

HAIFA MUSEUM

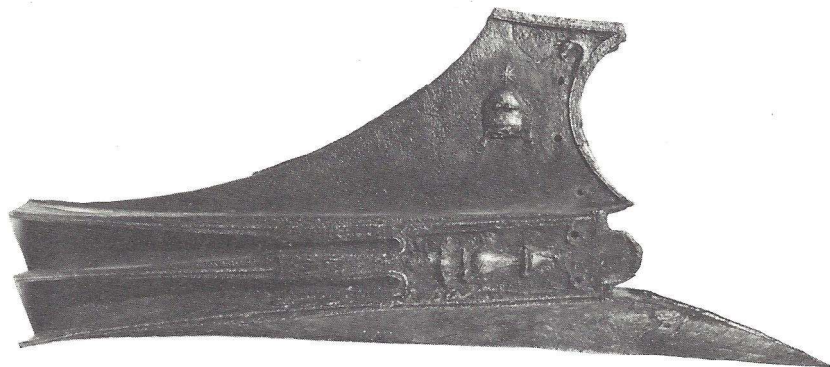
THE NATIONAL MARITIME MUSEUM HAIFA



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### ANATOMY OF A SARCOPHAGUS

In the National Maritime Museum, Haifa (Israel), is a sarcophagus (inv. no. 5454) of coarse-grained dense metamorphic marble.<sup>1</sup> It is 2.22 m long and 0.58 m high (Pl. I, 1). Sometime in the past the major part of its width was sawed off along its vertical axis, leaving ca. 20 cm. Depicted on the front is a harbor scene that immediately brings to mind the harbor relief at the Museo Torlonia in Rome (Pl. II, 10).

The scholarly interest in the Torlonia relief is understandable.<sup>2</sup> In an excellent state of preservation, it shed light on mercantile and ceremonial aspects of Roman life and contains some important iconographical information. Here, then, was a relief (originally disputed as to whether it was from Ostia, Alexandria or Puteoli), which displayed aspects of ancient ports that could probably never be excavated. It presents an ancient diorama as though seen through a modern video. By placing the spectators *in medias res* of ancient harbor life, it creates in them an unusually strong antiquarian interest.

Even though the uncanny resemblance to the scene of the Torlonia relief is compelling, the differences in the sarcophagus immediately become obvious. In addition to the material and formal differences, the Haifa relief is far less crowded, the scene is located against an impressive architectural background, and is easier to read. Also, the iconography is easier to solve.

Through the well-preserved state of the representation, the site shown on the sarcophagus may be identified as a specific ancient harbor.

By the position of the quays, the echelon of gods and semi-divine heroes, the decorative details, the presence of what appears to be a lighthouse in the center of the composition (Pl. I, 5), there is good reason to believe that the harbor depicted on the Haifa sarcophagus is that of the Portus.

Based on the description of ancient sources<sup>3</sup> and some numismatical evidence, it appears that the structure in the center is a modified and hybrid version of the Ostia lighthouse.

There were always questions regarding the lighthouse of Ostia and these questions emerge when one tries to determine the provenance of the structure in the center of the Haifa relief. It was stated that the Torlonia relief (although found in the Palazzo Torlonia) does not represent the Ostian lighthouse, but some other building. The Ostia building has a five-storied elevation instead of the four diminishing stories, a fact which is supported by numismatic, mosaic and ceramic evidences.<sup>4</sup>

The Imperial Eagle over the central structure in the Haifa relief is far larger than the Torlonia. The deities of the harbor, the prominent Romulus and Remus shown on the canvas of the largest caparisoned ship (Pl. II, 7), the architecture which serves as a backdrop, all indicate a most important port such as Ostia. If either of the reliefs would have represented Alexandria, the only other port matching Ostia in importance, the Isis Pharia would have appeared somewhere in the composition as a telltale.<sup>5</sup>

Surprisingly, one message from the past has been overlooked so far — a graffito from Ostia which may contain some indications concerning lighthouses.<sup>6</sup> As graffiti seldom yield reliable chronological information, it can hardly be expected to determine the age of the drawing. The graffito shows an elevation similar to the one on the Haifa relief with a double staircase and an identical entry and receding upper story. There can be no doubt that the elevation is a depiction of a lighthouse, since another one next to it more clearly represents another lighthouse. That the elevation in the Haifa relief is more squat than the one on the graffito is

\* I am grateful to Prof. Phyllis Bober of Bryn Mawr College for her assistance.



understandable, since the horizontal format of the sarcophagus relief would eliminate a vertical design. It is noticeable that it also resembles a gateway. For the man of antiquity, ports were gateways to visions and enterprise; transitions from the dry land to the sea. Therefore, in the mind of the "iconographer," the lighthouse is probably associated with the gate of Ostia (which was restored under Trajan or Domitian).<sup>7</sup> Thus, the strange construction in the center also shows a crossing between a lighthouse and a gatehouse. This marble gate of Ostia was done in travertine and Greek marble. If this were the tendency of the artist, then we could obtain a clearer understanding of the dioramic concept of the relief, because the spectator is now placed before a dry-land portal with a monumental and theatrical overture to the sea, by invoking the architectural ambivalence of the Fourth Style of painting with its disjointed character and illusionistic tendency.<sup>8</sup>

Further observation shows that the Haifa relief is somewhat of a mirror image of the Torlonian. On the latter, the spectator's position is that of an observer from the quays looking in a somewhat confusing way towards the breakwater of the harbor with a podium or temple on the right center. On the Haifa relief, the spectator is in the loading dock area, within a clearly defined space. The temple on the Torlonia relief, adorned this time with an elephant-driven chariot, is now on the left side. Thus, the Haifa relief clearly defines the spectator's position on the loading dock, with his back to what may be the harbor of Trajan (if the relief indeed represents the Claudian port), from a vantage point able to observe the bustling activity. If the spectator stands on the quay, looking towards the breakwater, as one assumes with the Torlonia relief, then one finds that there is no place for entry of ships into the harbor. On the Haifa relief, there is one entry visible, although according to numismatical evidence the entry at Ostia was split on the two sides of a colossal statue.

Today the Monte Giulio marks the place where the right mole once stood, while the Monte dell'Arena is supposed to be the remains of the Claudian lighthouse. However, according to some authors there was no place for a second entrance.<sup>9</sup> It is possible that, due to the drifting sand and silt, the entrance between the Monte dell'Arena and the left mole was closed during the Late Empire.<sup>10</sup> There is also the possibility that the island on which the lighthouse was situated became the actual continuation of the left mole with only a small passage between mole and lighthouse.<sup>11</sup> This theory, as a support of Pliny's description, would have the Haifa relief as a much more accurate representation of the port.<sup>12</sup>

If we invoke the somewhat more meaningful numismatical evidence, such as Nero's well-known bronze coin, then the bird's-eye view gives us a clear picture of the Claudian harbor.<sup>13</sup> Vaulted warehouses are on the left mole while the porticoed installations, allowing the silt to shift out, are on the right.<sup>14</sup> On the coins of Trajan, the octagonal basin is differentiated from warehouses showing a large building on the left, which may be the so-called "Imperial Palace."<sup>15</sup>

On the Haifa relief, the lighthouse is aligned with an island which has a loading dock. On both sides of the island, two open areas are visible. We know that a basin for smaller boats ("darsena") of possible Claudian origin were connected with the Claudian harbor through two canals. One wonders whether the artist meant to refer to these canals. Strangely, as we will see below, at the time when this relief was executed, no excavations had taken place at the Claudian harbor. Thus, the muse of the carver had an accurate antiquarian knowledge of the site, as will be revealed below.

The figures, probably representing colossal statues, are strategically placed; they may have decorated the harbor at one time. They control the overall rhythm of the composition on the sarcophagus. The choice follows the Ostian pantheon of gods: they represent the divine power and providence that controlled commerce, as well as the life and luck of the sailors.

I am tempted to associate the right central figure with Bacchus because this type of representation is most frequently found among Roman funerary monuments. The figure on the left would be Ariadne, because of her double encounter with the god. However, there are a number of problems with these attributions.



It is not unusual to have gods who are strongly associated with nature accompanying a harbor scene on a sarcophagus. Nature was a common theme for all cultures of the Mediterranean as “. . . nature entered at all times and everywhere into the style of those cultures which were built upon it.”<sup>16</sup>

It is also understandable that wine, though a common attribute of Bacchus, is absent from Roman funerary monuments which are totally lacking the Nietzschean creative and irrational interpretation of the god. The object in the right hand of Bacchus may be a thyrsus, but the lancet in his left hand does not appear to be the ivy-entwined magic staff.

In Archaic times, Dionysus (Bacchus) was bearded and robed, while later on he is shown naked and young. Here the figure is clad in a toga and is in the position reminiscent of togated figures during the Augustan Principate. During the *Anthesteria*, the spring festival, Dionysus emerged from the sea; the female figure on his left is reminiscent of Ariadne. Ever since the fifth century, Dionysus was the god of death and immortality and as such he would be perfectly suited to the subject matter of a sarcophagus. Yet, the figure we see before us is not Bacchus.<sup>17</sup> If we were to accept that the figure is Bacchus and associate the theatrical pose with the actors who reenacted the poetry written for the god, the interpretation of Ariadne, associated with life through death and her resurrection, would suit the scheme.

Ariadne's resurrection from death to life is symbolic of the constant revival in nature. But Ariadne's attribute, the crown of seven stars, through which she became a constellation in the sky, is missing from the female figure here. The cornucopia which this figure is holding is not one of her attributes, so the above hypothesis, convenient as it is, cannot be accepted. There is a syncretistic tendency in the representation of these two personalities, and the reason for this will be discussed later on.

The genius of the Ostia Harbor relief (where the figure identical to Bacchus may be Portunus) is recalled somewhat in the Bacchus figure on the Haifa relief, except for the total nudity of Ostia's Portunus. The pose and gesture also bear some resemblance to the statue of Claudius found in Lanuvium, presently in the Vatican Museum (No. 243).<sup>18</sup> However, instead of the patera, Bacchus holds a corn sheaf; the Imperial Eagle appears in a position different from the one on the Torlonia relief. The crown of laurel is also missing.

The Bacchian figure, with its simultaneous classicism typical of the Julio-Claudian Age, displays the flare of Hellenistic hero worship. It is a strange combination which appears periodically in Roman art “. . . to transpose the actual political body into an image of semi-mythical order functioning as the terrestrial analogue of the cosmic organism.”<sup>19</sup> Complete nudity, considered un-Roman, disappeared by the time of Nero.<sup>20</sup> Here the pure classicism of the Augustan Age gives way to the sophisticated ornamental elegance of the Neronian and the Hadrianic periods.

In view of the strong syncretistic tendency marking this partially nude statue, it could represent Silvanus/Antinous. The absence of billhook and cornucopia may be explained by its manifold appearances and its situation in a port: it is to be remembered that Silvanus, the god of common folk, frequently appears as Antinous.<sup>21</sup> In the large marble statue of Antinous in the Museo Gregoriano Profano, Antinous assumes the role of Silvanus and wears his crown. Almost all of the statues that refer to the favorite Bithynian youth, who gave his life for the Emperor, have an elegant, elegiac and manneristic air, reminiscent of 16th century mannerist classicism with its antiquarian leaning.

Since the Vatican statue of Silvanus/Antinous may have been holding a corn sheaf in his hand, the figure on the Haifa relief would be perfectly positioned next to Ceres on the opposite side of the building because both stand for fertility and revival in nature. Statues of Antinous were also found in Ostia, one next to the Boacciana.<sup>22</sup> Antinous/Silvanus is associated with the guild of the *sacomari*, i.e., the weighers, further explaining his position on the relief in association with commercial activity.



The proximity of Antinous to the colossal figure of Hercules, on his right, helps further the identity of Antinous. There is at least one dedication in Ostia which connects Antinous/Silvanus with Hercules and confirms the joint appearance of the two semidivine heroes.<sup>23</sup> Ceres, positioned to the left of Antinous, shares central importance and reminds us that in Hadrianic times Sabina often appeared as Ceres. Since Antinous was the favorite of Hadrian and his wife Sabina, the iconographic ensemble is now more complete. This leaves little doubt about the figure of Ceres/Demeter on the left side of the central structure. The wreath of corn and the cornucopia identify the goddess. Her association with Pluto, the underworld, the corn trade and finally with Poseidon through Erychthon ensures her central position on the sarcophagus.<sup>24</sup>

Ceres' closeness to Neptune brings to mind the cult of the Black Demeter of Phigalia and the Demeter Erinys of Telephusa — both of whom mated with Poseidon.<sup>25</sup> On the Torlonia relief the figure of Ceres is associated with Julia Domna, who can be recognized through the hairdress of the Severian period, thus placing the Torlonia chronologically at the end of the second and the beginning of the third centuries.

On the extreme left is the colossal figure of Neptune, standing on a sea horse, a floating hippocampus (Pl. I, 3). The popularity of this deity in Ostia is documented on the coin of Commodus where he is shown along with a bull, his favorite sacrificial animal.<sup>26</sup>

Because the sea horse has no clearly visible sea attributes and Neptune appears without his shell chariot, the god here may be associated with Poseidon Hippios — who used ships “like horses,” i.e., a sea transport tackling the waves.<sup>27</sup>

The large looming figure of Hercules on the right securely anchors the echelon of gods and heroes within a frame that is a combination of *cyma-reversa* molding with leaf ornament, a design which resembles that of the Torlonia relief (Pl. II, 8).

The statue of Hercules follows the Lysippian variant of the superhero, the original of which was at Sykion. By the time Glykon copied it, the exaggerated musculature became a hallmark of the Hellenistic Age.

The presence of the statue of Hercules in a harbor setting is not unusual.<sup>28</sup> Such statues of the hero, some colossal, in fact existed in harbors and harbor cities. One of them, supported by columns and constructed to withstand storms, was made by Lysippus himself at Tarentum. Such support construction may be reflected on the statue here by the substitution of the club and the lion skin which act as a support instead of columns. The Colossus at Tarentum was second only to the one at Rhodes.<sup>29</sup>

Because of his wide travels, Hercules was a popular hero not only of merchants but also with sailors as an averter of evil and a portent of luck. His position in the harbor as a landmark is further confirmed on coins.<sup>30</sup>

At Ostia there are numerous references to heroic statues of Hercules. One shrine dedicated to the hero was discovered in 1938 near the Via della Foce. A relief there depicting Hercules is possibly associated with an earlier cult of the hero. Interestingly in this case, Hercules becomes part of the link of development between a long-lost semidivine oracle and a shrine executed at some point in Republican times.<sup>31</sup>

This echelon of deities and heroes stands at the high-point of the tradition of a visual canon that started in the Julio-Claudian Age. The figures are carefully orchestrated into a compelling visual unity. In their hierarchical lineup, they appear more as actors on the stage than as gods in a scene that recreates the whole fabric of the visible life of a port, with the harbor as a background. Although the scene unfolds step by step along carefully orchestrated orthogonals, the artist took some well-disciplined liberties with the scale of the figures as well as with the proportions of the objects.<sup>32</sup> Even so, the design has a forceful unity with well-balanced central and side figures anchoring the composition. The poses of the figures, who may well be meant to represent “actors,” are patterned in an overall rhythm rarely experienced in antiquity.

In this lively diorama with its carefully designed topography, spatial relationships are better handled than through the cartographic method used on the Torlonia relief.<sup>33</sup> The scale of architecture is arranged according to the conventions of ancient votive art where hierarchic rank of importance determines the ordering of the figures.

Almost all action in the Haifa relief is limited to the ships and their gear-handling crews. As one would expect, the figures are not as exquisitely finished as they would have been in the Julio-Claudian period. Furthermore, the use of the running drill is detectable on the Cornucopia of Ceres and on the pyre under the Imperial Eagle.

The ships and their topographical locations in the harbor again remind us of their arrangement on the Torlonia relief. Located in the center against an impressive architectural background is the largest ship; it is of the type usually referred to as the "Alexandrian design" (Pl. II, 6).<sup>34</sup> It is close in appearance to its sistership on the Torlonia relief with rounded bow and elaborate sternpost, which is partially hidden behind the central building, but the Haifa vessel has a heavy mast stay and triangular topsail (*siparium*) above the main sail. (Such large ships could easily dock in either the Claudian or Trajanic harbors.) The ratlines are carefully accentuated and so are the heavy braces at the end of the yard. The sail is set by braces and shows the swelling quiltwork through the boltropes. The brails, threaded through blocks, are made fast to the foot and clearly demonstrate the mechanics of sail gathering. On the hull the strakes are shown with great care, but unlike the Ostia relief, the whales are missing. The decoration on the sternpost displays a typical cheniskos ornament depicting Castor and Pollux, who were long-time favorites with ancient ships. In the case of Ostia harbor, this ornament of the twins is of special interest. The festival games of the Dioscuri were celebrated in Ostia on the 27th of January.<sup>35</sup> A temple restored to them in the second century may have been on the left bank of the river.<sup>36</sup> Dioscuri appear on other ships as well; for instance, the ship which St. Paul boarded from Malta to Italy was also named "Dioscuri."<sup>37</sup> In addition, Dioscuri were credited as advisors to the Emperors;<sup>38</sup> thus, the dedication of the ship to them has special importance on the Haifa relief. However, more than anything else, they were protectors of the sailors at sea.

On the Haifa relief, two figures are situated before the shroud with accentuated tackles while one man reeves a sheet which stretches from a clew through a bollard. The deckhouse on the poopdeck shows two portholes and a door which probably opens to a corridor between the deckhouse and the gunwale. While there are many similarities to the Torlonia relief, there are differences too: a face is depicted in one of the portholes — something not found on the Torlonia relief.

In the background and to the right is a much smaller boat, a local coaster judging from the size and equipment, top-heavy and laden with deck cargo sitting deep in the water (Pl. II, 8).<sup>39</sup> A deckhand is working on the shrouds, possibly holding a tackle (Pl. II, 9).

In the center, a dock worker in a rowboat is retrieving or releasing the bowline for mooring the large ship. The configuration is almost the same as that on the Torlonia relief where a small vessel is tied up and rolling in the waves, displaying its interior exactly as that on the Haifa relief where, however, there is a mooring block instead of a bollard.<sup>40</sup>

On the mole, a nude figure is carrying a sack on his shoulder towards an invisible warehouse.<sup>41</sup>

The ship on the left is apparently leaving. Sails are still reefed and the bunt-gaskets are accentuated. One deckhand is working on the halyard. Tyche, who frequently appears with boats and is representative of seafarers' luck,<sup>42</sup> is leaning against the decorated aphlaston with a steering rudder fitted with a tholepin. In her arm she holds a cornucopia. In charge of fate and chance, Tyche is sometimes accompanied by other deities on sacred barges.



In the background on the open sea, another ship is approaching the breakwater in a zigzag course on a port tack, with sail slanted to starboard. Several deckhands are on the quarterdeck getting ready for docking maneuvers and preparing to back the sail. It appears strange that the ship is still running under full sail so close to the breakwater; however, some examples confirm this daring maneuver.<sup>43</sup>

Interesting but not unusual is the nudity of the crew and most workers, although we do know that sailors went about naked when working on board.<sup>44</sup> Ships and their crews have appeared often in art since time immemorial, especially on sarcophagi in Roman and in early Christian art where the naked soul assumed the form of little cupids. Possibly the naked crews here may have had special connotations to the soul.<sup>45</sup>

Ever since prehistoric times, men drew parallels between the voyages of ships and the pilgrimage of the soul to the port of salvation, the Elysian Fields.<sup>46</sup> The ships of Hierakonpolis propelled by mysterious breezes, the junks from ancient Chinese temples, the solar boats next to the pyramids (some destined to transport pharaohs on artificial lakes to glorious journeys into the realm of Osiris) and the ships from the austere funeral vaults of Bet-She'arim were all connected with the pilgrimage of the soul. Recent research has shown that on sarcophagi, almost all ships and shipping were connected with the mythology of death even if they conveyed a realistic air; however, putti and naked men created a special effect of eternal bliss and in most cases invoked the naked beauty of the soul.<sup>47</sup>

On the Torlonia relief, there is a symbolic and realistic melange. It would be difficult not to see an orderly developing sequence on the Haifa relief which shows entirely and realistically the favorite activity in a busy port as it unfolds before the eye. One sees in a continuously evolving, horizontal format the various times of arrival, unloading and preparing for departure, an orderly action which is lost on the Torlonia. Indeed, there is a message here which refers to the various phases of mercantile activities under the watchful eyes of earthly and divine authorities. Here, guided by divine providence, is a well-organized, magnificent harbor that secured steady and prosperous commerce under organized conditions.

The solemn festival mood, the sound of trumpets, the highly caparisoned center ship and a possible use of colored sails (which, of course, could not be shown on a stone relief) all indicate the emperor's power as does Victory holding a wreath and pennants flying on mastheads.<sup>48</sup>

In order to decipher the essential meaning of the relief on the sarcophagus, one may return to a comparable representation in the Torlonia relief. The abstract concept created by the huge upward-staring apotropaic eye which dominates the Torlonia is missing from the Haifa example (Pl. II, 10). By its dominant position and overwhelming size, this eye must have had a meaning which entirely changes the significance of the representation and makes the similarities between the two reliefs peripheral. The eye is an anthropomorphic oculus rather than the geometric type. Instead of appearing on ships where it usually takes a decorative position in marine scenes, on the Torlonia it appears detached and assumes a dominant position under the figure of Dionysus. It is a mystical and religious symbol, the origin of which is traced through representations of seas from megalithic times.<sup>49</sup> It was then associated with Semitic diffusion and appeared in the proto-Elamitic period.<sup>50</sup> In many instances, it was closely connected with the myth of Osiris and, as such, with Horus and the sun god Ra. The exact type of oculus is somewhat difficult to determine here since the oculus appears countless times on Greek kylikes, glass, ceramics, rings, amulets, walls and coins; therefore, it is not exclusively associated with ships. There is, however, little question that on the Torlonia relief it has a controlling and dominant role.

The oculus played a major part in determining the spiritual and symbolic significance of objects. In the last century, Hentzen had noted two colossal oculi on the walls of the Island Thasos.<sup>51</sup> On the Torlonia relief, the oculus brings the cryptic vision of the supernatural into a dominant position. The meaning of the relief became enigmatic, visionary, undeterminable and relegates into a sector of the mysterious. As lately discovered, the relief lost its credential as a realistic representation of a harbor. The theory is that the relief was conceived as an



expression of Hellenistic logic with unrealistic, symbolic elements, such as the oculus, which changes the meaning of the whole scene.<sup>52</sup> In such a context, the compartmentalization of space into clearly perceived patterns is replaced by a mystical climax, a supernatural vision that is conveyed via intuitive means through the introduction of the visionary. This creates a transition from one culture frame of reference to another, in contrast to the clearly conceived pattern controlled by logic and reason on the Haifa relief where the oculus is missing, thus eliminating the supernatural element. There we have clarity without any hidden motif in the representation.

The background architecture on the Haifa relief remains somewhat of a puzzle, but here one must take into consideration the whim of the carver (Pl. I, 4). In view of the multiple "quotations" from various buildings and periods, it becomes clear that the architecture, to a large degree, is more pictorial than functional. Obviously, it does not match the Torlonia background.

As ports were gateways to remote places, they were also custom barriers for levying duties, and the symbolic content may have something to do with this concept. It is not too difficult to still find standing elaborate gateways from the Julio-Claudian period, like the building in the center of the relief. They are of those series of monuments which were never buried after Late Antiquity. An example is the Porta Maggiore, built under Claudius. One may mention also sections of the Aurelian Wall, 275 A.D., Rome, which survived until 1870. This wall was punctuated with many towers and crenellations as backdrop architecture for the relief, not to mention the castrum of Ostia with similar constructions to which the relief refers. The ashlar walls with bastions, the large blocks at places, the merlons and manned battlements are all reminiscent of the Ostia constructions. Large portals with galleries above the outer gates survived at Verona for example, and in Rome the Porta Appia (Porta San Sebastiano) with crenellation and two-storied galleries, the Porta Latina and the Porta S. Paolo. Symbolically, these gateways were all considered entries to the city. This dressing of public buildings became fashionable in the Julio-Claudian period; by the time of the Flavians, it became common.<sup>53</sup>

Taking into consideration that there are indications of either Ostia (and the sculptor's ambition to depict a lively panorama of the Claudian harbor), or the inner basin built by Trajan (in a quasi-realistic architectural diorama), one would expect to see at least one of the higher apartment buildings, some five-stories high, since from them there is a good view towards the open sea and the coast. One would also expect to see some of the residential villas which must have been a welcome sight between Ostia and Castel Fusano. It was here somewhere that Pliny's villa must have been visible among the trees.<sup>54</sup> Therefore, what we are looking at cannot be the warehouses, which were two-stories high and symmetrically arranged.<sup>55</sup>

It is not certain that the Tuscan entablature with its decidedly Georgian flavor and triple-columnar support served as an upper gallery for the central gateway. The rusticated central high porch refers to a Roman portal; the rusticated columns with their Claudian origin recall the Porta Maggiore, mentioned above. The fortress-inspired background of the portal is reminiscent of the Bishop's palace at Ostia with a Roman tower in the wall that surrounds it. Throughout the middle ages it remained standing and still exists.<sup>56</sup> Enclosed with crenellation, it remains an impressive building and received ample attention throughout the centuries. Crenellation continued in Roman fortification and fortification-inspired architecture. Many examples with such crenellation are known to us from Italy. During the last fifty years, they have become better known because of scientific research in the provinces of the Roman Empire.<sup>57</sup> It is clear that, architecturally, we are not on *terra firma* with this non-functional and rather pictorial backdrop; the solution to this question will be taken up at the end of this paper.

On the left of the Haifa relief, on what appears to be part of an embankment wall with an inscription on it (see below), is an elephant biga driven by Helios, clad in chlamys (Pl. I, 3). As will be shown, here may be a partial clue as to the meaning of the scene. It is of special interest to note the position of Helios' feet on his



chariot. During Roman Imperial times, he was dressed in a chlamys and when both feet were on the ground, as they are here, that indicated departure.<sup>58</sup>

Such representations of elephant-driven chariots where the god appears as a divine messenger have Dionysiac symbolism.<sup>59</sup> The symbolism originated in Hellenistic times and is frequently connected with the "Herrscherapotheosis." So it is on the Haifa relief where an Imperial departure or a departure with the blessing and symbolic presence of the Emperor is being conveyed. The idea of identifying a ruler with deities was common during Hellenistic times. The divine ruler's cult was established by Ptolemaios II, Philadelphos (B.C. 283-247), and was formalized by Ptolemaios Philopator (222-203), when the ruler's cult became closely related to that of Dionysus.<sup>60</sup>

The etymology of such elephant-driven chariots started with the Romans, probably in Late Republican times when Antonius returned in a special triumphal carriage to Alexandria from Armenia in 34 B.C.,<sup>61</sup> but Indian rulers riding on elephants had appeared before in the *Anabasis*. Eventually this idea assumed cosmological significance about the time when the "Himmelsmantel" made its appearance, during the early Julio-Claudian period (B.C. 26-25); the best-known example of this is on the cuirass of the "Augustus Primaporta."<sup>62</sup>

From the time of Faustina the Younger, this type of representation in Roman Imperial art is usual. The scenes of these "Herrscherapotheosen" preserve something of the Oriental-Dionysiac symbolism, fusing together time and space. It implies the ruler as a lightbringer, an interpretation supported by the fact that during triumphal celebrations burning torches and elephants were able to light the way for returning victors. Thus, as beasts which seek and recognize light, the elephants are related to the eternal perils of the sea: fog, darkness and the lack of visibility. The elephants help dispatch darkness, illuminating the route for safe navigation.

In Roman Imperial times, the emperor always appeared in the costume of the Roman triumpher but not as Dionysus, as had been customary during the Hellenistic period. Therefore, the Imperial Eagle is almost always on sarcophagi, as in the case of the Haifa sarcophagus; it dominates the center and becomes the focal point of all activities. The connection with eternal life comes from Oriental symbolism, and also has something to do with the long life of the elephants.<sup>63</sup> It was introduced into sepulchral imagery in the third century.

Some of the Hellenistic ideas survived to Roman Imperial times, and some of the symbolism remained. The king, embodiment of law and order, shareholder of the cosmic organization, wielder of spiritual power over his subjects, radiates as the sun over the cosmos. This concept was already dominant in Seleucid times with the perpetually-celebrated Apollo. At the beginning of Imperial times, Augustus had incorporated the gods into his religion and politics.<sup>64</sup> Horace celebrates Augustus as a lightbringer, and Suetonius tells us that Augustus appeared in the costume of Apollo. Starting with Tiberius, members of the Imperial family appear on elephant chariots in the *Pompa Circensis*.

The elephants depicted here on the Haifa relief clearly bear the characteristic of the large African prototype (*Loxodonta*), with large ears and long-curving trunks. This may point to departure towards African ports. References as such are known from the Late Republic, such as a coin of Caesar, referring to a victory in Africa.<sup>65</sup>

The impressive ceremonies related to the embarkation, which occasionally may have been connected with the arrival and departure of important cargo, such as the departure of the grain fleet, are made more comprehensible than usual on the Haifa relief. The festive mood with horns blowing, the highly caparisoned center ship, the little putto running out of the center building, the Imperial Eagle on a pyre crowning the scene, the emblem-like Romulus and Remus centrally placed on the sail, decoration on the stern and the echelon of gods — all underline an important event at the port. This great fanfare, the celestial mood and the regal couple that appear above the cabin (but in reality are meant to be standing on the little island) bring to mind, for

example, the departure of a potentate such as the departure of Claudius from Ostia to accept from the Senate of Rome the honor for the conquest of Britain<sup>66</sup> or the Severian family leaving Alexandria by freighter in 201.

The position of the family behind the center craft on the Haifa relief is not as convincing as a representation of the Imperial household should be. Although normally on votive art the size of the persons represented are relative to their importance, one finds here that several of the supporting crews are in a far more prominent position and larger than the Imperial family are believed to be. One would expect that the flagship carrying the emperor would be more "fully dressed," and that a greater emphasis would be placed on more Imperial symbols given to his entourage in this impressive marine ambiance.

The catalyst for the multitude of these puzzles is the article by Brooks E. Levy (quoted under n. 27). The emperor's travel on freighters, at least on those which departed from Alexandria, may be traced through the Alexandrian cult of "Kaisar Epibaterios," (the "embarkers' Caesar")<sup>67</sup> which in turn made the departing emperor's power synonymous with the power of the protecting deity at sea. Brooks E. Levy shows that through the centuries (probably descending from the Hellenistic rulers) the word "apobaterios" referred to a ritual emphasizing the embarkation of the ruler. Eventually the Roman emperors became the inheritors of this cult and were identified with the seafarers' gods. This ritual became linked more with their embarkation than their arrival.

Although on most Imperial trips galleys were used, in some cases such as the trips of Nero and Titus,<sup>68</sup> freighters were put into service. There exists a coin of Nero in the National Maritime Museum, Haifa (Israel), which depicts a merchantman with the unique legend "Sebastophoros," indicating that freighters identical to the ships on the Haifa and Torlonia reliefs could be used as Imperial conveyances.

In the cult of "Kaisar Epibaterios" the physical presence of the ruler was not absolutely necessary.<sup>69</sup> The emperor did not need to be an "epibates," or "embarker" to create the symbol of "epibaterios theos," i.e., to be the symbol of embarkation and forthcoming safety at sea. Thus the family sacrificing at the ship's stern is not necessarily that of the emperor but can be that of the dedicant assuming a similar position to the royal family, paying customary tribute to the Imperial house.

When we compare the Torlonia and the Haifa reliefs, such a hypothesis becomes clearer. Between Poseidon and Ceres there appears to be a small artificial island, possibly purposefully inserted in a place where, under normal circumstances, would have been a navigational hazard. However, it has a special significance and serves a purpose. Heralding the event are a trumpeting soldier and a gesticulating "orante" figure with a man below them loading fasces while another bundle of fasces is being stored in the background on the Haifa relief. Since less than six fasces were symbols of authority with a delegated "imperium" to those legates who were in the Imperial management of the provinces,<sup>70</sup> the iconography here refers to a legatus departing for a province (possibly for Africa). The departure ceremony here is typical of the fanfare accorded an Emperor, who is symbolically represented in the person of his legatus.

The inscription QQC on the left under the elephant biga finally gives us the ultimate answer to the meaning of the relief (Pl. I, 2). The bar across the top of QQ should, of course, signify that QQ are to be linked. If this is true, then the pair would mean *quinque*, or five. The C means *centum*, one hundred, or *ensor*, an official. QQ taken by themselves may mean quinquennalis:

1. something which occurs every five years
2. a magistrate with a five-year term
3. lasting for five years

There is a gap between these letters and the right-hand side of the inscription. The gap is large enough to hold three letters.



On the right-hand side there are four letters: F N A V. Since the relief is a naval scene, the last three letters: N A V, must be an abbreviation for NAVICVLARIVS, a shipmaster, or NAVIGATIO, voyage. If the latter is true, F may stand for FELIX or FELICITER, *bon voyage* — HAPPY SAILING! Therefore, the legend under the biga with two elephants and a figure holding the crown should mean:

THE QUINQUENNIAL MAGISTRATE: HAPPY SAILING

Here, the biga pulled by the elephants may have some reference to Africa or more likely to Alexandria.

The gap between the letters Q QC F N A V may mean nothing. There is no sign of any indentation resulting from the letters being chiselled out or any indentation caused by the letters being worn away. Rather, a crack in the stone seems to have been repaired or filled in.

\* \* \*

There is little question that we are looking at an oeuvre of a highly-trained skillful sculptor. He was well-versed in all aspects of Roman Imperial relief sculpture, iconography, archaeology to some extent, and even paleography. In fact, his *musa* may have been too well-informed because she conveys some stylistic clues which could relate to the chronology of the sarcophagus; however, this data that the *musa* conveys may not be compatible with the impression that the artist intended for posterity. The iconography of this solemnly-frontal composition is well worked out and its visual mode of expression is effective and precise. To a degree, the handling is meticulous, and the convincing naturalism is typical of the Augustan principate and to some extent of Hadrianic times. The accurate details and antithetical balance are superb and show that the sculptor, or his *musa*, had all aspects of Roman Imperial sculpture at his fingertips.

However, there is something in the sophisticated elegance of precisely-defined details which eliminates most shortcomings that are normally found on ancient sarcophagi prepared for ordinary customers. As seen in the preceding pages, an elegiac and manneristic air and an accurate antiquarian knowledge, far beyond such periods as the Julio-Claudian or the Hadrianic, makes itself felt.

A careful analysis will reveal that the Haifa sarcophagus most probably was not carved during antiquity but rather during the Renaissance.

In considering the orchestration of the distance, the boundless seascape which stretches beyond the breakwater and the playful cloud formation in the sky, it seems that the skill of the carver goes far beyond the idyllic delicacy of charming landscapes with their pictorial balance and the plastic effects that appeared on Augustan-era stucco decorations, and selectively appeared during Hadrianic times. Here is knowledge of an artist which is extraordinary, as there is here the beginnings of a stylistic characteristic which points to Renaissance *rilievo schiacciato*, a most delicate surface modulation, an optical suggestion that goes beyond the depth created by the chisel, an effect that was well-known to artists like Donatello in the early Quattrocento.

Artists of some Roman Imperial stucco relief of the Julio-Claudian and to some extent the Flavian eras expressed an interest in background and they effectively related to it. However, not even the best ones, for instance the artists of the reliefs discovered from Lake Fucino,<sup>71</sup> came close to this sophisticated, accentuated work. Similarly, the backdrop orthogonals as seen, for instance, in the crenellated sloping right roof of the center building and in the top-left battlement of the right structure, are so skillfully orchestrated that the receding orthogonals meet exactly on the center of the strategically-positioned and imperially-depicted male figure, which becomes the hierarchical center of the composition. This precise linear system, close to the Albertian perspective, was not known in Antiquity although, at times, empirical methods yielded satisfactory results. The decorative waves in this relief serve as consciously-used transversals, and constitute the quadrilateral balance dictated by the colossal statues. Yet, there is a skillful blanketing of the vanishing point which would have placed the colossal figures into a laterally-diminishing scale.<sup>72</sup> This, in turn, would have

violated ancient stylistic principles and would have subjected the sarcophagus into an artistic era alien to ancient sarcophagi.

Another feature that was inspired by the cross-currents of different tastes from the Julio-Claudian period or from Hadrianic times is the break from classical tradition as seen in the center gateway on the relief, where Tuscan columns are used with a weak entablature and rusticated pseudoblocks of stones. Late Renaissance and Mannerist architects frequently used this characteristic. When one considers these features, as well as the syncretistic use of iconography in the figures, he must question whether the sarcophagus is indeed ancient.

The well-balanced composition makes for a repertoire of motifs which are telltale, pointing to an age when the aim was not to duplicate a great work of antiquity but to equal or even surpass it.

This still leaves us with the question as to where the sarcophagus was executed. The closest similarities to the background architecture on the sarcophagus are in Venice. Among the many examples, the most outstanding one is "La torre di Porta Nuova della darsena Novissima," which inspired a drawing in 1810, now in Paris in the National Archives.<sup>73</sup> It belongs to the last reconstruction and improvement of the port installation of the Arsenal and is a formal variety of the many crenellated towers of Venice, especially one which was designed as a light tower. It was probably constructed in the Trecento and enhanced the tower of the Lido for the "*splendor civitatis*."<sup>74</sup> Another example, even closer to the lighthouse construction on the sarcophagus, is "le porte di terra e d'acqua dell'Arsenale."<sup>75</sup> Since continuity is one of the catalysts of syncretistic Venetian art, and the architecture of the different ages left an indelible mark on the city's many crenellated walls and towers, the marine character of the "jewel of the Adriatic" logically rendered examples that could serve as a rich repertoire for the background of a sarcophagus recalling ancient maritime splendor.

The city of Venice felt strong kinship with the glory of ancient Rome, reflected even in the minor arts, such as the medallion struck for Francesco Foscari and Pasquale Malipero in celebration of the Concordia Augusta, inspired by the coins of Marcus Aurelius and Lucius Verus.<sup>76</sup> Much of the great interest in naval archaeology during the Renaissance, starting with Alberti's now lost work *Navis* and Mantegna's antiquarian circles consisting of Paduan scholars, resulting in his romantic archaeology, was felt in Venice.

Mantegna's strong connections with that city,<sup>77</sup> his marriage into the Bellini family and his standing with Isabella d'Este — to whom his classical proclivities opened doors — must have been professionally strengthened through contacts with important figures of Venice. One such contact was Lodovico Foscari, who was rector of Verona at the time when Mantegna worked in San Zeno and when his antiquarian interest in ancient maritime matters was at its height. Mantegna's interest in Leon Battista Alberti was fostered by Gasperino Barsizza, the first teacher of this famous scholar, and his fascination and perceptive care of antiquity, which he had shared with the great humanists, was observed by the ever-reporting Georgio Vasari.

The interest kindled by the humanists in ancient maritime constructions in Venice was transmitted to later generations of Renaissance humanists and to writers, such as Lazare de Baif, Bartolomeo Crescenzi, and others. Eventually Alberti's ideas were propagated farther by Vettor Fausto, whose activity is manifested in the Venetian arsenal of the early 16th century. Therefore, this City of the Sea was the center of ancient maritime revival and it was a first candidate, in view of the similarities in architecture, to have one of its ateliers create an ancient sarcophagus *all'antica*, stimulated by the always-present examples in the Campo Santos, which recaptured the imaginary splendor of the past.

Although the interest in naval archaeology was always present in the humanist-antiquarian circles of Venice, one must remember that fascination with the life of ancient ports was, to an extent, present in other places as well.<sup>78</sup> The updating of the famous arsenal, in ways to recapture the past, could have easily spilled over to create monuments recalling ancient ports. The Quattrocento's "Neoclassicism," which existed in Venice and Dalmatia,<sup>79</sup> manifested itself in slow and heavy figures, large details and exquisite ceremonies; all this continued



into the 16th century. Such interest could have inspired the Venetian ateliers to carve one of the most easily-recognizable and frequently-found monuments of the ancient Campo Santos *all'antica* — a sarcophagus. Based on the above evidence, the 16th century provenance of this work of art seems to be very persuasive.

One should not dismiss the idea, considering the learned antiquarianism of the 19th century, that the sarcophagus may have been executed in that century — despite only a scintilla of evidence that supports this theory. As we have seen above, the sarcophagus gives relatively fair topographical evidence of the port of Ostia. However, if it were made in the last century, with all the connoisseurship and the accurate iconographical and epigraphical information evident on the sarcophagus, it would have probably reflected the results of the excavations in Ostia between 1864 and 1867, which were published in 1868.<sup>80</sup> The flood of 19th century literature which created a fantastic ancient maritime culture,<sup>81</sup> and the works of Carli, Leroy, Berghaus and others eventually resulted, toward the *fin de siècle*, in the monumental failure of Napoleon III's trireme, built according to the plans of Jal, Lome and Mangin at Asnières sur-Seine.<sup>82</sup> The period of unprecedented experimentation, designs, book illustrations and unpublished plans show that the last century relied heavily on numismatical evidence, which may have resulted in ancient ship illustrations. Ancient naval vehicles looked rather bulky, with overemphasized marine gear, and were quite different from the elegant ships on the Haifa relief.<sup>83</sup>

The 19th century antiquarianism probably would have blurred the demarcation between artifice and reality and would have supplied some "authentic" damage to prove authenticity. It is our own century that is interested in puritan, unadulterated choices, pieces that attract blockbuster exhibitions. A 19th century copy would have reflected something of the spirit when Lanciani declared that 8,000 ancient columns were incorporated in Rome's ancient buildings; an age when not only Roma Eterna was catching the antiquarian imagination, but Lafreri's *Speculum Romanae Magnificentiae* kindled new flame in the heart of passionatos.<sup>84</sup> The relief is not the Ripenhause-type of "archaism," and it is certainly not a pastiche. After all, the last century would have given a more accurate description and a topographical hint when Winckelman's precision became a virtue to be followed. It was a gilded age when plaster casts with their built-in damages were crammed into shops around the Lungarno, along the Arno in Florence. Founders of shops like Raffaello Romanelli and the shops around the Via dei Fossi and the Via di Maggio (in the same city) laid down rules for copies, and in 1864 when Brucciani opened his gallery of plaster casts in Covent Garden,<sup>85</sup> plaster casts were already accepted substitutes for originals.

Neoclassicism had great influence on people and particularly on seascapes. One must remember the numerous Italian Campo Santos and monuments that were erected, for instance the one for the numismatist Pietro Stettinger in this century,<sup>86</sup> as well as the imitations of seascapes on the walls of Rome that are from uncertain periods.

After a systematic examination of the correlation of historical, iconographical and visual evidence, some questions still remain shrouded in mystery. As it was suggested by Dr. Ringel, Director of the National Maritime Museum, Haifa — and I am grateful for his suggestion — the width of the sarcophagus is only ca. 20 cm and it may have been used, not unlike the Torlonia relief, for a sign or a commemorative relief, possibly originating from an unfinished or unused sarcophagus. The lack of concrete references to the deceased (the name is missing and there is no visible place where such a name could have appeared) may be an indication, if conjectural, of the above. Sarcophagi were mass productions for ateliers and were the most visible mementoes of ancient craftsmanship in the Middle Ages and even in the Renaissance. They were first-hand inspirations to Renaissance artists and may be responsible for many medieval works of art prophesying the Renaissance. There are anecdotes referring to such influences.<sup>87</sup>

The lack of information as to the provenance of the sarcophagus raises the question of its whereabouts until the 20th century. Why was it sitting undetected in some place for such a long time? It certainly predates the discovery of the Torlonia relief and judging from the sensation that this famous relief had created in scholarly circles, it is difficult to imagine how it remained in hiding for so long. Therefore, the provenance and the mystery of the sarcophagus (if it is indeed a sarcophagus) will require more investigation.

#### NOTES

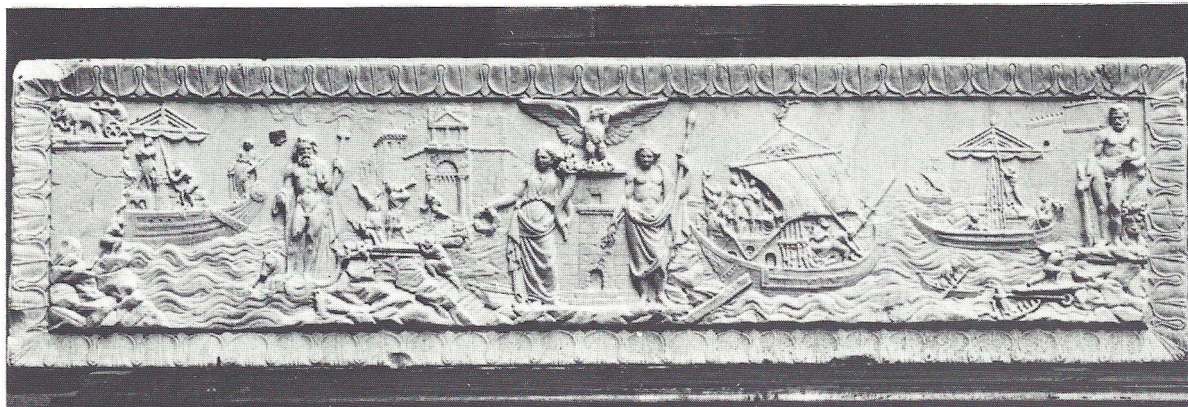
- 1) The sarcophagus was donated by Dr. Louis R. Slattery of New York through Mrs. Ruth Blumka, also of New York City. For the analysis of the marble, I am indebted to Prof. Vera Rohrich of the Technion (Israel Institute of Technology).
- 2) The well-known and frequently discussed Torlonia monument was discovered in 1864 and created a great deal of interest in subsequent years. C.L. Visconti: *I monumenti del museo Torlonia*, Roma, 1885, pp. 223-224, (no. 430), Pl. 110; K. Lehmann-Hartleben, "Die antiken Hafenanlagen des Mittelmeeres," *KLIO*, Beiheft 14, 1923, pp. 233 and 235ff; G. Gaspari: "Materiali per servire allo studio del museo Torlonia di scultura antica," *Memorie, Acc. naz. dei Lincei, cl. scienze morali* 24 Rome, 1980, no. 430; M. Rostovtzeff, *The Social and Economic History of the Roman Empire*, Oxford, 1957, pp. 160, Pl. 26, and pertinent literature. The only other sarcophagus comparable in subject matter with topographical accuracy is the one in the Vatican with the principal actors Bacchus and Ariadne. See: K. Lehmann-Hartleben, *op. cit.* pp. 321ff, and D.E. Strong, *Art in Ancient Rome*, N.Y. 1929, p. 129.
- 3) "longitudo scil. navis spatium obtinuit magna ex parte Ostiensis portus latere laevo; ibi namque demersa est Claudio principe." Pliny *N.H.* xiv 40, 201.
- 4) G. Stuhlfauth, "Der Leuchtturm von Ostia," *Mitteilungen des Deutsches arch. Institut's Roemische Abt.* 53 (1938), pp. 139-162.
- 5) Lafaye: *Histoire du culte des divinités d'Alexandrie*, Paris, 1884, pp. 266-268; S. Breccia, *Bull. Soc. Arch. Alex.*, 21, 1925, p. 3.
- 6) A. Pascolini, *Ostia*, Rome, 1979, p. 89.
- 7) R. Meiggs, *Ostia*, Oxford, 1960, p. 67.
- 8) L. Curtius, *Die Wandmalerei Pompej's*, Leipzig, 1929, pp. 174ff.
- 9) Meiggs, (n. 7), pp. 154-5.
- 10) Meiggs, p. 156.
- 11) G. Nibby, *Della via Portuense dell' Antica Citta di Porto*, Rome, 1827, p. 45; "che isola fosse come un prosequimento del corno sinistro del molo dal quale era separata che per un piccolo tratto di mare . . ."
- 12) Pliny, *N.H.* ix. 14.
- 13) A. Ben-Eli and J. Ringel, Ed., *Ships and Parts of Ships*, Haifa, 1975, p. 36, n. 15; T.L. Donaldson: *Architectura Numismatica*, 1859, pp. 322-328.
- 14) Donaldson, p. 339.
- 15) Visconti gave the name of "Imperial Palace" because of the ostentatious decoration discovered there. Meiggs, Pl. v, pp. 163-165.
- 16) C. Kerényi, *The Religion of the Greeks and Romans*, N.Y., 1962, p. 180; E. Strong, *Art in Ancient Rome*, N.Y., 1929, p. 129; also: O.J. Brendell and J.J. Pollitt, *Prologomena to the study of Roman Art*, New Haven, 1979, p. 189.
- 17) E. Panofsky, *Tomb Sculpture*, N.Y., 1964, p. 34.
- 18) The closest example reminiscent of the figure next to the central structure comes from a Roman Villa next to Torre del Padiglione between Anzio and Latium. C.W. Clairmont, *Die Bildnisse des Antoninus*, Rome, 1966, p. 20, Pl. 7 and 8.
- 19) Brendell and Pollitt, *Prologomena*, n. 16, p. 189.
- 20) G.M.A. Hanfmann, *Roman Art*, N.Y., 1971, p. 82.
- 21) G.E. Rizzo, *Not. dei Scavi*, 1908, pp. 48ff, M. Marconi, "Monumenti antichi pubblicati per cura della Reale Accademia dei Lincei," *Mon. Lincei* xxix, 1923, pp. 173ff, Pl. iv.
- 22) Meiggs, p. 379.
- 23) Meiggs, p. 383.
- 24) E. Hamilton, *Mythology*, N.Y., 1969, pp. 284-285.
- 25) *Oxf. Cl.*, p. 324. She became the goddess of death: Δημήτρηιοι "an euphemism for the dead." On the Torlonia relief the figure of Ceres is associated with that of Sabina and Julia Domna, based mostly on the hairdress of the Severian period, thus placing the Torlonia relief at the end of the second and beginning of the third century. G. Calza: *La Necropoli del Porto di Roma nell'isola Sacra*, Rome, 1940, p. 203.
- 26) Meiggs, Pl. xviii.
- 27) *Oxf. Cl.*, p. 867. One must remember that in the Julio-Claudian period at least one inscription at Philae refers to Augustus as "Pontomedon," an epitaph associating the Emperor with Poseidon. *Epigrammata Graeca*, Berlin, 1878, p. 409, n. 978., cf. B. Levy: "Kaisar Epibaterios: A Seafarers' Cult in Alexandria," *Proceedings of the International Numismatic Convention on Greek Imperials. Israel Numismatic Journal* Vol. 6-7, 1982-83, p. 104.



- 28) Pliny, *N.H.* xxxiv, 40.
- 29) Strabo, vi, 278, describes it not as Hercules but as Zeus.
- 30) Of special interest is the coin of Commodus (an admirer of the hero), where a popular sacrifice to Hercules as well as to Zeus, the bull, is distinguishable. Meiggs, *Pl.* xviiiia.
- 31) Meiggs, pp. 347-350.
- 32) R.B. Bandinelli: "Arte Plebea" *Dialoghi di Archeologia*, 1976, p. 3.
- 33) R. Brilliant, *Roman Art*, London, 1974, p. 259; also by the same author: *Visual Narratives, Storytelling in Etruscan and Roman Art*, Ithaca, N.Y., 1983, p. 17.
- 34) L. Casson, *Ships and Seamanship in the Ancient World*, Princeton, 1971, p. 174, figs. 144, 146; also by the same author: "The Size of Ancient Merchant Ships," *Studi in onore di A. Calderini e R. Paribeni*, Milan, 1956, pp. 231ff; see also by the same author: *The Ancient Mariners*, N.Y., 1959, p. 218, Pl. 12. It is to be noted, however, that in the timeless tradition of the Ancient World, the size of objects was related to their relative importance in the narrative or to the dedication depicted.
- 35) Meiggs, p. 344. The twins also appear on sarcophagi where death is referred to as "astral reincarnation." F. Cummont, *Recherches sur le symbolisme funéraire des Romains*, Paris, 1942, p. 256, n. 5; Panofsky, *Tomb Sculpture*, n. 17, p. 36.
- 36) Meiggs, pp. 345, 381, n. 7.
- 37) *Acts* xxviii, 11, 12.
- 38) B. Radice, *Who's Who in the Ancient World*, Baltimore, 1973, p. 843.
- 39) This may be a river boat, the so-called *scapha*, which expression may have been applied to harbor barges as well. Casson, *Ships*, p. 336, nos. 40, 41. There are a number of references to such boats in an apparently international seamen's language in the Ancient World. The Hebrew *sefinah*, taken from the Akkadian *sapinatu*, refers to vessels with decks (*Jonah* 1:5). S. Kraus: *Talmudische Archeologie*, iii, Hildesheim, 1966, p. 340; see also: G. Radan: "Comments on the History of the Jews in Pannonia," *Acta Arch.*, 1973, p. 276. The Talmud gives a better clue to the real meaning of the word, e.g. *sefinah rokedet* (a dancing ship). This probably means, as Rashi explains this phrase as meaning, a swiftly moving ship the hull of which is shaped thus: V. But "rokedet" might also indicate "balanced on a point," poised like a dancer. Cf. D. Sperber in *Nautica Talmudica*, Bar-Ilan Univ. Press, Israel, 1986, p. 71, note 1.
- The etymology of the word interested authors, as did the actual function of this type of vessel. On the Nile *skaphne* served for wood transportation. Vergil, *Geor.* 4, 195-196. With other opinion: Casson, *Ships*, pp. 330-336.
- 40) S. Panciera, *Vita economica di Aquileia in eta Romana*, Aquileia, 1957, pp. 62, 65 and 102. Such mooring blocks were found in numerous Roman ports and even in fluvial harbors. Boats operated by stevedores *lenuncularii, prelomarii, auxiliarii* are known. Casson, *Ships*, p. 336.
- 41) This is probably one of the *saccarii* or sack-man. Casson, *Ships*, p. 370, n. 44 (*saccarius*: stevedore).
- 42) Aesch. *Ag.* p. 664.
- 43) This maneuver appears to be daring, i.e. to have a vessel running under full sail so close to the breakwater. However, such maneuvers may have existed. Amm. Marc. xix.10.4.; Donaldson: *loc. cit.* n. 14, pp. 332-338.
- 44) Casson, *Ships*, p. 320-1, n. 8.
- 45) F. Cabrol: *Dictionnaire d'archéologie Chrétienne et de liturgie*, 12, vol. I (1935), Navigation et Navire; "Studien zu Grabendänkmäler der Roemischen Kaiserzeit," *Bonner Jahrbuch*, 108 (1902), pp. 66ff.
- 46) M. Raphael: *Prehistoric Pottery and Civilization in Egypt*, N.Y., 1947, pp. 31-40. Research shows that much of ship representations and shipping in general are connected with mythology on sarcophagi, even if they convey a realistic air. G. Koch and H. Sichterman: *Roemische Sarcophage*, Munich, 1982, p. 125.
- 47) M. Lawrence: "Ships, Monsters and Jonah," *AJA*, 66 (1962), pp. 289-296.
- 48) G. Hentzen in *Bull. dell'istituto di corrispondenza Archeologia*, 1864, p. 12, lists a number of cases with ancient ships "fully dressed," for instance Cleopatra's ship where she shared command with Antonius. cf. Suet. 37: *Caligula*, Plutarch, *Ant.* 26.
- 49) C. Quigley, "The Origin and Diffusion of Oculi: A Rejoinder," *The American Neptune*, xviii, no. 1, pp. 46, 53.
- 50) R. LeBaron Bowen, "Origin and Diffusion of Oculi," *The American Neptune*, xvii, no. 4, pp. 277, 290. It is not my intention to review the long and memorable feud which continued through the issues of *The American Neptune* from 1955 till 1958, the outcome of which was not decisive. Basically the discussion between Prof. Quigley and LeBaron Bowen established a genealogy of the triangular patches and the oculus on ancient ships from the Megalithic to Modern times, from Norway to the Gulf of Siam and the China Seas. What became clear from these discussions was that the eye played an important part in ship decoration and in the diffusion of other maritime innovations which went tête-a-tête with these symbols. Unfortunately, the symbolical significance of the oculus was hardly investigated and whether the Roman ships carried the eye decoration to India and the question whether the Egyptians invented the boat oculus was not solved. But the eye symbol was in fact connected with the goddess Isis, thus also with the *Ploiaphesia* in navigation. It was also connected with the luni-solar symbols and in this connection with navigation as well. Whether this brings the Torlonia relief in connection with Alexandria still remains a question (see M. Lawrence, *loc. cit.* n. 47, pp. 280-290). One has to note that on the majority of the Isis Pharia coins and related monuments the eye does not occur. L. Castiglione, "Isis Pharia. Remarque sur la statue de Budapest," *Bull. du Musée Hongrois des Beaux-Arts* 34, 1970, pp. 37-55, and by the same author: "Un problème iconographique," *Bull. du Musée Hongrois des Beaux-Arts*, 32-33, (1969), pp. 19-30; "Isis Pelagia."

- 51) G. Hentzen, *op. cit.* "La figura di frequente indica il solemne: sub ascia dedicavit," *Bull. dell'istituto di corrispondenza Archeologia*, 1864, pp. 17-18.
- 52) R.B. Bandinelli, *op. cit.* (n. 32), p. 13: "tessuto logico . . ."
- 53) Meiggs, 69-73.
- 54) Pliny, *Ep.* ii.17.27.
- 55) *A History of Seafaring*, G.F. Bass, Ed., N.Y., pp. 98-99.
- 56) Meiggs, Pl. xxi.
- 57) J. Fitz: "Burgi zwischen Intercisa und Annamatia," *Archeologiai Értésito*, 1955, pp. 69-79; W. Schleiermacher: *Der roemische Limes in Deutschland. Ein archeologischer Wegweiser für Autoreisen und Wanderungen*, Berlin, 1959, etc.
- 58) F. Matz, "Der Gott auf dem Elefantwagen," *Akademie der Wissenschaften und Literatur, Abhandlungen der Geistes und Sozialwissenschaftlichen Klasse*, 1952, no. 10, pp. 722-723. On sarcophagi where such bigas are appearing, especially where they are connected with Poseidon, as the proximity of the statue of the god shows on the Haifa sarcophagus, they refer explicitly to voyages at sea, departure or navigation. Matz, 724.
- 59) Matz, 729.
- 60) T. Aufsatz, "Comparison and Identification of Rulers with Deities in the Hellenistic Period," *Review and Religion* 13, 1948/49, p. 24ff. cf. Matz, 730.
- 61) Plut. *Anton.* 24.
- 62) J. Charbonneau: *L'art au siècle d'Auguste*, Pls. 50-51, 73; W.H. Gross: *Zur Augustusstatue von Primaporta*, Göttingen, 1959, passim.
- 63) Matz, 749.
- 64) Matz, 756.
- 65) H.A. Seaby, *Roman Coins and their Values*, (London, 1954), no. 326. Incidentally, he refers to Cohen's *Medailles Imperiales*.
- 66) Dio. 1x, 21.3.
- 67) Levy, *op. cit.* (n. 26), nos. 12, 13 and 14. I am indebted to Mrs. Brooks E. Levy who has sent me her paper: "The Date and Meaning of the Torlonia Harbor Relief," which she read at the 84th General Meeting of the Archaeological Institute of America in 1982.
- 68) Suet. *Div. Titus*, cf. Levy, p. 109.
- 69) Levy, 116.
- 70) *Oxf. Cl.*, p. 429, E.S. Stavelly: "Fasces."
- 71) D.E. Strong: *Roman Imperial Sculpture*, London, 1961, p. 93, n. 50.
- 72) In the Renaissance, navigation was considered as part of perspective as the astrolabe shows on the Tomb of Pope Sixtus IV, in the Vatican. F. Hartt: *History of Italian Renaissance Art*, Englewood Cliffs, N.J., 1981, p. 320.
- 73) E. Concina: *L'Arsenale della Repubblica di Venezia*, Milano, 1984, pp. 228-229.
- 74) Concina, *L'Arsenale*, p. 30.
- 75) Concina, p. 69.
- 76) E. Concina, "Humanism of the Sea," paper read at the *International Symposium on Harbors, Port Cities and Coastal Topography*, on Sept. 25, 1986, Haifa, Israel.
- 77) I. Blum: *Andrea Mantegna und die Antike*, Strasbourg, 1936, pp. 11-42.
- 78) G. Luigli, "Una pianta inedita del porto Ostiense," *Rendiconti Pont.*, 23-24, (1947-49), p. 187.
- 79) G.L. Hershey: *Alfonso II and the Artistic Renewal of Naples, 1485-1495*, New Haven, 1967, p. 14.
- 80) R. Lanciani, "Ricerche topografiche sulla citta di Porto," *Ann. Inst.* 40, (1868), pp. 144-195.
- 81) E. Breusing: *Die Nautik der Alten*, Bremen, 1886; M. Cartault: *La Trière athenienne*, 1881 and J. Vars: *L'art Nautique*, Paris, 1887, to mention the most famous ones.
- 82) *Le Monde Illustré*, 16-3-1861.
- 83) G. Radan, "J.S. Morrison-R.T. Williams: Greek Oared Ships 900-322 B.C.," *Acta Arch. Ac. Scient. Hungaricae* 23, 1971, p. 408; R.C. Anderson, "Italian Naval Architecture about 1445," *Mariners Mirror* no. 23, (1923), pp. 135-149.
- 84) R. Adams: *The Lost Museum*, N.Y., 1980, pp. 53-55.
- 85) *Art Journal*, 1864, p. 330.
- 86) G. Koch and H. Sichterman: *Roemische Sarcophage*, Munich, 1982, p. 632.
- 87) P.P. Bober and R.O. Rubinstein: *Renaissance Artists and Antique Sculpture*, Oxford, 1986, p. 31.

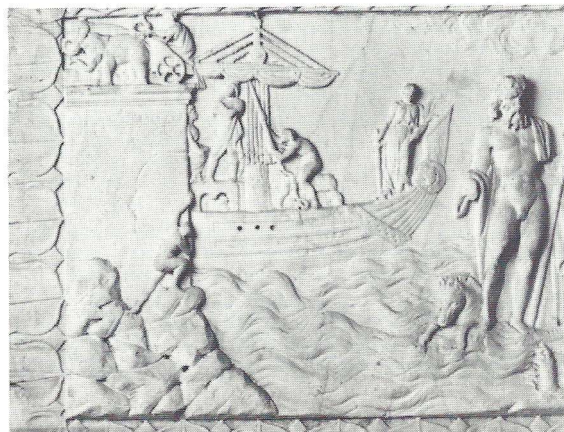




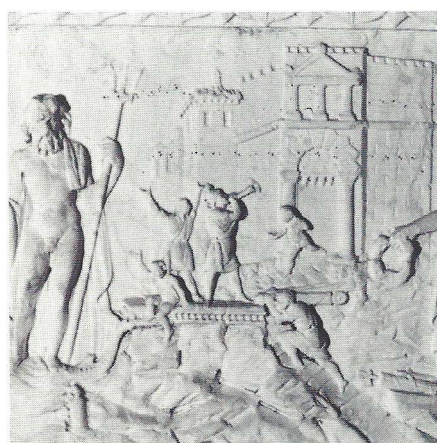
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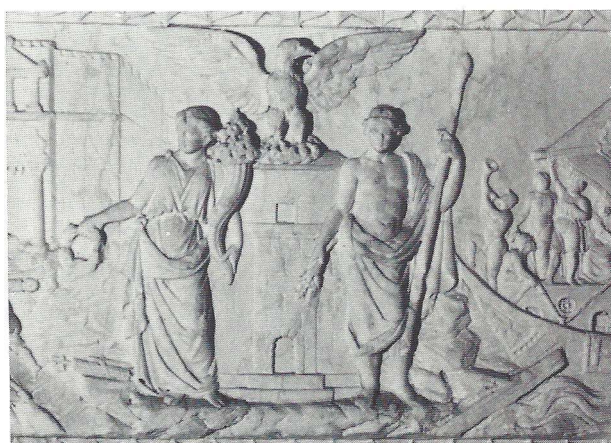


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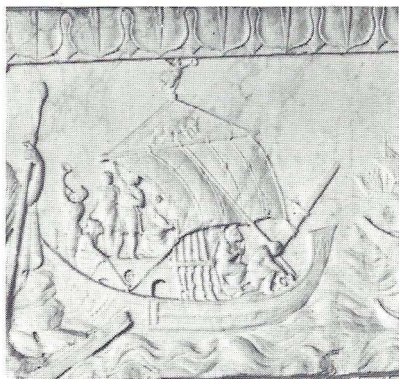
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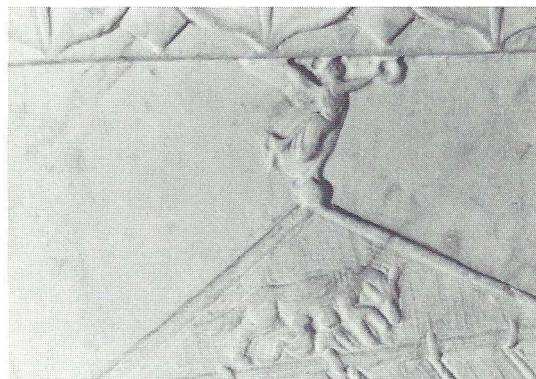
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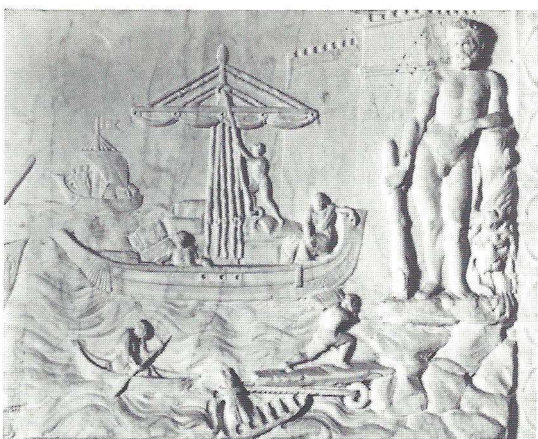




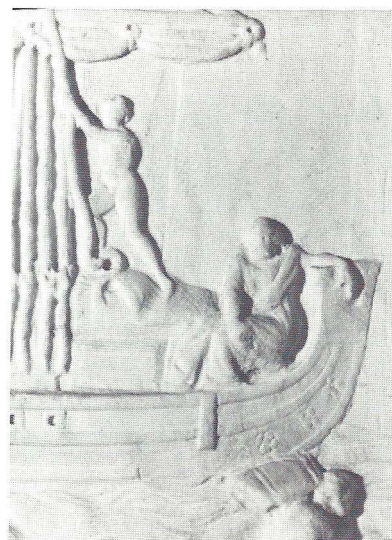
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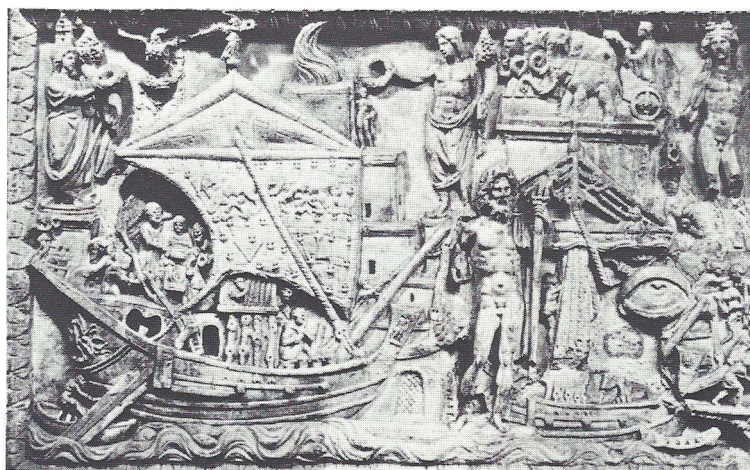
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