

Conditoria Provinciarum

Roman Sarcophagi in the Provinces

El sarcófago romano en las provincias

Edited by

Montserrat Claveria and Markus Trunk

IBERICA SELECTA

Die Iberische Halbinsel bis 1000 n. Chr. | 3

Franz Steiner Verlag

**Sonder-
druck**

2025



Table of Contents – Indice

MONTERRAT CLAVERIA / MARKUS TRUNK	
Presentación	11

Invited Talks – Conferencias invitadas

ISABEL RODÀ	
La investigación de los sarcófagos lapídeos en Hispania	17

MARGHERITA BONANNO ARAVANTINOS	
Sarcofagi romani in contesto	
<i>Su alcuni ritrovamenti in area greca</i>	47

Roman Sarcophagi in the Provinces – Sarcófagos Romanos en las Provincias

FULVIA CILIBERTO / DANIELA MASSARA	
I sarcofagi del Terra Sancta Museum di Gerusalemme	
<i>La produzione locale</i>	71

DORIS BIELEFELD	
Das ‚Corpus der Sarkophage von Ephesos‘	
<i>Ein Langzeitprojekt auf der Zielgeraden</i>	99

ELENI PAPAGIANNI	
Attic and Local Sarcophagi in Roman Macedonia	
<i>New Evidence from Dion and Kilkis</i>	111

CRISTINA-GEORGETA ALEXANDRESCU	
Roman Sarcophagi in Moesia Inferior	
<i>Shape, Material, Iconography and Context</i>	127



BOJAN DJURIĆ	
Roman Sarcophagi in Pannonia	145
MONICA PAGAN	
Sarcofagi di età romana dal territorio veronese	167
MARKUS TRUNK	
Reliefsarkophage in Trier	189
VASSILIKI GAGGADIS-ROBIN	
Les sarcophages du Midi de la Gaule	
<i>Production locale, matériaux et iconographie</i>	207
MONTSERRAT CLAVERIA	
Roman Sarcophagi in the Iberian Peninsula	
<i>Methodology and Results</i>	237
ANTÒNIA SOLER I NICOLAU	
Los sarcófagos paganos de Hispania a la luz de los datos epigráficos	255
SERGIO VIDAL ÁLVAREZ	
Los sarcófagos cristianos de la Hispania tardoantigua	
<i>Apunte sobre el estado actual de la investigación y nuevas perspectivas de estudio</i>	283
Conservation/Restauration, Polychromy – Conservación/ Restauración, polycromía	
ISABEL MORENO MARTÍNEZ	
Pátinas y concreciones al servicio de la historia	
<i>Estudio de cuatro sarcófagos del Museu d'Arqueologia de Catalunya</i>	297
ELIANA SIOTTO	
Polychromy on Roman Sarcophagi from Rome	
<i>Key Aspects and Foundations for Future Collaborations in Provincial Context</i>	331



**Reuses and Reception of Roman Sarcophagi in The Provinces –
Reusos y recepción de sarcófagos romanos en las provincias**

BEATRICE CACCIOTTI

Sul ruolo dei sarcofagi nel collezionismo inglese tra XVIII e XX secolo..... 359

RAFFAELLA BUCOLO

Jean-Pierre Hoüel and the Sarcophagi of Sicily in his “Voyage Pittoresque” 379

SARAY GARCÍA-MARTÍNEZ

El Sarcófago romano, erudición y prestigio en el coleccionismo español 397

Table of Figures – Tabla de figuras 411



Roman Sarcophagi in the Iberian Peninsula

Methodology and Results

MONTserrat CLAVERIA

Abstract: This article presents the results of the research project on Roman sarcophagi in the Iberian Peninsula HAR2017–84907-P (2018–2022), through which 131 pieces have been catalogued. It has been proven that this type of sepulcher was imported and used from the 1st century CE until the 4th century in Hispania, when the use of the sarcophagus with Christian iconography became widespread, and that its reuse from late antiquity onwards was for sepulchral and antiquarian purposes, as was usually the case.

Attention is focused on the identification of the marble by multi-method analysis, showing a widespread dependence on metropolitan sarcophagi in Hispania and the use of quality white marble: Proconnesos, Thasos, Carrara and Paros, and sporadically Pentelic and Afyon. Local production is simple and scattered, except in Tarraco, where a prolific production is recorded from the mid-2nd to the 4th century; mostly local stones are used, and to a lesser extent marble from Proconnesos and Carrara. Attic imports are sporadic, 2 for the moment, and micro-Asiatic influences are found in 4 examples in which Attic and metropolitan ones also converge, and of which it is not possible to determine their local or imported provenance. These examples suggest itinerant foreign craftsmen who were familiar with the trends in the main centers of sarcophagus production, who combined them creatively and preferred quality white marble.

Keywords: Roman sarcophagi, Hispania, archaeometry identification, marble trade, sculptors



From 2018 to 2022, our research team carried out the HAR2017-84907-P project entitled *The Roman Sarcophagus in the Iberian Peninsula. Art-chaecology, Archaeometry and conservation-restoration*, funded by a grant from the Spanish Ministry of Science and Innovation and led by the Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona. The CONDITORIA PROVINCIIARUM international symposium, held in September 2022 in Trier (Germany), was organized as part of this research project. The symposium proceedings are collected in this volume. This project has centred on 2 main objectives:

1. The use of Roman sarcophagi in the province of Hispania.
2. The historical evolution of pieces of this type conserved in the Iberian Peninsula beginning in late antiquity, which has contributed to advancing knowledge about how these works were reused and the methods used to restore them¹.

This project has focused on Hispanic sarcophagi with pagan or neutral scenes because Christian sarcophagi in the Iberian Peninsula constitute a large group of approximately 125 pieces which have specific characteristics and issues². However, we have taken into account data from these Christian works in order to draw conclusions about the use of Roman sarcophagi in the Iberian Peninsula in antiquity.

We have collected a total of 131 Roman sarcophagi pieces conserved in the Iberian Peninsula. 120 are almost certainly from Roman contexts in the 3 province of Hispania – *Tarraconensis*, *Baetica*, and *Lusitania*. Fragments of 5 other specimens were brought to Spain from Italy during the Renaissance as antiques, 3 of which are part of Spanish royal collections³ and 2 of which were used in prestigious burials at the Cartagena Cathedral in Murcia⁴. Another 3 pieces were acquired more recently for the Várez Fisa collection⁵, and 3 boxes are copies of Roman originals made in the Modern Era, likely also as antiques⁶.

Out of this ensemble of sarcophagi pieces, 23 pieces have been dated, the uncertain iconographic aspects of a total of 34 works have been clarified, and the epigraphs of the 26 sarcophagi containing inscriptions have been interpreted⁷. This project has been carried out using a multidisciplinary working methodology, based on the pooling of

1 Moreno – Claveria 2022, 302–311; Claveria 2022, 181–191; Claveria 2020, 373–381.

2 There is a recent compilation of Christian sarcophagi from this territory: N. Büchschenschütz, *Iberische Halbinsel und Marokko*. Repertorium der Christlich-Antiken Sarkophage 4. Wiesbaden: Dr. Ludwig Reichert Verlag, 2018, although a few non-Christian pieces are included (Claveria 2024b, 313–320).

3 Schroeder 2004, 497–507 no. 214–216.

4 Noguera Celdrán 2001, 175–255; Noguera Celdrán 2013, 81–106.

5 Cabrera 2003, 486–492 no. 180–182.

6 Koppel 1997, 7–14; Trunk 2008, 209–219; Domínguez 2009, 7–16.

7 These tasks have generated several recently published studies or currently in press: Claveria 2024, 189–198; Claveria in press 1; Claveria 2024b, 313–320 2; Rodà et al. in press.



the results obtained through the analysis of these sarcophagi from different perspectives – including epigraphy, history and art, archaeology, archaeometrics (stone materials), and conservation-restoration interventions – some of which can be found in Isabel Moreno's, Antonia Soler's and Saray Garcia-Martínez's articles in this volume.

The data obtained have allowed us to demonstrate that the use of Roman sarcophagi in Hispania began in the 1st century CE, when 2 coffer/pedestal sarcophagi were imported from Rome to Tarraco, the capital of Hispania Citerior⁸. Over the course of the 2nd century, the use of sarcophagi in Hispania grew very slowly, indicating that the well-off who could afford to purchase ornamental tombs still had a clear preference for cremation burial types⁹. Remains conserved from the 2nd century are primarily from the latter half, and most were imported from Rome¹⁰. However, sarcophagi did begin to be produced locally in Tarraco, and this production would be highly prolific in the next two centuries¹¹. The 3rd century is when sarcophagi with pagan scenes were most widely used. Sarcophagi continued to be predominantly imported from Rome¹², we are only aware of the use of 3 specimens of the Attic type¹³; and local production continued in Tarraco, with additional sporadic and highly scattered local manufacture elsewhere in the Peninsula¹⁴. By contrast, in the 4th century, a progressive decline in the use of sarcophagi with pagan or neutral scenes can be observed, whereas the importation and local manufacture of Christian sarcophagi increased significantly, with a ratio of 20 pagan pieces to 85 Christian pieces, showing the active spread of Christianity in Hispania. Sarcophagi continued to be primarily imported from Rome¹⁵.

The use of these sarcophagi has primarily been documented in the east and the south of the Iberian Peninsula, urbanized areas with high levels of commercial activity. Few remains have been conserved in the Lusitanian *Province* and in central and western *Tarraconensis*, areas which were less populated and more ruralized¹⁶.

As for local productions in Hispania, they are clearly different from imported sarcophagi. As a whole, they are characterized by their crudeness and the use of simple and distinctive compositions which differ significantly from the established canons of the main production workshops, even when quality marble was used. Local creations are more prevalent than copies of foreign models, and the few cases of the latter which

8 Claveria 2001, cat. 23 and 46 Pl. XI.1 and XI.3 (here Fig. 1); Claveria 2024b, 316–318. 2.

9 Claveria 2011, 500–502.

10 García y Bellido 1949, cat. 249; Beltrán Fortes et al. 2006, cats. 9–11. 53. 61. 69. 75–76. 70–71; Rodrigues Gonçalves 2007, cat. 190. 193; Claveria 2001, cat. 24–26. 48. 54–58; Claveria 2020, 156.

11 Claveria 2001, 129–135. 164–166. 168; Claveria 2012, 125–134.

12 Beltrán Fortes et al. 2006, 76–79; Claveria 2020, 156 n. 22.

13 Claveria 2001, Cat. 19. 22. 59.

14 Claveria 2012; Claveria 2020, 156–160.

15 Beltrán Fortes et al. 2006, 79–92; Claveria 2020, 156.

16 Claveria 2020, Fig. 1.



have been conserved¹⁷ are imitations of Roman models. The base motifs which inspired the local language come from the funerary art developed in Rome. Tarraco was home to the most active production centre in the Iberian Peninsula, and its products were characterized by fluted panels and the prominence of inscription¹⁸. Outside Tarraco, there are only occasional and geographically dispersed local vestiges¹⁹.

One of our research team's key tasks was to improve our knowledge of the materials used in imported and local works and the sites where they were produced. To this end, existing information about the 42 pieces which had already been subject to petrologic analysis in previous studies²⁰ was updated and expanded using the analysis of 21 further samples from sarcophagi which were examined by optical microscope (OM), visual examination of the works being analysed, spectrophotometry to measure tones of grey, cathodoluminescence (CL), and stable isotopes of C and O. This analysis has been carried out at the Catalan Institute of Classical Archaeology's *Archaeometric Studies Unit*, which houses an extensive archive of reference samples of ancient sculptures and whose researchers we would like to thank for their work on the pieces discussed in this paper²¹.

We have worked with 4 groups of pieces, which due to their formal and iconographic characteristics and place of conservation constitute an adequate representative sample of the use of marble in Roman sarcophagi in the area being studied (Table 1).

We have included Christian specimens²² among these pieces with the aim of obtaining more reliable reference data to assess the use of marble in Hispanic sarcophagi in the 4th century. In the following pages, we will present the conclusions we have reached after comparing the results of these analyses with those conducted previously.

1. 22 % of the works studied are made of Luni-Carrara marble. These include the earliest pieces. One of them is from the box in Tarragona housed at the Museu d'Història, with the inventory number MNAT-368 (Fig. 1)²³, and belongs to the group of sarcophagi produced in Rome in the 1st century CE, before inhumation became more

17 Claveria 2001, cat. 48. 60; Rodrigues Gonçalves 2007, cat. 190, 197, and probably Beltrán Fortes et al. 2006, cat. 74.

18 Claveria 2001, 129–136; Beltrán Fortes et al. 2006, 45–60; Claveria 2012, 125–134; Claveria 2020, 157–160.

19 Claveria 2020, Fig. 6–7.

20 Claveria 2001, 167–169; Mateos 2002, 446 (current ratified results: see S. Vidal's contribution in the present volume); Beltrán Fortes et al. 2006, 48–56; Lapuente et al. 2013, 75–86; Claveria 2020, 156–160.

21 I would like to express my gratitude to Marie-Claire Savin, Laura Galán and Andrea Collado for the marble analyses of the pieces and specially to Pilar Lapuente for her invaluable help in interpreting the results obtained.

22 Five of the eight sarcophagi in the second group, belonging to the Basilica of Sant Feliu in Girona, are of Christian themes and date from the 4th century (Büchschütz 2018, cat. 54–58, with previous bibliography).

23 See Table 1, group 3 Inv. MNAT-368.



Table 1 Use of marble in Roman sarcophagi*

Identification of the group	Conservation place	Identification analysed pieces	Sample Nr.	Material	Chronology
1. MAC-Barcelona group	MAC-Barcelona	Inv. MAC 9.569 <i>Alethi ave</i>	LEMLA-2175B	Llísos	2/3 2nd Century
		Inv. MAC 9.570 Persephone	BCN-1454	Paros-2(3)	c. 230 CE
		Inv. MAC 9.590 Lion hunting	BCN-1453	Proconnesus	c. 230 CE
		Inv. MAC 19.917 Seasons frag.	BCN-1457	Proconnesus	4th Century
		Inv. MAC 19.919 St Eulalia (Fig. 2)	BCN-1456	Common Carrara	2nd Century
		Inv. MAC 19.920 Fluted St. Cugat	Isotops pending	Carrara	Late 3rd Century
Inv. MAC 22.400 Seasons door (Fig. 7,2)		BCN-1455	Slightly metamorphosed marble, Carrara?	Late 3rd Century	
2. Sant Feliu de Girona Group	Basilica Sant Feliu de Girona	Sarg. Caste Susanne	GIR-1488	Carrara	4th Century
		Sarg. Lion hunting	GIR-1489	Carrara	4th Century
		Sarg. New/Old Testament Scenes	GIR-1490	Carrara	4th Century
		Sarg. St. Feliu	GIR-1491	Carrara	4th Century
		Sarg. New Testament Scenes	GIR-1492	Carrara	4th Century
		Sarg. Good Shepherd	GIR-1493	Carrara	4th Century
		Sarg. Male prayer	GIR-1494	Proconnesus	4th Century
		Sarg. Persephone	GIR-1495	Paros-II Marathi	c. 230 CE
3. MNAT-Tarragona Group	MNAT MHT	Inv. MNAT 45.637 Battle (Fig. 6)	TARR-1417	Proconnesus	1/2 3rd Century
		Inv. MNAT 15.482 Hippolytus (Fig. 4)	TARR-1415	Pentelic	2/4 3rd Century
		Inv. MNAT-368 <i>Firmidius</i> (Fig. 1) <i>Cæciliamus</i>	TARR-1416	Luni-Carrara	1st Century CE
4. Madrid Group	Museo del Prado	Inv. E000118 Polyxena (Fig. 5)	MDR-1420	Afyon/Docimium	Mid-3rd Century
		Inv. E000630 <i>Horae</i> cover	MDR-1422	Paros-2(3)	Mid-3rd Century
		Inv. E000131 <i>Clytemnestra</i>	MDR-1421	Carrara	2/2 2nd Century

* MAC = Museu d'Arqueologia de Catalunya; MNAT = Museu Nacional Arqueològic de Tarragona; MHT = Museu d'Història de Tarragona; Inv. = Inventory number



popular in the Roman world, and therefore before the emergence of the use of Roman sarcophagi as a type of tomb. Hugo Brandenburg wrote in 1978 that these sarcophagi were sculpted from Carrara marble²⁴, but only rarely has this assertion been confirmed by scientific analysis²⁵. However, the appearance of most of these specimens indicates that this is the case. The recent analysis of the sarcophagus from Tarraco is among the first in this early series to confirm this assumption.

Another sarcophagus from Barcelona, known as the Santa Eulalia sarcophagus²⁶, shares numerous elements with this series of early sarcophagi, despite dating from the 2nd century. The fact that it is made of Carrara marble (Fig. 2) is further proof of the use of this marble to make the first decorated sarcophagi in Rome²⁷. Two fragments sculpted from Carrara marble, one housed at the Museo del Prado with scenes from the myth of Clytemnestra²⁸ and another with a marine theme housed at the Episcopal Museum in Vic²⁹, date from the late 2nd century³⁰, as does a front depicting muses from Tarragona³¹. Conversely, there are none from the first two-thirds of the 3rd century. This lack of continuity in sarcophagi made of Carrara marble contrasts with the number of sarcophagi made of this same marble from the late 3rd century and the 4th century, with 9³² of the 14 sarcophagi examined which turned out to be made of this material dating from this period. This chronological distribution is consistent with the results obtained by Susan Walker in a 1988 study of 24 sarcophagi housed at the British Museum³³ and by Frances Van Keuren in a 2011 study of 20 sarcophagi from the Museo Nazionale Romano³⁴. In both series, as in the one discussed in this paper, a similar curve can be observed in the use of Luni-Carrara marble in sarcophagi: extensive use of this marble until the end of the 2nd century, when a sharp decline in its use as a material for sculpting sarcophagi and other types of public sculpture in Rome can be observed, until the end of the 3^d century, when it again became the preferred material for this type of tomb³⁵.

24 Brandenburg 1978, 277–319.

25 See Heres 1998, 180 in relation to the Caffarelli Sarcophagus.

26 See Table 1, group 1 Inv. MAC-19.919 (here Fig. 2).

27 Claveria 2024b, 313–320.

28 See Table 1, group 4 Inv. E000131.

29 Claveria 2001, cat. 13; Beltrán Fortes et al. 2006, cat. 76.

30 Schroeder 2004, 513–515 cat. 218 (Museo del Prado); Beltrán Fortes et al. 2006, cat. 76 (Museo Episcopal de Vic).

31 Claveria 2001, cat. 48.

32 In addition to the pieces listed in table 1: group 1 Inv. MAC-19.920 and the first 6 pieces of group 2, there are a seasons chest from Empúries (Artelab 2014, 11) and a fragment from Tarragona (Claveria 2001, cat. 49) and possible 2 fragments from Andalucía identified as Carrara *de visu* (Beltrán Fortes et al. 2006, cat. 20 and 52).

33 Walker – Matthews 1988, 117–125.

34 Van Keuren et al. 2011, 149–187.

35 Walker – Matthews 1988, 124; Van Keuren et al. 2011, 167–168.



2. It can be observed that this lack of continuity was compensated for by the preferential use of other types of high-quality white marble from Greece and Asia Minor to make sarcophagi, which among the Hispanic pieces analysed here make up 65 % of the total (Fig. 3). These types of marble include Thasos dolomite, found in 8 pieces imported from Rome: 3 from the 2nd century³⁶, 5 from the 3rd century³⁷, and 1 from the 4th century³⁸. An additional 7 imported works were sculpted from Paros marble: 6 from the 2(3) variety³⁹ and 1 from the II–Marathi variety⁴⁰. They all date from the 3rd century, with the exception of 1 fragment which is from either the end of this century or the beginning of the 4th century⁴¹. However, the marble of choice was that of Proconnesus, which was the cheapest according to Diocletian's Edict issued in the year 301⁴². This marble has been identified in 22 pieces, which represent 35 % of all works included in this study and are homogeneously distributed between the 3rd and 4th centuries. Only two of the samples analysed are from 2nd-century sarcophagi; the first belongs to a cover with battle scenes imported from Rome⁴³ and the second to a box from Muni-gua (Fig. 7, 3) which is reminiscent of the Attic style and is the subject of a debate about whether it is an imported piece or was produced in the southern Iberian Peninsula⁴⁴. Among the group of sarcophagi sculpted in Proconnesian marble, there is significant evidence that 3 were produced in local workshops in Hispania – 2 in *Barcino*⁴⁵ and 1 in *Tarraco*⁴⁶ – and 15 were imported from metropolitan workshops⁴⁷.

3. At this point, we decided to analyse a sample of 3 of the only 4 Attic sarcophagi preserved in the Iberian Peninsula which we knew of at the time: the Hippolytus sarcophagus (Fig. 4)⁴⁸ and the side depicting fighting between Greeks and Trojans (Fig. 6)⁴⁹, both from Tarragona, and the left fragment of the front of the Aquilles and Polyxena sarcophagus housed at Madrid's Museo del Prado (Fig. 5)⁵⁰, which has been

36 Claveria 2001, cat. 55, 57 and 58a.

37 Claveria 2001, cat. 3, 42, 43a–d (= 4 fragments of a hunting cover) and 61; Beltrán Fortes et al. 2006, cat. 15.

38 Claveria 2001, cat. 3.

39 See Table 1, group 1 Inv. MAC 9,570 and group 4 Inv. E000630, and the other 4 in: Claveria 2001, cat. 20; Beltrán Fortes et al. 2006, cat. 12, 14 and 19.

40 See Table 1, group 2 Persephone sarcophagus.

41 Beltrán Fortes et al. 2006, cat. 19.

42 Van Keuren et al. 2011, 168.

43 Claveria 2001, cat. 24.

44 Beltrán Fortes et al. 2006, cat. 69.

45 See Table 1, group 1 Inv. MAC 19,917; Vidal 2005, cat. A2.

46 Claveria 2001, cat. 60.

47 Lapuente et al. 2013, 75–86; Beltrán Fortes et al. 2006, cat. 2, 13, 16; Claveria 2006, 233 no. 1; Claveria 2001, cat. 2, 13, 24, 27, 33a, 40–41, 62.

48 Claveria 2001, cat. 22.

49 Claveria 2001, cat. 59b; Kintrup 2016, cat. 134.

50 Schroeder 2004, cat. 216 Inv. 118-E; Oakley 2011, cat. 62.



inferred to originate from the Naples area⁵¹ and came to Spain after the purchase of Queen Christina of Sweden's collection⁵². The analysis of these sarcophagi yielded surprising results. The Pentelic marble of which they were assumed to be made was found only in the Hippolytus sarcophagus (Fig. 4)⁵³. The front of the Museo del Prado's Polyxena sarcophagus turned out to be made of Afyon-Docimium marble (Fig. 5)⁵⁴, and the side of the battle sarcophagus from Tarragona from Proconnesian marble (Fig. 6)⁵⁵. These findings modify the traditionally maintained view, reducing the number of Attic sarcophagi imported to Hispania to just 1 specimen, the abovementioned Hippolytus sarcophagus from Tarragona (Fig. 4); it has not been possible to analyse a second sarcophagus which might also have been produced by Attic workshops⁵⁶.

With regard to the other 2, where they were produced cannot currently be demonstrated. However, they are not isolated, but rather exist alongside other specimens traditionally thought to be Attic. Stone analysis has revealed that they were made from Phrygian or *Proconnesian* marble, which does not support an Attic origin. In this vein, the Achilles and Polyxena sarcophagus housed at the Museo del Prado (Fig. 5)⁵⁷ provides a comparable case to that of the British Museum's GR 1973.3-27-428 fragment⁵⁸, which dates from approximately the same time period and has similar technical and stylistic features, such as how folds in clothing were simplified, certain arm and hand gestures, and somewhat illogical abstraction in animal figures. G. Koch identified the fragment in London as a metropolitan copy of a Dionysian Attic sarcophagus⁵⁹, and it has also been claimed that it is the work of an Attic sculptor who arrived in Rome after the Herulian invasion (c. 267–268)⁶⁰. Nevertheless, S. Walker demonstrated that it is made of marble of Phrygian origin and that it resembles other Bacchic reliefs from Asia Minor⁶¹, and therefore indicated that this piece might also have been produced by Phrygian workshops located in the western provinces of the Roman Empire towards the end of the 3rd century⁶². The Polyxena sarcophagus in Madrid is made of stone from the Docimium/Afyon quarry, is in the Attic style, and almost certainly comes

51 Schroeder 1991, 167–168; Schroeder 2001, 173.

52 Schroeder 1991, 167–168; Schroeder 2004, 504.

53 See Table 1, group 3 Inv. MNAT 15.482.

54 See Table 1, group 4 Inv. E000118.

55 See Table 1, group 3 Inv. MNAT 45.637.

56 Claveria 2001, cat. 19. From this fragment, preserved in the Museu Frederic Marès in Barcelona Inv. 654, permission has not been obtained to extract a sample of its material because its reverse was carved in the medieval period to make a relief attributed to the well-known Mestre de Cabestany.

57 See Table 1, group 4 Inv. E000118.

58 Walker 1990, 25–26 cat. 21 Pl. 8.

59 Koch – Sichtermann 1982, 471 n. 14.

60 Koch – Sichtermann 1982, 173; Walker 1990, 26.

61 Matz 1968, IV.1 Cat. 23A (See about Walker 1990, 26 n. 6); see also Matz 1968, IV.1 cat. 15 Pl. 27, from Istanbul and technically very similar to the pieces discussed here.

62 Walker 1990, 26.



from an Italic archaeological context⁶³, all of which invites comparison with the piece in London, in that both are linked to Italic soil and include Attic and micro-Asiatic properties, revealing a circulation of influences, materials, and artisans which we cannot yet clearly define. The application of multimethod analysis techniques can help us make progress in this direction and will likely allow us to distinguish pieces produced in Asia Minor among the considerable number of specimens which are still today part of the group of sarcophagi identified as being Attic⁶⁴.

As for the Proconnesian origin of the marble used to make the side depicting fighting between Greeks and Trojans from Tarragona (Fig. 6)⁶⁵, in similar cases it has been argued that Attic artisans moved to local production centres, where they produced Attic-style sarcophagi using local or imported marble – Pentelic marble in some cases, and most often Proconnesian marble. Such sculptors have been detected in Aphrodisias, Beroia, Cilicia, Nicopolis, Sparta, Thessaloniki, Crete, Salona⁶⁶, and even eastern Gaul and southern Hispania in the case of the Munigua sarcophagus (Fig. 7, 3)⁶⁷. This assumption is justified with regard to the most active local production centres in the east, which were clearly influenced by products from Attica and Asia Minor, including Thessaloniki, Salona, and even eastern Gaul⁶⁸. However, it is more difficult to sustain in the case of Tarraco, where the only known Attic sarcophagus is that of Hippolytus and local production is iconographically and technically very simple and based fundamentally on Roman models. In this context, a single specimen in the Attic style made of Proconnesian marble can hardly be said to demonstrate that Attic artisans came to the capital of *Tarraconensis* to set up their own workshops or that one of them joined a local workshop, unless this stay was very brief. Here one might think of travelling artisans who accepted one-off orders as they travelled along different routes, looking for opportunities to offer a quality product at a lower price than that of imported sarcophagi. It is possible that the battle sarcophagus from Tarraco (Fig. 6) and the Eroses sarcophagus from Munigua (Fig. 7, 3), both of which are Attic-style, the only such cases in their geographical contexts, and made of Proconnesian marble, resulted from these circumstances. In any case, far more data from the stone analysis of Attic sarcophagi are needed to advance research in this area. It is likely that the pieces currently considered to be Attic include other works which are not made of Pentelic marble and can help us obtain additional data to reassess the production and distribution

63 Schroeder 1991, 167–168; Schroeder 2001, 173.

64 See other examples traditionally considered Attic and proven to be sculpted from micro-Asiatic marble in Walker 1990, 46–47 cat. 56–57.

65 See Table 1, group 3 Inv. MNAT 45.637.

66 Koch – Sichtermann 1982, 361–362; Walker 1990, 41–42 cat. 47 Pl. 19; Cambi 2007, 170–171; Papianni 2007; Cambi 2013, 93–94; Koch 2012 a, 3, 13; Koch 2012 b, 36–56; Koch 2018, 813, 819; Koch 2015, 17; Cambi 2016, 89–95; Koch 2022, 329–241.

67 Koch 2022, 329.

68 Gaggadis-Robin 2005.



of Attic and “Attic-style” sarcophagi. For the time being, the Polyxena sarcophagus in Madrid and the Greek and Trojan battle sarcophagus in Tarragona have increased the number of “Attic-Style” sarcophagi made from eastern marble in the 3rd century.

4. Another difficult-to-solve case is that of the sarcophagus depicting the seasons with columns exhumed in Empúries in 1908 (Fig. 7, 2)⁶⁹. Analysis of the stone has proved inconclusive because it is a very fine-grained and little-metamorphosed homogenous white marble. Isotopic results place it outside the Carrara range, meaning it is possible that it is made of this material, but this cannot be confirmed⁷⁰. The iconography of this sarcophagus reveals that it is the work of artisans who were familiar with models from Asia Minor and interpreted them in a creative manner. However, due to the lack of data, at present we cannot study where it might have been produced in further depth.

5. Additional analyses have been carried out to test the materials used to make the sarcophagi which were definitely produced in Hispania. These materials are generally local stone, such as Santa Tecla and Llisós⁷¹ calcarenite and Mèdol lumachel⁷² in workshops in Tarraco and calcarenite from the territories of Baetica⁷³. As for imported brute marble, it has been observed that there was a preference for *Proconnesian* marble⁷⁴ and that Luni-Carrara marble was used⁷⁵.

In short, the territory of Hispania was not particularly active in the reception and production of pagan sarcophagi and has been shown to have been strongly dependent on products made in Rome. Stone analysis of the groups of sarcophagi examined in this study has confirmed the discontinuous use of Carrara marble to make Roman sarcophagus and a fluid and balanced use of the most widely circulated types of quality white marble from the east, such as Thasos marble and Paros marble 2(3), with a clear preference for marble from Proconnesus, both as the material from which imported pieces were made and for local production using imported marble. As in all provinces, “Einzelstücke” (Fig. 7) which do not fit the general characteristics of the territory’s sarcophagi can be distinguished. In this regard, it should be mentioned that clear evidence has not been found of the exchange of products between secondary local production workshops between the 2nd and 3rd centuries. For this reason, at present, the most plausible explanation for these specificities is to attribute them to the work of travelling workshops or artisans. However, there is currently a significant lack of data which might help shed light on this question. This data can be obtained in the future as materials

69 Claveria 2001, 10 cat. 14 Pl. VI,2.

70 See Table 1, group 1 Inv. MAC 22.400.

71 See Table 1, group 1 Inv. MAC 9.569; Claveria 2001, cat. 25. 47. 28. 30; Álvarez et al. 2009, 68–69

72 Claveria 2001, cat. 21, 25–26

73 Beltrán Fortes et al. 2006, cat. 51.

74 Vidal 2005, cat. 15; Claveria 2001, cat. 8 (= Table 1, group 1 Inv. MAC 19.917) and 60 and perhaps Beltrán Fortes et al. 2006, cat. 69 (Munigua).

75 Claveria 2001, cat. 48.



from Asia Minor, which have yet to be studied, are catalogued and in future artistic-archaeological studies which incorporate the latest archaeometric methodologies.

Bibliography

- Álvarez et al. 2009: A. Álvarez – V. García-Entero – A. Gutiérrez García-Moreno – I. Rodà, *El Marmor de Tarraco. Explotació, utilització i comercialització de la pedra de Santa Tecla en època romana / The Quarrying, Use and Trade of Santa Tecla Stone in Roman Times* (Tarragona 2009)
- Artelab 2014: Report Girona, Catalogna. Restauro conservativo di un sarcófago datato al IV secolo d. C. Studio, mediante analisi di laboratorio, finalizzato all'identificazione dei marmi bianchi con cui sono stati realizzati la "vasca" ed il coperchio del sarcófago, ArteLab, Roma 2014, (unpublished report)
- Beltrán Fortes et al. 2006: J. Beltrán Fortes – M. A. García García – P. Rodríguez Oliva, *Los sarcófagos romanos de Andalucía*, CSIR-Spain I, 3 (Murcia 2006)
- Brandenburg 1978: H. Brandenburg, *Der Beginn der stadtrömischen Sarkophagproduktion der Kaiserzeit*, *JdI* 93, 1978, 277–327
- Büchschütz 2018: N. Büchschütz, *Nora Iberische Halbinsel und Marokko*, *Repertorium der christlich-antiken Sarkophage*, 4 (Wiesbaden 2018)
- Cabrera 2003: P. Cabrera (Ed.), *La colección Várez Fisa en el Museo Arqueológico Nacional* (Madrid 2003)
- Cambi 2007, N. Cambi, *Neue Attische Sarkophag-Fragmente aus Dalmatien*, in: G. Koch (Ed.), *Akten des Symposium Römische Sarkophage*, Marburg 2001 (Marburg, 2007) 165–171
- Cambi 2013: N. Cambi, *Funerary Sculpture of the Western Illyricum and Neighbouring Regions of the Roman Empire*. *Zbornik radova s međunarodnog simpozija održanog od ujna*, Split 2009 (Split 2013) 17–99
- Cambi 2016: N. Cambi, *Sarkophag-Deckel aus prokonnesischem Marmor im "gemischten Typus"*, in: G. Koch (Ed.), *Akten des Symposium Römische Sarkophage*, Marburg 2006 (Marburg, 2016) 89–95
- Claveria 2001: M. Claveria, *Los sarcófagos romanos de Cataluña*, CSIR-Spain I, 1 (Murcia 2001)
- Claveria 2006: M. Claveria, *Annex 7: Escultura*, in: J. López Vilar, *Les Basíliques paleocristianes del suburbi occidental de Tarraco: el temple septentrional i el complex martirial de Sant Fructuós*, vol. 2, (Tarragona 2006) 231–240
- Claveria 2011: M. Claveria, *Los relieves funerarios en piedra de los talleres locales en Tarraco*, in: V. Gaggadis-Robin, A. Hermary, M. Reddé. C. Sintès (Eds.), *L'art Provincial Romain. Les ateliers de sculpture régionaux: techniques, styles et iconographie*, (Aix-en-Provence 2011) 495–504
- Claveria 2012: M. Claveria, *La production de sarcophages Romains en Hispania: Officinae et influence*, in: G. Koch – F. Baratte (Eds.), *Akten des symposiums Sarkophage der römischen Kaiserzeit: Produktion in den Zentren – Kopien in den Provinzen*, Paris 2005 (Ruhpolding 2012) 125–134
- Claveria 2020: M. Claveria, *El sarcófago romano en Hispania. Estado de la investigación y nuevos fragmentos*, in: J. M. Noguera Celadrán – L. Ruiz Molina (Eds.), *Escultura Romana en Hispania IX* (Yecla-Murcia 2020) 373–381



- Claveria 2022: M. Claveria, El sarcófago romano en la cultura artística del Renacimiento español, in: B. Cacciotti (Ed.), Roma e la Spagna in dialogo. Interpretare, disegnare, collezionare l'antichità classica nel Rinascimento (Madrid 2022) 181–191
- Claveria 2024a: The Sarkophagus of Covarrubias (Burgos, Spain). Images of eternity between paganism and Christianity, in: G. Kremer *et al.* (Eds.), Zeit(en) des Umbruchs. Akten des 17. Internationalen Kolloquiums zum provinzialrömischen Kuntschaffen, Wien 2022, Österreichisches Archäologisches Institut, Band 64 (Wien 2024) 189–198
- Claveria in press: M. Claveria, Fragment de sarcòfag dionisiac de l'estrat UE 1346, in J. Menchon Bes – P. Bravo Póvez (Eds.), Excavacions arqueològiques a l'antiga Caserna de la Guardia Civil, carrer de López Peláez nº 1 (Tarragona in press)
- Claveria 2024b: M. Claveria, The sarcophagus of Santa Eulàlia (Barcelona, Spain): Early or late Antiquity?, in: J.M. Noguera Celdrán – I. Rodà – P. David Conesa (Eds.), *Οικομνηνη*. Studi di archeologia classica in omaggio a Margherita Bonanno (Murcia-Roma 2024) 313–320
- Gaggadis-Robin 2005: V. Gaggadis-Robin, Les sarcophages païens du Musée de l'Arles Antique (Cahors 2005)
- García y Bellido 1949: A. García y Bellido, Esculturas romanas de España y Portugal (Madrid 1949)
- Domínguez 2009: M. Domínguez Ruiz, El sarcòfag d'Adonis del Museu d'Arqueologia de Catalunya, *Locus Amoenus* 9, 2009, 7–16
- Heres 1998: H. Heres, Der Sarkophag Caffarelli nach der Restaurierung, *JbBerlMus* 40, 1998, 175–185
- Kintrup 2016: C. Kintrup, Die Attischen Sarkophage. Amazonomachie-Schlacht-Epinausimachie, *ASR IX* 1,2 (Berlin 2016)
- Koch 2012a: G. Koch, Einige allgemeine Überlegungen zur Problematik "Original – Kopie" bei den kaiserzeitlichen Sarkophagen, in: G. Koch – F. Baratte (Eds.), Akten des symposiums Sarkophag der römischen Kaiserzeit: Produktion in den Zentren – Kopien in den Provinzen, Paris 2005 (Ruhpolding 2012) 1–14
- Koch 2012b: G. Koch, Οι αττικές σαρκοφάγοι και η σημασία τους για την τέχνη της αυτοκρατορικής εποχής, in: Θ. Στεφανίδου-Τιβεριού, Π. Καραναστάση Δ. Δαμάσκος (Eds.), Κλασική παράδοση και νεωτερικά στοιχεία στην πλαστική της ρωμαϊκής Ελλάδας, Thessaloniki 2009 (Thessaloniki 2012) 35–56
- Koch 2015: G. Koch, Die attischen Sarkophage und ihre Bedeutung für die Kunst der römischen Kaiserzeit, in: B. Porod – G. Koiner (Eds.), Römische Sarkophage, Graz 2012 (Graz 2015) 8–24
- Koch 2018: G. Koch, Marble sarcophagi of Roman Dalmatia Material – Provenance – Workmanship, in: D. Matetic Poljak – K. Marasovic (Eds.), *ASMOSIA XI*, Split 2015 (Split 2018) 809–825
- Koch 2022: G. Koch, Αθηναίοι γλύπτες σαρκοφάγων εκτός Αττικής, in: Δ. Δαμάσκος, Π. Καραναστάση, Θ. Στεφανίδου-Τιβεριού (Eds.), Πλαστική στη ρωμαϊκή Ελλάδα: νέα ευρήματα και νέες έρευνες, Atenas 2019 (Thessaloniki 2022) 329–341
- Koch – Sichtermann 1982: G. Koch – H. Sichtermann, Römische Sarkophag (München 1982)
- Koppel 1997: E. M. Koppel, Sarcófago con cortejo de cupidos, *Locus Amoenus* 3, 7–14
- Lapuente *et al.* 2013: P. Lapuente Mercadal – J.A. Cuchí – H. Royo – C. Garcés, Estudio arqueométrico del sarcófago romano hoy tumba del rey aragonés Ramiro II el Monje, *Bolskan* 24, 2013, 75–86
- Mateos 2002: P. Mateos, Sarcófagos decorados (o sus cubiertas) en Augusta Emérita, *Excavaciones Arqueológicas, Memoria* 6 (Mérida 2002) 437–448



- Matz 1968: F. Matz, *Die Dionysischen Sarkophage*, ASR IV, 1 (Berlin 1968)
- Moreno – Claveria 2022: I. Moreno – M. Claveria, Consideración de un conjunto de sarcófagos de Tarraco a través de las pátinas, in: D. Gorostidi – A. Gutiérrez García-M (Eds.), *Tituli-Imagines- Marmora. Materia y prestigio en mármol, Anejos de AEspA XCV* (Madrid 2022) 301–311
- Noguera Celdrán 2001: J. M. Noguera Celdrán, Las musas en Murcia. A propósito de dos sarcófagos romanos de edad tetrárquica reutilizados en el siglo XVI en la Catedral de Cartagena (Murcia), in: J. M. Noguera Celdrán – E. Conde Guerri (Eds.), *El sarcófago romano. Contribuciones al estudio de su tipología, iconografía y centros de producción* (Murcia 2001) 175–255
- Noguera Celdrán 2013: J. M. Noguera Celdrán, El sarcófago romano de Gil Rodríguez de Junterón (Murcia, España): avatares de un pretendido reemplazo anticuario, en: M. Claveria (Ed.), *Antiguo o moderno. Encuadre de la escultura de estilo clásico en su período correspondiente* (Bellaterra 2013) 81–106
- Oakley 2011: J. Oakley, *Die attischen Sarkophage. Andere Mythen*, ASR IX 1, 3 (Berlin 2011)
- Papagianni 2007: E. Papagianni, *Der Eros-Sarkophag Inv. 1248 des Archäologischen Museum in Thessaloniki*, in: G. Koch (Ed.), *Akten des Symposiums des Sarkophag-Corpus 2001, Marburg 2001, Sarkophag-Studien 3* (Mainz 2007) 187–192
- Rodà et al. in press: I. Rodà – I. Moreno – R. Maroto – J. M. Pereira – R. Suárez – M. Claveria, Cartelas en blanco, in: M. Reali – S. Lazzarini – F. Gallo (Eds.), *Ommaggio Antonio Sartori* (Milano in press)
- Rodrigues Gonçalves 2007: L. J. Rodrigues Gonçalves, *L'Escultura romana em Portugal: uma arte do quotidiano* (Mérida 2007)
- Schroeder 1991: S. F. Schroeder, *Der Achill-Polyxena-Sarkophage im Prado. Ein wenig bekanntes Meisterwerk*, *M&M* 32, 1991, 158–169
- Schroeder 2001: S. F. Schroeder, Tres sarcófagos de época romana en el Museo del Prado. Su iconografía y tipología, in: J. M. Noguera Celdrán – E. Conde Guerri (Eds.), *El sarcófago romano. Contribuciones al estudio de su tipología, iconografía y centros de producción* (Murcia 2001) 157–174
- Schroeder 2004: S. F. Schroeder, *Katalog der antiken Skulpturen des Museo del Prado in Madrid* (Mainz am Rhein 2004)
- Trunk 2008: M. Trunk, Imitaciones y falsificaciones de sarcófagos romanos en la Península Ibérica”, in: J. M. Noguera – E. Conde (Eds.), *Escultura romana V* (Murcia 2008) 209–219
- Van Keuren et al. 2011: F. Van Keuren – D. Attanasio – J. J. Herrmann, *Multimethod Analyses of Roman Sarcophagi at the Museo Nazionale Romano, Roma*, in: J. Elsner – J. Huskinson (Eds.), *Life, Death and Representation. Some New Work on Roman Sarcophagi, Millenium-Studies 29* (Oxford 2011) 149–187
- Vidal 2005: S. Vidal, *La escultura hispánica figurada de la Antigüedad Tardía (siglos IV–VII)*, *CSIR-España, II, 2* (Murcia 2005)
- Walker – Matthews 1988: S. Walker – K. Matthews, *Recent Work in Stable Isotope Analysis of White Marble at The British Museum*, in: J. Clayton Fant (Ed.), *Ancient Marble Quarrying and Trade. Papers from a Colloquium held at the Annual Meeting of the Archaeological Institute of America, San Antonio/Texas 1986, BAR International Series 453* (Oxford 1988) 117–125
- Walker 1990: S. Walker, *Catalogue of Roman Sarcophagi in the British Museum*, *CSIR-Great Britain, II, 2* (London 1990)



Contact address of the author's institution

Prof. Dr. Montserrat Claveria
Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona
Departament d'Art i de Musicologia
Edifici B – Campus de la UAB
08193 Bellaterra (Cerdanyola del Vallès)
Barcelona – Spain
email: Montserrat.claveria@uab.cat

Short biography of the author⁷⁶

Montserrat Claveria received her PhD from the Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona in 1994 with a doctoral thesis on “Roman sarcophagi in Catalonia”. From 1991 to 2003 she worked as assistant and associate professor at this university and from 2003 to 2023 she was full professor. In 2023, she was appointed Professor of History of Ancient Art. Since 2021 she has been a research member of the Institut Català d'Arqueologia Clàssica, with which she has collaborated since 2005. She has been researcher and PI of numerous competitive research projects and organizer of several international scientific forums.

76 UAB/ICAC, Member of Archaeometry and Artistic Productions (ArPA) within the Research Group ArPA&LIRA (2021-SGR-1365) from the Institut Català d'Arqueologia Clàssica.





Macroscopic aspect of the marble material of the *Firminus Caecilianus* sarcophagus

Fig. 1 Front, back side and macrophotograph of the Sarcophagus Nr. Inv. MNAT-368 preserved in the Museu d'Història from Tarragona. Photographs on courtesy of the Unitat d'Estudis Arqueomètrics = UEA of the Institut Català d'Arqueologia Clàssica = ICAC.



Macroscopic aspect of the marble material of the sarcophagus of the Santa Eulalia

Fig. 2 Front, left side and macrophotograph of the Sarcophagus Nr. Inv. MAC-19.919 preserved in the Museu d'Arqueologia de Catalunya. Macrophotograph on courtesy of the UEA of the ICAC. Photographs of the sarcophagus from the author.

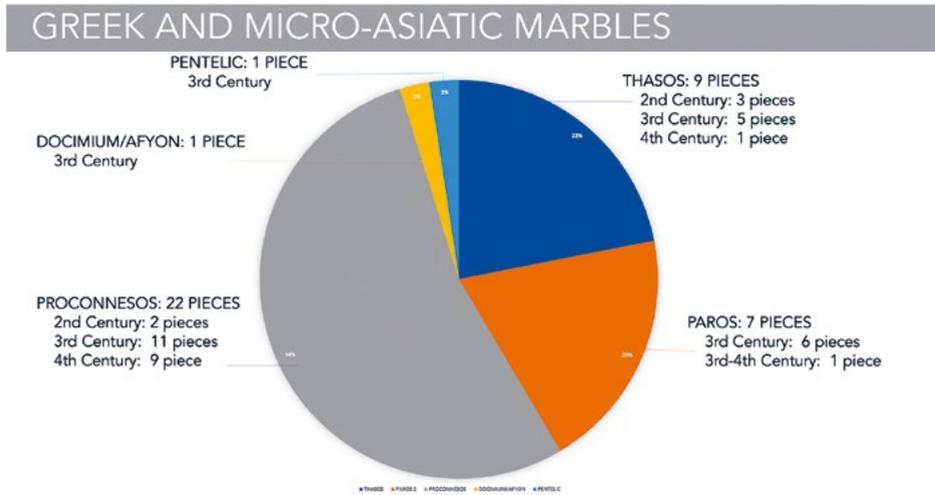


Fig. 3 Diagram showing the percentages of the detected oriental marbles, which constitute 65 % of the total of the pieces analyzed from the point of view of their stone materials.

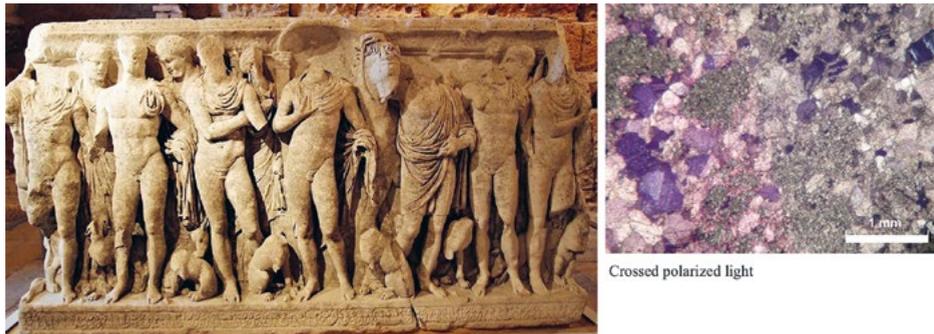
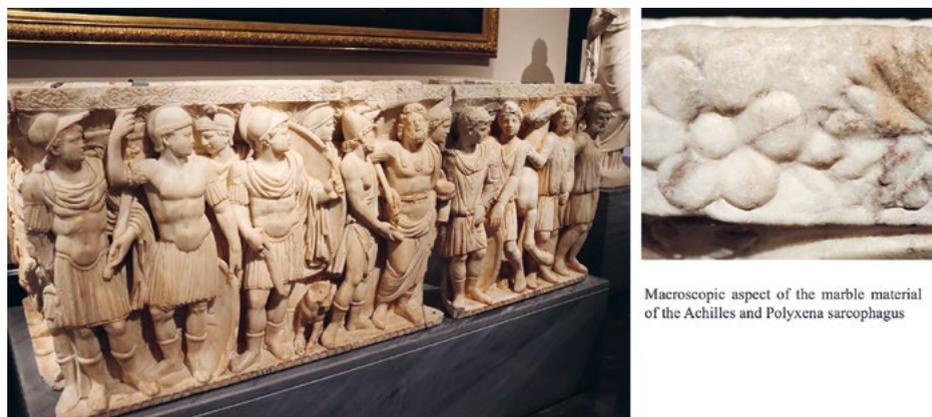


Fig. 4 Front of the Attic Hippolytus sarcophagus Nr. Inv. MNAT-MH 15.480 preserved in the Museu d'Història from Tarragona, and photomicrograph in crossed polarized light of the sample TAR-1415 of the material of this sarcophagus. Graphic material on courtesy of the UEA of the ICAC. Photograph of the sarcophagus from the author.



Macroscopic aspect of the marble material of the Achilles and Polyxena sarcophagus

Fig. 5 Front and macrophotograph of the sarcophagus of Achilles and Polyxena Nr. Inv. E000118 preserved in the Museo Nacional del Prado in Madrid. Macrophotograph on courtesy of the UEA of the ICAC. Photograph of the sarcophagus from the author.



Crossed polarized light

Fig. 6 Fragment of a small side of an Attic battle sarcophagus Nr. Inv. MNAT-45.637 preserved in the Museu Nacional Arqueològic de Tarragona. Photomicrograph in crossed polarized light of the sample TAR-1417 of the material of this sarcophagus on courtesy of the UEA of the ICAC.



Fig. 7 “Einzelstücke” and its geographical location in Hispania. 1. Sarcophagus from Vilafranca de Xira Nr. Inv. 21523 (994.20.1) Museu Nacional de Arqueologia in Lisbon 2. Sarcophagus of the seasons and columns from Empúries Nr. Inv. MAC-22.400 Museu d'Arqueologia de Catalunya in Barcelona 3. Sarcophagus from the Roman *Munigua*, Museo Arqueológico de Sevilla 4. Fragment of a small side of an Attic battle sarcophagus Inv. No. MNAT-45.637 preserved in the Museu Nacional Arqueològic de Tarragona. Photographs and montage by the author.