

Erwin POCHMARSKI

THE INFLUENCE OF ATTIC AND ROMAN WORKSHOPS OF SARCOPHAGI ON THE ROMAN PROVINCIAL RELIEFS OF NORICUM

UDK 904:<726.8(398 Panonija):726.829.032(37)>“652“

Original scientific paper

Received: 19. 03. 2010.

Approved: 15. 09. 2010.

Erwin Pochmarski

Karl - Franzens - Universität Graz

Institut für Archäologie

Austria - Graz

e-mail: erwin.pochmarski@uni-graz.at

The paper presents the work on the development of an archaeological route entitled *The Neanderthal Trail*. The project is an original thematic unit which aims at unifying and evaluating in terms of cultural tourism the archaeological heritage pertaining to the Neanderthal man in Croatia, through the creation of a cultural route with all elements essential in the development of a comprehensive cultural-tourist product. The project will be launched in 2010, and its inauguration will coincide with the opening of a related exhibition in the Archaeological Museum in Zagreb. The target audience in the narrow sense are tourists with a specific interest in archaeology and archaeological heritage and in the wider sense, cultural tourists in general.

Key words: cultural route, cultural tourism, Neanderthals, Croatia, archaeological heritage, European cultural routes

The province of Noricum which borders in the south directly to the *regio X (Venetia et Histria)* of Italy has produced an astonishingly large repertoire of mythological representations which belong, however, nearly exclusively to grave buildings, to a lesser part also to grave altars and grave stelai, but not at all to sarcophagi¹. Quite different is the situation in the eastern neighbouring province of Pannonia from which numerous sarcophagi are

preserved². Intensive relations can also be proved between the city-Roman and Attic sarcophagi on the one hand and the Roman reliefs of the province of Noricum with mythological scenes, on the other hand³. Regarding that fact particularly the Attic sarcophagi were lately mentioned beside the city-Roman sarcophagi as possible models and a connection on the sea via Aquileia as well as on the road through the Balkan Peninsula was thought of⁴. Indeed, the

¹ Cf. Walde 2005a.

² Cf. Koch - Sichtermann 1982, 323-323; Koch 1993, 135-136; Pochmarski 1998, 182-200; Pochmarski 2001, 201-221.

³ Cf. Kranz 1986, 193. 239; Winkler 1989; Pochmarski-Nagele 1992; Kranz 1997, 141-149.

⁴ Kranz 1997, 145-149; Walde 1997, 242; Walde 2005a, 170; Walde 2005b, 138-139.

Fig. 1. Attic sarcophagus / Istanbul, Archaeological Museum: Matz 1968a, Taf.4,1.

Fig. 2. Relief from a grave-building of Lauriacum / Enns, Museum: photo of the author

reverse way from Aquileia to Macedonia was assumed for the tradition of the grave altars⁵. Important considerations are based especially on the proof produced by M.Bonanno Aravantinos that an Attic sarcophagus from Thespias in the museum of Thebes has probably been the model for the presentation of the Orestes on the grave building of the Spectatii in Šempeter⁶. For the tradition of the figural representations one will have to start rather from the conventional hypothesis of the pattern books⁷ than from the figural tradition by representations on ceramics or silver plate because the transfer of the models as well as their tradition seems, after all, conceivable only by drawn models⁸. But there would be also conceivable the activity of trained workshops coming from Aquileia where there are not only imported Attic sarcophagi, but also Atticising copies from workshops of Aquileia⁹.

Subsequently we start with the Dionysiac sarcophagi of Rome and Attica and the Dionysiac reliefs in Noricum because both groups of monuments are published on a whole and thereby permit a far-reaching comparison of the material¹⁰. By the help of the figure-types constituted by F.Matz¹¹ we will examine whether and where within the Attic or the city-Roman production of sarcophagi suitable models for the Dionysiac reliefs in Noricum can be identified. These investigations are made easier by the fact that the tradition of the Dionysiac sarcophagi is based on firm iconographic types which can be put together set piece-like to always new compositions¹² and are shown on the Dionysiac reliefs of Noricum for the most part only by single figures from the treasure of Dionysiac types.

In two articles M.Nagele has tried to make probable that in three cases special forms handed down in the art of sarcophagi also appear on reliefs of Noricum that which could show an immediate connection¹³. The derivation of the Dionysiac reliefs in Noricum from the model of the Roman sarcophagi should present above all a help for the dating of the Roman provincial reliefs in Noricum. In the present investigation the question is asked, whether and when concrete models in the Attic or the city-Roman sarcophagi can be observed.

Already F.Matz had pointed out to the fact that his type TH 6 on the Dionysiac sarcophagi can be used as an Aulistria, but also as a Tympanistria and as a Kitharistria¹⁴. The preliminary stages of the type on Campana-reliefs and in the Arretine relief ceramics show the figure going to the right as an Aulistria or as a maenad waving the thyrsus. On an Attic sarcophagus from Patras in Athens¹⁵ appears the maenad of this type as an Aulistria, on two city-Roman sarcophagi in the Palazzo Colonna¹⁶ and in the Museo

Nazionale Romano¹⁷ in Rome as a Tympanistria.

Only on one single Attic sarcophagus in Istanbul¹⁸ (fig.1) the maenad of the type TH 6 is represented as Tympanistria going to the left; F.Matz has supposed that the reason for the use of the kithara as an attribute has been the occurrence of a satyr playing the aulos immediately before the maenad¹⁹. At the same time he draws the attention to the fact that on the sarcophagi all maenads instead of the chiton of the early imperial time wear a coat with an effective curve under the bottom which provides the type with a Hellenistic trait²⁰.



Now this only once transmitted form of the Kitharistria of the type TH 6 appears also on a relief from Noricum²¹ (fig.2). The relief comes from a grave building of Lauriacum²² on the *limes* of Noricum where since about 174 A.D. the *legio II Italica* was stationed²³; from this fact results a *terminus post quem* for the date of the grave building and its workshop, i.e. in the specific case a date in the middle-Severan time²⁴.



⁵ Spiliopoulou-Donderer 2002.

⁶ Bonanno Aravantinos 1993, 67-76.

⁷ e.g. K.Schefold 1976, 759-798; Donderer 2005, 59-68; Donderer 2005-2006, 81-113.

⁸ e.g. Froning 1980, 322-341; Walde 2005a, 170.

⁹ Gabelmann 1973, 13-38; Santa Maria Scrinari 1972, 145-164 Nr.412-511.

¹⁰ Matz, 1968a, 1968b, 1969, 1975; Turcan 1966; Pochmarski-Nagele 1992.

¹¹ Matz 1968a, Typentafeln 1-10; 18-xxx.

¹² Cf. Zanker - Ewald 2004, 136-146.

¹³ Pochmarski-Nagele 1987, 1-15; Nagele 1989, 135-142.

¹⁴ Matz 1968a, 21 TH 6.

¹⁵ Matz 1968a, Nr.4 Taf. 5,1.

¹⁶ Matz 1968a, Nr.61 Taf. 71,1.

¹⁷ Matz 1968b, Nr.73 Taf. 83,1.

¹⁸ Matz 1968a, Nr.3 Taf. 4,1.

¹⁹ Matz 1968a, 21.

²⁰ Matz 1968a, 21.

²¹ Cf. Pochmarski-Nagele 1987, 6-7; Nagele 1989, 139; Pochmarski-Nagele 1992, 125-128.

²² Eckhart 1976, Nr.65 Taf.19; Pochmarski-Nagele 1992, 31-32 Kat.21 Abb.35.

²³ Cf. Uhl 1997a, 188; Pochmarski 1990, 525.

²⁴ Cf. Pochmarski 1989, 31-37; Pochmarski 1994, 48-53.

Nevertheless, the use of a special form of the Kitharistria TH 6 transmitted on a sole Attic sarcophagus - in the movement to the right, however usual for the type TH 6 - might express the fact that we have to do with a representation taken over from this Attic sarcophagus in the Roman provincial sculpture of Noricum. Though of the compared city-Roman sarcophagi the one in the Museo Nazionale delle Terme is a little older²⁵, both Attic sarcophagi following the investigations of H.Wiegartz²⁶ and against F.Matz²⁷ might belong only to the time from 150-170 A.D. The exemplary importance of the Attic sarcophagus for the relief of the grave building in Noricum because of the unique use of the Kitharistria is out of question.

A comparable typological development may be observed in the type TH 44 of F.Matz which he has called Kitharistria D. Already he had referred to the typological resemblance between the types TH 6 and TH 44 and had observed that from the Kitharistria of the type TH 6 has developed the Kitharistria of the type TH 44 in the city-Roman workshops²⁸. Really two city-Roman representatives of the type TH 44 - a sarcophagus in Moscow²⁹ and a sarcophagus in Pisa³⁰ - can be compared fairly well with the Kitharistria TH 6 of the before mentioned Attic sarcophagus in Istanbul apart from the differing position of the head.

A little bit different is the transformation of the Kitharistria D TH 44 to a Tympanistria. This transformation is found on one single city-Roman sarcophagus in the villa Doria Pamphilj³¹. There is represented the maenad of the type TH 44 in the left border of the image laterally reversed and has received instead of the kithara a tympanon as an attribute, which she holds however in her left arm.

Now on a block of a grave building with a relief decorated on two sides in Pöchlarn (Arelape)³² which also lies on the Norican *limes*³³, the transformation of the Kitharistria D TH 44 to the Tympanistria can be detected, but in laterally reversed reproduction. It concerns the front of the relief block on which in the left half a Tympanistria Matz TH 21 going in a cross step to the right is shown, while on the bipartite right half in the lower part a satyr is shown also going in the cross step to the right (TH 82)³⁴. In the upper right half a maenad hurrying to the left is shown. She has raised the right arm to her head and holds in the left arm a big tympanon to which her head seems to be turned back.

Also in this second case a special form - the inverted transformation of the Kitharistria D (TH 44) - has been used for the Roman provincial relief. H.Ubl had compared

the back of the relief block, on which two slender female figures are represented, with the wedding sarcophagus in S.Lorenzo f.l.m.³⁵ and had dated this with reference to F.Matz³⁶ in the time of Caracalla; H.Sichteremann has proposed in the manual of sarcophagi for this sarcophagus an earlier date in the late 2.cent.A.D.³⁷: indeed the question still remains, whether both girls on the Norican relief with their very slender, stretched proportions can be compared with the wedding sarcophagus at all. For the relief block the late Severan sarcophagus in the villa Doria Pamphilj presents a useful clue. In this connection the question of the chronological sequence at the takeover of models from Rome in the Roman provincial art must be briefly raised. While M.Nagele states as a rule a chronological distance from up to one generation³⁸, at last E.Walde wanted to support a shorter period³⁹; in any case the Germanic-Sarmatic wars of Marcus Aurelius in the time between 166-180 A.D. play an important role, because in this period the production of art in the province of Noricum will at least have experienced an interruption.

The type Matz TH 7 forms the third case for the transfer of a special form worked out with the Dionysiac sarcophagi to a Roman provincial relief in Noricum. It concerns a maenad moving to her right or to her left who is dressed in a chiton which has come off more or less of the body



Fig. 3. Attic sarcophagus from the Hephaisteion / Athens, National Museum: Matz 1968a Taf.6,1.

²⁵ Matz 1968b, 182 Nr.73: late Hadrianic - early Antonine; Turcan, 1966, 86 Anm.1; 151. 153. 157-158. 218. 390 425 Anm.5; 487. 495. 573-xxx. Tab. I, B-1 Taf.15b: 120-125 n.Chr.

²⁶ Cf. Wiegartz 1977, 383-xxx; esp. 386-xxx; Koch - Sichteremann 1982, 456-460.

²⁷ Matz 1968b, 86.

²⁸ Matz 1968a, 21 TH 6.

²⁹ Matz 1968a, Nr.47 Taf.57,1.

³⁰ Matz 1968a, Nr.68 Taf.68,1.

³¹ Matz 1968a, Nr.64 Taf.62,2.

³² Ubl 1979, Nr.69b Taf.30; Pochmarski-Nagele 1992, 33-34 Kat.23 Abb.38 (cf. Kat.11).

³³ Ubl 1997b, 197.

³⁴ Pochmarski-Nagele 1992, 19-20 Kat.11; 103-107 (Typus II); 51 Kat.40 Abb.65; 153 (Typus XVI).

³⁵ Koch - Sichteremann 1982, 101 Abb.97.

³⁶ Matz 1958, 151.

³⁷ Koch - Sichteremann 1982, 101. 260: 170/180-200 A.D.

³⁸ Pochmarski - Nagele 1992, passim.

³⁹ Walde 2005, 98.

Fig. 4. Relief from a grave-building of Lauriacum / Linz, Oberösterreichisches Landesmuseum: CSIR Ö III/2 Nr.70 Taf.22,2.

Fig. 5. Fragment of a sarcophagus in St.Peter / Rome: Matz 1975 Taf.325,1.

Fig. 6. Relief from a grave-building of Hallstatt / Museum: CSIR Ö III/3 Nr.44 Taf.30,2.



and is blown back. On the majority of the sarcophagi with this type of a maenad - on the Attic sarcophagus from the Hephaisteion in Athens⁴⁰ (fig.3) as well as on the city-Roman sarcophagi in Sclafani⁴¹, in Pisa⁴², in Rome, Museo Torlonia⁴³ and in the Vatican⁴⁴ as well as in Dresden⁴⁵ - the chiton girt under the breast leaves almost the whole body uncovered, while on a city-Roman sarcophagus in the Vatican⁴⁶ the maenad seems to be wrapped in the chiton. Besides, the maenad has turned her head in each case in the direction opposite to her movement.

There can be found a series of good correspondences in the Roman provincial relief sculpture of Noricum⁴⁷ to the maenads of the type TH 7 which are represented with a chiton freed from the body and fluttering back, the left arm raised and the right as a rule with the thyrsos or without any attribute lowered, thus, e.g., a relief from a grave building from Lauriacum in Linz (fig.4), for which the same chronological implications are valid as for the relief discussed on top⁴⁸. A maenad with a torch appears in one single case on the Dionysiac sarcophagi. It concerns the side of the sarcophagus in Sclafani on which a satyr and a maenad face each other on both sides of an altar; the satyr holds a thyrsos in his lowered right hand, the maenad for the first and unique time a torch, probably in order to avoid the repetition of the same motive. Exactly this motive appears on a relief from a grave building in Graz⁴⁹; but the condition of the relief is not good and also the difference in quality is so large that one will hardly think of a direct takeover of the variation transmitted on the sarcophagus relief of the type TH 7. Concerning the time for a takeover of the type the two earliest representatives of TH 7 handed down in the art of sarcophagi - the city-Roman sarcophagus in Sclafani⁵⁰

and the Attic sarcophagus in Athens⁵¹ with a time of origin of about 150 A.D. - form a *terminus post quem* for the reliefs in Noricum which is supported in the case of the relief from Lauriacum by the external circumstances⁵².

Of greater interest is the observation that the only one fully dressed maenad on the sarcophagus in Vatican has found in the area of the Roman provincial reliefs a rich succession. Those are five examples⁵³, on which the maenads dance, however - up to one case⁵⁴ - in inverted form to the right, holding in the upraised right a tympanon and in the lowered left the thyrsos. By it the takeover of a special form only handed down to us in a copy of the Dionysiac sarcophagi seems to be proven again in the relief art of Noricum. A sarcophagus in the Vatican⁵⁵ dating to the middle of the 2. cent.A.D. presents a *terminus post quem* for the implementation of the reliefs in Noricum.

For two other types in the catalogue of Matz - the types TH 40 (Aulustria E) and TH 58 (Aulistros F) - also good correspondences can be found on the reliefs of grave buildings from Noricum; but there is no proof for the use and takeover of particularly unusual forms.

The Aulustria E of the type Matz TH 40, which occurs only on three sarcophagi⁵⁶, one of which is in St.Peter in Rome (fig.5) holds in the lowered left - or as an inversion in the right - the flutes, while she rests the upraised right or the left on a thyrsos. However, the flutes can be seen only on one copy, so that the interpretation as an Aulustria is not quite definite. A relatively well comparable figure of a maenad is found only just once in Noricum. It concerns the side relief of a block of a grave building in Hallstatt on the front of which Herakles and Hesione are represented. But now it looks, as if the maenad would pull up her

⁴⁰ Matz 1968a, Nr.5 Taf.6.1.

⁴¹ Matz 1968b, Nr.74 Taf.84.2.

⁴² Matz 1975, Nr.260 Taf.288.2.

⁴³ Matz 1975, Nr.263 Beil.117.2.3.

⁴⁴ Matz 1968b, Nr.139 Taf.162.2.

⁴⁵ Matz 1968a, Nr.52 Taf.60.4.

⁴⁶ Matz 1968a, Nr.35 Taf.30.1; 31.2.

⁴⁷ Pochmarski-Nagele 1992, 95-102 Kat.1-4.

⁴⁸ Eckbart 1976, Nr.70c; Pochmarski-Nagele 1992, 8-9 Kat.1 Abb.1.

⁴⁹ Pochmarski-Nagele 1992, 11-12 Kat.4 Abb.4.

⁵⁰ Matz 1968b, 183 Nr.74: late Hadrianic - early Antonine.

⁵¹ Koch - Sichtermann 1982, 419. 459.

⁵² Cf. note 24.

⁵³ Pochmarski-Nagele 1992, Kat.5-8.10; the naked maenad Kat.9 is not considered here, because it is an inverted form of Kat.1-4.

⁵⁴ Pochmarski-Nagele 1992, 18-19 Kat.10 Abb.12.

⁵⁵ Matz 1968a, 128 Nr.35: 140-150 A.D.

⁵⁶ Matz 1968a, Nr.52 Taf.60.1; Nr.57 Taf.64.2; Matz 1975, Nr.312 Taf.324.3; 325; the sarcophagus in Poggio a Caiano (near Florence; Matz 1968a, Nr.57) is doubted by G.Koch (Koch - Sichtermann 1982, 280) whether it is city-Roman.



Fig. 7. Sarcophagus / Rome, Vatican: Matz 1969 Taf.192,1.

Fig. 8. Relief from a grave building of Flavia Solva / Seggau, Schloss Seggau: photo of the author.

Fig. 9. Sarcophagus in the Vatican, detail: Matz 1968a, Taf.34,1.

garment, which is led in a curve under her bottom, with her upraised left; by this the motive of TH 40 is probably misunderstood, which is illuminating, however, too. The three Dionysiac sarcophagi comparable with the Roman provincial relief belong from early to late Severan times by which is given again a *terminus post quem* for the dating of the relief in Hallstatt (fig.6).

As an example for the exemplary function of the types of satyrs from the art of Dionysiac sarcophagi for the Roman provincial reliefs the type Matz TH 58, the Aulistrius F, may be mentioned. F.Matz has stated as characteristic features of this type the crossed legs and the head turned in the direction opposite to the leg put forward⁵⁷; the arms are outstretched in the same direction with the aulos. This flutist shows up on a whole series of Dionysiac sarcophagi⁵⁸, one of which is a sarcophagus in the Vatican⁵⁹ (fig.7); in one case also an inversion of the movement motive was executed⁶⁰. M.Nagele has summarised a series of flutists moving to the left or inverted to the right on Dionysiac reliefs of the province of Noricum⁶¹, one of which is a relief from Flavia Solva (fig.8) which can be led back unquestionably to the type TH 58 of the sarcophagi. The earlier representatives within the sarcophagi could still belong to the early Antonine time⁶²; the best parallel, however, is found on a sarcophagus from early to middle Severan time, which may be probably valid also as a model.

For the type TH 5, the Tympanistria in back view, which is very frequent on Attic and city-Roman Dionysiac sarcophagi, for example on a sarcophagus in the Vatican⁶³ (fig.9) F.Matz has given a detailed treatment of the

history of the motive and of the type⁶⁴. The Tympanistria TH 5 appears more seldom alone, more often in a centrifugal group together with the satyr Matz TH 18⁶⁵, or in a centripetal group with one of the satyr's types TH 81.87.90.115. The Tympanistria who is always moving to the left is characterized by the chiasmic arrangement of arms and legs: the left arm with the tympanon is raised and held forward, the right arm is lowered and stretched to the back; quite on the contrary she has put back the front left leg and put forward the right leg. F.Matz has already pointed out to the contradiction between the tympanon held in the left arm and the lowered right which often holds an attribute like thyrsos or flutes⁶⁶.

Now the maenad of the type Matz TH 5 is found also in the relief sculpture of Noricum with three examples⁶⁷, one of them on the castle of the bishop of Styria⁶⁸ (fig.10). Also here one will have to assume the role of a model for the type TH 5 appearing on the sarcophagi for the relief in Noricum. The city-Roman sarcophagi with this type of a maenad date following F.Matz to the late Hadrianic or early Antonine time⁶⁹, while Attic sarcophagi following G.Koch begin with 140-150 A.D.⁷⁰ and last until the time between 150-170 A.D.⁷¹ or even 170-180 A.D.⁷². The best correspondences to the Roman provincial reliefs can be found on the Attic sarcophagi Matz 1968a, Nr.1. 3. 4. 8 and on the city-Roman sarcophagi Matz 1968a, Nr.35. 74. 85. 86. 209. 260 respectively. For the sarcophagi of both groups the same date may be assumed, which is, in any case, the *terminus post quem* for the reliefs in Noricum.

Already F.Matz had seen that the type of maenads TH 5 and the satyr's type TH 18 can be put together on Attic as

⁵⁷ Matz 1968a, 42-43.

⁵⁸ Matz 1968a, Nr.44 Taf.44,1; Nr.47 Taf.57,1; Matz 1969, Nr.162 Taf.185,1; Nr.164A Taf.186,1; Nr.171 Taf.192,1; 193,2; Matz 1975, Nr.375 Taf.346,1.

⁵⁹ Matz 1969, Nr.171 Taf.192,1; 193,2.

⁶⁰ Matz 1968a, Nr.47 Taf.57,1.

⁶¹ Pochmarski-Nagele 1992, Kat.74-76 (to the left) and Kat.72. 72a. 73 (to the right) respectively.

⁶² Matz 1968a, 146 Nr.44; Matz 1969, 308 Nr.162.

⁶³ Matz 1968a, Nr.35 Taf.30.

⁶⁴ Matz 1968a, 19-xxx.

⁶⁵ Matz 1968a, 19.

⁶⁶ Matz 1968a, 20.

⁶⁷ Pochmarski-Nagele 1992, 135-139 Kat. 26-28 (Typus XI).

⁶⁸ Pochmarski-Nagele 1992, Kat.26 Abb.44.

⁶⁹ Matz 1968a, Nr.35; Matz 1968b, Nr.73. Nr.74 Nr.85. Nr.86.

⁷⁰ Matz 1968a, Nr.1; Koch - Sichter mann 1982, 419. 459.

⁷¹ Matz 1969, Nr.3. 4; Koch - Sichter mann 1982, 420. 459.

⁷² Matz 1968a, Nr.8; Koch - Sichter mann 1982, 420. 459.

Fig. 10. Relief from a grave building of Flavia Solva / Seggauberg, Schloss Seggau: photo of the author.

Fig. 11. Attic Sarcophagus / Athens, National Museum: Matz 1968a, Taf.5,1.

Fig. 12. Relief from a grave building of Flavia Solva / Seggauberg, Schloss Seggau: photo of the author.



well as on city-Roman sarcophagi to a centrifugal group⁷³, for example on a sarcophagus in Athens (fig.11)⁷⁴. In all groups the maenad of the type TH 5 located on the left is turned usually to the left, while the satyr TH 18 on the right of her steps out far to the right, turns back the head, however, to the left and has raised the right arm in a gesture of astonishment, while the left is lowered and holds an animal fur.

On the other hand the Tympanistria TH 5 is also found on a series of city-Roman sarcophagi in a centripetal group with satyrs of the types Matz TH 87. 88. 90. 115⁷⁵. Now the maenad is on the right of the satyr and is shown in the typical movement of type TH 5 to the left. The satyr on the left of the maenad moves in a step towards her; the movement and position of the arms as well as the attributes held in the hands vary: the satyr (TH 87) may have lowered the right arm with the thyrsos and the left with a drinking vessel (Matz 1968a, Nr.35); or the satyr (TH 88) pulls the fur of a predator over the shoulder with the upraised right and holds with the lowered left one

of the animals paws (ASR 1968b, Nr.73). Or over the left forearm of the satyr (TH 115) is an animal fur hung and he holds a torch with the right vertically (Matz 1968b, Nr.74); or the satyr (TH 90) holds a snake in the left, while the right hangs down (Matz 1969, Nr.209).

Now one group has been preserved as one of the most beautiful representations of the Roman provincial relief sculpture in Noricum on a block of a grave building with satyr and maenad⁷⁶ (fig.12). The maenad is represented in the typical manner of type Matz TH 5, but the tympanon in her left arm has been substituted by a fruit basket on the left shoulder which she holds with the upraised left arm, while her right arm also disappears here. The satyr shows an inversion of the type Matz TH 18. He is represented in a wide step to the left: the right leg is put forward, the left one is put back; he has raised the left in the usual gesture of astonishment, while the right disappears behind the body of the maenad. By the centripetal movement of the satyr both group partners have moved up near to one another, so that their faces come together in a kiss.

⁷³ Matz 1968a, 19; Matz, 1968a, Nr.1 Taf.1,2; Nr.3 Taf.4,1; Nr.4 Taf.5,1; Nr.8 Taf.11,1; Nr.59 Taf.69,2; Nr.76 Taf.92,2; Nr.106 Taf.146,1; Nr.107 Taf.145,2; Nr.174 Taf.195,1; Nr.260 Taf.288,1; Nr.278 Taf.303,1.

⁷⁴ Matz 1968a, Nr.4 Taf.5,1.

⁷⁵ Matz 1968a, Nr.35 Taf.30,1; Matz 1968b, Nr.73 Taf.81,1; Nr.74 Beil.33,4; 209 Taf.224,2. For the sarcophagus in Rom, MNR (Matz 1968a, Nr.35) however, G.Koch in Koch - Sichtermann 1982, 274 on account of the ornament zones has pointed out a possible connection with Attica.

⁷⁶ Pochmarski-Nagele 1992, 91-92 Kat.80 Abb.114; 182-183 (Typus XXIII); Hainzmann - Pochmarski 1994, 64-67 Nr.21 Abb.; Pochmarski - Hainzmann 2004, 37-38 Nr.21 Farbabb.7.

BIBLIOGRAPHY:

BONANNO - ARAVANTINOS 1993

DONDERER 2005

DONDERER 2005-2006

ECKHART 1976

M. Bonanno Aravantinos, *Il mito di Ifigenia in Tauride sui sarcofagi di età romana*, in: G.Koch (Hrsg.), *Grabeskunst der römischen Kaiserzeit* (Mainz 1993) 67-76.

M. Donderer, *Und es gab sie doch. Ein neuer Papyrus und das Zeugnis der Mosaiken belegen die Verwendung antiker Musterbücher*, AW 36,2005 Nr.2, 59-68.

M. Donderer, *Antike Musterbücher und (k)ein Ende. Ein neuer Papyrus und die Aussage der Mosaiken*, *Musiva* 2-3,2005-06,81-113.

L. Eckhart, *Die Skulpturen des Stadtgebietes von Lauriacum*, CSIR Ö III/2 (Wien 1976).

- FRONING 1980
H. Froning, Die ikonographische Tradition der kaiserzeitlichen mythologischen Sarkophagreliefs, Jdl 95, 1980, 322-341.
- GABELMANN 1973
H. Gabelmann, Die Werkstätten der oberitalischen Sarkophage, Bjb Beih.34 (1973).
- KOCH 1993
G. Koch, Sarkophage der römischen Kaiserzeit (Darmstadt 1993).
- HAINZMANN - POCHMARSKI 1994
M. Hainzmann - E. Pochmarski, Die römerzeitlichen Inschriften und Reliefs von Schloß Seggau bei Leibnitz (Graz 1994).
- KOCH - SICHTERMANN 1982
G. Koch - H. Sichtermann, Römische Sarkophage (München 1982).
- KRANZ 1986
P. Kranz, Die Grabmonumente von Šempeter. Beobachtungen zur Entwicklung der Bildbauerkunst in Noricum während der mittleren und späten römischen Kaiserzeit, Bjb 186, 1986, 193-239.
- KRANZ 1997
P. Kranz, Überlegungen zur Herkunft südnorischer Bildbauerwerkstätten, in: Akten des IV. Internationalen Kolloquiums über Probleme des provinzialrömischen Kunstschaffens Celje 1995 (1997) 141-149.
- MATZ 1958
F. Matz, Ein römisches Meisterwerk. Der Jahreszeitensarkophag Badminton-New York, Jdl Erg.-H.19 (Berlin 1958).
- MATZ 1968a
Matz, F., Die dionysischen Sarkophage I (ASR IV 1) (Berlin 1968).
- MATZ 1968b
Matz, F., Die dionysischen Sarkophage II (ASR IV 2) (Berlin 1968).
- MATZ 1969
Matz, F., Die dionysischen Sarkophage III (ASR IV 3) (Berlin 1969).
- MATZ 1975
Matz, F., Die dionysischen Sarkophage IV (ASR IV 4) (Berlin 1975).
- NAGELE 1989
M. Nagele, Die Vorbilder der dionysischen Reliefs in Noricum - Vorlagen, Datierung, Auswertung, in: Akten des 3. österreichischen Archäologentages, Innsbruck 1987 (1989) 135-142.
- POCHMARSKI 1989
E. Pochmarski, Bemerkungen zur sogenannten Werkstatt der Mysterienreliefs, ÖJb 59, 1989, 31-37.
- POCHMARSKI 1990
E. Pochmarski, Römische Bildbauerkunst des 3. und 4. Jh.n.Chr. am norischen Limes, in: Akten des 14. Internationalen Limeskongresses 1986 in Carnuntum, II (RLÖ 36,2, 1990) 525-538.
- POCHMARSKI 1994
E. Pochmarski, Römische Bildbauerwerkstätten am norischen Limes, ActaCl-Debrec 30, 1994, 41-53.
- POCHMARSKI 1998
E. Pochmarski, Überlegungen zur Chronologie der pannonischen Sarkophage, in: Akten des Symposiums „125 Jahre Sarkophag-Corpus“, Sarkophag-Studien I (Mainz 1998) 182-200.
- POCHMARSKI 2001
E. Pochmarski, Zur Ikonographie und Chronologie der römischen Sarkophage aus Brigetio, in: Akten des 6. Internationalen Kolloquiums über Probleme des provinzialrömischen Kunstschaffens, Budapest, 11.-15.5.1999, BudReg 34, 2001, 201-221.
- POCHMARSKI - HAINZMANN 2004
E. Pochmarski - M. Hainzmann, Steine erzählen. Römische Steindenkmäler auf Schloss Seggau bei Leibnitz (Graz 2004).
- POCHMARSKI-NAGELE 1987
M. Pochmarski-Nagele, Probleme der Datierung mythologischer Reliefs in Noricum am Beispiel dionysischer Darstellungen, MAGesGraz 1, 1987, 1-15.
- POCHMARSKI-NAGELE
M. Pochmarski-Nagele, Die Dionysischen Reliefs in Noricum und ihre Vorbilder (Wien 1992).
- SANTA MARIA SCRINARI 1972
V. Santa Maria Scrinari, Museo Archeologico di Aquileia, Catalogo delle sculture (Rom 1972)
- SCHEFOLD 1976
K. Schefold, Bilderbücher als Vorlagen römischer Sarkophage, MEFRA 88, 1976, 759-798.
- SPILOPOULOU-DONDERER
I. Spiliopoulou-Donderer, Kaiserzeitliche Grabaltäre Niedermakedoniens (Mannheim und Möhnesee 2002).
- TURCAN 1966
R. Turcan, Les sarcophages romains à représentations dionysiaques (Paris 1966).
- UBL 1979
H. Ubl, Die Skulpturen des Stadtgebietes von Aelium Cetium; CSIR Ö I/6 (Wien 1979).

- UBL 1997a *H. Ubl, Enns - Lauriacum, in: H.Friesinger - F.Krinzinger, Der römische Limes in Österreich (Wien 1997) 187-195.*
- UBL 1997b *H. Ubl, Wallsee - Locus felix (Locofelicis) ?, in: H.Friesinger - F.Krinzinger, Der römische Limes in Österreich (Wien 1997) 196-201.*
- WALDE 1997 *E. Walde, Der Einfluß griechischer Bildersprache auf die Grabplastik der römischen Provinz Noricum, in: Komos, Festschrift für Th.Lorenz (Wien 1997) 239-242.*
- WALDE 2005a *E. Walde, Im herrlichen Glanze Roms. Die Bilderwelt der Römersteine in Österreich (Innsbruck 2005).*
- WALDE 2005 b *E. Walde, Bemerkungen zu den freistehenden Grabmedaillons in Noricum, in: Akten des VIII. Internationalen Kolloquiums über Probleme des provinzial-römischen Kunstschaffens, Zagreb 2003 (2005) 131-139.*
- WIEGATZ 1977 *H.Wiegatz, Zu Problemen einer Chronologie der attischen Sarkophage, AA 1977, 383-388.*
- WINKLER 1989 *K. Winkler, Meerwesendarstellungen auf römischen Grabmälern der Austria Romana (masch.Dipl. Innsbruck 1989).*
- ZANKER - EWALD 2004 *P. Zanker - B. C. Ewald, Mit Mythen leben. Die Bilderwelt der römischen Sarkophage (München 2004).*

SAŽETAK

UTJECAJ ATIČKIH RADIONICA SARKOFAGA NA PROIZVODNJU RELJEA U RIMSKOJ PROVINCIJI NORIKU

Erwin POCHMARSKI

Rimska provincija Norik, koja na jugu izravno graniči s X. regijom (Venetia et Histria) Rimskog Carstva, proizvela je zapanjujuće velik broj mitoloških prikaza koji su, međutim, gotovo isključivo pronađeni na grobnicama, grobnim oltarima i grobnim stelama, ali ne i na sarkofazima.

Potpuno je suprotna situacija s provincijom Panonijom, koja na istoku graniči s X. regijom, a u kojoj su sačuvani brojni sarkofazi. Snažne veze mogu se dokazati između rimskih i atičkih sarkofaga s jedne, i reljefa iz provincije Norika s mitološkim prizorima s druge strane. S tim u svezi u posljednje se vrijeme, osim rimskih sarkofaga, prije svega govori o atičkim sarkofazima kao mogućim uzorima.

Postojala je zamisao o prekomorskoj vezi s Akvilejom, kao i kopnenoj cestovnoj vezi preko Balkanskog poluotoka.

Doista, pretpostavlja se da je postojala obrnuta veza od Akvileje do Makedonije glede tradicije grobnih oltara. Važna su razmatranja, nadasve, utemeljena na dokazu koji je iznio M. Bonanno Aravantinos, o jednom atičkom sarkofagu iz Tespije, koji se sada nalazi u Tebanskom muzeju, a koji je vjerojatno poslužio kao predložak za Orestiju na grobnici obitelji Spectatii u Šempeteru.

Za tradiciju slikovnih prikaza treba krenuti općenito, prije od hipoteze grafičkih uzora iz knjiga, nego od tradicije keramičkih i toreutičkih prikaza, jer pretvaranje uzora, kao i njihove tradicije, čini se da je, na kraju krajeva, pojmljivo jedino putem nacrtanih uzora. Doista, ta djelatnost također bi bila pojmljiva na temelju rada vještih majstora iz Akvileje, gdje, ne samo da ima atičkih sarkofaga, već također ima i aticiziranih imitacija izrađenih u akvilejskim radionicama.