

7. Fragments of an Orestes Sarcophagus

28.57.8a-d

Mid-Antonine, 150-165.

Purchased by John Marshall in Rome. Fletcher Fund.

Luni marble. H. of trough, 1 ft. 9 $\frac{1}{4}$ in. (0.54 m.); H. of lid 9 $\frac{1}{4}$ in. (0.24 m.); max. L. of frontal panel 3 ft. 10 $\frac{1}{2}$ in. (1.18 m.); max. L. of joining fragments of lid 1 ft. 11 $\frac{3}{4}$ in. (0.60 m.); D. 2 ft. 1 $\frac{3}{4}$ in. (0.66 m.); max. D. of relief 2 $\frac{1}{4}$ in. (0.06 m.).

THE FRONTAL panel has been reassembled (fig. 55) from seven fragments that join except for a gap of 0.06 m. between the right foot of Orestes and the reclining Fury. The right corner is preserved with the complete length of the right short side (fig. 56). Also fully preserved is the right corner of the lid with three joining fragments and an additional separate piece of the frieze. The rear upper corner of the left short side (fig. 57) is completely preserved with three joining fragments. The interior of the sarcophagus is worked with a pick. At the right end, a semicircular ledge (0.05 m. high and 0.29 m. in diameter) has been left with a circular depression for the head in the center. The marble is discolored and incrustated in places. The surface is worn, and the workmanship is of fair quality.

Though in fragmentary condition, enough remains to identify the figures with the *Oresteia* legend known especially from the Greek plays of Aeschylus,¹ Sophocles,² and Euripides.³ The Metropolitan sarcophagus belongs to a group of Orestes sarcophagi, of which thirteen examples known to me remain, showing the double murder of Aegisthus and Clytaemnestra (figs. 58-60).⁴ It is closest in iconography, style, and size to a complete sarcophagus in the Vatican Museum (fig. 58).⁵ From comparison with the Vatican piece it can be estimated that the Museum's joining frontal fragments constitute approximately one half the length of the sarcophagus. When complete, the frontal panel illustrated three separate dramatic events from the *Oresteia*, combined into one compositional unit suitable for the length of a sarcophagus panel. By comparison with the Vatican sarcophagus and others of the same type, the remaining figures can be identified and the original composition restored.

Moving from left to right, the left scene on the Vatican sarcophagus, now completely missing from Cat. No. 7, shows three Furies sleeping on a rocky mound. J. M. C. Toynbee, following Helbig, has interpreted the scene as the cairn or

1. Agamemnon, *The Libation-Bearers, Eumenides*.

2. *Electra*.

3. *Electra, Orestes*.

4. See Robert, II, 168-177, pls. LIV-LVI, his second class of Orestes sarcophagi, which include the examples in:

Rome, Lateran, Inv. 10450. Robert, II, no. 155; Helbig,⁴ I, no. 1127 (Andreae); Bianchi Bandinelli, 275 ff., fig. 311.

Rome, Palazzo Giustiniani. Robert, II, no. 156; Toynbee, *Hadr.*, 166 ff., pl. 37,3; Bianchi Bandinelli, 279, fig. 315.

Madrid, Museo Arqueológico Nacional. Robert, II, no. 157 (S. Husillos); *Catálogo del Museo Arqueológico Nacional* (Madrid, 1883) 196 ff., no. 2839; Toynbee, *Hadr.*, 170, pl. 38,2.

Rome, Vatican, Inv. 2513. Robert, II, no. 158; Helbig,⁴ I, no. 523 (Andreae); Toynbee, *Hadr.*, pl. 37,4.

Florence, Opera del Duomo; Robert, II, no. 159.

Rome, Vatican, Inv. 1226; Robert, II, no. 160; Helbig,⁴ I, no. 295 (Andreae).

Paris, Louvre; M. le Cte de Clarac, *Description du Musée royal des antiques du Louvre* (Paris, 1830) 161, no. 388; Robert, II, no. 161.

Rome, Palazzo Lancelotti; Robert, II, no. 162.

Rome, Villa Albani; Robert, II, no. 163.

Rome, Vatican; Robert, II, no. 164.

Rome, formerly with Cartoni (Via della Fontanella) from Ostia;

Robert, II, no. 165.

Rome, formerly with Martinetti; Robert, II, no. 166.

Cleveland, Art Museum, acc. no. 1016.28 (our fig. 60); R. Howard, "Orestes Sarcophagus and Greek Accessions," *Bulletin. Cleveland Museum of Art*, 15 (1928) 90, 91, pls. on pp. 85, 86; Toynbee, *Hadr.*, 183-184, cited as in the private collection of M. Carducci; M. Bieber, "Roman Sculpture in the Cleveland Museum of Art," *Art in America* (April 1944) 65-83, fig. 13; Hanfmann, *Season Sarcophagus*, II, 170, n. 385, fig. 107, dated 140-150 and cited as the earliest lid with Horae and seasonal putti (*ibid.*, 7, n. 25); "Art and Archaeology at the Cleveland Museum," *Archaeology*, 6 (1953) 198; *Cleveland Museum of Art Handbook* (Cleveland, 1961) pl. 22; C. C. Vermeule, "Roman Sarcophagi in America; A Short Inventory," *Festschrift Matz* (Mainz, 1962) 101-102; Hanfmann, *Roman Art*, pl. 119, p. 113.

J. M. C. Toynbee would identify a third class of Orestes sarcophagi, represented by the Vatican example, Inv. 1226. It does differ from the others in the second group by the addition of a seated Fury on the right end. In other respects, however, it is similar and thus does not seem to me to warrant separation into a separate class. See Toynbee, *Hadr.*, 184.

5. See above, n. 4, Vatican Inv. 2513, and Toynbee, *Hadr.*, 167 ff., pl. 37,4.



55. *Fragments of an Orestes sarcophagus, Cat. No. 7*

barrow of King Agamemnon, the murdered husband of Clytemnestra and the father of Orestes, surrounded by mourning Furies.⁶ This identification seems unlikely, for not only is there no indication of Agamemnon's ghost, which appears on the famous Lateran sarcophagus in the same series (fig. 59),⁷ but also the tomb of Agamemnon is actually represented on the right short side of Cat. No. 7. The Furies follow a long iconographic tradition that can be traced back at least to early South Italian vase painting of about 380 B.C. On the famous bell-krater in the Louvre, they appear at Delphi with the ghost of Clytemnestra, and Orestes is shown in the center at the sanctuary of Apollo with no reference to Agamemnon.⁸ The compositional group is also used on the Etruscan urns, adopted for a scene from the story of Orestes and Pylades in Tauris.⁹ Since the right-hand scene in this series of Roman Orestes sarcophagi shows the tragic hero at Delphi stepping over a sleeping Fury, the Furies would rather seem here to find their meaning as a left-hand counterpart to this composition as on the vases.¹⁰ There may have been a framing corner figure also

6. Toynbee, *Hadr.*, 167.

7. See above, n. 4; Helbig,⁴ I, no. 1127 (Andreae), Inv. 10450; Sichtermann—Koch, no. 53, pp. 52–53, pl. 133,2, pls. 135–140, with additional bibliography.

8. Louvre κ 710, A. Cambitoglou and A. D. Trendall, *Apulian Red-Figured Vase-Painters of the Plain Style*, Monographs on Archaeology and Fine Arts, X (Tokyo, 1961) 22, no. 1. Also see discussion of representations of Orestes at Delphi on the vases by R. R. Dyer, "The Evidence for Apolline Purification Rituals at Delphi and Athens," *JHS*, 89 (1969) 51 ff., pls. I–V.

9. F. H. Pairault, *Recherches sur quelques séries d'urnes de Volterra à représentations mythologiques*, Collection de l'Ecole française de Rome, 12 (Rome, 1972) 143 ff. Note especially the urn in Siena, n. 730, pls. 92–93.

10. Another possible interpretation suggested to me by D. von Bothmer is that they are represented asleep before they begin their pursuit of Orestes, following Clytemnestra's death. While this interpretation is tempting, it would seem that they would then logically appear near her in the composition, which is not here the case. Rather, their placement as a separate unit of three on the left, combined with the pictorial tradition evident in the vase paintings and Etruscan urns, seems to me to favor the interpretation presented.

at the left of Cat. No. 7 similar to the female figure at the right with a torch and wings in her hair.

The central scene on the sarcophagus frontal panel illustrated the violent deeds of revenge: the dual murders of Aegisthus and Clytaemnestra by Orestes.¹¹ It is for this deed of matricide

temple attendant painted on an early Apulian volute-krater of about 370 B.C. in Naples, which is decorated with a scene showing Orestes taking refuge at the omphalos at Delphi.¹² To the right of the nurse, the pose of the sprawled figure of the dead Aegisthus who falls backward over his stool can also be

56. Right short side of Cat. No. 7



57. Rear upper corner of left short side of Cat. No. 7



58. *Orestes sarcophagus*

Rome, Vatican, inv. 2513

that Orestes must be purified. The central scene (as illustrated on the Vatican sarcophagus, fig. 58) is intensified by the adjacent figures of the old nurse of Orestes who turns dramatically away to the left and the male servant who hides himself behind a footstool to the right of the dead Clytaemnestra. The figure of the nurse with upraised arms serves the same function as the

11. I would agree with M. Kilmer that Orestes is represented here also slaying Aegisthus rather than Pylades as on the Etruscan urns of the same subject, "Etruscan Antecedents of Roman Continuous Narrative in Painting," *AJA*, 76 (1972) 212–213. See also Pairault, *op. cit.*, 215. Furthermore, this identification follows the preserved literary tradition, where Pylades is represented as a helper but never as the actual slayer of Aegisthus (Euripides, *Electra*, 880–890; Aeschylus, *The Libation-Bearers*, 865 ff.; Sophocles, *Electra*, 1492).

12. P. E. Arias, *A History of 1000 Years of Greek Vase Painting* (New York, 1961) pl. 239.



traced back to Greek art. While not a common motif, it is used as early as the fifth century B.C., for example, in the figure of a falling Amazon on the famous Parthenos shield,¹³ and in turn appears on a South Italian volute-krater in Taranto of the late fifth century B.C. for a male warrior.¹⁴ The artist of the sarcophagus, however, has varied the pose of the arms to fit his own compositional needs. The striding figure of Orestes with his sword upraised, who forms the focal point of the central scene, is likewise found on the same vase.¹⁵ The dead Clytemnestra lies at his feet in the familiar pose of Ariadne,¹⁶ while behind him two Furies appear already in pursuit, hidden behind hanging drapery. The latter has been interpreted as the fatal cloak of Agamemnon displayed after the matricide, as told in the plays.¹⁷ The only complete remaining figure from this dramatic central scene preserved in the Museum's example is the crouching male servant clothed in a sleeveless tunic and now lacking his head. The lower edge of Clytemnestra's half-draped body and part of her outstretched left hand, which crosses over the left leg of the servant, also is preserved, as well as the head of the Fury on the right with a section of the drapery. The herm over which the cloak is draped in the other reliefs is missing in our fragments.

The scene on the far right illustrates a later event in the tragic drama, Orestes' visit to the shrine of Apollo at Delphi,¹⁸ where he receives the promise of atonement after a trial in Athens. Fortunately, the main figures from this scene are preserved in the Museum's fragments (fig. 55). The nude figure of Orestes, complete except for his right arm, which held a sword, and his legs from the upper thighs down, departs from the sanctuary, stepping lightly over a sleeping Fury, exhausted from pursuit. The head and lower draped torso of the Fury are

13. E. Harrison, "The Composition of the Amazonomachy on the Shield of Athena Parthenos," *Hesperia*, 35 (1966) 107-133, pls. 36-41, and especially pl. 37a.

14. *CVA*, IV D r, pls. 23, 26, fig. 2. For recognition of this figure as a male warrior, rather than an Amazon, see Bothmer, 214.

15. *CVA*, IV D r, pl. 25, fig. 2. For use of this figure in Romanesque art see a capital in the church of St. Martin, Fromista, Spain, G. Gaillard, *La Sculpture romane espagnole* (Paris [n.d.]) pl. LXVII. I thank M. Ward for this reference.

16. E. Pfuhl, *Meisterwerke griechischer Zeichnung und Malerei* (Munich, 1924) 94, fig. 127, wall painting from Pompeii in Naples, showing Dionysus finding the sleeping Ariadne on Naxos.

17. Aeschylus, *The Libation-Bearers*, 980 ff.

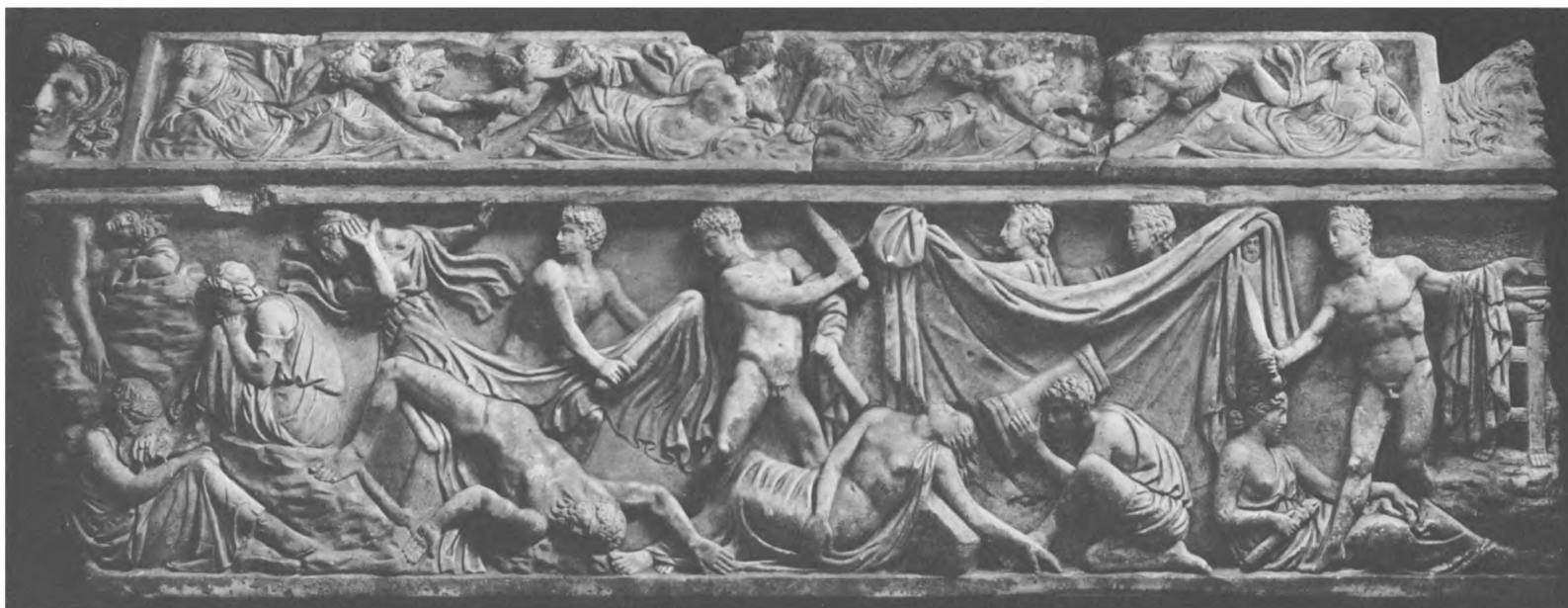
18. Aeschylus, *Eumenides*, 64 ff.

59. *Orestes sarcophagus*

Rome, Lateran, inv. 10450. Photo: Anderson 24194

60. *Orestes sarcophagus*

Cleveland Museum of Art. Photo: German Arch. Inst. 31.1447



missing. The Delphic tripod at the corner that occurs in the other reliefs is here replaced in the Museum's panel by a draped female figure whose left arm holding a lighted torch appears on the right short side. In her hand is a folded object, possibly a whip, and she wears wings in her hair. Her robe is high-belted with long sleeves. This particular figure is not found on the other *Oresteia* sarcophagi of this group, but she does appear as a corner figure on the *Orestes* sarcophagus in the Hermitage, of a different type that shows Aegisthus seated on his throne in the center of the panel with Orestes attacking from the left.¹⁹ Robert has identified the corner figure as a Fury, but the wings in her hair as well as her dress distinguish her from the others. A female figure with similar wings in her hair appears on a Roman sarcophagus in Messina illustrating the story of Icarus, and M. Lawrence suggests she may be a Fate.²⁰ But she finds her closest association with demons and Furies represented on Etruscan funerary urns. On urns illustrating the *Oresteia* legend the Furies are represented as large, winged creatures in short dress, perhaps influenced by the figures of Victories on the famous altar of Pergamon.²¹ Sometimes, however, they also appear with small wings in their hair (fig. 61).²² It would seem, again, that the artist of the

Roman sarcophagus is drawing on a continuing Italic pictorial tradition. By clothing the Fury in a long skirt, the Roman artist has created a more monumental figure to frame the ends of the long panel of the sarcophagus.

The two short sides of the Museum's sarcophagus also illustrate scenes from the legends of Orestes. On the right side, two veiled female figures in traditional mourning poses are placed on either side of a pedimental tomb decorated with a laurel swag. A laurel wreath is also placed within the gable. The standing figure on the left with her foot raised upon the step of

19. Robert, II, no. 154. For another example of this scene on a newly discovered sarcophagus compare H. Sichtermann, "Ein ungewöhnlicher mythologischer Sarkophag," *AA*, 86 (1971) 116–117, *idem*, "Ein ungewöhnlicher mythologischer Sarkophag," *RM*, 78 (1971) 181–202.

20. Robert, III, 1, pp. 51 ff., pl. xi, no. 37. I am grateful to M. Lawrence for this comparison.

21. See Pairault, *op. cit.*, 155–156, 215–221, pls. 103–113.

22. For example, the figure of a Fury on the side panel of the Etruscan urn in the Vatican showing the death of Oenomaus on the frontal panel, Pairault, *op. cit.*, pl. 9b; Brunn—Körte, II, 113–114, pl. XLII, 4; see also an urn in Berlin, A. Rumpf, *Staatliche Museen zu Berlin. Katalog der etruskischen Skulpturen* (Berlin, 1928) I, pl. 38, B 53.



61. *Etruscan funerary urn*

Chiusi, Museo Archaeologico, no. 980. Photo: German Arch. Inst. 68.3388

62. *Etruscan funerary urn*

Siena, Museo Etrusco, no. 730. Photo: Alinari 37539



the tomb must be the daughter of Agamemnon, Electra, who mourns at her father's grave with her servant girl seated on the right.²³ These same figures appear on an Etruscan funerary urn in Siena showing the same subject (fig. 62).²⁴ Presently Orestes will appear and be recognized. Our sarcophagus is unique in the series for its use of this scene on the short side and links Roman funerary art again with the Etruscan.

On the opposite short side a scene not taken from the trilogy but from Euripides' *Iphigeneia in Tauris* is included: the recognition scene between Iphigeneia and her brother Orestes.²⁵ According to Euripides, Orestes comes to Tauris with Pylades to obtain the cult statue of Artemis that will free him from his madness. In the Museum's sarcophagus the upper body of Iphigeneia is still preserved, turned to the right. In her right hand she holds the letter through which the recognition is later achieved. Only the left profile of Orestes remains with his right arm and leg. His lower left leg is also preserved adjoining the lower right leg of Pylades, who is otherwise missing. A similar scene can be found on the Orestes sarcophagus in the Palazzo Giustiniani.²⁶

For the decoration of the lid, the artist of Cat. No. 7 also drew upon the Tauric drama, as did the artist of the famous Lateran sarcophagus (fig. 59), the best in the series and surely carved by a master. Only the right corner scene is preserved from the Museum's frieze, but when complete it must have illustrated the episodes in the story represented on the Lateran lid. The recognition scene between Orestes and Iphigeneia in front of the temple of Artemis would have been represented on the far left. In the center, Iphigeneia stood holding the sacred image of the goddess with Orestes, Pylades, and a Taurian soldier. They are watched by the Taurian king Thoas, who is seen under an arch. The fragments of Cat. No. 7 on the right show Orestes striding up the gangplank of the ship in which his sister awaits him with her attendant and a sailor.²⁷ The decorative curved stern with one of the side rudders and tiller bar are clearly visible.²⁸ Behind Orestes, the round shield of Pylades, who still fights with the pursuing Taurians, is pre-

23. Aeschylus, *The Libation-Bearers*.

24. L. Curtius, "Orest und Iphigenie in Tauris," *RM*, 49 (1934) 267, fig. 8; Pairault, *op. cit.*, pl. 88.

25. 725 ff.

26. See above, n. 4.

27. See Euripides, *Iphigeneia in Tauris*, 1379 ff.

28. Cf. particularly the stern of a galley represented on an Etruscan funerary urn in the Guarnacci Museum in Volterra, Pairault, *op. cit.*, pl. 114a. Also see the stern of a galley on a Roman relief in the Palazzo Spada of the second century A.D., L. Casson, *Ships and Seaman-ship in the Ancient World* (Princeton, 1971) 224, fig. 114, or the stern of a Roman trireme, a relief in Naples of the first century B.C. or first century A.D., *ibid.*, fig. 129.

served. In a separate fragment, Pylades' left leg and that of a fallen barbarian can be seen.²⁹ For the corner decoration of the lid the artist also draws upon the Tauric story, using the head of a Taurian with his pointed cap.

The frequently discussed question of whether or not any of these individual scenes used for the decoration of the Orestes sarcophagi may be traced back to a lost Greek painting by Theon or Theoros remains unproved.³⁰ It is significant that, for one scene, the double murder of Aegisthus and Clytaemnestra, it is not to Greek vase painting but to Etruscan funerary urns that one must turn.³¹ This evidence, as well as that cited above from the South Italian vases, suggests that while individual figure types may be traced back to the Greek world, the composition of the whole has not been copied from another realm but is the creation of the Roman designer. It should also be remembered that some of the motifs may have originally been inspired by theatrical performances of the Greek plays in southern Italy rather than derived from lost paintings.

Taken as a whole, the Orestes sarcophagus in the Museum's collection illustrates well the Roman artist's free use of varied sources from the Greek tragedies. No one literary source is used, and elements from a number of plays are selected to form a new artistic whole. The significance of the scenes for funerary art is discussed by J. M. C. Toynbee who challenged the earlier interpretation of the scenes as "continuous narra-

tive."³² She points out that the scenes are indeed not continuous in time and do not follow any one version of the story as told by the Greek dramatists. Rather, "striking, epoch-making moments" have been deliberately selected with an intended symbolic meaning. Moreover, one can further see the trials of Orestes as signifying the trials of the deceased on earth, while the promise of his purification in the Delphic episode provides hope for the deceased spirit. Greek tragedy has been freely

29. For sarcophagi using these themes for the design of the frontal relief, see Robert, II, pl. LVIII, nos. 172-176.

30. Pliny, *Natural History*, 35, 144. See especially Lippold, 85; A. Furtwängler and K. Reichhold, *Griechische Vasenmalerei* (Munich, 1909) II, 75-80 (Furtwängler); E. Vermeule, "The Boston Oresteia Krater," *AJA*, 70 (1966) 19. For a list of the Greek vases illustrating the Oresteia legend, see Vermeule, *op. cit.*, 13 ff., and Brommer,³ 448-457; L. Séchan, *Etudes sur la tragédie grecque dans ses rapports avec la céramique* (Paris, 1926) 86-101. For the most recent discussion of problems concerning the representations, see M. Davies, "Thoughts on the 'Oresteia' before Aischylos," *BCH*, 93 (1969) 214-260; *idem*, "The Death of Aegisthos: A Fragmentary Stamnos by the Copenhagen Painter," *Opuscula Romana*, 9 (1973) 117 ff., with earlier bibliography.

31. Brunn-Körte, I, pls. LXXV, 1,2; LXXVI, 3; LXXVII, 4,5; LXVIII, 6,7; LXXIX, 8,9; LXXX, 10.

32. *Had.*, 164 ff.; cf. E. Strong, *Roman Sculpture* (New York, 1969) 254-267, and F. Wickhoff, *Roman Art* (New York, 1900) 165-167.

63. *Niobid sarcophagus*

Rome, Lateran, inv. 10437. Photo: Vatican



used and combined into a new dramatic and artistic whole which now serves Roman funerary art.

The chronology of the Orestes sarcophagi first presented by Robert has largely been followed by later scholars. He separated the sarcophagi into two classes: one showing the death of Aegisthus in the center on his throne, as illustrated on the Leningrad sarcophagus, and the second, more common group to which ours belongs, with the two deaths as the central motif with adjacent related scenes. Within this second group, Robert and others place the Lateran sarcophagus as the earliest, with the more simplified compositions illustrated by the Museum's example as later. The Lateran sarcophagus has traditionally been dated about 134 on the basis of the evidence of the brick stamps belonging to the tomb in which it was found. It has recently been rightly pointed out, however, that such evidence can be used only to date the tomb itself and does not necessarily date the sarcophagi within it, which could have been added later, as has happened in other cases.³³ Moreover, the two other sarcophagi found with the Lateran one are different in both their style and marble and cannot be from the same period.³⁴ Thus, a date in the Hadrianic age for the Lateran sarcophagus is not, after all, assured from external evidence, and in comparison with the other sarcophagi in the series it rather seems to be later in date. The Lateran's higher and

broader form with the compact scene filled with figures is later in the evolution of sarcophagi forms than the long, low casket with the more simplified compositional design along a single ground line. The use of a framing corner figure on Cat. No. 7 is also an early motif,³⁵ which is used as well in the Leningrad one. The style of the Museum's remaining figures with the classical modeling of the nude and the restrained use of the drill further supports an early date for the group. Cat. No. 7 may be compared in style to other sarcophagi that have been dated stylistically between 150 and 165.³⁶ Within the chronology of the Museum's collection, it can be placed between the earlier Endymion sarcophagus [Cat. No. 3] and the fragment showing Herakles struggling with the Nemean lion [Cat. No. 10]. Though fragmentary, Cat. No. 7 remains of special interest to the student of Greek tragedy. Furthermore, it reflects an early stage in the evolution of Roman sarcophagi, when violent scenes from mythology were especially in vogue, a tradition that apparently springs from the Hadrianic period.

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Alexander, 38–40, fig. 103; Toynbee, *Hadr.*, 181, n. 1; L. Curtius, "Orest und Iphigenie in Tauris," *RM*, 49 (1934) 252, n. 1.

33. Turcan, 25 ff.; cf. H. Sichtermann, "Der Niobiden-Sarkophag in Providence," *JdI*, 83 (1968) 186 ff. I am grateful to B. Andreae for this reference.

34. For the Niobid sarcophagus see Helbig,⁴ I, no. 1129 (Andreae), Inv. 10437 (our fig. 63). Sichtermann—Koch, no. 49, p. 50, pl. 122,1. For the garland sarcophagus, Helbig,⁴ I, no. 1128, Inv. 10443 (our fig. 13).

The differences in style among these three magnificent sarcophagi found in a tomb near the Porta Viminalis was first brought to my attention by M. Lawrence, who is also of the opinion that the two mythological sarcophagi are later in date than the garland one. J. Ward Perkins, who has kindly shared his views with me, also believes in a later date for the two mythological sarcophagi on the basis of their different marbles and the unusual Atlas supports for their coffins, which suggest that they may have been made as a pair, after the garland sarcophagus. Both the coffin and lid of the Orestes sarcophagus are of Proconnesian marble, while the Niobid sarcophagus is completely of Luni, a marble of fine crystalline structure that lends itself well to the carving of details. The garland sarcophagus, on the other hand, is of Pentelic. Ward Perkins will present his ideas shortly in a forthcoming article.

This writer has come to similar conclusions, although I suggest that the Niobid sarcophagus is the latest of the three on the basis of its increased pictorial style and higher relief, having a maximum depth of 0.11 m. in comparison with the Orestes sarcophagus with a depth of about 0.05 m., close to our Museum's example. In conclusion, I should suggest that the garland sarcophagus belonged to the original occupant of the tomb and thus must date in the 130s. The Orestes sarcophagus appears to be about ten years later, following general stylistic evolutionary trends, and the Niobid still later, perhaps dating in the 160s.

35. See discussion of the battle sarcophagus [Cat. No. 18] below, p. 116.

36. For example, cf. the Argonaut sarcophagus in the Museo Praetextatus, Rome, Gütschow, pl. I,1. See rev. by G. Hanfmann, *AJA*, 45 (1941) 496. Also compare sarcophagi with Dioscuri and Leucippidae in Florence, the Uffizi, and Rome, Vatican (Lehmann—Olsen, 57, fig. 43).

B. Andreae also suggested to me a comparison of the Museum's Orestes sarcophagus with the Neoptolemus sarcophagus in the Terme Museum, Rome, dated about 162 by Sichtermann—Koch, no. 46, pp. 48–49, pls. 118,2; 119–121.