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Satyrice signa: A Campana relief from the Via Gabina Villa at site 10

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SATYRICCA SIGNA:
A CAMPANA RELIEF
FROM THE VIA GABINA VILLA AT SITE 10

by

CORNELIA WILLIAMS

A THESIS SUBMITTED
IN PARTIAL FUFILLMENT OF THE
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ABSTRACT

of

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CORNELIA WILLIAMS

This thesis considers one Campana relief fragment, depicting two satyrs looking into a basin with a lion's head above and between them, found at the Site 10 Roman villa, and explores its form, meaning and context. Comparisons with other Campana reliefs depicting the same scene indicate that stylistic criteria are not always sufficient for dating the reliefs. Archaeological evidence (brickstamps and wine-making press) from Phase IIa of the villa would indicate a structural and functional expansion of the villa c.40 A.D. On the basis of this archaeological evidence and comparison of the fragment with others from Site 10, especially with one dated to c.50 A.D., a similar date is offered for the selected fragment, as well as the others from Site 10. A suggestion is made, on the basis of iconography, for placing the relief to which the selected fragment belongs above the southern entrance of the Phase IIa villa.
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

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# TABLE OF CONTENTS

LIST OF FIGURES ........................................ v

INTRODUCTION ........................................... 1

HISTORY AND BACKGROUND OF ARCHITECTURAL TERRACOTTAS .... 3

THE SITE 10 CAMPANA FRAGMENT: A SATYR RELIEF .......... 8

PHASES AND FUNCTION OF THE SITE 10 VILLA ............. 13

THE SITE 10 CAMPANA RELIEFS .......................... 18

SATYR RELIEFS AND DIONYSIAC SYMBOLISM .................. 23

NOTES ...................................................... 33

BIBLIOGRAPHY ........................................... 50

FIGURES ................................................... 52
LIST OF FIGURES

1. Demangel, R. La Frise Ionique (Paris 1932) Fig.6, Palace of Kar-Tukulti-Ninurta, 12th century B.C.

2. E. Kjellberg, Larisa am Hermos (Stockholm) Vol.II Abb.24


4. Brown, Richardson and Richardson, MAAR 1960, 160, Fig.4

5. Boethius and Ward-Perkins, Etruscan and Roman Architecture (Harmondsworth 1970) 47, Fig.24

6. Reinach, S., Repertoire de Reliefs Grecs et Romains (Paris 1912) Vol.2. 254, Fig.1

7. Reinach, Vol.2. 256, Fig.3

8. Reinach, Vol.2. 283, Fig.4

9. Reinach, Vol.2. 283, Fig.3

10. Photo of Site 10 fragment, G10/85-9, P. Oliver-Smith

11. Reconstruction, drawn by Dan Borden

Figures 12-39 are Site 10 Campana fragments used in the reconstructed drawing.

12. G10/85-9
13. G10/87-54
14. G10/83-59
15. G10/85-166
17. G10/84-98
18. G10/80-7
19. G10/84-7
20. G10/84-208
21. G10/80-206
22. G10/85-1
23. G10/82-395
24. G10/80-182
25. G10/87-47
26. G10/82-348
27. G10/82-151
28. G10/85-15
29. G10/86-5
30. G10/82-271
32. G10/82-139
33. G10/83-82
34. G10/82-183
35. G10/82-360
36. G10/85-152
37. G10/82-99
38. G10/85-63
39. G10/82-151 (Fig.27) showing join to G10/85-15 (Fig.28)
40. Borbein, Taf.2.2. Palermo, Mus. Naz.
41. British Museum xerox of D551
42. Borbein, Taf.2.1. Copenhagen, Ny Carlsberg Glypt.
43. Borbein, Taf.3.1. Paris, Louvre
43A. Jacopi, Fig.72. Rome, Mus. Naz.
45. Borbein, Taf.3.3. Munich, Antikenslgm.
46. Borbein, Taf.2.3. Florence, Mus. Archeol.
47. Phase I of Site 10 villa
48. Phase IIa of Site 10 villa
49. Phase IIb of Site 10 villa
50. Phase III of Site 10 villa
51. Find locations of Campana reliefs at Site 10 villa
52. Humphrey, 181, Fig.81. Vienna Kunsthistorisches Mus.
53. Humphrey, 181, Fig.80. British Mus. D627
54. Profile of Site 10 relief, not to scale, author
55. G10/84- _DD 20 0 4 007
56. G10/87-96
57. G10/85-41
58. G10/87-95
59. Tortorella, (Rome 1981) 92, Fig.24. Castel S. Elia, basilica
60. Luning pose, taken from Fig.67
61. Van Buren, Greek Fictile Revetments Pl.XXXI, Figs.113-115. Athens, Nat’l. Mus. No.223
64. Walter, p.190
65. Richter, drawing p.32. Athens, Zappeion
66. N.S. 1895, Fig.3, p.427
67. Richter, Fig.573
68. Vermeule, Pl.42,Fig.8. Cobham Hall, Kent, England
69. Murray, Fig.53
70. J. Boardman, Greek Art (London 1985) Fig.221. Archeol. Mus. Plowdiw, Bulgaria
71. JHS 1886, Fig.2 and Pl.62. Glasgow Gallery and Museum
72. F. Oswald, Index of Figure Types on Terra Sigillata. (Liverpool 1936-7) 48, Plate XXIV, No.489
INTRODUCTION

Campana reliefs are figured architectural terracotta plaques which adorned Roman structures from the late Republic into Imperial times, or c.50 B.C.-c.220 A.D. These reliefs are named for the Marchese Giampietro Campana who was the first to publish them in his Antichi Opere in Plastica (Rome 1842).¹

One of the most difficult problems with Campana reliefs is dating. Because most of the extant reliefs were removed from their context before archaeology began as a science, both provenance (except for the general locale) and external evidence for dating have been lost. Consequently, other means such as stylistic and iconographic comparisons with both the comparatively few securely dated Campana reliefs and with other securely dated genres, as well as the relationship of stamped reliefs with the Roman brick industry have been used to help date the reliefs.

Many questions concerning Campana reliefs have no answers at this time. This thesis does not attempt to answer all the questions which have been, or could be asked about Campana reliefs. Rather, it is an attempt to ask and answer questions about a particular relief at a particular site, without any pretense of offering complete and final answers.

*       *       *

In ten seasons of digging,² Rice University’s Site 10 Via Gabina excavation of a Roman villa located approximately 14 km. east of Rome, has produced 59 identifiable Campana relief fragments. Out of these 59 fragments from Site 10,³ 51 fragments are from Dionysiac scenes. Of these 51 fragments, 31 fragments belong to a satyr/lion scene, 12 fragments to two different scenes of vindemcia of the harvesting and pressing⁴ of grapes by satyrs, 9 fragments to a scene of male and female figures bringing offerings to a herm of
Dionysos attended by a maenad. Two other fragments depict a spilled quadriga at the circus, and even this scene could be related to Dionysos, as the Roman Liber Pater, since the four horse chariot race was the first event in the games and such games were held on April 19 in honor of Ceres, Liber, and Libera. The remaining 6 fragments can not be identified with a particular scene at this time.

Out of 32 known villas with Campana reliefs, only one, Settefinestre, has been published attempting to integrate Campana relief evidence with the architecture and the date of the villa. This thesis takes a different approach by selecting one fragment and exploring all its relationships. Thus, this thesis begins with a brief history of architectural terracottas and explanation of Campana reliefs in general. This is followed by a description of the chosen fragment and the reconstructed scene to which it belongs plus stylistic comparisons of this scene with other Campana reliefs depicting the same scene. A description of the Site 10 villa is included in an attempt to understand the context in which the reliefs were used at this site. The relationships between the chosen fragment and the other Campana reliefs found at the villa are discussed with some emphasis placed on a datable stamped relief. The imagery and symbolism of the chosen fragment and the scene to which it belongs are explored in depth in an attempt to determine its meaning.

Admittedly, some of the evidence offered is circumstantial. However, because of the large number of different Campana reliefs available, there were surely particular reasons for choosing particular scenes. The longevity, popularity, adaptability and strength of Dionysiac imagery, as confirmed by assimilation into Christian iconography, are too powerful for the choice to have been arbitrary.
HISTORY AND BACKGROUND OF ARCHITECTURAL TERRACOTTAS

Campana reliefs are part of a long history of architectural terracottas. The earliest use of architectural terracottas for protection and decoration of vulnerable structural members can be found in Assyria and Mesopotamia (Fig.1). Although plaques decorated in relief with figures and/or ornamental motifs may be derived from oriental prototypes, the development of a system of architectural terracottas can be considered Greek. The basic Greek system of roofing tiles (pan, cover, ridge, eave), antefixes, simae (pedimental, lateral), acroteria, and revetment plaques developed particular characteristics which help to distinguish terracottas from different parts of the Greek world: Asia Minor and the Islands, the Greek mainland, Sicily and Magna Graecia, and Etruria.

The archaic Greek architectural terracottas of Asia Minor and the Islands are characterized above all by the use of motifs, both figural and ornamental, in relief. Plaques from Larisa, 7th-6th century B.C. (Fig.2), and Thasos, 6th century B.C. (Fig.3), are just two of many examples which depicted various scenes such as heraldic groups of animals, hunting and banquets, and myths. The plaques sometimes formed a frieze consisting of one repeated motif. They were nailed onto the wooden architrave as well as the horizontal and raking coronae, and were used as pedimental and lateral simae. Some plaques had projecting pegs on the back so that they could be attached to plastered walls.

The decided preference for motifs and figures in relief is rarely found on the archaic Greek mainland. Here the use of figures in relief is generally confined to the acroteria and pediment, whose first usage is credited to Corinth (Pind. Olymp.13, Pliny N.H. 35,152), a great center for terracotta production. Two distinct types of roof tiles were developed on the mainland, the Corinthian and the Laconian, with the Corinthian having flat pan tiles and convex cover tiles, while the Lanconian had concave pan tiles and convex cover tiles. The Laconian system is also characterized by the use of disk acroteria with triangular dentellation,
similar to that found on plaques from Asia Minor.\textsuperscript{14} Great use was made of painted guilloche, meander, and lotus and palmette for the decoration of the antefixes, simae, and cornice.\textsuperscript{15}

Like the Greek mainland, Sicily and Magna Graecia rarely used relief, but there was widespread use of red, cream, and black painted ornamental decoration.\textsuperscript{16} There are several distinct features to the Western Greek system such as the checker pattern,\textsuperscript{17} the pointed leaf,\textsuperscript{18} the tubular spout,\textsuperscript{19} and the fictile geison,\textsuperscript{20} as well as revetment casings in a \( \square \) or \( \square \) shape.\textsuperscript{21} Roof tiles combined the Corinthian and Laconian systems by using a flat pan tile and semi-circular cover tile.\textsuperscript{22}

Pliny (\textit{N.H.} 35, 152) states that a Corinthian came to Etruria with three \textit{fictores} who introduced the art of modeling clay. The interaction between Etruria, especially Caere, and both mainland Greece and Ionia is well attested beginning in the archaic period.\textsuperscript{23} Ionian Phocaea (Larisa) seems to have especially influenced the architectural terracottas of Etruria and Latium in the use of figured relief scenes to decorate revetment plaques and simae.\textsuperscript{24} Other examples of this usage of the figured relief are not found outside of Etruria and Latium.\textsuperscript{25}

An element unique to the terracottas of Etruria and Latium is the pierced cresting or open-work grill. (Figs.4&5). These crestings were set into the top of the pedimental sima by two methods. They were either fastened by metal pins inserted into corresponding holes in the cresting and sima, or they were set into a sima that had a groove along the top. Both methods employed molten lead to secure the join. The crestings were used until the end of the Republic.\textsuperscript{26}

Architectural terracottas were used much more extensively in Etruria and Latium\textsuperscript{27} than in the Greek world where marble became the more commonly used material after the archaic
period. The long use of terracotta in Italy was because of the lack of a more suitable building material which could replace it, for it was not until the discovery of the Luna marble quarry at the end of the Republic, c.30 B.C., that Italy had a supply of marble readily available. Despite this supply of marble, terracotta continued to be used, if not on temples, at least on a great variety of other structures (see below p.7).

Andren states that Campana reliefs may be seen as the "very much transformed descendants of the early Etrusco-Italic revetments". These Campana relief plaques begin to appear on both sacred and secular in the late Republic. The Capitolium at Cosa, 5th phase of decoration, c.50 B.C., and the villa of Settefinestre, also c.50 B.C., and are two early appearances of Campana reliefs.

Although the greatest production and use of Campana reliefs was under Augustus and the Julio-Claudians, the reliefs were produced from the time of Sulla and used as late as the early third century A.D. in the Baths of Caracalla. Despite their longevity, the geographical area of their production and use was limited, bounded by the Alps on the north and Naples on the south. Their greatest concentration was in and around Rome, which is not surprising since they were often manufactured by the Roman brick industry, as were other items such as antefixes and dolia. Like bricks, the reliefs were mould-made, mass produced, and sometimes stamped; but whereas the brick stamp can also represent the name of the brickyard, the relief stamp represents only the name of the person who made it.

In general, the clay fabric of Campana reliefs contains many inclusions of grog. The front surface was covered with a very fine slip, providing a smooth ground for the application of coloring which was applied after firing. Traces of paint on reliefs indicate that often the background was blue and the figures red, with other colors such as yellow and purple also being used. Mouldings were also painted.

The subject matter of Campana reliefs can be grouped into several broad categories:
Nilotic scenes, gladiatorial and circus scenes, victories and semi-historical scenes, and mythological scenes. Of the mythological subjects depicted, there are over twenty known Dionysiac themes.

Whatever the subject, each scene is usually self contained and thus the scenes rarely form a visual continuity, even though they may show a thematic unity. It is the upper or lower decorative border or moulding which would provide a visual continuity. Because there is no moulding on the sides of the reliefs, the reliefs could be placed next to each other to form a frieze.

The plaques were attached to the exterior and/or interior of buildings. Within the repertoire of the Greek system of architectural terracottas, the Campana reliefs are generally of three basic types: the revetment plaque (Fig.6), the parapet-sima (Fig.7), and the sima (Figs.8&9). Revetment plaques (Fig.6) have a flat top edge defined by a plain band and a scalloped bottom edge. Most of these revetment plaques have mould-made nail holes for nailing the plaque onto wood or plaster. They were generally placed just under the cornice, the usual place for a frieze, and are of greater height than width. Another type, the so-called parapet-sima, has a scalloped or saw-tooth type upper moulding and a flat lower edge much like a tenon joint (Fig.7). Rarely having nail holes, this type was probably based on the sima in the form of a parapet, or parapet-sima. That is, this type could be placed along the eaves like a traditional sima, but was of a greater height than a sima, thus offering a larger area for decoration. Compared to the cornice-revetment type, the parapet-sima type is generally of greater width than height. The sima type has a flat upper edge defined by a plain band, and a lower tenon joint. The sima type is found with varying proportions between height and width (Figs.8&9). It is possible that this type was placed in either a sima position or as a cornice frieze. The differences in the mouldings may indicate how and where the reliefs were attached.
Rather than their forms which remain virtually unchanged or their subject matter which was often repeated with only slight stylistic changes, it was perhaps in their expanded use as decoration suitable to various types of structures that the greatest development of the Campana reliefs took place. Thus these brightly colored reliefs adorned temples, baths, theaters, columbaria, pleasure ships, tombs, and villas.⁴³
THE SITE 10 CAMPANA FRAGMENT: A SATYR RELIEF

In this chapter, the selected Campana fragment and the restored composition of the original relief are described. Other Campana reliefs of various origins, dates, and style depict the same scene. These other reliefs are discussed and compared with the Site 10 relief as well as some of the difficulties encountered when using only stylistic analysis to date Campana reliefs.

The selected Campana fragment, G10/85-9, has a greatest preserved measurement of 13cm h. x 12.5cm w. The fragment is about 8% of the original size of the plaque (see below), and shows the heads of two young satyrs looking into a basin with a lion’s head above and between them (Fig.10). The clay is a light red color and there are many small, medium, and large inclusions of reddish brown grog. A very fine, thin slip covers the relief surface. No traces of paint remain. The topsoil layer in which the fragment was found contained building rubble, selce, plaster, marble revetment fragments, tesserae, and sherds of coarseware and fine ware.

A reconstruction drawing (Fig.11) of the Site 10 relief was possible by using various fragments (Figs.12-39). The reconstructed plaque measures approximately 33cm h. x 38cm w. and is of the parapet-sima type. The upper moulding consists of seven-petalled palmettes rising above seven "arches" which sit upon a tongue pattern placed between two plain bands. Below this in fairly high relief are the two nude satyrs who hold onto and peer into a basin while standing on tiptoe. Between the satyrs heads and that of the lion, the clay is lightly modelled to represent a liquid flowing from the lion’s mouth into the basin. As restored, growing from the pedestal of the basin is a grape-bearing stem which becomes a twining and flowering vine. The vine gracefully fills the background on either side of each satyr, and with the two satyrs, appears to help support the basin. The composition is bilaterally symmetrical
with slight variations in the two goat-tailed satyrs who are well modelled with the muscular tension in the legs being especially well executed. Although their heads are in strict profile, their bodies turn slightly outward so that their chests and both legs are visible. The satyrs' hair and the lion's mane are plastically rendered.

The contours of all the impressed figures are clean and the forms clearly delineated, which indicates that the original mould and production were generally of high quality and careful workmanship. All the satyr/lion fragments appear to have come from the same mould. There were at least four plaques of the satyr/lion scene because there are four separate fragments, each showing the feet of the left satyr. These fragments are G10/83-59 (Fig.14), G10/80-182 (Fig.24.), G10/87-47 (Fig.25), G10/82-348 (Fig.26). The evidence of four identical plaques from one site seems to be unique among the other Campana reliefs showing variations of this same scene.47

There are eight other complete or nearly complete Campana reliefs now in museums in Palermo, London, Copenhagen, Paris, Rome, Munich, and Florence (Figs.40-46) depicting the same satyr/lion scene. Rome has two different examples which will be designated in this thesis by the names of the structures from which they come, the temple of Fors Fortuna and the house of Avidius Quietus. The Palermo, London, Copenhagen, and Munich plaques seem to be single examples. There are two examples of the Avidius Quietus relief,48 two examples of the Florence relief,49 and two examples of the Paris relief50 with the second being an unpublished fragment in Ostia. It would seem that in each case the two examples are exact duplicates (see p.18 for discussion of pairs of reliefs). The Fors Fortuna relief51 is similar to another fragment in Heidelberg. Comparisons of the eight reliefs (Palermo, London, Copenhagen, Paris, Fors Fortuna, Avidius Quietus, Munich, Florence) with the Site 10 relief reveal some interesting differences in detail, quality, and style.

The Palermo (Fig.40) and the London (Fig.41) plaques are the most similar to the Site
10 plaque. One of the obvious differences is that the tongue moulding of the Site 10 relief rises from the bottom up, while the Palermo and London tongue comes from the top down. From the available photographs, the Palermo and London satyrs appear stockier and more crudely modelled. The pedestal of the Site 10 basin could perhaps be drawn from the representation on these two plaques. Although no provenance or secure date is given for either relief, they have been placed by style in the Flavian period by Borbein.

The Copenhagen (Fig. 42) and the Paris (Fig. 43) reliefs have both been dated to the Augustan period according to Borbein. While the Copenhagen relief shows the linear and planar style usually associated with the early Empire, and has been given an Augustan date based on comparisons with the Farnesina stucos and on the form of the egg and dart, the Paris relief does not show this same style. It is in higher relief and much more plastically rendered with the basin and the vine more florid and decorative. Borbein suggests that the Paris relief is the earliest of the cornice-revetment type satyr/lion reliefs, and that the greater height of the plaque does not allow for the design to "spread out." He does not discuss the style of this plaque. In style, the Site 10 plaque is closer to the Copenhagen example, even though the Site 10 plaque appears to be in higher relief with the hair of the satyrs and the head of the lion being especially well defined. The Site 10 satyrs are not as slender and elegant as in the Copenhagen relief.

Another satyr/lion relief (Fig. 43A) was found associated with the Tiberian temple of Fors Fortuna located on the banks of the Tiber in Rome. Jacopi, the excavator, states that there is imprecision in the faces and the contours which indicates a much used mould. He also states that it is different from the Copenhagen example only in the lack of the egg and dart. A more careful examination reveals another difference. The vine on the Fors Fortuna example is lacking the tendrils and rosette found at the middle of the sides of the Copenhagen relief. In fact, the Fors Fortuna vine tendrils correspond much more closely to those of the
Palermo, London, and Site 10 examples. Enough of the upper moulding of the Fors Fortuna relief remains showing that though similar, it is different. Borbein, on the basis of the depth of the relief surface, suggests that perhaps the Fors Fortuna relief is later than the Augustan Copenhagen example. Several other Campana relief fragments from Fors Fortuna which depict different scenes have been dated by Tortorella to the reigns of Caligula or Claudius, on the basis of iconography and historical references.

The second relief in Rome (Fig.44) is known to have come from the house of Avidius Quietus on the Esquiline Hill, and can be dated by prosopography to the end of the 1st century A.D. (CIL III, 355; VI, 3828; XV 1, 460, 2397) and thus Flavian. Compared to the Palermo, London, Fors Fortuna, and Site 10 plaques, there are some differences, not all of which can be ascribed simply to the difference of height and width between the cornice-revetment type plaque and the parapet-sima or sima type plaque. In the Avidius Quietus relief, the satyrs are again slender, the lion's head is not present, and the vine so stylized that it has lost its natural, organic quality and become even more of a flat decorative pattern. The basin is very similar to that of the Paris relief, as is the posture of the satyrs which is stiffer and less active than the bent back pose of the Copenhagen, Palermo, London, Fors Fortuna, and Site 10 reliefs.

Another example is represented by the Munich relief (Fig.45) which is quite similar to the Avidius Quietus relief. The basin as well as the flat patterning of the vine are much the same on both examples, although the posture of the Munich satyrs is not quite as stiff. Because of the fragmentary condition of this plaque, it is difficult to tell if the lion's head is actually represented. Borbein states that the Munich plaques is the latest, but he gives no date. Nor is provenance given.

The plaque from Florence (Fig.46) is quite obviously different in quality and style from other reliefs, even though it too shows the same satyr scene. It is noticeably cruder and
probably comes from a provincial workshop. The satyrs are in a lunging pose as opposed to the tip toe stance of the satyrs on the other reliefs. The lion's head is not represented at all, while the vine is hardly more than a series of curlicues. The upper and lower mouldings also differ greatly in style and quality from that usually found on reliefs considered to have been made in Rome. No provenance or date is suggested.

The forms of the vine, the lion's head, the basin, and the posture of the Palermo, London, Fors Fortuna, and Site 10 reliefs are all closer to the forms of the Copenhagen relief than to the other reliefs, though the style is less refined than the Copenhagen example. The similarities of these forms might indicate that these four reliefs are perhaps based on the design of the Copenhagen relief and could be dated between the Augustan and the later examples.

Of the satyr/lion reliefs, only one, Avidius Quietus, can be given a date independent of stylistic considerations. Only two other satyr/lion reliefs, Fors Fortuna and Site 10, were found in contexts which might offer evidence in addition to stylistic considerations. Dating by style alone, though hazardous, is necessary when it is the only means. However, when evidence from other sources is available, it too must be looked at carefully to determine what information is offered.
PHASES AND FUNCTION OF THE SITE 10 VILLA

Some interpretation of evidence from the Site 10 villa is still subject to change, as excavation is not yet complete. However, as stated in the Introduction (p.1-2), it is felt that the physical context in which the Campana reliefs were found is important for a more complete understanding of how and where the reliefs were used at this site. After a description of the different phases of the villa as it is understood as this time, some of the evidence from the villa which can be used for the dating of these phases will be considered.

The excavated structures of the Site 10 villa date only from the Augustan through the 2nd decade of the 3rd century A.D. There are several construction phases for the existing principal structure. The tentative determination of the construction phases is as follows: Phase I: early Augustan (Fig.47), Phase IIa: first half of the 1st century A.D. (Fig. 48), Phase IIb: second half of the 1st century A.D. (Fig.49), Phase III: Hadrianic, post c. 120 A.D. (Fig.50).

The Phase I early Augustan plan (Fig.47) shows recessed entrances on both the north and the south leading into a peristyle courtyard. A possible Republicanocus on the north looked onto this courtyard. Storerooms flanked the southern entrance with what is interpreted as a roofed cistern just outside the villa proper, south of the western storeroom. The western block of rooms facing the peristyle was probably residential and included a bath suite of two rooms in its northeastern section.

The Phase IIa plan shows the villa as might have been rebuilt in the 1st half of the 1st century A.D. (Fig.48). An atrium (or atrium-like space) incorporated the Phase I northern entrance. More residential rooms were added both east and west of this atrium along the northern facade of the villa, with those to the west enlarging the bath suite. The villa also expanded to the east and south with the addition of industrial areas which were probably
unroofed, yet defined by enclosure walls. This industrial area included a silo as well as tanks or basins which could be part of a fullery. On the south, an emplacement for a screw-type press next to treading and collecting basins with run-off channels was likely used for the making of wine.

In Phase IIb, tentatively dated to the second half of the 1st century A.D., the villa expanded westward (Fig.49). Two rooms plus a portico were added on the northwest as a part of a new expansion of the bath suite. An L-shaped portico was also added along the western residential block. The southwest storeroom became residential, and would have opened onto the western portico.

Several more expansions and changes of function took place in the Hadrianic Phase III (Fig.50). New rooms were added along the length of the northern facade. The rooms on the northeast, except for the oecus, became industrial. This industrial area includes two new rooms which are Phase III additions, as well as the conversion of three Phase II residential rooms to industrial activities. Included in this northeast industrial expansion, was the installation of a mechanical press and concrete lined tank which were used for making wine. The eastern corridor of the peristyle also became industrial with the addition of dolia emplacements. The atrium-like area of Phase II became an unroofed service area, although reduced in size, which served the bathing facilities. The Phase IIb northwestern bathing room additions and portico became residential and also expanded northward. The L-shaped Phase IIb western portico became U-shaped with the addition of a southern wing. More residential rooms were added to the west of the Phase II cistern which in this phase was roofed and converted into a room for agricultural activities. The southern enclosure wall was extended to the west, and further industrial expansion took place outside the eastern enclosure wall.

Evidence offered by Site 10 brickstamps suggests that an expansion began to take place around 40 A.D. There are at least seven brickstamps of L. POSTHUMI H, securely
dated to c.40 A.D. These seven stamped bricks have an added significance when it is taken into account that in the late 1st century A.D. only 10% of the bricks were stamped by the brick manufacturers; by the second century A.D., 20-50% of the bricks were stamped, with more bricks stamped in the year 123 A.D. than at any other time in the history of Roman brick production. There seems to have been a steady increase in the practice of stamping bricks beginning in the late 1st century A.D., and reaching a peak in the year 123 A.D. Because the seven Site 10 stamped bricks were manufactured before this practice began to increase, one could conclude that fewer than 10% of the bricks were stamped c.40 A.D. If this fact is considered, then the seven L. POSTHUMI H brickstamps represent a greater number of total bricks actually used at this time (c.40 A.D.) than would the same number of stamped bricks of a 2nd century date. Therefore, a significant expansion of the villa or Phase IIa is indicated.

The Site 10 brickstamp evidence for the second half of the 1st century does not seem to offer a similar proportion of stamps which can be so closely dated. At this time, most of them can be dated only by their lunate form to c.60-100 A.D. Until they are thoroughly researched, a closer dating for Phase IIb is not possible. It is hoped that these later 1st century A.D. stamps might also help in determining if Phase IIa and Phase IIb could possibly be combined into one phase.

Second century brickstamps clearly indicate an expansion c.120 A.D. Site 10 has produced at least ten examples of a stamp with the name TI. CLAUDIUS BLASTUS. This stamp is currently the most commonly found stamp at Site 10, and is Hadrianic in date, or c.117-138 A.D. As stated above, stamped bricks reached their peak during this time. This means that the ten TI. CLAUDIUS BLASTUS stamped bricks can be equated with the seven L. POSTHUMI H stamped bricks to give a somewhat similar total number of bricks used in remodeling and expansion.

Pottery from Site 10 does not offer such specific evidence. Although occupation of
the site is confirmed from the 2nd-1st centuries B.C. by pottery, a clear and consistent stratigraphy is lacking. The distribution of datable pottery shows neither obvious gaps nor great concentrations which might provide information about the chronological development of the villa.77

The locations where Campana relief fragments were found are fairly scattered about the villa (Fig.51), but also with some areas of concentration: southern facade and entrance--8, southeastern industrial area78--7, peristyle--11, atrium--8. Thirty-five fragments were either unstratified or in plowed topsoil and so the areas noted above may be somewhat misleading. Six fragments were re-used for other purposes with four fragments used as fill in cuniculi (underground tunnels), and two fragments used as bricks to construct a tank. While twelve fragments had mortar on them,79 which may indicate that they too were used as bricks, no analysis was made to determine if different types of mortar were used.

The evidence of the re-use of at least two of the Site 10 Campana fragments shows that their value as architectural decoration was at some point in the life of the villa superceded by their value as construction material. This raises the question of the life of architectural terracottas. Blagg80 suggests that the five re-decorations of the Capitolium at Cosa81 within the space of a hundred years (c.150 B.C.-50 B.C.) indicate a relatively short lifespan for terracottas. Breakage, discoloration, and weathering could be reasons for either the replacement or removal of the reliefs, if they were placed on the exterior of a structure. If they were placed on the interior, their use could be much longer.

The Site 10 villa may provide an example, for in Phase III, the Phase IIa/b atrium-like space becomes an unroofed service area. If the reliefs were used here as a wall frieze or as single elements, then they were probably not removed. If the reliefs were set along the eave of tiles of the compluvium, (perhaps with spouts at the corners providing drainage) then they would have been removed with the destruction of the Phase II roof when construction of the new Phase III roof began. In addition, the construction of the tank (TNK 210) where the two Campana circus relief fragments were found used as bricks, is dated to Phase III
which indicates that these fragments were no longer used as decoration by c. 120 A.D.

All four of the tentative construction phases of the Site 10 villa offer physical possibilities for decoration with Campana reliefs. Phase IIa, IIb, and Phase III show continued and increasing agricultural or industrial activities, but it would seem that Phase IIa and Phase III offer some of the clearest evidence. Phase III is in a sense a continuation of the structural and functional expansion which began initially in Phase IIa, dated c.40 A.D. When a change is made upon which livelihood depends, such as agricultural activities like wine making which first appears in Phase IIa, then everything is done which can help insure that success. This initial Phase IIa expansion of the villa could be the reason for the use of particular Campana reliefs at Site 10.
THE SITE 10 CAMPANA RELIEFS

Like other sites such as Cosa and Fors Fortuna, several different Campana reliefs were found at the Site 10 villa. Comparison of the physical characteristics among the different Site 10 reliefs is followed by a discussion of a stamped and datable Site 10 relief and its relationship to the other reliefs. Possibilities of where and how the reliefs were placed at the villa are also to be explored.

The Site 10 Campana reliefs recovered so far belong to five different scenes: the satyr/lion, the two vindemia, the herm and the circus. There are four plaques of the satyr/lion scene, two of harvesting and one of pressing, three of the herm, and one of the circus. Multiple plaques showing the same scene seem to have come from the same mould. Each different scene has its own particular top moulding,83 and thus there could have been five different friezes. These could have been used at the villa either simultaneously (in five different areas) or consecutively (in one area) or even some at one time and place and some at another. However, the reliefs themselves do not offer much evidence for such specific divisions.

Richardson suggests that Campana reliefs were conceived, made and sold, and attached in pairs.84 Such pairs were found at Cosa and on the Imperial boats at Nemi.85 This helps to account for the identical, multiple reliefs found at Site 10. It would seem then, that the frieze could be comprised of only one repeated scene as evidences by the Casa dei Ceciili86 frieze, or by an alternating sequence with the scene changing but the moulding remaining the same. The Site 10 satyr/lion, herm, and vindemia scenes seem to have no companion pieces. The circus scene (Fig.52) does have a companion scene (Fig.53), but no fragments of this companion have been found at Site 10.

All of the fragments are of the same type with an upper scalloped edge, even though there are different patterns in the moulding. All lower edges are of a tenon-type (Fig.54). The form of the upper scalloped or saw-tooth edge is similar enough to the terracotta parapet-
simae from Archaic Larisa (cf.Fig.2) and Thasos (cf.Fig.3) to suggest these sites as possible prototypes for this type of Campana relief, at least in form, if not also in placement. As stated before in the History (p.4), the figured terracotta frieze has roots in Eastern Greek, or Ionic architecture. It may be that further scholarship could show if this parapet-sima form was transmitted through the influx of Greek artists into Rome during the 1st century B.C., for this form does not appear in Rome before the appearance of Campana reliefs c.50 B.C.\textsuperscript{87}

It is not possible to determine if all the reliefs were the same size.\textsuperscript{88} Two fragments (Figs.14&55) are nearly preserved to their full height. Both fragments, measured from the top of the moulding to the bottom of the projection above the tenon, are approximately 34cm. The tenon itself is unevenly broken on both fragments. None of the Site 10 fragments show nail holes, nor traces of paint. All have a fine, thin slip. The fabric of all the fragments is similar in composition with inclusions of grog and no inclusions which might indicate anything other than typical Roman brick fabric.\textsuperscript{89} The color is uniformly pink, and any other color differences are because of differences in firing, not fabric.

Because many of the Site 10 reliefs are quite fragmentary, it is somewhat difficult to make very many stylistic judgments. Generally, none of the reliefs show elements of either the elegant classicistic, linear Augustan style nor the more elaborate late 1st century A.D. style as exemplified by the Copenhagen (Fig.42) and Avidius Quetius (Fig.44) reliefs discussed in Chapter II. Instead what can be seen among the Site 10 reliefs is a lack of obvious stylistic differences. They all show attention to detail, for example: the ankle bone and toes of a satyr (Fig.25); the tail of a satyr (Fig.23); the similarity of the lip of the satyr's basin (Fig.12) with the lip of the bowl in the herm scene (Fig.55); the torso and the turning pose of the male figure in the herm scene (Fig.55); the detail of the horses' heads in the circus scene (Fig.56); the beard and hair of the figure from the vindemia pressing scene (Fig.57) and also the 'weight' of the folded cloak on his shoulder and the 'lift' of his leg. The most vigorous and plastic modelling seems to be found in the rendering of the lion's mane and face (Fig.12), while the crudest modelling seems to be found in the pavilion and votive statue in the circus
scene (Fig.58).

This circus scene may help in providing a likely date for the other site 10 reliefs, for it retains traces of the stamp ANNIAE ARESCUResA

\(^{90}\) (cf.Fig.52) as does the companion circus scene (cf.Fig.53). Some 30 stamps have been found on Campana reliefs and are dated from the late Republic through the Julio-Claudian periods; after the Julio-Claudian period, only two stamps have been found and they belong to the time of Trajan and Hadrian.\(^{91}\)

The Site 10 circus fragments correspond exactly with an intact relief now in Vienna (cf.Fig.52). This relief and its identically stamped companion circus relief have been dated c.50 A.D. by von Rohden and Winnefeld on the basis of epigraphy, provenance, style and subject matter, and especially the elaborately decorated metae or goals.\(^{92}\) These metae are taken as evidence of Claudius' work on them: Suetonius (Claud.21.3), "But the Circus Maximus he adorned with barriers of marble and gilded goals, whereas before they had been of tufa and wood." Humphrey rightly points out that the goals had been decorated earlier, but not gilded. However, Humphrey also points out that the metae on these reliefs are more detailed than those found in any other representation, and that this great attention to detail does in fact, reflect Claudius' work on them.\(^{93}\)

Tortorella substantially agrees with von Rohden and Winnefeld, adding the evidence of the Sant' Elia relief (see below) and of the stamps (see above). Tortorella adds that the latest date for these Campana reliefs could be at the beginning of Nero's reign c.54 A.D.\(^{94}\)

Only one scholar, Borbein, states that an exact date in the 1st century A.D. is not possible for the circus reliefs. Like Humphrey, he points out that the metae were decorated earlier and agrees that the detailed representation of the metae can be interpreted as evidence of Claudius' work on them. He notes, but does not discuss, the evidence of the ANNIAE ARESCUResA stamp on the intact circus reliefs in London and Vienna. He makes no reference to the Castel Sant' Elia relief.\(^{95}\)

Further support for a date of c.50 A.D. for the circus Campana reliefs is offered by the Castel Sant' Elia marble relief which is itself dated to c. 50 A.D.\(^{96}\) This relief is so similar
to the Campana circus reliefs, that it has been proposed that all are based on an earlier original relief which commemorated Claudius' work on the circus. Also to be noted is the fact that in 47 A.D., Claudius re-instated the secular games for the 800th birthday of Rome. This would have been a most appropriate occasion for both a monument commemorating a special event in the city's history, and for the completion of Claudian work on the circus.

Because the Site 10 circus relief fragments correspond exactly with the datable stamped circus relief in Vienna (Fig.52), the Site 10 circus relief can also be given a date of c.50 A.D. This mid-1st century date could help provide a likely date for the other site 10 reliefs. All the Site 10 reliefs are of the same type, the parapet-sima. All are of the same clay fabric. All show attention to detail and modelling. None of the reliefs show any obvious stylistic differences which would make one relief Augustan or another Flavian or late 1st century A.D. Thematic differences as evidenced by Cosa and Fors Fortuna, are not necessarily chronological differences. The manifold similarities and the lack of dissimilarities could indicate that all the Site 10 Campana reliefs should be given the same date as the c.50 A.D. Site 10 circus relief, and the decoration of the Site 10 villa with these reliefs could be Phase IIa which itself indicates a physical and functional change about mid-1st century A.D.

Like Settefinestre, the problems of placement of the reliefs at the Site 10 villa are not completely resolvable, regardless of the phase, although the terracottas from both Asia Minor and Etruria may provide possible prototypes. It has been suggested by Borbein that the reliefs are too heavy, too big, offering too much wind resistance on a base too small, for them to have been placed in a parapet-sima position, despite the lead used to secure the mortise-tenon joint. There is another limiting factor to an exterior parapet-sima position at Site 10, for no grooved roof tiles have been recorded at the villa. It is certainly possible that grooved roof tiles could have been used here, and quantities of lead have been found which could have been used to secure the plaques.

It is proposed by Borbein that this type of relief was set into the upper part of walls, with the plaster and the tenon providing necessary support, and that only in this type of
placement does the tenon have a significant function.\textsuperscript{100} The mortar on the Site 10 reliefs could be evidence of this kind of placement, rather than a result of their being used as bricks.

However, the profile (Fig.54) of the Site 10 reliefs would seem to preclude their being set into walls. The reliefs are thickest at the projection above the tenon and they taper slightly upwards. Setting the plaque into a wall so that the decorated surface was flush with the wall, would mean that the plaque would have to be set at an angle tilting forward. The top moulding, being scalloped, would require a very careful application of plaster around it. This seems unnecessarily difficult when reliefs with mould-made nail holes were also available. The parapet-sima relief would have to be let into the wall either during original construction or as part of a room re-decoration which would have included re-plastering and re-painting. Borbein states that more of the parapet-sima type reliefs have been found unbroken than have the sima type relief and that this could be because the parapet-simae were let into the walls.\textsuperscript{101} This may be true. However, at Site 10 not one relief has been found intact and unbroken. The fragmentary condition of the Site 10 reliefs may be a result of their being placed in the more vulnerable exterior parapet-sima position, or simply a result of the final destruction of the villa.

The Site 10 reliefs seem too similar to have been successive re-decorations of the same location. Because of the different designs on the top moulding, it seems likely that they would be placed in separate locations. Above the entrances, around the peristyle, and the compluvium of the atrium of the Phase I or Phase IIa villa (Figs.47&48) would seem best suited to a parapet-sima placement. The western portico of Phase IIb and Phase III (Figs.49&50) would also be suitable, but less likely on the basis of the c.50 A.D. date for the reliefs. It is possible that a combination of placements was used, with some reliefs used as parapet-simae and some let into the walls. It is not possible to determine by physical evidence which reliefs were placed in which location. However, a placement appropriate to the satyr/lion scene is suggested by its iconography.
SATYR RELIEFS AND DIONYSIAC SYMBOLISM

The Campana relief satyrs are part of a larger, traditional body of Dionysiac representations and motifs, some of which were probably transmitted and adapted by Neo-Attic workshops. Just as there are variations among the Campana reliefs, there are also variations of the pose used in the motif of two figures poised on either side of a vessel.

The Greek artists who moved to Rome after Sulla sacked Athens in 86 B.C., continued the copying of older compositions and motifs as the basis of what has been termed "Neo-Attic" classicism. This practice had already begun in Athens in the mid-2nd century B.C. Although the motif of two figures placed on either side of a vessel remains constant and can be traced as far back as Archaic Greece, it seems that two different poses were often used for the figures.

The satyrs in an active lunging pose (one leg bent forward with the foot flat on the ground, while the second leg is stretched out straight with the foot on tiptoe, Fig.60) are found on a variety of objects such as vases, table supports, and thrones. The typical Neo-Attic tiptoe stance is found more often on Campana Reliefs. This static, standing pose seems to be an adaptation of the Neo-Attic figure to the peopled scroll motif which had its roots in Hellenistic Greece. These variations of pose may be seen as examples of the eclecticism of the Neo-Attic workshops, or they may also be seen as different activities. That is, the active lunging pose seems to be used more often on objects that do provide some kind of physical support, while the static tiptoe seems to be used more often on objects that are to be looked at or contemplated, such as the Campana reliefs.

One of the earliest examples of the motif of two figures poised on either side of a wine-bearing vessel comes from Archaic Mycenae, dated no earlier than c.550 B.C. A painted terracotta lateral sima shows two nude, bearded satyrs kneeling with each holding the handle of a large katharos placed between them (Fig.61). Below them is an ivy motif. An associated fragment shows the much larger head and shoulders of Silenos, who was probably flanked by
two pairs of satyrs and kantharoi. The structure from which these come is not known. From Macedonia comes a 6th century B.C. silver coin (Fig.62) showing two clothed nymphs on either side of a large amphora. They appear to be looking into it, or carrying it. Undoubtedly, the amphora is full of wine from the area. The rosette on the far right has been related to Dionysos as the god of fertility and the life-giving force of the sun. Other Dionysiac coins from the wine-producing city of Mende (Fig.63) show a vine, but as at Mycenae, it has yet to become fully integrated as part of the total image.

A Hellenistic marble stele from Pergamon has two goats posed heraldically on either side of an amphora. These goats may be understood as the animal equivalents of the two goat-tailed satyrs of the Site 10 relief. ἕφιππος, kid, is one of many ancient references to Dionysos (C.I.A. 1.4, 5th century B.C.; C.I.G. Ins.Mar.Aeg.1.906; Dio. Sic.3,66,3,n.3, 1st century B.C.). The other side of the stele is equally Dionysiac in its depiction of a twining vine, grape cluster, manead, and satyrs.

From the Acropolis Museum in Athens, come two fragments of a relief showing bearded, naked satyrs in a lunging pose. One arm of each satyr stretches out over the krater to the other satyr's forehead. A small portion of a vine tendril remains, indicating its presence in the relief. One fragment includes an upper architectural type moulding (Fig.64). No date is given.

This lunging pose over a krater is also found on the sides of a marble throne from the Olympieion (Fig.65). Here the motif is separated by the back of the throne, with each satyr having its own krater. Underneath the figure of the satyr is a vine bearing a large cluster of grapes surmounted by a rosette from which the vine and the grapes seem to be suspended. The throne, of a disputed date, has been dated to the 2nd-1st centuries B.C. according to Richter.

In Italy, a votive deposit of marble vessels was found at Nemi. All the vessels are of the same shape and style and were dedicated to Diana. One vessel shows the satyrs (Fig.66)
lunging at each other while pressing a cluster of grapes on each others’ foreheads so that the juice falls into the krater. This action is probably the same that is represented on the Acropolis relief. No date is suggested.\textsuperscript{111}

The Large Baths of Hadrian’s villa at Tivoli contained another variation of the motif. The central coffer of the stucco ceiling showed the satyrs and vase, with the foreground hands of the satyrs grasping a garland.\textsuperscript{112}

Identical marble table supports, one in the Vatican\textsuperscript{113} (Fig.67) and one in England\textsuperscript{114} (Fig.68) are given a late Hadrianic date. The filleted satyrs are again in a lunging stance. They peer into and hold grape clusters above the krater. Two crossed thyrsi are placed behind them. Two large winged griffins flank the whole scene. Almost identical is a relief in an etching by Piranesi\textsuperscript{115} (Fig.69). A base for a large sacrificial dish, sphinxes instead of griffins flank the satyrs. Here, as in the table supports, the vine is de-emphasized and other cult objects are present.

The many variations of the satyrs, krater, and vine—but not necessarily their formal placement—may be due to a process of visual metonomy, or equivalence of meaning. That is, just as in literature, a word, \textit{도록 (Eur. Bacc.379-385)}, is translated by an entirely different but equivalent word—'wine', so it is in visual representations. Dionysos is not just the personification of wine, but is the wine itself.

\textit{οὐτος θεοὶς σπένδεται θεὸς γεγός,}

He, being god, is poured out in libation to the gods

\textit{Eur. Bacc. 284}

Virgil too equates the god with wine.

\textit{hic tibi praevalidas olim multoque fluentis}
\textit{sufficet Baccho vitis}
this will someday yield you the superior strength of the vine, flowing with much Bacchus,

Geo.2, 190-91

He who partakes of the god becomes ἀγενός, or filled with the god, filled to overflowing (Plat. Phaedr.253). The enthusiast, the maenad, takes a name of the god, ἀγάλλυτος. Whoever leads the festive company (thiasos) not only takes the name of the god, he is the god, ἅγονιος (Eur. Bacc.115).

Dionysos can also be the lion.

Now the god became a fearsome, loud-roaring lion

Hom. Hymn to Dio. 7.44

His appearance as a lion may be his oldest manifestation as a wild beast.

Dionysos is more commonly equated with fertility and fecundity, and as Anthios, the blossom bringer (cf. C.I.A. 2.631, Paus. 1.31.2), with the coming of Spring. He is also Botrus, the grape cluster, and the son of Stamnos, the wine jar (Aristph. Frogs.22.).

So he is presented in visual representations. All these are essentially portraying the same thing, each other: the vine, the grape, the wine, the lion, the god. The flowering vine on the Site 10 relief is not merely a decorative device to fill up the empty space of the background. Rather, it is in a direct and reciprocal relationship with the vessel and the lion’s head. It is both growing out of and into the vessel. The liquid, be it water or wine, issuing from the lion’s mouth completes the circuit. The circular pattern of the gift of the god from the heavens and the gift of the god from the earth is not broken. Dionysos was the god of all moisture, all liquids (Plut. Is.& Os.35.365), including "liquid fire" in the grapes, sap in the trees, blood in the veins, and wine was "the earth’s blood" (Pliny N.H.14,58).

"And this god is a prophet" (Eur. Bacc.298). The power of prophecy, revelation and transformation are all intertwined with the consumption and contemplation of the god; and
these miracles and mysteries of Dionysos are widespread throughout the Graeco-Roman world.

Archaeological evidence from Corinth indicates that the 5th century B.C. Temple B was constructed specifically to produce and re-produce a "miracle", the transformation of water into wine. Ancient authors from Aristotle (On Marv. 123) to Pliny (N.H. 2,231;31,9;31,16) to Pausanias (4.36.7, 4.26.1-2) write of water turning into wine and of sacred springs associated with Dionysos. Lucian (Dio. 6,7) reports of three springs, one of which, the Spring of the Satyrs, is reserved for boys. He does not say what occurs when the boys get drunk on the sacred water, but he does relate that the old men, who drink from the Spring of Silenos, become loquacious.

Drinking sacred water as a means of reaching a prophetic state is well known from Claros and Delphi. Apollo and Dionysos shared the oracle at Delphi. There were more inquiries and answers about Dionysos than any other deity, more than all the other gods put together.

Hydromancy is the foretelling of the future by the use of water, and lekanomancy by the use of a vessel (Gen.V,2,5,15). Sometimes small stones were thrown in and a prophecy made from the agitated motion of the liquid (Iambl. Myst. 3,14). Katoptromancy was divining by means of a mirror (Paus.7.21.5); a gem was also sometimes used in conjunction with water (Pliny N.H. 37,192). Contemplation, rather than consumption, is the means whereby the god’s presence and will are made known. The satyrs of the Site 10 relief and other representations show not the insatiable thirst of a drunk, but the intensity of vision like that of a seer as they gaze into their basins.

Easily the most famous and most discussed Dionysiac representation is that depicted on the painted frieze from the Villa of the Mysteries. Here too, the scene may be interpreted as one of contemplation and vision. The figures themselves visually expand their world beyond the plane of the wall by glances which cross from wall to wall, and by looking directly at the spectator.

One of the most striking of these scenes is Silenos, the two satyrs, the mask and the
vessel in the left corner of the rear wall. The mask, identified by Brendel\textsuperscript{124} as \textit{dikratos} or the power of new and unmixed wine, is given added emphasis by being held up directly in front of one of the narrow panels in the background and above the head of Silenos. One satyr holds up the mask so that its reflection in the vessel held up by Silenos, is perhaps what is seen by the second satyr. The wide-open gaze of the second satyr, especially since the actual act of drinking with cup to lip seems to be rarely depicted in either Greek or Roman art, could indicate that the satyr is peering into, rather than drinking from the vessel.

Silenos appears to be looking across the corner of the room to the adjacent wall and the fleeing girl who turns away, but looks back, in a true apotropaic act. It may be that Silenos and the satyrs turn her around, not in the sense of inherent evil, but in the sense that she was going in the wrong direction. As the proverb in Plato (\textit{Phaedr}.69C) states, "Many bear the narthex but few are Bacchoi."

Perhaps it is the revelation of the "double play between mask and reality,"\textsuperscript{125} between appearance and reality, which frightens her; that the way of Silenos and the satyrs is not for her, but instead, she must submit herself to flagellation in order to become a true Bacche.\textsuperscript{126} Or perhaps, it is the revelation that to scorn the god is to invite madness of another sort, for there is only a small but crucial difference between manic and mantic (\textit{Phaedr}.244C), between madness and prophecy, the acceptance of divinity as revealed.

Perhaps she is both frightened and surprised by the future which is seen reflected, as if in a mirror,\textsuperscript{127} the "mirror of Dionysos" (Plot. \textit{Enn}.4,3,12) which is itself perhaps symbolically represented in another scene. The square mirror reflects the girl’s image, yet she does not look at it, for she is looking out at the spectator, just like the mask does. What seems to be important here is the power of vision, the act of seeing, and the knowledge gained from having seen. "O, blessed one who is fortunate, knowing (having seen \textit{eido\omicron\upsilon\omicron\rho\omicron\upsilon\zeta\omicron\omicron\nu\omicron\omicron}) the mysteries of the gods, piously lives his life and has his soul imbued with sacred Bacchic revelry" (Eur. \textit{Bacc}.72-75).
Historically, young boys were used to prophesy and determine the future. Apuleius \textit{(Apol.42)} citing Varro, says that a boy sang prophetic verses concerning the outcome of the Mithradatic Wars by contemplating the reflection of Mercury. Cicero \textit{(de Div. 2,41,86)} states that the pure hand of a boy drew the lots at the oracle of Fortuna Primagenia at Praeneste. Purity, both historic and symbolic, would seem to be the proper medium for divining from a vessel, just as Columella \textit{(de R.R. 12,18,3-4)} states that constant purity, piety, and vigilance are necessary for the making of new wine. What would the Site 10 and other satyrs see in their basins? The continuous presence of the transformed god, the ever-flowing wine, the future.

Regardless of the shape, the function of the vessel as a container for the god remains the same. Thus the satyr/leon Campana reliefs show several variations in the type of vessel used, and these variations may be related to different rituals (or stages of Dionysiac initiation) of purification, mixing and serving, drinking and libation. The Site 10 (Fig.11), Palermo (Fig.40), London (Fig.41), Copenhagen (Fig.42), and Fors Fortuna (Fig.43A) vessels are similar to a louterion \textsuperscript{129} or laver which is often shown in vase painting as a basin for bathing or as a splash basin for fountains. As a lustral basin, this type is known as a perirrhantion and contained water for ritual purification. The Florence relief (Fig.46) is a krater, which was both wide and deep for the mixing of quantities of wine. The Paris (Fig.43), Avidius Quietus (Fig.44) and Munich (Fig.45) reliefs show a type which is closer to being a kantharos which was the traditional drinking vessel associated with Dionysos and libations. The satyrs themselves complete the image of a kantharos, if they are seen as the handles of the drinking cup. Homer himself \textit{(Od. 22,10)} used the word \textit{\'amphutos}, "two-eared", to describe the anthropomorphic nature of the kantharos. A third century B.C. amphora (Fig.70) has two centaurs as handles, indicating that such figures were used.

This double form also applies to Dionysos himself. He was called "two-formed" \textit{(Dio.Sic.4,5,2-3)} because there was a masculine bearded Dionysos and a young feminine
Dionysos, just as the grape vine (vitis vinifera) is itself a hermaphroditic plant.130 Dionysos was also called "Dimetor" (Dio. Sic. 3,62,5-10) or "twice-born" because he was born from mortal Semele and from the thigh of immortal Zeus; and as the vine, he was born as a plant from the earth and the fruit from the vine. The god of wine also produces two kinds of drunkeness—happy and belligerent. Pentheus (Eur. Bacc. 918-22) began to see double when he put on the dress of the god—as if drunk. There is physical intoxication and spiritual intoxication, just as there is wine and god. Both create a change, one temporary, the other permanent. Dionysos himself changed to his mortal form in order to prove to the impious that he was an immortal god (Eur. Bacc. 20-54).

This doubling of Dionysiac forms on different yet simultaneous levels, is perhaps what is represented on a 4th century B.C. krater131 (Fig.71). This vessel shows a head in profile with the word ἄκρατος written in front of the face and an ivy leaf pointing to the crown of the head. The verbal and visual references are puns132 on the word ἄκρατος, meaning "unmixed and pure", and the word ὅ κράσις meaning "head", "top or summit", and the word τὸ κάρα meaning "head" or "rim of the cup". The genitive of ὅ κράσις is κρατώς and according to the rules of Greek grammar,133 the genitive is the case when used with adjectives like ἄκρατος, because of the idea of separation. On the krater, the head is "separated" from the body, like a mask is. Because there are three uses of the prefix ἀ (privative, copulative, intensive) and two uses of the form κρατός and two words for "head", the visual and verbal play is compounded. The krater could be "read" ἄκρατος ἄκρατος.

The power of the god to change, and to be changed by his fertilizing and nourishing presence, is the heart of the mystery and miracle of Dionysos, and is most potently expressed by the process of winemaking. As the Roman Liber Pater, Dionysos was often referred to as Father Lineaus, ἀλυσός, the "wine press".134 Unlike the Greeks, the Romans (Pliny N.H. 14,119) used only unmixed wine for libations. Ἀκρατοφόρος or "Neat Wine" (Pausanias 8. 39.5) was an Arkadian temple of Dionysos, and the term ἄκρατος (Pausanias 1.2.5) was used
specifically with reference to a face or mask set into a wall. The lion's head is traditionally
associated with water spouts, but it is not unrepresented as a spout for wine, and is shown as
such a wine spout on a pressing vat (Fig. 72) on an example of Italian Terra Sigillata ware.
In a Dionysiac context, the lion's head may be understood as the god himself. The lion's
head of the Site 10 relief could be Dionysos ἀκρατος, pure and unmixed, just as it could
be Dionysos ἱππος, a mask with a mouth open to speak, "flowing with much Bacchus."

The satyrs show much less variation. Some are bearded, some are not. They are all
young, strong, and nude. They were considered the children of Silenos who was the tutor of
Dionysos. Pausanias (1.23.6) says that old satyrs are called Silenoi. Silenos, the maenads,
and the satyrs are all part of the ever-attendant company of Dionysos. Satyrs are often shown
as vintners, and were depicted as such in vindemia scenes on Campana reliefs.

Pliny (N.H.19.50) states that satyrca signa, signs of the satyrs, are found only in
gardens and outside one's house as remedies against those who would cast an evil eye. In
other words, satyrca signa were used apotropaically. At Settefinestre, the Campana reliefs
depicted Gorgonia, a more traditional apotropaic symbol, and one which averts evil and
impurity of all kinds without a specific reference to or request from a particular divinity.
Satyrca signa, by their very nature, are invocations for the presence of Dionysos, for Dionysos
was also the bestower of prosperity (Eur. Bacc.419-420).

Evidence shows that there was a specific need for the divine presence and patronage
at the villa. At Site 10 "the entire southern section of the villa was always devoted to
agricultural activities", and the making of wine was an increasingly important part of these
activities. Datable brickstamp evidence indicates that the first expansion of the villa, Phase
IIa, began around 40 A.D. The evidence of treading and collecting basins and screw-type
press (p.12-13) indicate that the first functional expansion of the villa began at this time.

Perhaps it was as satyrca signa that the satyr/lion Campana reliefs were used here,
perhaps near the southern entrance of the Phase IIa villa. Although an exact correspondence
between the width of the southern entrance (approximately 6 Roman feet) and the linear
footage of the satyr/lion reliefs can not be verified at this time.\textsuperscript{139} It is possible that an exact correspondence is not absolutely necessary. The reliefs could have been placed on an overhang, or set into the exterior wall above the doorway. If they were placed in such a manner, they could announce the wine and its purity and oversee the activities of rural life. Here they could best protect the entering harvest and assure a continued successful vintage.

* * *

In summary, stylistic criteria, although important and useful, are not always sufficient for dating Campana reliefs. The archaeological evidence of the L.POSTHUMI H brickstamps and a wine-making press from the Phase IIa of the Site 10 villa would indicate a structural and functional expansion of the villa c.40 A.D. This archaeological evidence in conjunction with comparison of the lion/satyr fragment with other Site 10 Campana fragments, especially the circus scene dated to c.50 A.D., suggests a similar date for the satyr/lion relief and the other Site 10 Campana reliefs. On the basis of Dionysiac iconography, it is suggested the satyr/lion relief could have been placed near the southern entrance of the Phase IIa villa.

There is an abundance of extant Campana reliefs, but a scarcity of archaeological information about them. If all of the smallest of details were considered when studying Campana reliefs, then perhaps these details might provide further answers to the questions remaining.
NOTES

1. The first comprehensive and scholarly study of Campana reliefs was H. von Rohden and H. Winnefeld, Architektonische romische Tonreliefs der Kaiserzeit (Berlin 1911). This two volume work is still used as the standard reference on Campana reliefs.

In 1968, Adolph Borbein published Campanareliefs Typologische und Stilkritische Untersuchungen (Heidelberg 1968). This work is primarily an analysis of the typology of selected Campana reliefs.

More recently, Stefano Tortorella has published several articles concerned with questions of production, iconography, and dating.

2. Philip Oliver-Smith and Walter Widrig of Rice University, began excavation of the Via Gabina villas (Site 11, Site 10, Site 13) in 1976. In 1978, the excavation of Site 10 began, and since 1981, work has been concentrated on this one site. Virtually all of the villa proper has been excavated, with only some outlying secondary structures not completely dug.

The 1989 season will concentrate again on the atrium area and the western garden, with the cuniculi also being explored further.

Pertinent bibliography for Site 10:

P. Oliver-Smith AIA (1985) 344.


The author of this thesis participated in the 1986 and 1987 seasons, working in both the field and the pot shed. This 2-year field experience was in partial fulfillment for a Master's Degree in Art History, classical concentration, from Rice University.

This thesis is based on Campana relief fragments found in the 1978-87 seasons. More fragments were excavated in the 1988 season. They do not seem to be substantially different from those found in the previous seasons and will not be used as evidence in this thesis. The fragment chosen for this thesis was
selected before any research of the Site 10 Campana fragments began.

The Campana fragments from Site 10 are listed below, arranged by the scene to which they belong. von Rohden and Winnefeld (supra n.1) Vol.II, was invaluable for determining which fragment belonged to which scene.

Explanation of the Site 10 number system:

G10 stands for Via Gabina Site 10. The first number is the year the fragment was excavated. The second number is the Special Finds number.

Following the Site 10 number, is the trench in which the fragment was found.

Explanation of Site 10 trench system:
Site 10 is laid out using a 5m. grid system. Letters are used for the N-S coordinates, reading from N to S, beginning with the letter A. Double letters are used to continue the N-S designation after the letter Z. Numbers are used for the W-E coordinates, reading from W to E, beginning with 1. A trench is named by the letter-number coordinates at its NW corner. Some trenches are larger than 5m. square because the intervening baulk was removed and the trenches consolidated. B=baulk for G10/82-395. Some trenches have an additional letter after the trench coordinates. This letter indicates an area within the trench.
The circled number after the trench number is the layer number. A layer is defined by a change in the soil or by a change in what is found, e.g. a floor would be a new layer. Layers 1 and 2 are generally considered topsoil, and the higher the number, the greater the depth.
Specific features such as tanks or cuniculi are also noted by using an underlined abbreviation of the feature and its number.

For example: EE 22 C [1] CUN 011.

EE 22 is the trench.
C is the area.
[1] is the layer.
CUN 011 is the feature.

 Satyr/lion scene:

G10/80-7, X 18 [1]
G10/82-99, DD 22 [1]
G10/82-139, DD 19 East [1]
G10/82-151, DD 19 East M [3]
G10/82-183, CC 22 A [1]
G10/82-360, CC 22 D [4]
G10/83-59, EE 22 C 18 CUN 011
G10/83-82, CC 18 10
G10/84-7, DD 20 1
G10/84-98, CC 22 West 1
G10/84-208, Unstratified
G10/85-1, CC 17 1
G10/85-3, AA 22 1
G10/85-9, X 23 1
G10/85-15, BB 18 1
G10/85-63, X 21 Tnk 142 3
G10/85-152, Y 23 1
G10/85-166, Y 23 P 2
G10/86-5, Y 23 Surface
G10/87-47, BB 21 E 2
G10/87-51, Z 21/22 R 2
G10/87-54, Z 21/22 R 2
G10/87-84, Z 21/22 R 3

Vindemia:

Harvesting:  Pressing:

G10/82-22, U 21 S 2  G10/80-162, BB 9 G 3
G10/82-42, U 21 S 1  G10/83-177, W 21 L 3
G10/85-10, X 23 1  G10/85-40, X 21 1
G10/87-58, Z 21/22 R 2  G10/85-41, BB 18 2
G10/87-62, Z 21/22 R 2  G10/85-69, X 21 L 3
G10/87-76, Z 21/22 R 3  G10/87-78, Z 21/22 R 3

Herm:

G10/83-66, EE 22 C 14
G10/84-- no numbers, but both are from
G10/84-- trench DD 20 0 4 097
G10/85-70, X 21 L 3
G10/86-46, X 21 L 2
G10/86-47, X 21 L 2
G10/86-49, X 21 L 2
G10/87-14, AA 23 C 4
G10/87-77, Z 21/22 R 3

Circus:

G10/87-95, Y 21 S TNK 210
G10/87-96, Y 21 S TNK 210

Unknown:

G10/80-211, BB 9 G 5
G10/80-226, BB 9 G 2
G10/82-23, U 21 S 1
G10/82-138, DD 19 E 1
G10/85--no number,
G10/85--trench AA 22 C 2
G10/86-48, X 21 L 2
It is possible that G10/80-226 and the fragment from AA 22 C ② belong together. G10/80-226 is a diamond-rosette pattern and AA 22 C ② seems to be part of a moulding. This much was ascertained by comparing them to Fig.449, p.220 in v.Rohden-Winnefeld. Since they are not part of a figured scene, they are difficult to account for. If similar fragments are found in later seasons, then further research will needed to understand how they relate to the figured plaques and the villa.

The pressing scene presents a problem. None of the pressing scene fragments show any portion of the moulding so it is impossible to be absolutely sure with which moulding pattern the scene should be associated. Moulding fragments G10/80-162 and G10/87-78 could belong to this scene, but these moulding fragments do not show any part of a scene. Most likely these 2 moulding fragments do belong with the pressing scene, and are so listed.


The British museum has one of the largest collections of Campana reliefs. A count made of the reliefs in their possession (from the Catalogue) shows that there are at least 65 different Campana relief scenes. There are more than 20 Dionysiac themes depicted in Campana relief scenes. See (infra n.39). See also (infra n.52).

A. Andren, Architectural Terracottas from Etrusco-Italic Temples (Lund 1940) LXXVI-LXXVII.

Andren (supra n.8) LXXVII.

Andren (supra n.8) LXXIX.

Andren (supra n.8) LXXIX-LXXXIV. In note, LXXX, Andren gives the dates for examples from Asia Minor, ranging from Pazarli, 8th century B.C., to Larisa 7th-6th century B.C. Ake Akerstrom, Die Architektonischen Terrakotten Kleinasiens (Lund 1966) 243, would seem to date them from late 6th century B.C. Blagg (infra n.80) 269 states the Andren’s higher dates may be correct in the light of new evidence.

Andren (supra n.8) LXXXVIII-XCIX.

E.D. Van Buren, Greek Fictile Revetments in the Archaic Period (London 1926) xix.


Van Buren (supra n.13) 190-203, Comparative Tables.

Andren (supra n.8) C-CI.

Van Buren (supra n.13) 12
Van Buren (supra n.13) 30
E.D. Van Buren, Archaic Fictile Revetments in Sicily and Magna Graecia (London 1923) 121-5.
Van Buren (supra n.19) 52.
Andren (supra n.8) C-CI.
Dinsmoor (supra n.14) 44.
Andren (supra n.8) CXXIX-CXXX. There are three general periods assigned to Etrusco-Italic terracottas:

Period I: late 7th-mid 6th centuries B.C.- with a strong Ionic influence.
Period II: late 6th-mid 5th centuries B.C.- with dominant Ionic-Attic influence.
Period III: late 5th century B.C.- mid 1st century A.D.- with dominant influence from the schools of Scopas, Praxiteles, Lyssipus, and Hellenistic art.
Andren (supra n.8) CXLIX.
Andren (supra n.8) CXXXIX.
Andren (supra n.8) CLXXXVIII-CXCI.
Andren (supra n.8) CXVI.
Andren (supra n.8) CCXLII.
Brown, Richardson, and Richardson, Cosa II, The Temples of the Arx (MAAR 1960) 269-70, 296-300.
M.E. Blake, Ancient Roman Construction in Italy from the Prehistoric Period to Augustus. (Washington 1947) 11.
Tortorella (supra n.6) Pl. 15.
35 Tortorella (supra n.6) 226.

36 T. Helen, *Organization of Roman Brick Production in the First and Second Centuries A.D.* (Helsinki 1975) 47-49. On p. 12, Helen cites Cozzo, *Una industria nella Roma imperiale*, stating that these relief stamps have also been interpreted as religious symbols and as evidence for the spread of mystery cults.

37 Brown, Richardson and Richardson (supra n.29) 297-99.

38 These different subject matters seem to have, in some measure, co-existed. I have found no reference to a chronological study of the different subjects. Certain subjects such as the circus or semi-historical scenes (Parthian prisoners etc.) are considered typically Roman, while most of the mythological scenes are Greek.

39 A. Bruhl, *Liber Pater* (Paris 1953) 147 & n. 8. Bruhl cites von Rohden and Winnefeld (supra n.1) 30-92. Bruhl states that there are over 20 themes, not scenes, which implies that there would be even more scenes.


   'In 1761, a subterranean place, divided into many chambers, was discovered at Scrofano which is supposed to be ancient Veii.

   The dome of the largest of these chambers was enriched with paintings, in fresco, representing animals. The whole frieze below the dome was ornamented with bas reliefs in terracotta which were fastened to the wall with leaden nails. Many tombs on the Appian road as well as the temple dedicated to Honor and Virtue, near the Circus of Caracalla were ornamented in a similar manner and there are several ancient chambers still visible in the neighborhood of Rome, in which, though the bas reliefs have been long since removed, the places which they occupied are perfectly distinguishable.'

   See also Campana (Intro. p.1) 31, where he says that the reliefs from the Casa dei Cecili at Tusculum formed a lower frieze around the four sides of the room, like a dado. This frieze consisted of only one repeated scene, cf. Tav. I, and the form of the reliefs is like a sima with a plain top edge and a tenon at the bottom. It is a vertical format rather than a horizontal one as is usually found on simae.

   For exterior placement see Brown, Richardson and Richardson (supra n.29) 296-300 and also Carandini (supra n.30) Vol.I, 92-3.

41 Dinsmoor (supra n.14) 44,64. "Parapet-sima" is not an ancient term. It is used by Dinsmoor to distinguish these particular architectural forms from the more usual sima.

42 Dinsmoor (supra n.14) 64, 131-2.

43 Borbein (supra n.33) 18. Also Tortorella (supra n.6) App.II.

44 The color of the clay using the Munsell Soil Color Chart is 2.5 YR 6/6. This designation is the same for front and back surfaces, while breaks are a light reddish-brown, 2.5 YR 6/4-6/6.
The excavated location of G10/85-9 was trench X 23 1 near Wal 111. Also found in this layer was Campana fragment G10/85-10, showing a left foot in a kneeling position. It belongs to the harvesting scene.

The reconstructed drawing was made by Dan Borden, and architect and Rice graduate. He was able to make the drawing by using a xerox of the British Museum relief (cf. Fig.41) as a general guide, and the individual G10 fragments for particular detail and scale.

Roger Ulrich, of Rice Univ., pointed out that early collectors would have been less interested in small fragments, such as found at Site 10, and would have preferred intact reliefs. Thus, the four identical Site 10 reliefs may not be unique. April 1989.

Borbein (supra n.33) 38 note 179. There is also a fragment in the British Museum, D552, in which the basin appears to be similar to the Rome examples. Only the torso and head of the left satyr plus part of the basin in preserves, thus further comparison is not possible.

Borbein (supra n.33) 37 note 176.

Borbein (supra s.33) 38 note 178. The fragment is in the Antiquarium, Ostia.

Borbein (supra n.33) 36 note 171.

See also:
Reinach, S., Repertoire de Reliefs Grecs et Romain (Paris 1912) Vol.2, 275, Fig.1. is a line drawing of a much restored relief in Paris, Lourve. He cites Campana (Intro. p.1) Pl.42, which is an engraving. The measurements of the plaque are given as 40 cm h. and 44 cm w. The text for this plate is not included in Rice's holdings of Campana's work. Reinach also cites von Rohden and Winnefeld (supra n.1) 72. Borbein does not make reference to this relief. Reinach's line drawing is included here for the sake of completeness.

The British Museum relief D551 was purchased by the Museum in 1805 as part of the Towneley Collection. Towneley had purchased the relief and other objects from Mr. Nollekens who purchased the items from laborers who were working in the area of the Porta Latina in Rome. See H.B. Walters, Catalogue of the Terracottas in the Department of Greek and Roman Antiquities, British Museum, (London 1903).

Borbein (supra n.33) 37.
Borbein (supra n.33) 36-37. For the Paris relief Borbein cites von Rohden and Winnefeld (supra n.1) 71. Borbein does not give von Rohden and Winnefeld's arguments for the Augustan date.

The Farnesina stuccos, c.20 B.C., are stucco reliefs which decorated the Farnesina House in Rome and are now in the Mus. Naz., Rome. They show many Dionysiac scenes in the Neo-Attic style. See E.L. Wadsworth, MAAR (1924) 9-102.

Borbein (supra n.33) 36-37. Borbein used the word "Form" which translates as the same word in English. He does not give the arguments for the dating of the egg and dart.

Borbein (supra n.33) 37-38. Borbein is not concerned with questioning the dating of the satyr/lion reliefs by others. He cites the reliefs as examples of the many variations of one scene. Thus, he does not always give enough evidence if what one is concerned with is dating.


Jacopi (supra n.58) 120.

Jacopi (supra n.58) 120.

Borbein (supra n.31) 36-37 n.171.

Tortorella (supra n.31) 79-80.

Borbein (supra n.33) 38. See also Bulletin della Commissione (1877) 66-75. Avidius Quietus died in 107 A.D.

Borbein (supra n.33) 38. Borbein sites Munchen, Antikenegl. Inv. 370. Sieveking, Bronzen, Terrakotten, Vasen der Slg. Loeb 44 Taf.33,4; Pantheon 6, 1930,323

Borbein (supra n.33) 37.

(supra n.2), state of current excavation.

The use of opus reticulatum at Site 10 indicates a date not much earlier than c.50 B.C. Opus reticulatum was used primarily in the 1st century A.D. There is no evidence of opus incertum, 2nd-early 1st century B.C., at Site 10.

W. Widrig determined these tentative phases and drew the corresponding plans in October 1988.

The word oecus is Greek and can mean a chamber of room. Vitruvius (VI,3.8-10) describes 3 different kinds of oeci in Roman houses: the Corinthian, the Egyptian, the Cyzzene. Although the oeci as described by Vitruvius do not correspond exactly with the room at Site 10, the term oecus is used here to designate the main room of the villa.

W. Widrig, "Land use at the Via Gabina Villas" Ancient Roman Villa Gardens

71 Widrig (supra n.70) 257 n.30.

72 The term brickstamp is commonly used for both bricks and roof tiles. The brickstamps at Site 10 are stamps on the roof tiles, not bricks.

73 CIL XV,1, 1383. See also Bloch HSCP (1948) no.361. A date of c.40 A.D. is given to the stamp because examples were found on the boats of Nemi.

In the 1981 G10 Pottery Report, Joann Freed stated that there are 5 examples of the L POSTUMIUS stamp. But she does not list their G10 Special Finds number. She does not give a date, but includes them in her list of stamps of the Augustan period or the 1st half of the 1st century A.D.

Since J. Freed did not list the Special Finds number, it is difficult to tell from the xeroxed Special Finds cards which stamps she is referring to. From the 1981 and earlier Special Finds cards, I could find only two cards for the L. POSTUMIUS stamp. I assume that her count is correct.

In addition to the 5 stamps identified by J. Freed, at least two more have been found, G10/82-270 and G10/87-3. It is very likely that G10/87-4 will also prove to be L. POSTUMIUS.

The assertion of 7 stamps in the text refers to J. Freed’s 5 plus the two listed above which were found after her report was written.

Stamp G10/88-24 found in the 1988 season, appears to be another example.

74 Helen (supra n.36) 24.

75 See Helen (supra n.36) 10, 19. See also Bloch (supra n.73).

76 CIL XV 1, 578a,b.

As before, in the 1981 Pottery Report, J. Freed states that there are 7 examples of this stamp, but she does not list their G10 Special Finds numbers. In the Special Finds cards, I could find only 6 examples. I assume that her count is correct.

The assertion of Site 10 stamps in the text refers to J. Freed’s 7 plus three more which were found after her report was written.

77 Bedrock at Site 10 is very high. Therefore, a trench might have as few as 2 or 3 layers, or as many as 10 or 12. In the following explanations, the 761 layers are not intended to imply that all these layers are one on top of the other. It is a total arrived at by counting the layers from all the trenches which could be given a date by the pottery found in them.

Out of approximately 761 datable layers, 100 can be assigned to B.C.; 176 layers to the 1st century A.D.; 195 layers to the 2nd-3rd centuries A.D. At least 290 layers are quite mixed and contain pottery from several centuries.

The pottery dates for the layers in which Campana fragments were found were
also quite mixed. Out of 52 datable layers, 2 layers can be assigned to the 1st century A.D.; 11 layers to the 2nd-3rd centuries A.D.; 39 layers were of mixed dates.

It should also be remembered that the villa expands outward from a core peristyle form.

This southeast industrial area included a loggia along the southeastern side of the villa. It has not yet been placed in a building phase. The industrial activities in this area would seem to preclude the use of Campana reliefs here. However, Notizie degli Scavi 1913, p.227, Fig.1, reports a Campana fragment from a fullonica in Ostia. The fragment is a variant of the G10 circus scene.

The descriptions below are for mortar on the backs of the fragments. Any mortar on the front surface is removed so that the fragment can be identified. The two circus fragments had to be cleaned with dental tools as the mortar was quite stubborn. The fragments pried up quite easily and did not retain a large or thick amount of mortar on the back.

The fragments with mortar are:

G10/83-59-thick in a big patch/otherwise thin
G10/83-66-good amount on top half
G10/84-____DD 20 O @ 007-thin layer
G10/84-____DD 20 O @ 007-thick in patches
G10/85-47-light, even amount
G10/85-63-small amount
G10/85-69-isolated bits
G10/86-46-fairly even
G10/87-14-light, even amount
G10/87-58
G10/87-95
G10/87-96

T. Blagg, "The Use of Terra-Cotta for Architectural Ornament in Italy and the Western Provinces" Roman Brick and Tile BAR Internat’l Series 68 (Oxford 1979) A. McWhirr, ed. 271.

Brown, Richardson and Richardson (supra n.29).

Hyams (Infra.n.130) 8,100,102. Viticulture requires a heavy capital investment and long-term financing; one to three years is required for a return on the vintage. Winegrowing can be a very profitable business, yielding 3 to 10 times more than other agricultural enterprises.

There are at least 20 different top mouldings used on the parapet-sima reliefs. There are at least 6 different bottom mouldings used on revetment type reliefs. It would be an interesting study to see if and how these moulding patterns could be classified. It may be that bucrania and garlands used on some mouldings were directly influenced by Augustus’ use of them on the interior of the Ara Pacis. A comparison with von Blanckenhagen’s analysis of Flavian decoration might also be interesting.

Brown, Richardson and Richardson (supra n.29) 296. Richardson does not say exactly
how he arrived at this conclusion. Presumably it is because there are identical pairs of plaques with identical borders. He also suggests that most could probably be shown to be temple revetments. Tortorella (supra n.6) Appendix II lists known sites where Campana reliefs have been found. Eleven of those are temples, thirty-two are villas which indicate that temples were not the most common structure on which the reliefs were placed, even though a temple might have used more reliefs than a villa.

Jacopi (supra n.58) 112, cites von Rohden-Winnefeld (supra n.1) 47 as observing that the reliefs were frequently found as part of the decoration of the baths.

It would be an interesting study to see what differences there are in both subject and form between reliefs used on different structures, if it could be done. Many reliefs were 'excavated' before archaeology began as a science, and thus both date and provenance have been lost. Richardson also points out that the some 600 fragments from the Capitolium at Cosa do not offer enough information to justify a re-study of Campana reliefs in his report.

There is no Campana relief dump at Site 10 which might suggest that the reliefs were all removed at the same time.

85 G, Ucelli, *Le Navi di Nemi* (1983) 200,Fig.221.

86 Campana (Intro.p.1) 31.

87 The influx of Greek art and artists from Asia Minor into Rome which began with the defeat of Antiochus c.186 B.C. (Livy 39, 22, 9-10) surely continued in the 1st century with the Asiatic campaigns of Sulla c.83 B.C. and L. Lucullus c.74-68 B.C.

Some of the 1st century B.C. Greek artists working in Rome were Iaia of Kyzikos, a coastal city of Asia Minor (Pliny N.H. 35, 147-48). Timonachos of Byzantium (Pliny N.H. 35, 136) probably worked in Rome. Arkesilaos, a sculptor, was also active.

Pasiteles is the best known Neo-Attic artist. However, even though he was a Greek, he was born in Italy and can not be considered among those Greek artists who came from Greece proper to work in Rome.

88 No full width of any Site 10 relief is preserved. Only the satyr/lion relief from Site 10 has been reconstructed. If the other reliefs were reconstructed and their width determined, then it might be possible to project the number of linear feet which would be needed for the decoration of a particular room or part of the villa, such as the peristyle, etc. The reconstructed width of the satyr/lion relief is about 38 cm. The four satyr/lion reliefs would be about 152 cm or very close to 5 Roman feet or 148 cm, with the standard Roman foot being 29.6 cm. Borbein (supra n.33) 17 lists the average width of parapet-simae as 44-48cm. He does not reference this information.
The brick fabric information was obtained by the author from Dr. Joann Freed, Classics Dept., University of Calgary in both conversation July 1987 and correspondence August 1988.

Munsell Soil Color:

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CIL. XV 1, 2541.

Tortorella (supra n.31) 67. see also CIL. XV, 2538-2557.

L. Vogel, "Circus Race Scenes in the Early Roman Empire" Art Bulletin (June 1969) 155-160. Vogel cited von Rohden and Winnefeld in n.18, p.156. Her note does not explain what she (or von Rohden and Winnefeld) means by provenance. The plaque, British Museum, D627, was part of the Towneley Collection (supra n.52).


Tortorella (supra n.31) 74.

Borbein (supra n.33) 39-40. In n.198, p.39, Borbein states that an exact date in the 1st century is not possible. He gives no reasons or arguments for why this is not possible.

Tortorella (supra n.31) 74-75. See also Vogel (supra n.92) 155-56, and Humphrey (supra n.93) 193-194.

Sant' Elia bibliography:
C. Anti, "Rilievo teatrale romano da Castel S. Elia". Beiträge zur alten europäischen Kulturgeschichte (Festschrift fur Rudolf Egger), (Klagenfurt 1952) I 189-205.
I.S. Ryberg, "Rites of the State Religion in Roman Art" MAAR (1955) 99 n.56.

Oxford Classical Dictionary 2nd ed. Also Suet. Claud.21.2. "He also celebrated secular games."
Carandini (supra n.30) Vol.1,92-94, Figs.118 & 119, p.93. Settefinestra has similar problems of placement. One possible reconstruction (Fig.119) shows the relief in a grooved roof tile. Another shows the reliefs as an exterior frieze (Fig.118). The reliefs are of the sima type.

Adapted from Carandini (supra n.30)
Vol.1, p.93, Figs.118 & 119  See also Fig.120.

Borbein (supra n.33) 16.
Borbein (supra n.33) 16.
Borbein (supra n.33) 16.
M. Carrol-Spillecke, Landscape Depictions in Greek Relief Sculpture (Frankfurt 1985) 130,134.

Only the relief from Florence shows the satyrs in a lunging position. There are approximately 11 different Campana reliefs that show the satyrs in a tiptoe pose. See text p. 8-12.

Archaistic elements such as the Neo-Attic tiptoe stance and zigzag folds are not reliable stylistic dating criteria for the Campana reliefs because they are found on the Campana reliefs from the boats at Nemi which can be given a date of c.40 A.D. This date is outside the Archaistic trend usually assigned to Augustan art.

J.M.C. Toynbee and J.B. Ward-Perkins. "Peopled Scrolls: A Hellenistic Motif in Imperial Art" PBSR (1950) 1-43. They state (p.3) that metal work and the minor arts were important in the development and spread of the scroll motif.

Van Buren (supra n.13) 48-9, 113.
Price (supra n.106) 14.
Toynbee and Ward-Perkins (supra n.104) 8.
O. Walter, *Beschreibung der Reliefs im Kleinen Akropolismuseum in Athen* (Vienna 1923) 190.


Richter (supra n.110) 113.


E.R. Dodds, Euripides' *Bacchae*, editor (Oxford 1959) xviii, n.6. The lion seems to have come from Asia Minor with the god, as there were no lions in historical Greece. See Hdt. 7.125, Xen.*Cyn.*11, Paus.6.5.4, Ar. *Hist.An.* 579b7.

Farnell (supra n.116) 289, n. 45k where Farnell cites a Roman inscription from Thrace. See also *BCH* 1900, 317.

Farnell cites many of the titles, names, and epithets for Dionysos.

Dodds (supra n.118)xii.

C. Bonner, "A Dionysiac Miracle at Corinth" *AIA* (1929) 368-375.

Temple B, located close to the Sacred Spring, was built with a concealed channel and tunnel which ran from near the round altar to the triglyph wall of the temple terrace. A stone basin was placed under the spout of the channel and the entrance to the tunnel was cleverly hidden. Access to the tunnel, and the channel, was by means of a pivoted metope in front of which was a stele announcing that the spot was holy.

A cutting shaped like a megaphone in the temple end of the tunnel also suggests that perhaps oracles were given here, but the most likely suggestion is that the tunnel and the channel provided a means of physically demonstrating the god's power of turning water into wine. As water was poured over the altar, an accomplice hiding in the tunnel would begin pouring wine into the channel, possibly even stopping the flow of water so that the wine would be unmixed, thus producing a flow of wine from the triglyph wall into the basin. Supplicants could then taste the proof of the miracle.

See Pauly-Wissowa. See Bouche-Leclercq, *Histoire de la Divination l'Antiquite* (Paris 1879-82) for interesting study, but one which does not always cite ancient sources.


Brendel (supra n.124) 106.

See Famell (supra n.116) 161-63 for a discussion of the practical use of Bacchic frenzy and its fructifying effect, and the use of whipping in vegetation rites. See also Brendel (supra n.124) 106-112 and n.48 for a discussion of the flagellation scene.

Brendel (supra n.124) 119. describes this mirror held by a winged Eros in the Bridal Scene as being rectangular. In fact, the profile image of the bride is reflected in a square.

Mirrors and reflected images are mysterious and miraculous things in their own right. If one looks into a silver goblet (or concave mirror), the image is turned upside down and backward in a double apotropaic fashion. That is, it is turned twice. The reflection also shows that which is above and behind one's head. One wonders how much the geometry of the concave surface plays a part here and at what crucial geometric point does the curve become "flat" enough to reflect as a planar mirror, for they reflect differently.

A flat mirror reverses only in one direction at a time, either left and right or top and bottom. To see yourself as others see you, put 2 flat mirrors at right angles to each other and line the middle of your face up with their perpendicular union, and you will see a "different" you.

With images that are bi-laterally symmetrical, you need only half the image to get the complete picture if you use a flat mirror. With profiles, you can get a Janus head. Only objects which have two perpendicular axes of symmetry will not be reversed when seen reflected on a curved surface, such as a square and a circle or sphere, and even then they would have to be plain or else symmetrically marked with symmetric figures. The unmarked sphere is the only object with infinite axes of symmetry.

It must have seemed a miracle the first time someone drained a metal goblet and saw the reflection upside down and backward. Was it the wine or the goblet? Perhaps the prevalence of painted images on the inside of Greek drinking cups (one thinks especially of the Eye Cups) was to counter-act this confusion, for the painted cup could be turned around to become right side up, while the reflected image remains upside down and backwards no matter how many times the cup is rotated.

One also wonders how and if this is related to the Roman preference for curves and curved spaces, which the Greeks did not share. And how this is related to the Roman strict visual axiability, which again, the Greeks did not share.
Many questions come to mind such as the relationship between Dionysos (emotion) and Appolo (reason) and their psychologial "union of the opposites" which is a "hieros gamos." This term is often used to describe the Villa of the Mysteries frieze. In true Roman fashion, it is visual axiality, the lines of sight or who is looking at what, that may provide new answers; and new questions, such as could the frieze be a synaesthesia between homonymic words and the images, with the frieze itself offering the visual clues for the words. Hearing the word is not the same as seeing the word, and once you have seen, you know.

As Seneca says in Nat. Quest. 1, 17.4.

Mirrors were invented in order that man may know himself, destined to attain many benefits from this: first, knowledge of himself; next, in certain directions, wisdom.

128 W.R. Halliday, Greek Divination (Chicago 1967) 145.

129 Articles on loutera can be found in The Athenian Agora, Vol. XII pt.1 and Hesperia (1958) 164-252. Forthcoming is Isthmia IV: Sculpture with recent research on perirrhanteria.


131 A.S. Murray, "Antiquities from the Islands of Lipari" JHS (1886) 51-56. Especially 55. The other side of the krater was blank. The association between the very shape of the vessel, a krater, with the word ἀναράτος, and the fact that they both come from the verb ἄραω, "to mix", should not be overlooked.

132 Prof. Harvey Yunis, of Rice Univ., helped in clarifying linguistic and grammatical puns used in the Greek language, and in pointing out the reference to the Eubulus fragment. March 1989.


Eubulus was a 4th century B.C. Attic comic poet and Frg. 56 is from a work entitled ὁ κεφαλήτης, or "The Dicers", that is those who decide things by chance, or a roll of the dice. See ἄραω.

The fragment uses the Epic word τὸ κάρα to describe a wine cup foaming over, the rim of which is crowned with ivy. The imagery and the words used by Eubulus associate the cup, the rim, the wine, and the head all at the same time, and reference is made to chance as well.

It is also possible that, whether intended or not, an association with the word τὸ κάρατος, "power, force, might," was made.

133 H. Smyth, Greek Grammar (Cambridge, Mass. 1920) 855.4, 1131, 1428. See also the possibility of 1293.

135 Farnell (supra n.116) 119. Farnell cites Pliny *N.H.* 8, 58. The word comes from the Greek verb *φαίνει*, meaning to gape, to yawn, to open wide, to open the mouth to speak.

136 Carandini (supra n.30) Vol.1, 93, Fig.118.

137 Widrig (supra n.70) 257.

138 See Tortorella (supra n.6) 219 and (supra n.31) 62.

139 If precise measurements could be made, and the other Site 10 reliefs restored (especially since the different scenes are likely to be of different widths), then perhaps exact correspondance could be shown between the reliefs and different locations in the villa.
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Fig. 1 Assyrian ceramic frieze
12th century B.C.
Fig. 2 Terracotta plaque from Larisa
7th - 6th century B.C.

Fig. 3 Terracotta plaque from Thasos
6th century B.C.
Fig. 4 Etruscan terracotta crested
Temple of Jupiter, Cosa
mid 3rd century B.C.
Fig. 5 Capitolium of Cosa with cresting placement, 5th Decoration

c. 50 B.C.
Fig. 6 Revetment Campana relief
(Paris, Louvre)

Fig. 7 Parapet-sima Campana relief
(Paris, Louvre)
Fig. 8  Horizontal sima Campana relief  
(Paris, Louvre)

Fig. 9  Vertical sima Campana relief  
(Paris, Louvre)
Fig. 11 Reconstructed drawing of relief (Dan Borden)
Fig. 12 Campana fragment G10/85-9

Fig. 13 Campana fragment G10/87-47
Fig. 14  Campana fragment G10/83-59
Fig. 15 Campana fragment G10/85-166

Fig. 16 Campana fragment G10/80-181
Fig. 17 Campana fragment G10/84-98

Fig. 18 Campana fragment G10/80-7
Fig. 19  Campana fragment G10/84-7

Fig. 20  Campana fragment G10/84-208
Fig. 21 Campana fragment G10/80-206

Fig. 22 Campana fragment G10/85-1
Fig.23 Campana fragment G10/82-395

Fig.24 Campana fragment G10/80-182
Fig. 25 Campana fragment G10/87-47

Fig. 26 Campana fragment G10/82-348
Fig. 27  Campana fragment G10/82-151
Fig. 28  Campana fragment G10/85-15

Fig. 29  Campana fragment G10/86-5
Fig. 30  Campana fragment G10/82-271

Fig. 31  Campana fragment G10/85-3
Fig. 32 Campana fragment G10/82-139

Fig. 33 Campana fragment G10/83-82
Fig. 34 Campana fragment G10/82-183

Fig. 35 Campana fragment G10/82-360
Fig. 36 Campana fragment G10/85-152
Fig. 37 Campana fragment G10/82-99
Fig. 38 Campana fragment G10/85-63
Fig. 39 Campana fragment G10/82-151 (Fig. 27) with join to G10/85-15 (Fig. 28)
Fig. 40 Campana relief
(Palermo, Mus. Naz.)

Fig. 41 Campana relief
(London, British Mus. D551)
Fig. 42 Campana relief  
(Copenhagen, Ny Carlsberg Glypt.)
Fig. 43 Campana relief (Paris, Louvre)
Fig. 43A Campana relief (Rome Mus. Naz.)
Fig. 44 Campana relief
(Rome, Pal. Cons.)

Fig. 45 Campana relief
(Munich, Antikensign.)
Fig. 46 Campana relief
(Florence, Mus. Archeol.)
Fig. 47 Phase I of Site 10 villa
Red = residential
Yellow = industrial
Green = bathing
Fig. 48 Phase IIa of Site 10 villa
Red = residential
Yellow = industrial
Green = bathing
Fig. 49 Phase IIb of Site 10 villa
Red = residential
Yellow = industrial
Green = bathing
Fig. 50 Phase III of Site 10 villa
Red = residential
Yellow = industrial
Green = bathing
Fig. 51 Locations of where Campana reliefs were found at Site 10 villa
Fig. 52 Circus relief (Vienna Kunsthistorisches Mus.)

Fig. 53 Circus relief (British Museum D627)
Fig. 54 Profile of Site 10 relief
(not to scale)
Fig. 55 Campana fragment G10/84 DD 20 O4'007
Fig. 56 Campana fragment G10/87-96
Fig. 57 Campana fragment G10/85-41
Fig. 59 Castel Sant' Elia marble relief
C.50 A.D.
Fig. 60 Lunging pose
Fig. 61 Terracotta sima from Mycenae
(Athens, Nat'l. Mus. No. 223)
c.550 B.C.
Fig. 62 Macedonian coin
(British Museum)
6th century B.C.

Fig. 63 Coin from Mende
6th century B.C.
Fig. 64 Marble relief (Athens, Acropolis Mus.)

Fig. 65 Marble throne from the Olympieion (Athens, Zappeion)  
2nd-1st century B.C.
Fig. 66 Marble vessel from Nemi
Fig. 6.7 Marble table support (Rome, Vatican) 2nd century A.D.
Fig. 68 Marble table support
(Cobham Hall, Kent, England)
2nd century A.D.
Fig. 69 Base for sacrificial dish
Fig. 70 Gold amphora with centaur handles
(Archeol. Mus. Plowdiw, Bulgaria)
c. 3rd century B.C.
Fig. 71 Akratos, krater (Glasgow)
from Lipari, 4th century B.C.
Fig. 72 Drawing from Terra Sigillata
c.30 B.C.-20 A.D.