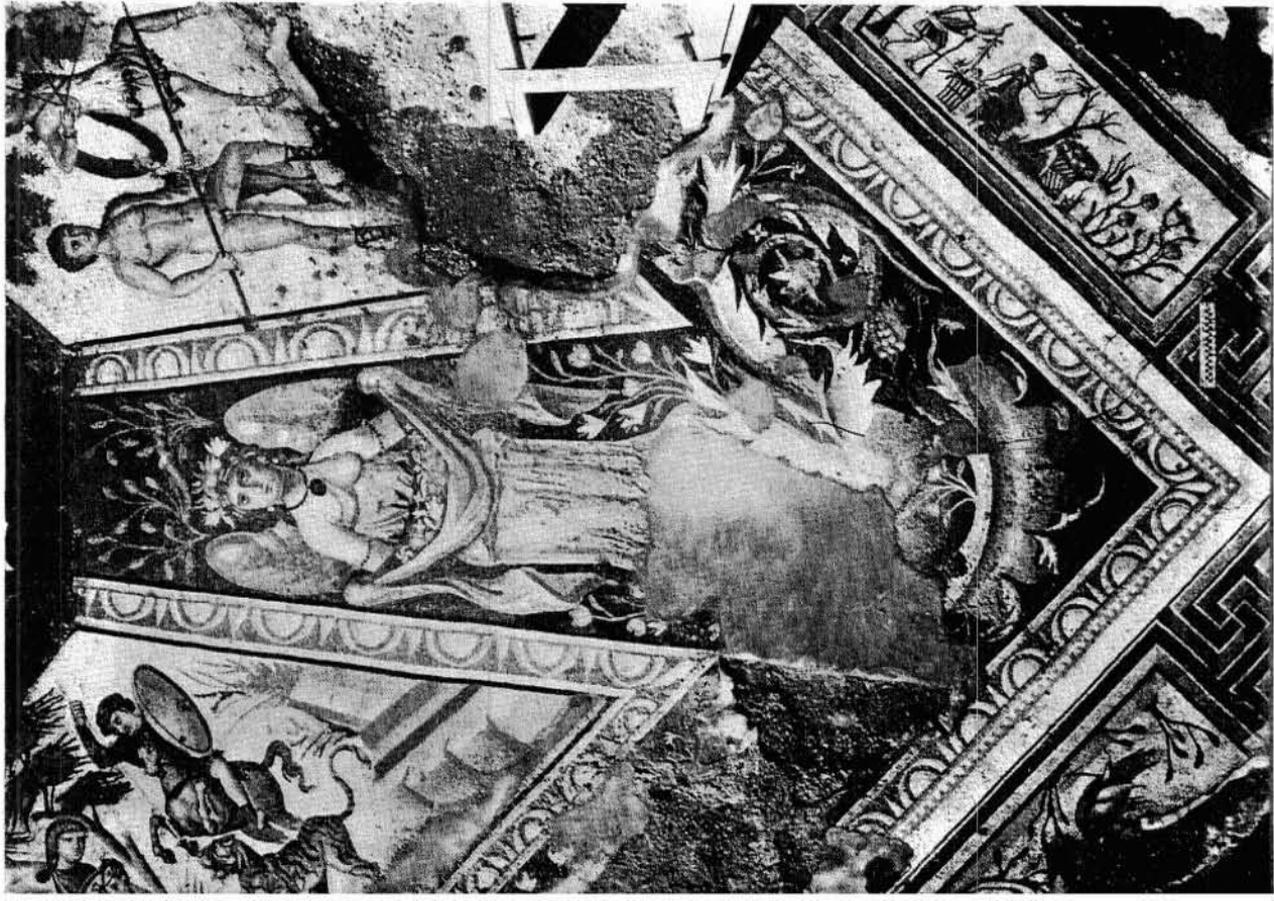
INVERTED!



24. View of Pavement



25. Detail of Pavement
Antioch, Constantinian Villa



26. Antioch, Constantinian Villa. Detail of Pavement



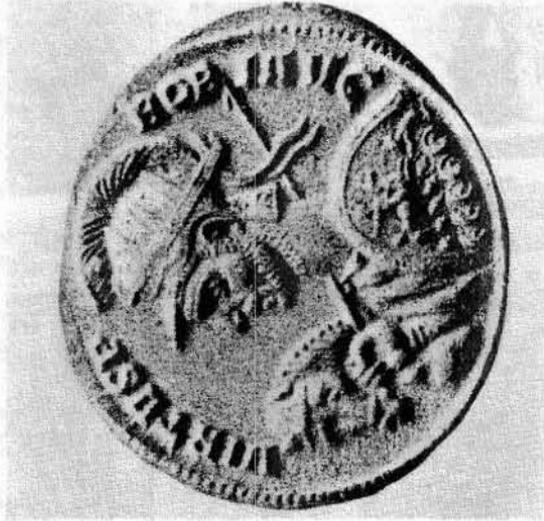
27. Munich, Staatliche Münzsammlung.
Silver Medallion of Constantine



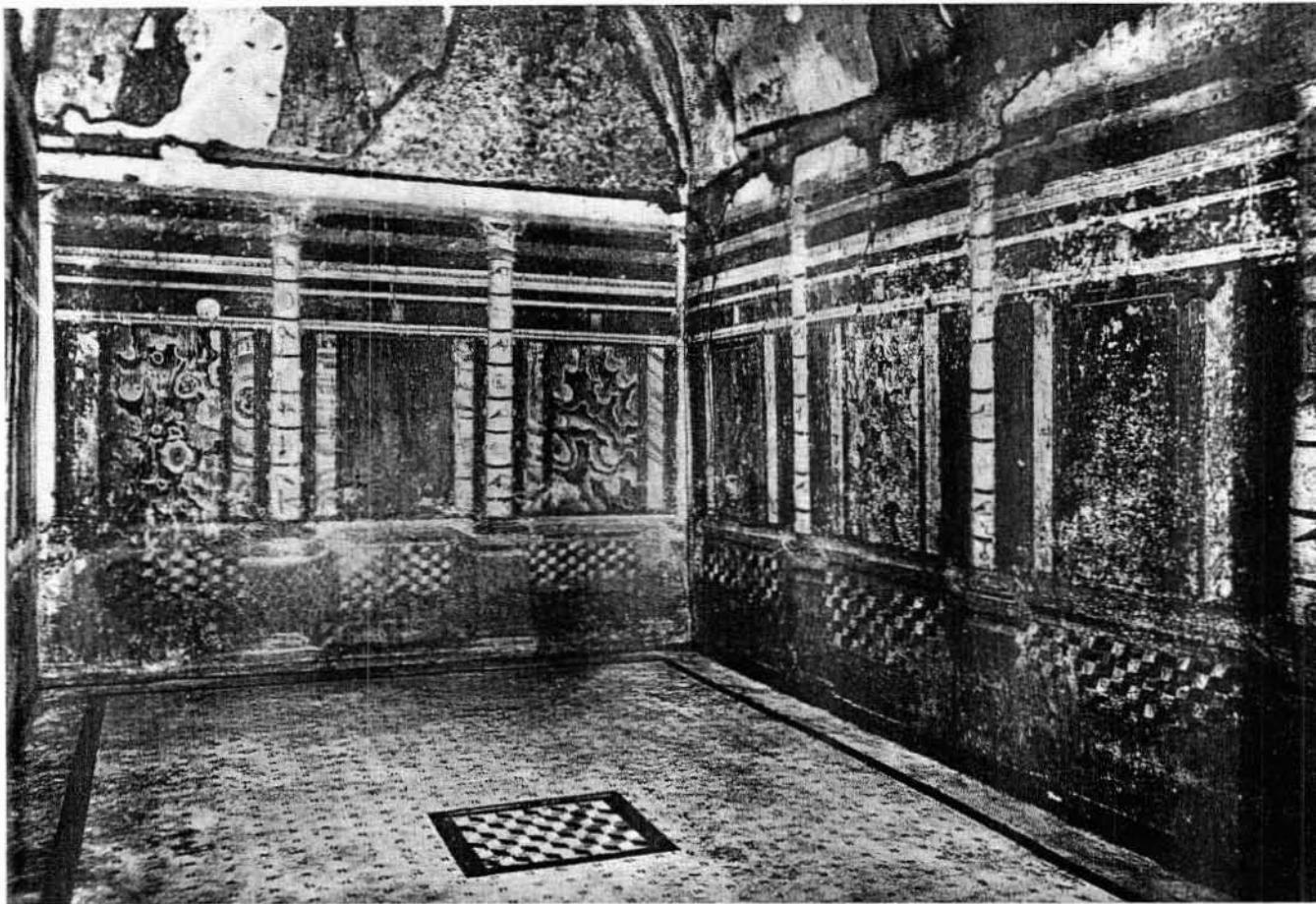
28. London, British Museum.
Tetrachem of Rhodes



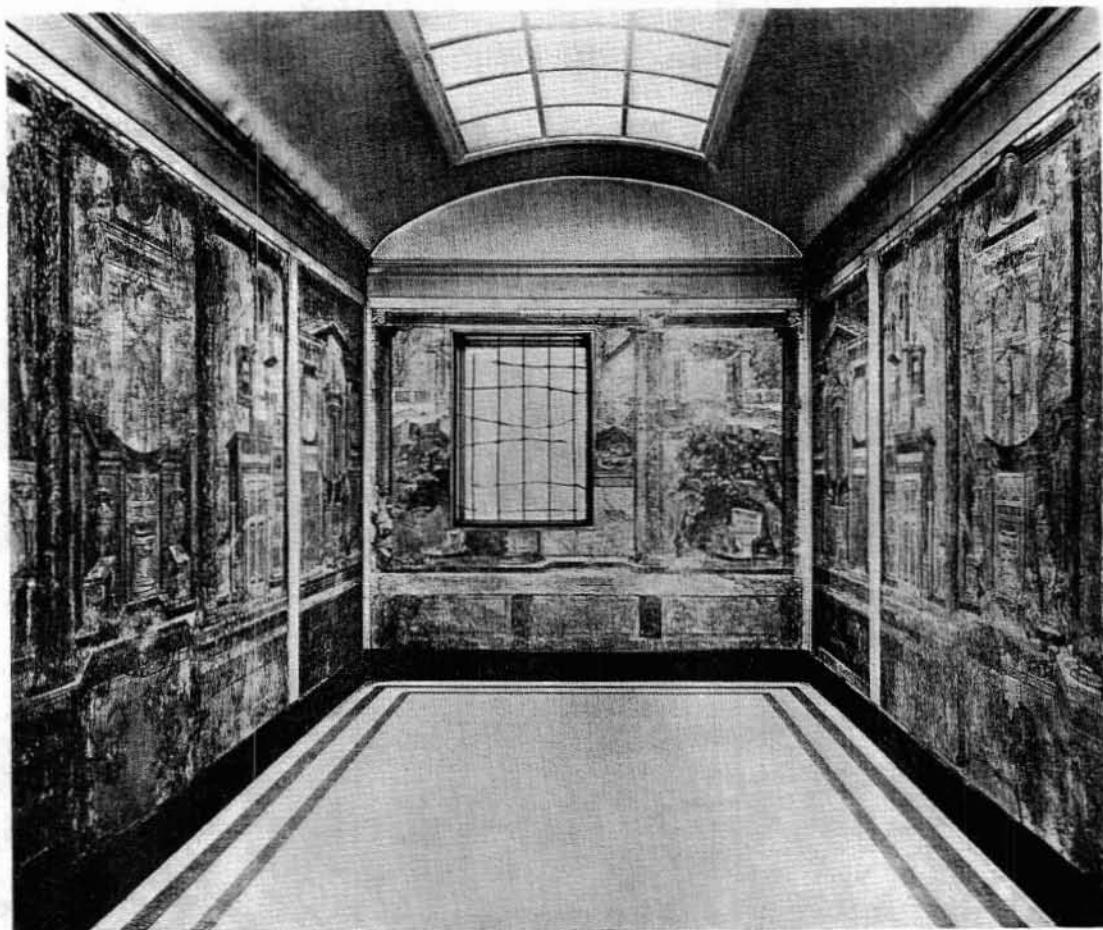
29. Aureus of Postumus



30. Antonianus of Probus



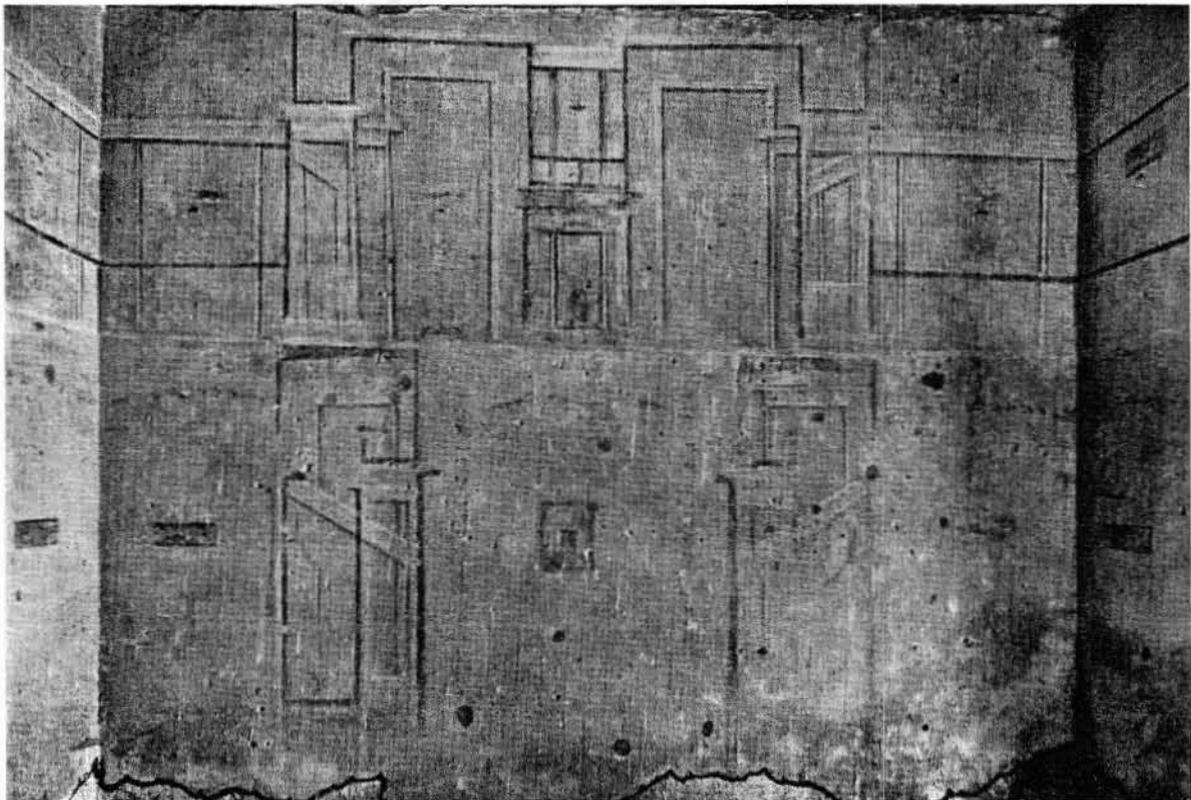
31. Rome, Palatine, House of the Griffins



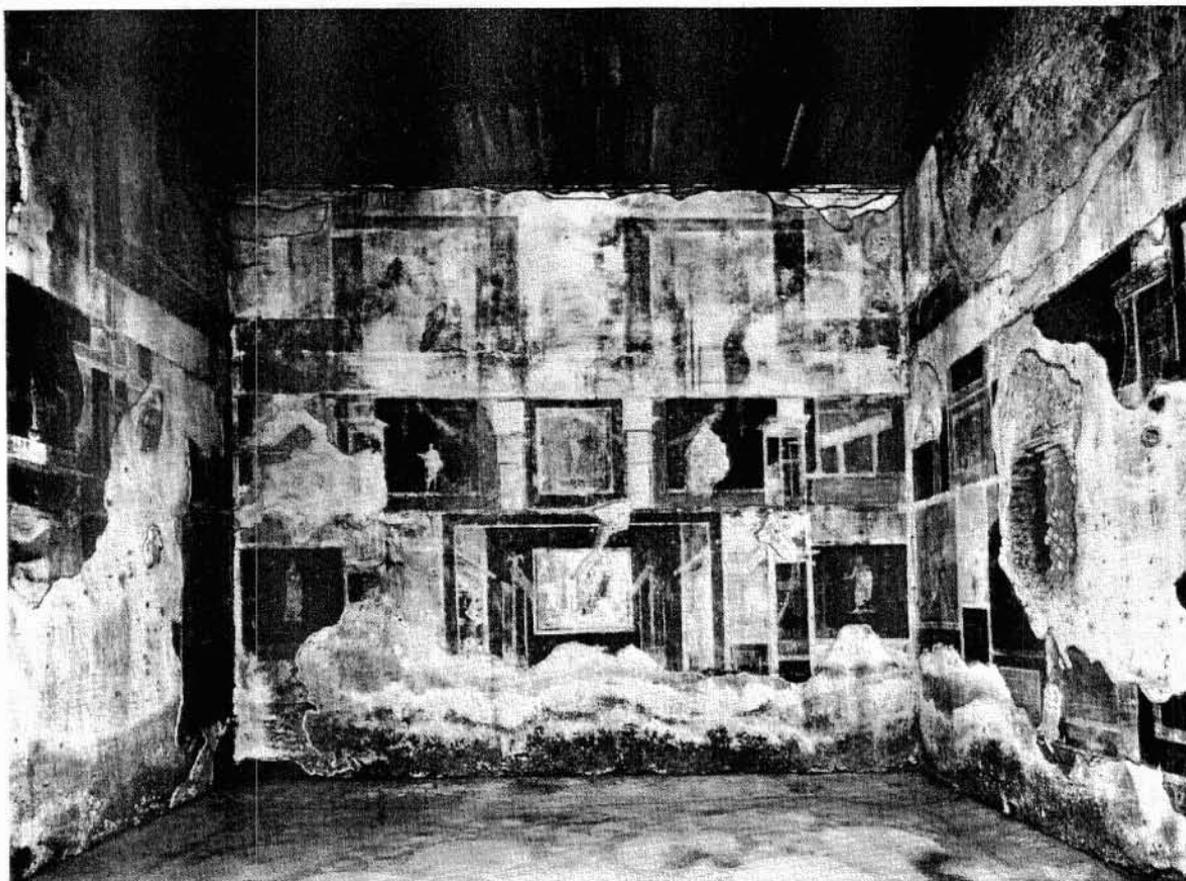
32. New York, Metropolitan Museum. Cubiculum from Boscoreale



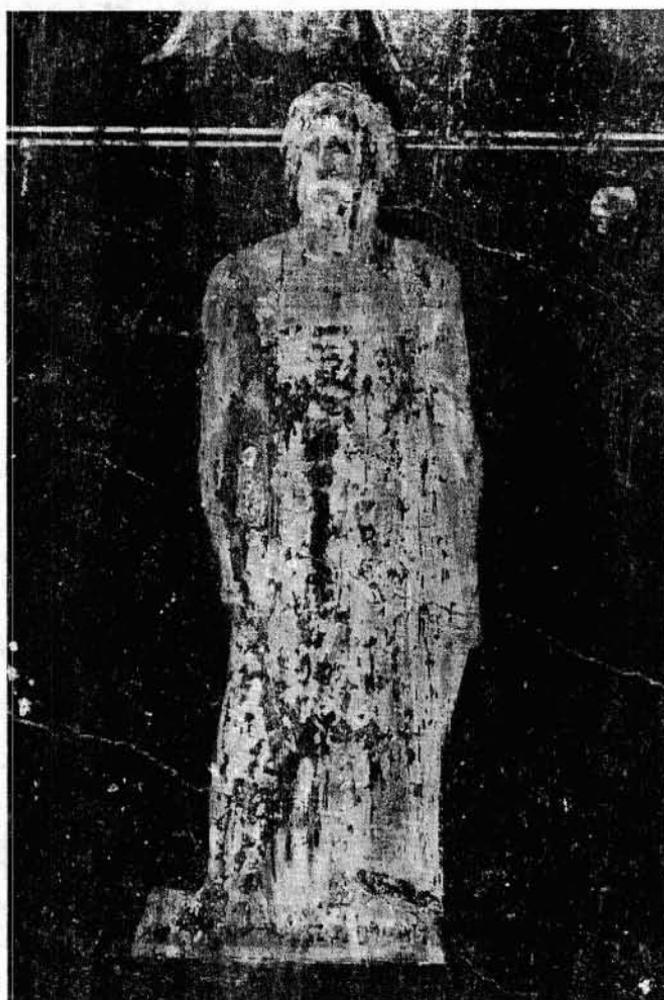
33. Pompeii, House of the Isis Priests



34. Ostia, House of Ganymede, Yellow Room



35. Frescoed Room



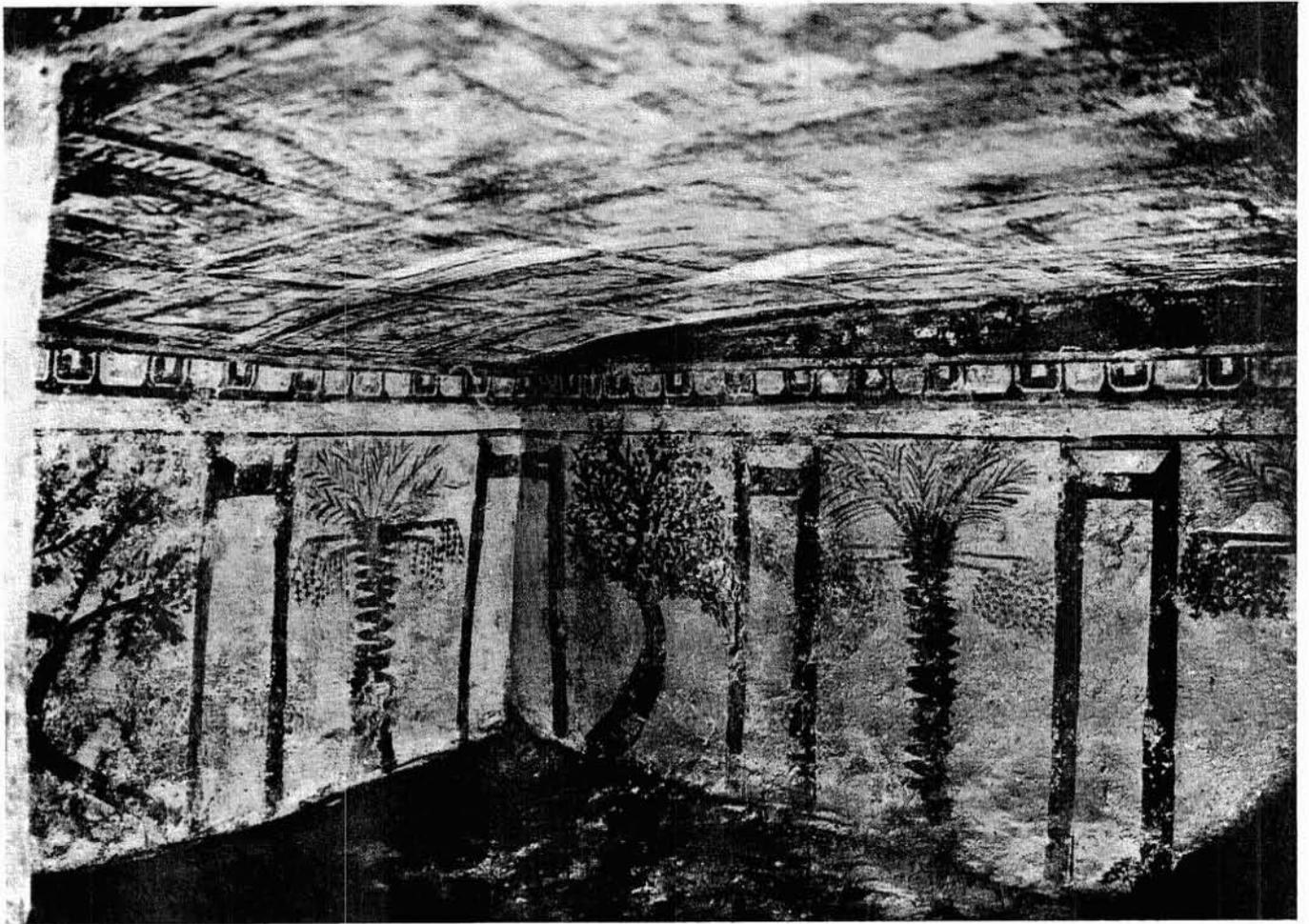
36. Detail of Figure 35



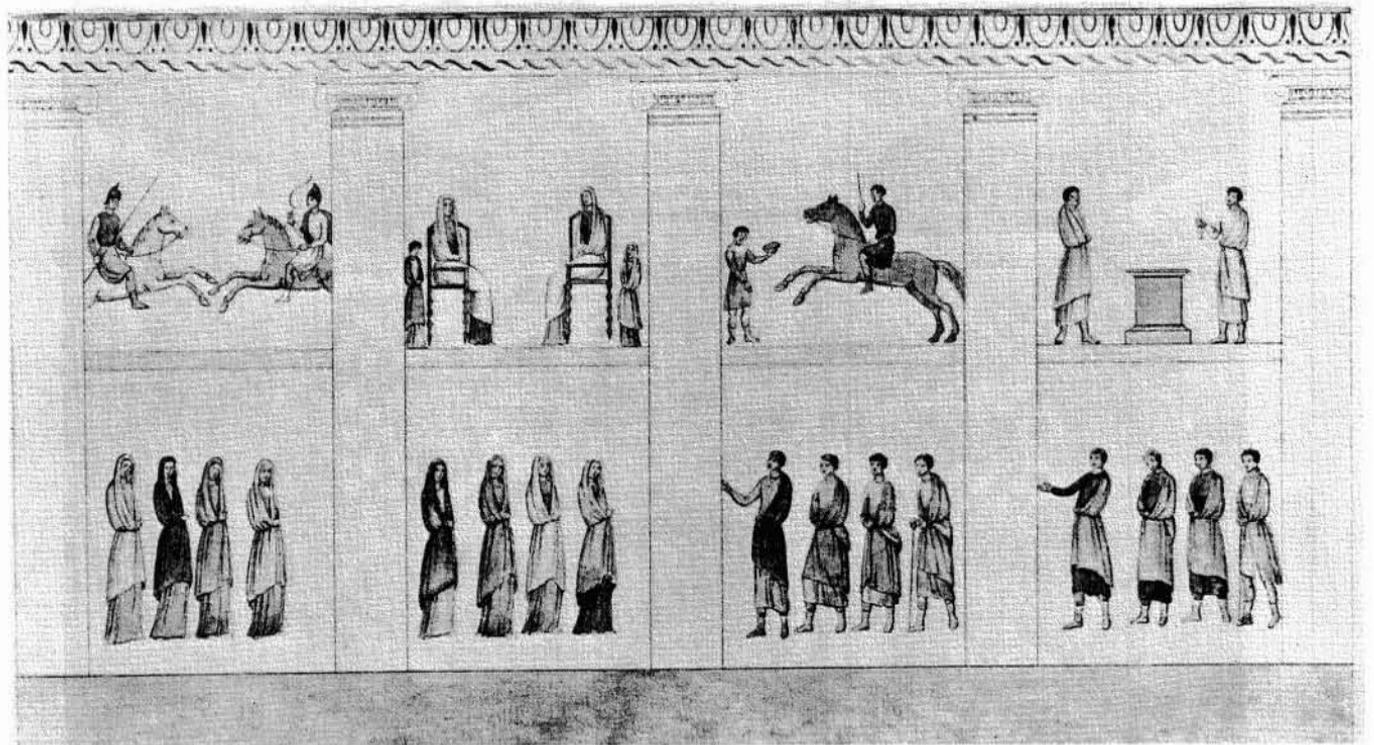
37. Rome, Tomb of the Aurelii



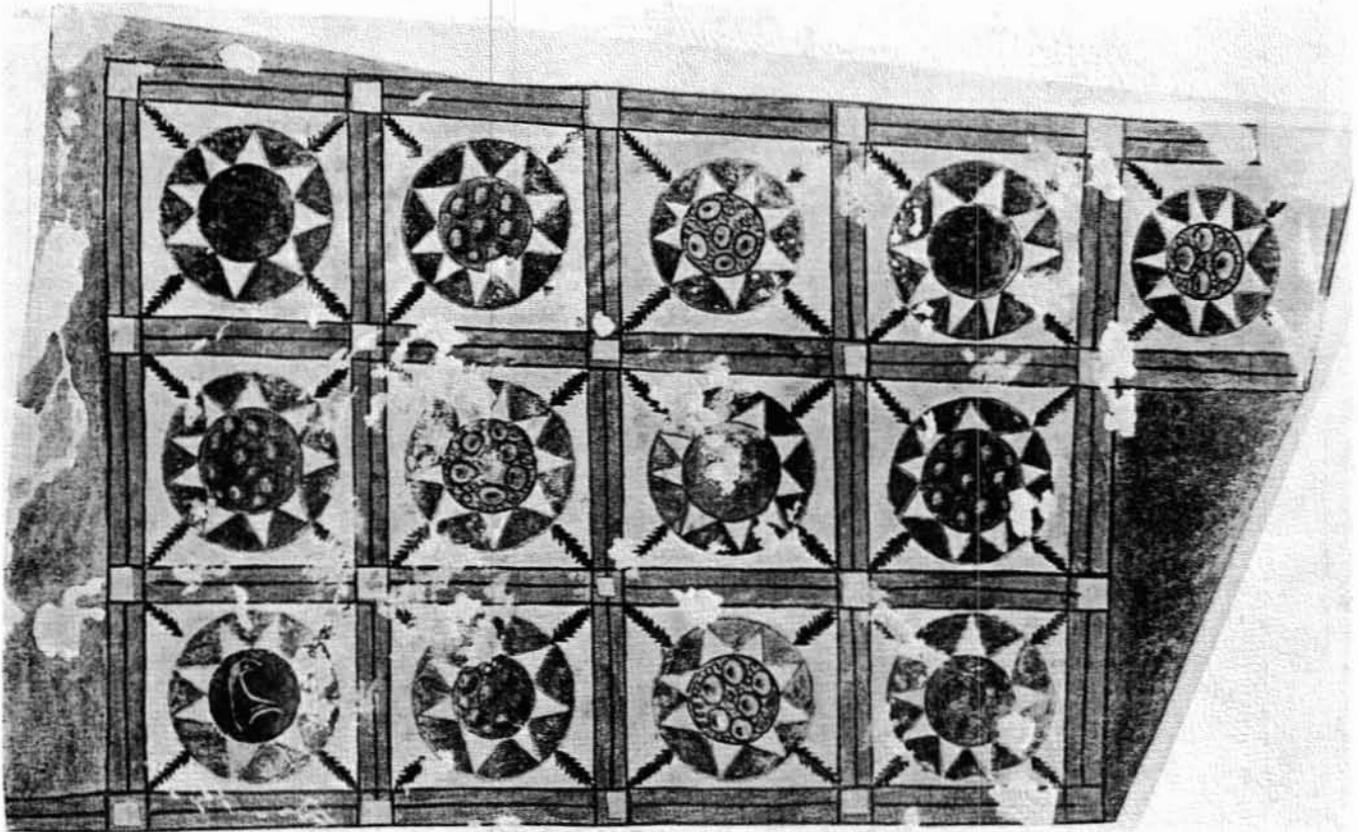
38. Alexandria, Anfushi Tomb II, Antechamber



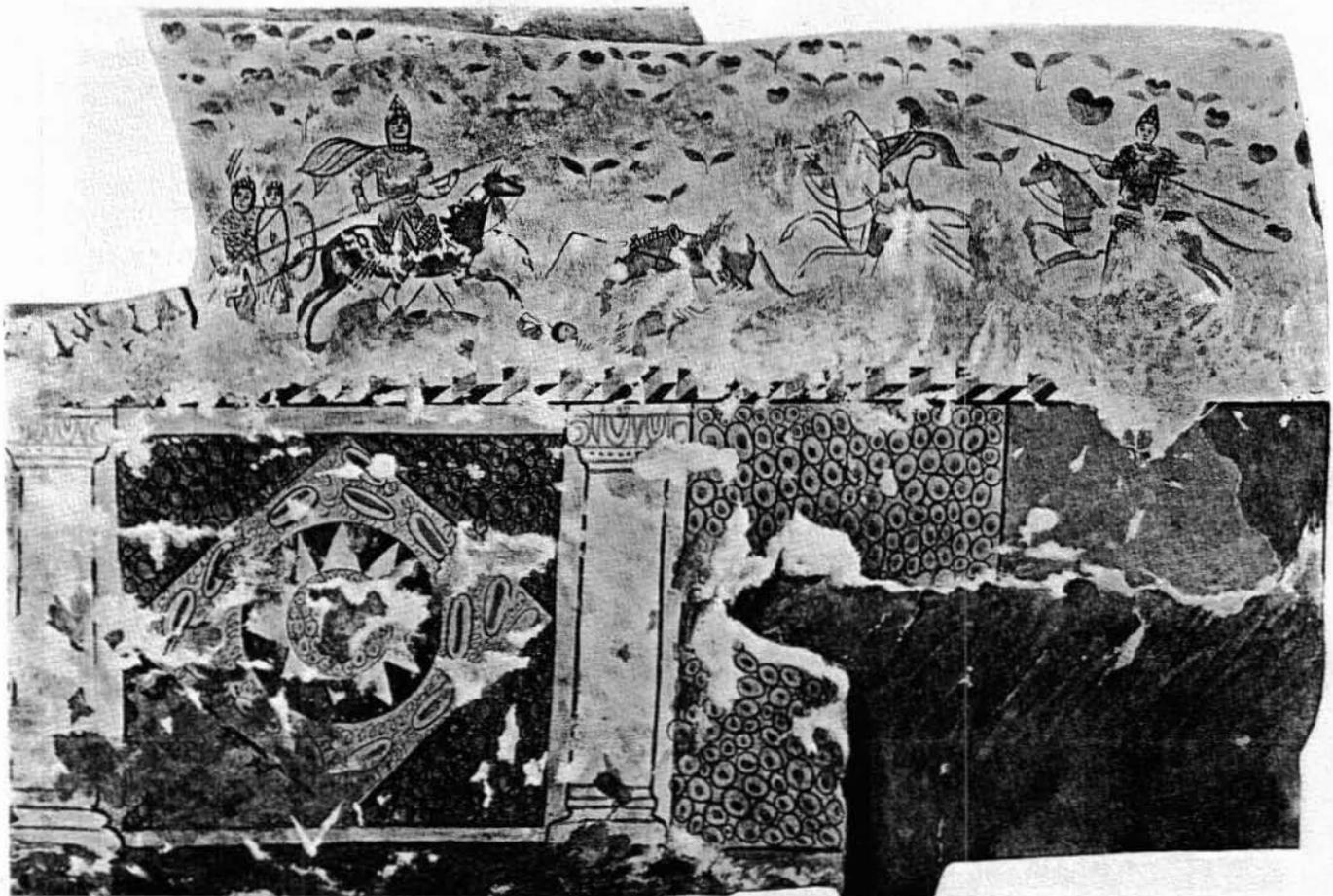
39. Alexandria, Anfushi Tomb V, Room 2



40. Kertsch, Painted Tomb



41. Painted Tomb, Ceiling



42. Painted Tomb
Kertsch



43. Ceiling



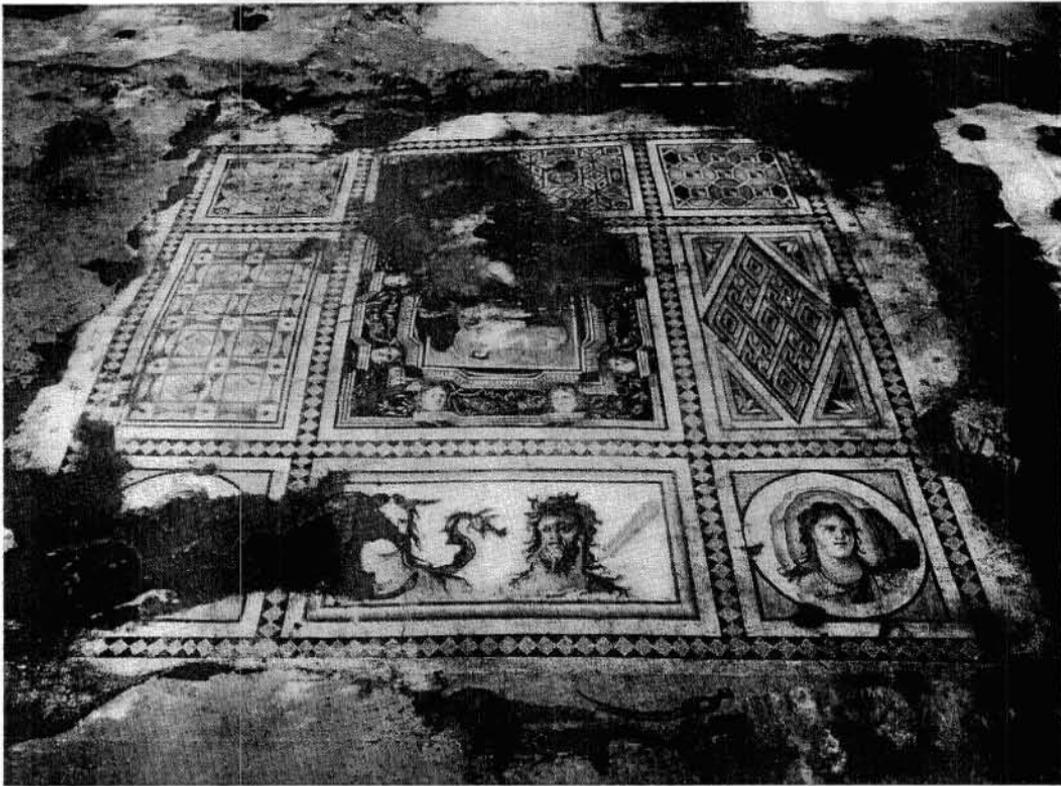
44. Northeast Corner
Dura-Europos, Synagogue



45. Tomb of the Three Brothers



46. Tomb of the Three Brothers, Piers at Entrance



47. Antioch, House of the Boat of Psyches, Mosaic Pavement



48. Ostia, Aula dei Menses, Mosaic Pavement



49. Catacomb, Vault



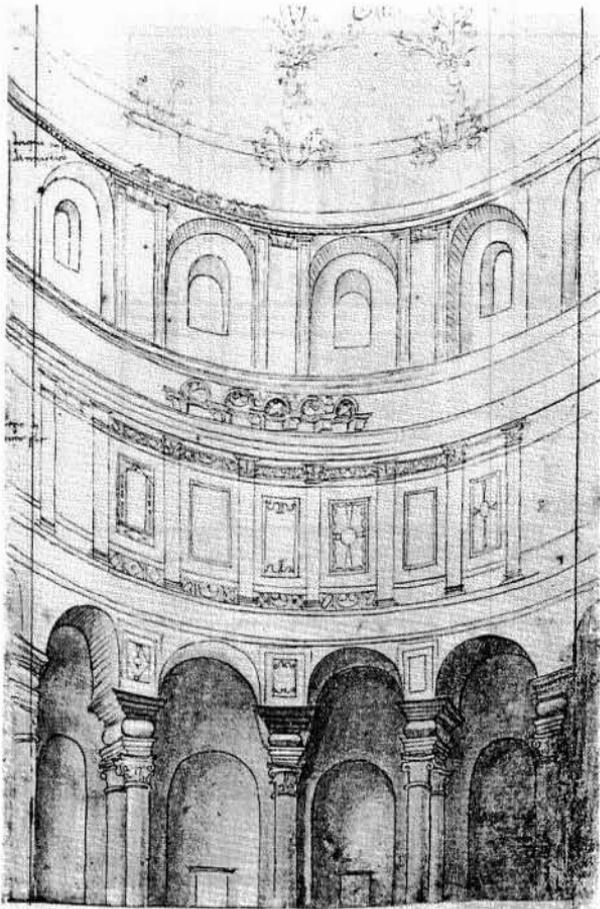
50. Catacomb
Rome, Via Latina



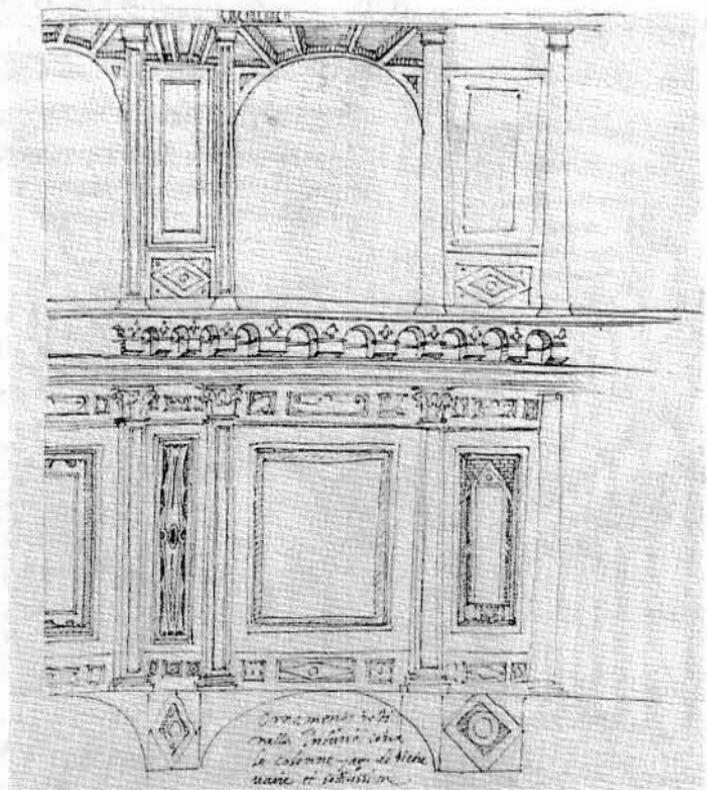
51. Silistra, Painted Tomb



52. Detail of Figure 51

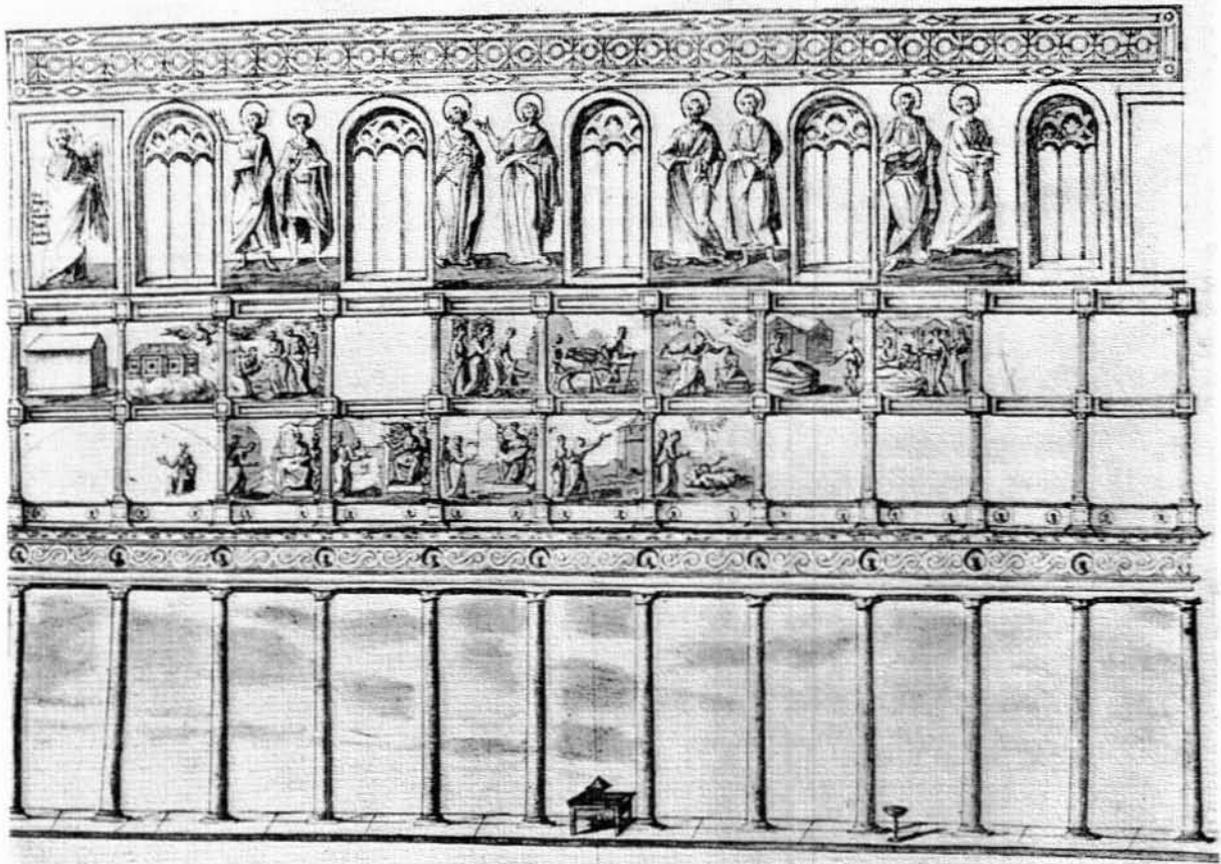


53. Drawing of Decoration



54. Drawing of Wall Decoration

Rome, S. Costanza

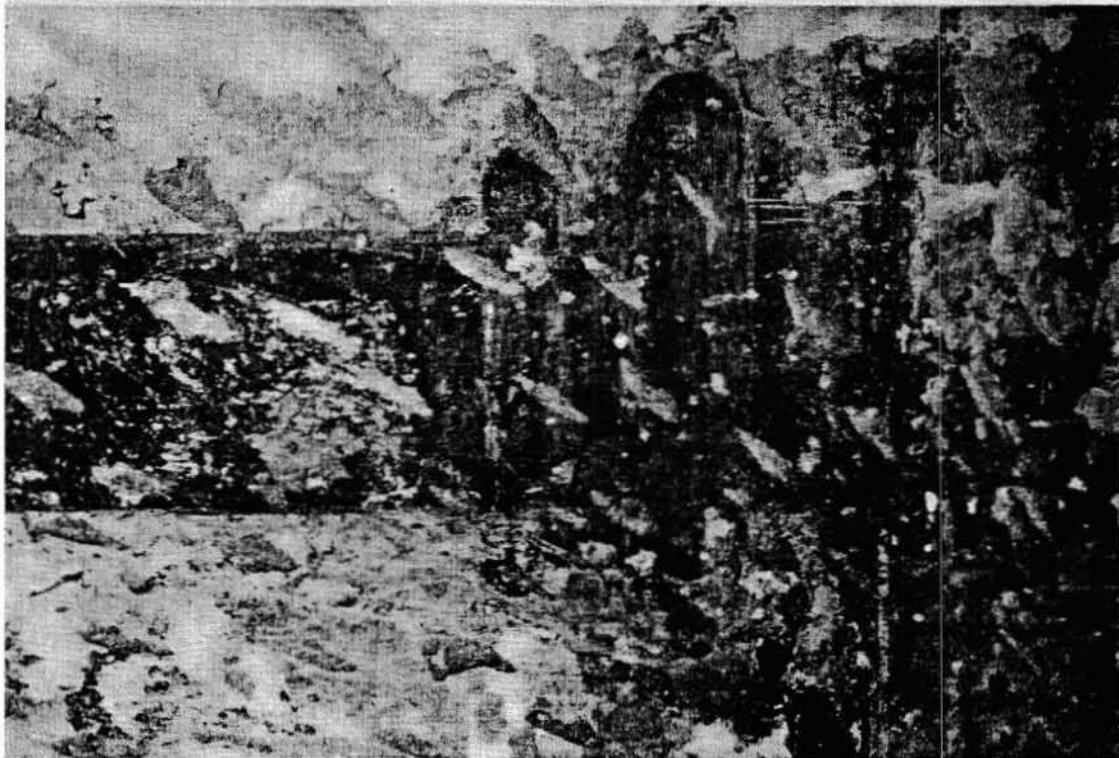
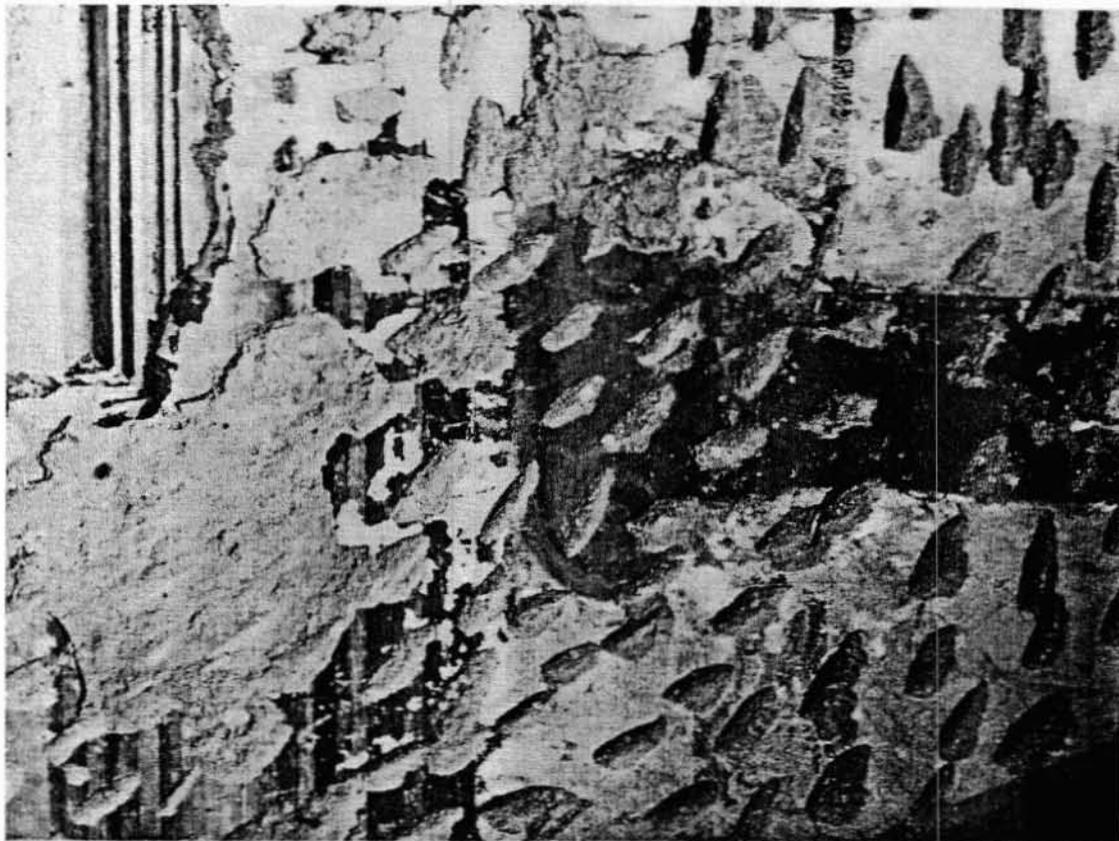


55. St. Peter's. Drawing of Decoration

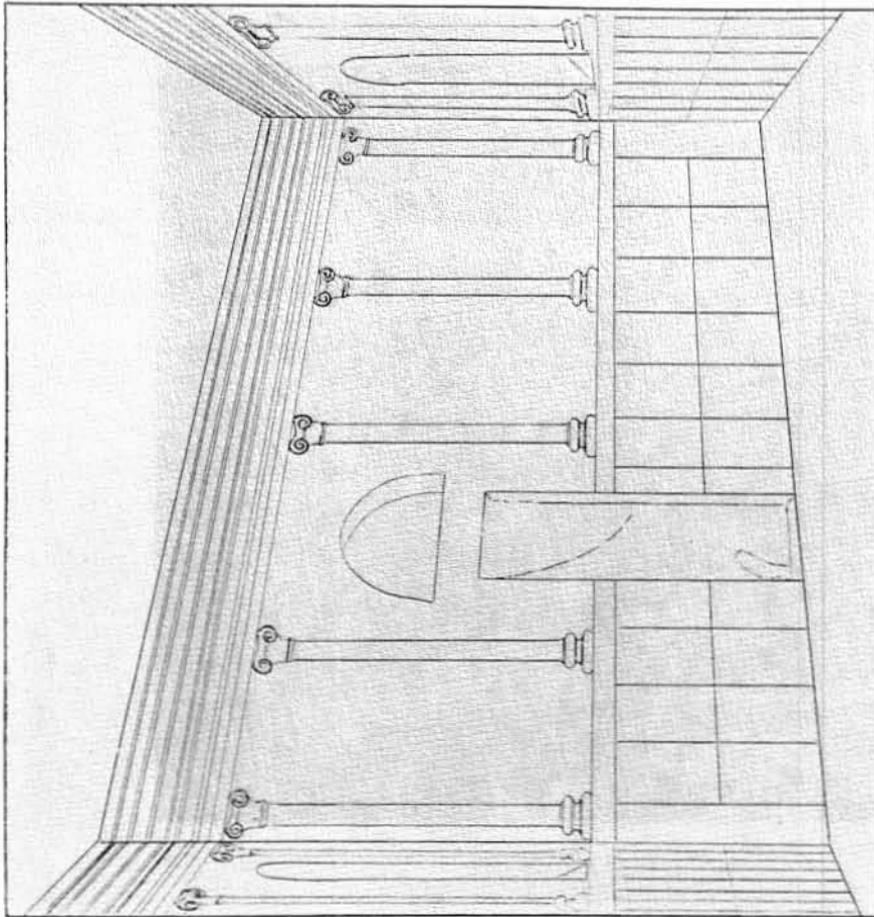


56. S. Paolo fuori le mura. Engraving by Piranesi

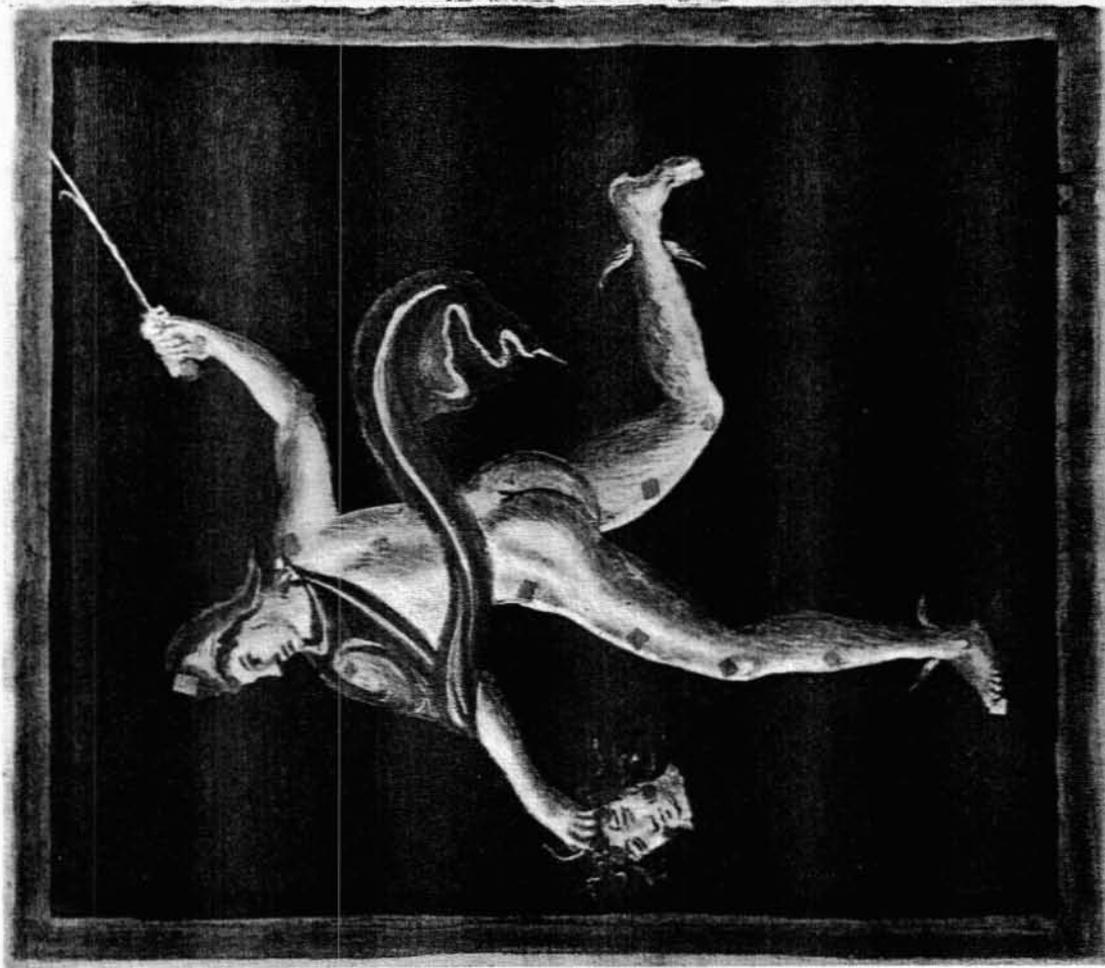
Rome



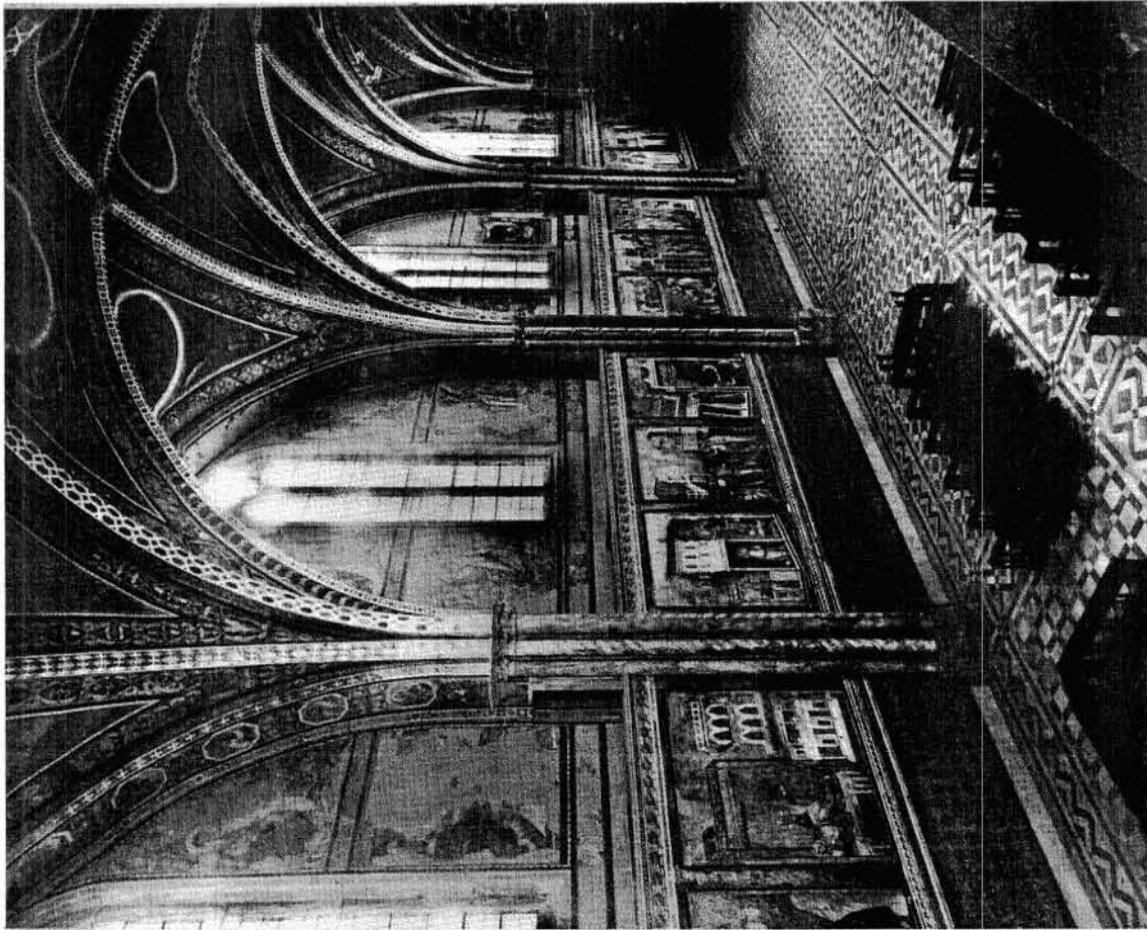
57. Lorsch, Torhalle, Details of Fresco Decoration



58. Lorsch, Torhalle. Reconstruction of Fresco Decoration

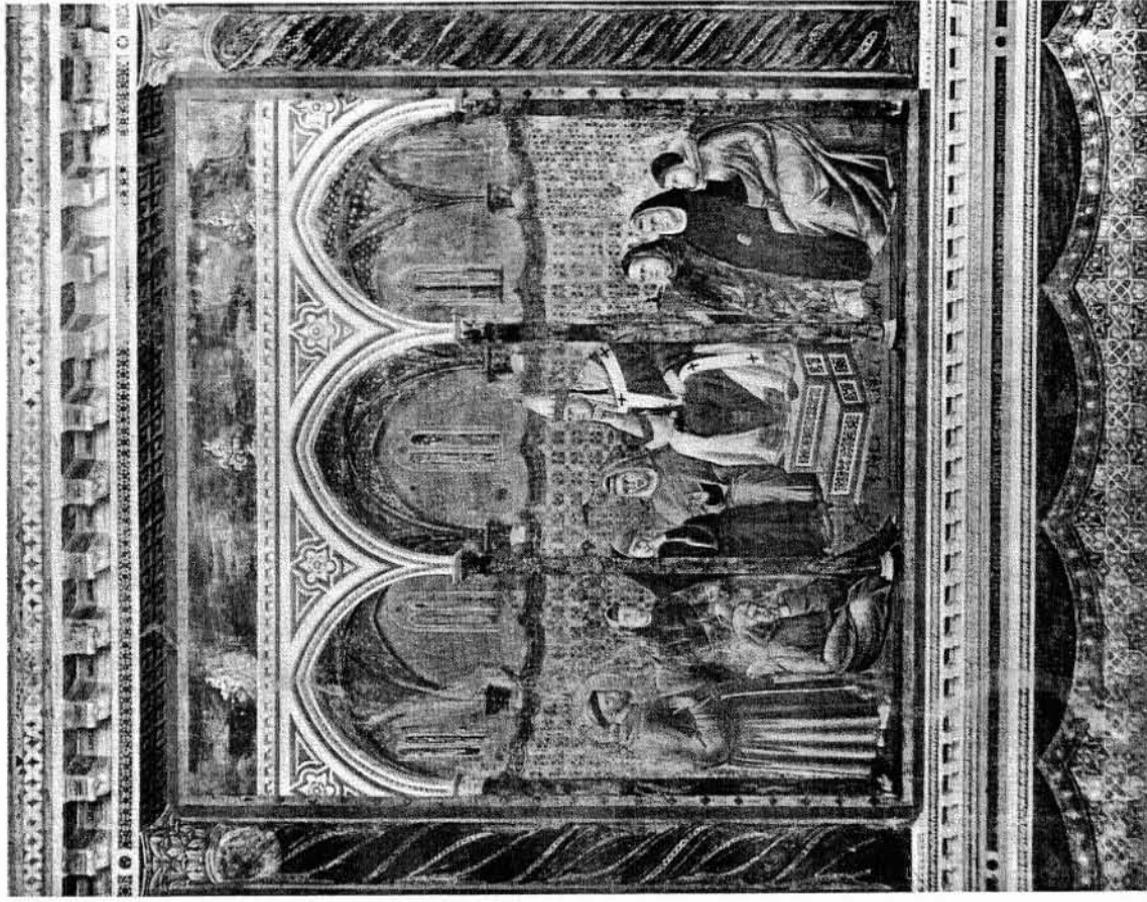


59. Leyden University. MS Voss. Lat. Q. 79, Fol. 40v, *Persetus*



60. Upper Church

Assisi, S. Francesco



61. Upper Church. *St. Francis before Honorius III*

