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Introduction: Tiled Roofs – Tiled Images

New Approaches to Roman Architectural Decorations in Terracotta ('Campana Reliefs')

The so-called Campana reliefs, which stand in the Etrusco-Italic tradition of architectural terracottas,[1] constitute a closely defined but characteristic phenomenon of the material culture of Rome. Over the last ten years, this class of Roman architectural decor has been repeatedly shown in special exhibitions,[2] and the number of publications on this topic is steadily on the increase (Fig. 1). For the first time ever, in 2006, a study day was dedicated to this topic in Velletri, and in 2018 a further study day was held in Padua.[3] With this present volume, we are publishing the results of the first international symposium, which was held from 8–10 April 2021 in virtual format at the Institute for Classical Archaeology and Byzantine Archaeology at Heidelberg University.

For this introduction, I have decided to tackle our field of study in a twofold manner, by combining a more traditional overview with a perspective inspired by 'new materialism' in the summary. The idea that gave birth to this conference stems from the current state of research, as well as the somehow still isolated position this category of material holds in Roman archaeology. Accordingly, in the first three sections of this introduction, I survey the history of research, both in the sense of past approaches to what was labelled 'Campana reliefs' in the 19th century, and recent findings and discoveries that considerably enrich the textbook opinion we inherited from the paramount work on this topic, published in 1911. The main characteristics of the genre, its modes of production, date, typical design as well as functions, find spots and so forth, also emerge from these paragraphs, which are meant to provide a detailed overview 'from the inside' on the existing knowledge, as well as on interesting desiderata that may be tackled in the future. This will prepare the way, I hope, for highlighting the manifold approaches and richness of the findings offered in the sixteen contributions to this volume. In the summary, I then attempt to transform this inside-view into an

1 Känel 2013a, 1118 f.; Strazzulla 1993; Tortorella 1981a, 61; Tortorella 1981b, 219; Calderone 1975, 68–72; Borbein 1968, 20–28; Andrén 1939/1940, p. ccxlii. – cf. Rous 2011.

2 2011/2012: Museum August Kestner Hannover (Siebert 2011); 2016/2017: Museum of Ancient Cultures in Hohentübingen Castle (Baas – Flecker 2016); 2018/2019: Collections of Antiquities at Friedrich-Schiller University Jena (Winter 2018) and Louvre Museum, Paris (Gaultier et al. 2018); 2019/2020: Archaeological Museum of Patras (Partida 2019b). Important collections of material came out in the same time frame: Pensabene 2017b; Lejsgaard Christensen – Bøggild Johannsen 2015.

3 Angle – Germano 2007 (articles p. 11–161) and the seminar "Nuovi dati ed interpretazioni sulla produzione e diffusione delle Lastre Campana", 9 May 2018, University of Padua, <https://www.beniculturali.unipd.it/www/dbc-news/seminario-9-maggio-2018-nuovi-dati-ed-interpretazioni-sulla-produzione-e-diffusione-delle-lastre-campana-sala-consiglio-liviano/> (30.10.2023).

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Fig. 1 Collage of recent publications on 'Campana reliefs', 2011–2018.
Image: © after Baas – Flecker 2016, Gaultier et al. 2018, Lejsgaard Christensen – Bøggild Johannsen 2015, Pensabene 2017a, Siebert 2011 and Winter 2018.

open, forward-looking perspective, by taking the concept of a 'culture of making' into account in order to highlight the virtues and points of references the terracottas offer research into other parts of Roman material culture, as well as cultural practices of making (and making images) in general.

A Wide Topic of (Mostly) Special Interest

Even though in recent years interest in the 'Campana reliefs' has appeared to be on the increase, it is a topic of research that still in some respects stands in isolation, alongside other 'special topics'. In the relatively well-transmitted material culture of the Roman age, the figurative clay reliefs contribute a low share as far as numbers go, and besides they represented a phenomenon of limited extent from a chronological and regional point of view.[4] This bestows upon the Roman architectural terracottas the aura of

4 Cf. Pensabene 2017b, 135; Strazzulla 2007, 155; Rauch 1999, 2 f. 5 f.; Tortorella 1981a, 61–68; Tortorella 1981b, 219–223; Borbein 1968, 12 f. 28 f.; Rohden – Winnefeld 1911, 11*–19*. For the new findings regarding the geographic distribution see below, notes 26. 27.

a dusty drawer within the classificatory 'material cabinet' of Classical Archaeology, in which only a few specialists are interested.[5] No doubt several other factors have contributed to this somehow isolated position; the 'Campana reliefs' are often very fragmentary when found, and the vast majority was discovered long before it became common to record the findspots. Additionally, many 'old' fragments have remained so far unpublished, or are sometimes difficult to find in the complex scholarly literature.

Nevertheless, the 'Campana reliefs' have always attracted, and continue to attract, a certain amount of general interest due to the wide spectrum of their rich imagery, which offers select connecting points for overlapping issues. In the 20th century, these figurative clay reliefs and their imagery were examined as products of Roman decorative arts, thus enabling a connection to the question of eclecticism and 'Neo-Attic art'.[6] As a result of the re-orientation of Classical Archaeology towards topics of ancient society and politics in the 1970s, some of the pictorial scenes were analysed and discussed as important representatives of the political language of images in the era of Augustus; this approach still applies today.[7] It is the imagery which provides the genre with a certain renown within Classical Archaeology; however, this renown is usually limited to a few image types and find contexts (for example, the Campana reliefs from the Palatine Hill).

The Emergence of 'Campana Reliefs' in 19th-Century Scholarship

The very same imagery that today still enriches the display of 'Campana reliefs' in archaeological exhibitions had previously, in the middle of the 19th century, provided for a wider intersection between 'specialist topic' and the 'general public'. Prior to this, Roman architectural terracottas had been collected and published randomly, if at all,[8] before they then evolved into the privileged area of interest of a few connoisseurs, such as Charles Townley (1737–1805), Jean Baptiste Séroux d'Agincourt (1730–1814) and,

5 Cf. Känel 2013a, 1115 with note 1 and my German 'Vorwort' in this volume.

6 Borbein 1968, 10. 24–26. 121 notes 608; 196–201 cf. Rauch 1999, 6 f. 140. 143 and most recently Lo Monaco 2021, 26–31. For the concept of 'Neo-Attic' and critique, see Reinhardt 2018, 301–303 with notes 11. 15 and now Maschek 2022b, 182–185.

7 The discovery of the famous 'Campana reliefs' during excavations in the vicinity of the House of Augustus on the Palatine Hill (Carettoni 1971/1972; Carettoni 1973; Pensabene 2017b, 45; Pensabene– Gallocchio 2017, 162–168) was an important enabling factor for this. For discussion and its positions (does not claim to be exhaustive) see Pensabene 2017b, 138–139 (with altered reference points due to new dating basis); Pensabene – Gallocchio 2017, 170–172; Möller-Titel 2019, 8 f. 39–45. 146–150. 180–187; Newby 2016, 54–56; Simon 2009; Carandini – Bruno 2008, 157–159; Strazzulla 1999; Huttner 1997, notably 383 f.; Ritter 1995, 129–131; Strazzulla 1991; Strazzulla 1990.

8 For the history of their reception see Lejsgaard Christensen – Bøggild Johannsen 2015, 9–13; Reinhardt 2013, 147–151 with emphasis on the 1st half of the 19th century; Bøggild Johannsen 2008b; Nadalini 2007, 23–26; Micheli 2006; Rohden – Winnefeld 1911, 3*–7*. For their reception in the 18th century see, for example, the appearance of 'Campana reliefs' in the works of J. J. Winckelmann (Rohden – Winnefeld 1911, 5* f. and now Borbein et al. 2014, 41. 45. 258. 362. 464. 495. 512 f. 600. 651; Borbein et al. 2006, 388 f. nos. 902–906), the plaster casts from the A. Raphael Mengs' collection in Dresden (Kiderlen 2006, 305–309. 415–418 Nr. 290–304) and individual wall designs, inspired by 'Campana reliefs' (Borbein 1968, 19 note 59. 60; Reinhardt 2013, 147 note 36).

above all, the ambitious Giampietro Campana (1808–1880).[9] Campana's collection in Rome, in particular, brought the renown of the clay reliefs to wider audiences among the tourists to Rome, and, from 1842 onwards, his luxurious publication "Antiche opere in plastica" was published, with a selection of around 110 items in the plate section.[10] After large parts of the Campana collection had been acquired for the French Emperor and presented in the Parisian Musée Napoléon III in 1862, the renown of the Roman clay reliefs reached its zenith in the 19th century (Fig. 2, a).[11] Although Giampietro Campana was undoubtedly the most formative character in this respect, leading artists had already discovered the potential of the terracottas' rich imagery in the preceding decades. Antonio Canova (1757–1822) and Bertel Thorvaldsen (1770–1844), for example, both studied and possessed specimens of the genre, using them as a possible source of inspiration for their own creations. In a similar way, architects took an interest in the various designs this material offered, with Michael Gottlieb Bindesbøll (1800–1856) using some of Campana's plates for his Thorvaldsens Museum in Copenhagen, or Franz Jakob Kreuter (1813–1889) who found a unique solution for the façade of his Palais Dürckheim-Montmartin in Munich (Fig. 2, b).[12]

However, with Campana's famous collection and its publication, the cornerstone for the later naming of the reliefs was laid and important criteria for the subsequent academic classification were determined. In addition to the figural rendering, this meant in particular a certain focus on the quality of execution; both points are still reiterated as arguments for the differentiation of the 'Campana reliefs' from 'other' Roman architectural terracottas (cf. below).[13] However, it was the intensive building activity in Rome, the new capital city of the emergent Italian state, that set the stage for comprehensive systematic collection and processing, marked by positivist scholarship.

9 Cf. Micheli 2006. In their introductions, both Séroux d'Agincourt and Campana emphasised the high artistic value of the images in contrast to the simple material of the reliefs: cf. Reinhardt 2013, 149 notes 41–43.

10 For the Museo Campana see Sarti 2018; Sarti 2001. The first volume of Campana's publication (1842) comprised an introduction and 30 plates with annotations. Volume 2 contains 90 plates without annotations; a further edition followed in 1851: Piriou 2018a, 223; Sarti 2001, 25.

11 For the exhibition of the items from the Campana collection purchased for France, and the reception thereof, see Haumesser 2021b, 90–92; Haumesser 2018a, 532–535; Nadalini 2007, 27 f.

12 For Canova's collection, see Micheli 1985/86, for Thorvaldsen (and Bindesbøll), Lejsgaard Christensen – Bøggild Johannsen 2015, 14–22. A brief update on Kreuter, and I thank Susanna Sarti for checking the guestbook of the Museo Campana for me: the register does not hold the name of Franz Jakob Kreuter in the year of his visit to Rome (1842). While it still seems possible that Kreuter was generally inspired by Campana – possibly, he visited the collection without leaving his name – he seems to have found the exact model elsewhere; to my knowledge, only scarce fragments are attested in Campana's collection for the scheme he adapted ('Schwebende Flügelfrau zwischen Spiralbändern oder Ranken': cf. Louvre, inv. S 9994. S 10394. S 10935. S 13046. S 14327 [the complete plaque inv. N 4699 comes from the Durand-collection]). Thus, it seems as if Kreuter's individual interest in this kind of material was responsible (as proposed in Reinhardt 2013, 155 f.), but a definite answer seems hard to give today not least because the producer of the remade terracotta plaques remains unknown.

13 The images as differentiation criteria: Borbein 1968, 20–28. 199–201. For criterion of clay preparation and formation: Känel 2013a, 1116 note 2 cf. Perry 1997, 52. 57; Borbein 1968, 14; Rohden – Winnefeld 1911, 23*.

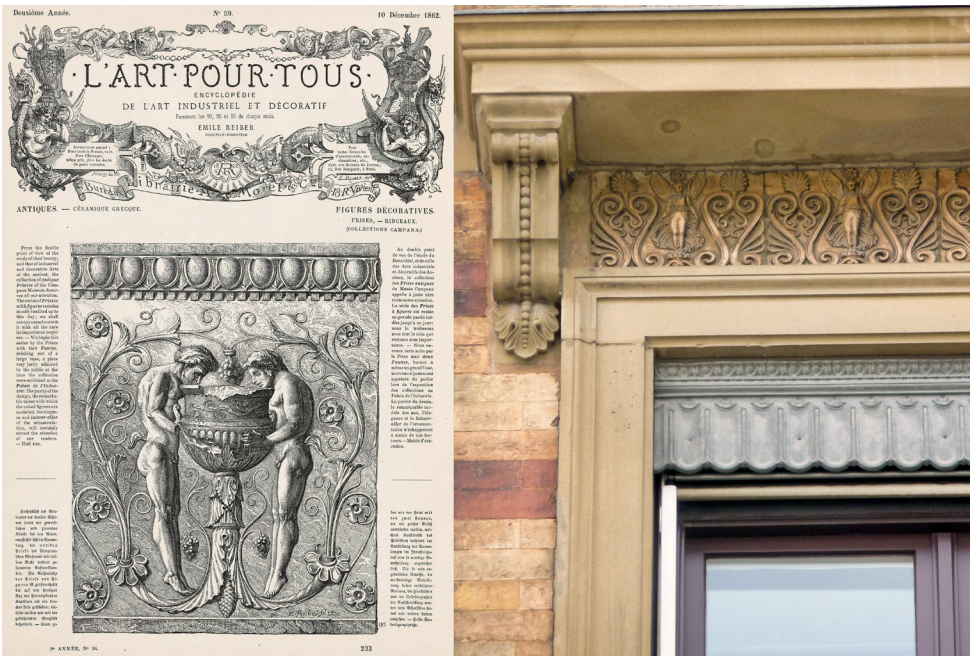

Fig. 2, a. b A terracotta plaque from Campana's collection staging as the front page of the magazine "L'art pour tous" (2 no. 59, 10 December 1862) and, to the right, mid-19th century remakes of a 'Campana plaque' on the façade of the Palais Dürckheim-Montmartin in Munich (Franz Jakob Kreuter, 1842–1844).
Images: a) Public Domain <https://doi.org/10.11588/diglit.16525#0143>; b) CC BY-NC-ND 4.0 (Arne Reinhardt).

The groundwork laid by Hermann von Rohden (1852–1916) and Hermann Winnefeld (1862–1918) dates from 1878 and is primarily based on the countless new finds in the second half of the 19th century in Rome.[14] Published in 1911, their corpus work serves, even 110 years later, as the standard reference for each and every activity concerning the "Architektonische römische Tonreliefs der Kaiserzeit" ('architectural clay reliefs of Imperial Rome'), which, in the first chapter of their introduction, the authors explicitly connected with Campana's name.

The great achievement of this work – epochal for its genre – lies in the comprehensive documentation of the objects and fragments available at the time, which were gathered both from older literature as well as from public and private collections in Europe. This clearly-arranged compendium was lavishly endowed with all the means available at the time and contains 548 figures in the text (416 photographic and 132 graphic illustrations) as well as 143 plates with a further 268 photos. Fundamental parameters in the classification by Hermann von Rohden and Hermann Winnefeld are, firstly, the morphology of the relief plaques, in which they differentiate between four main forms ('revetment plaque', 'sima', 'cresting plaque' and 'crest' ["Verkleidungsplatte",

14 Rohden – Winnefeld 1911, p. v–vii. See also the contribution by Rolf Sporleder in this volume.

"Sima", "Aufsatzplatte", "Krönung"]: Fig. 3), and, secondly, the motifs and patterns of the figural and ornamental reliefs.[15] The arrangement of the topics is guided not only by a hierarchisation of subjects,[16] but also the endeavour to create chronological order; differentiation is made, in particular, between 'reliefs from the best times' and later editions, for which the composition of the clay and the quality of the stylistic elaboration are used as indicators.[17] Further important fields of interest are not only the manufacturing technique[18] but also the architectural function the plaques fulfilled and the ways they were used as continuous but varied friezes on beams, roof edges and also, presumably, on walls ("wenigstens für die Spätzeit", compare below). Both older reports and contemporary information about the discovery circumstances helped the two authors to come to conclusions about these two crucial aspects.[19] All of these points highlight a clear distinction from the publication of Giampietro Campana, who, in his "Antiche opere in plastica", primarily presented complete – or rather, recently restored – plaques (as well as many an antefix) and interpreted their images referring to ancient literature.[20]

The epochal work of Hermann von Rohden and Hermann Winnefeld in 1911 marked the academic birth of the 'Campana reliefs' as an archaeological category of materials. Research during the subsequent 110 years was essentially guided by this monumental work, to which it owes not only the criteria for distinguishing between the four forms, the differentiation of the genre from other clay reliefs, and the chronological time frame, but above all the overview of the manifold image repertoire. Based on this groundwork, countless significant studies were carried out, revolving either around the imagery of the genre or the generic aspects of their production and use. As already mentioned at the beginning, 'Campana reliefs' have been studied from an art historical point of view, which regarded them as a sector of the Roman 'art industry'; in addition,

15 Rohden – Winnefeld 1911, p. ix f. cf. Flecker 2016a, 35 f.; Borbein 1968, 9.

16 Rohden – Winnefeld 1911, p. ix f.: from gods and deities/Bacchic through heroes and heroines to 'Roman life' and 'decorative reliefs', the later structured as a progression from figural to floral. This type of anticlimax can be similarly found in other works of the 19th century, see e.g. E. Gerhard, "Auserlesene Griechische Vasenbilder, hauptsächlich Etruskischen Fundorts", vols. 1–4 (Berlin 1840–1858).

17 Rohden – Winnefeld 1911, 12*–22* (archaeological sites as time indicators). 23*–26* (characteristics of the prepared clay). 48*–56* (style of relief). Fine-tuned as a development principle for the entire genre, this model can be found with Borbein 1968, 28–42 cf. Rauch 1999, 5 f. Some of the assumptions that are traditionally drawn on by research for relative chronological classification appear, however, in the light of more recent insights into conditions of production and the range of variants, more difficult than previously thought – cf. Reinhardt 2016a, 256–260.

18 Rohden – Winnefeld 1911, 23*–26* cf. Rauch 1999, 3 f. 241 f.; Perry 1997, 53–57; Borbein 1968, 13 f.; for the aspect of series production of 'Campana reliefs' see Reinhardt 2016a, 252–256; elsewhere Rauch 1999, 9.

19 Rohden – Winnefeld 1911, 29*–47*.

20 Information on production, painting and function can also be found there, but this did not constitute the key aspect of the work, in which the focus lies clearly on artistically valuable examples, for which a positive exemplary function for contemporary art is aspired to, wholly in line with classicism (Campana 1842, notably p. i–iii. 18. 20. 27 f.). For Campana's restoration measures, see the contribution by Martin Szewczyk in this volume.

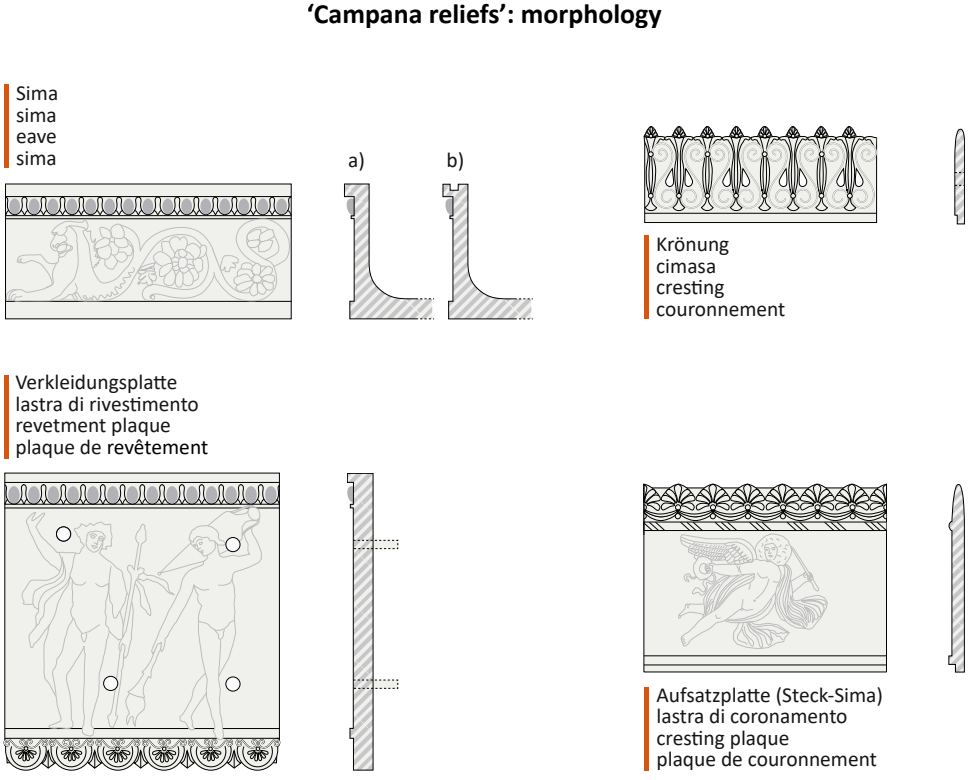

Fig. 3 The four main forms of the 'Campana reliefs' as described by H. von Rohden and H. Winnefeld given with their modern names in German, Italian, English and French.
Image: CC BY-NC-ND 4.0 (Jürgen Süß, MediaCultura / Arne Reinhardt).

the historical, political and ideological dimensions of the images are still a contentious topic.[21] This perspective on the social function and usage of the images in their primary ancient context has recently been widened by taking into account their materiality and possible semantics when used as temple adornment in Augustan times.[22] Other works devoted themselves to the terracotta decorations from private contexts in which they represented a facet of luxurious living, while their mostly Dionysian images constituted suitable decoration for the realm of *otium*.[23] If properly preserved, some *villae* and town houses, but also several places of worship, thus allow for a more detailed reconstruction of the clay reliefs on the architecture, as well as their combination with

21 Notes 6. 7 above.
22 See Hallett 2018; Hallett 2012, 86 f. cf. Reinhardt 2022a, 137–139 and now Crawford-Brown 2022.
23 Bøggild Johannsen 2008a; Rauch 1999, 142 f.; Strazzulla 1987; Tortorella 1981a, 64 f. fig. 3; Rizzo 1976/77; cf. Reinhardt (in press); Baas 2016, 32; Tortorella 2003, 258. For architectural terracottas in Republican *domus* in Central Italy see Känel 2010.

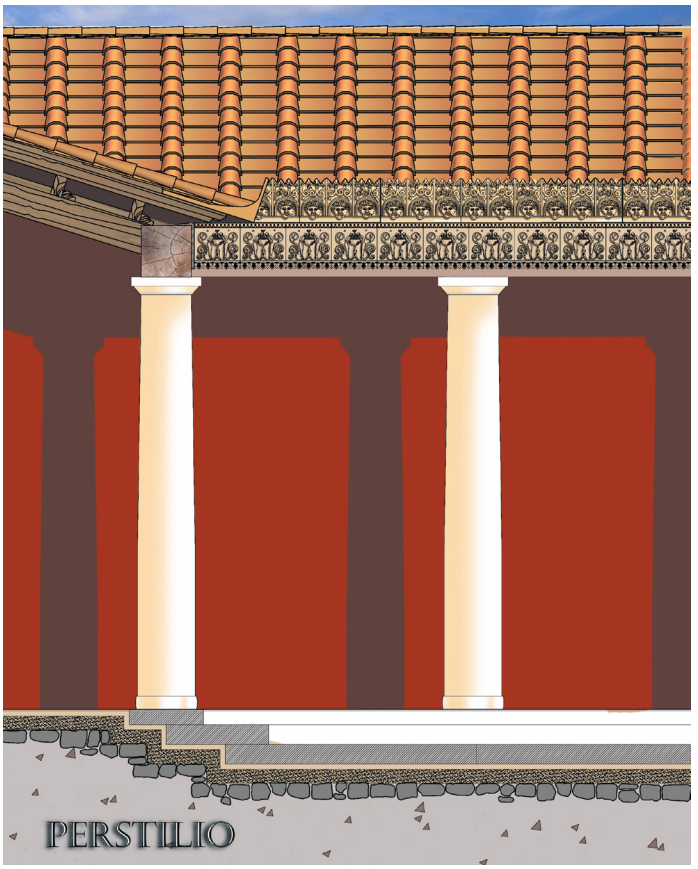

Fig. 4 Reconstruction of the peristyle of the Cottanello villa showing architectural terracottas on the entablature and eave (A. D'Eredità).
Image: © courtesy of the architect Antonio D'Eredità.

other images or architectural terracottas.[24] New graphic reconstructions increasingly take this into account (Fig. 4).[25]

The ever-growing number of new finds in the 20th century, together with the documentation of the circumstances of their discovery, has, however, produced new

24 For places of worship see Tortorella 2019a, for *villae* Bøggild Johannsen 2008a, 23–30 and e.g. Pensabene – Gasparini 2017, 70. 75. 79. 81 with figs. 14. 21. 29. 32. 33; Celuzza 1985, 93 figs. 119. 120.

25 Caravale et al. 2019, 169–175 figs. 9. 10; Pensabene – Gasparini 2017, 70. 75. 79. 81 with figs. 14. 21. 29. 32. 33 (Villa at Cottanello); Pensabene – Gallocchio 2017, 196 figs. 36. 37; Pensabene 2017b, 118 f. 126 f. 129 f. pls. D–L; Colour pl. A (Casa di Augusto on Palatine Hill); Salvadori – Girotto 2015, 168–174 figs. 8–10 (Villa del fondo Tuzet, Aquileia). However, the schematic drawings, which are intended to represent the technical integration and the function of the individual forms on the building, have a longer tradition, cf. for instance Celuzza 1985, 93 figs. 119. 120 and Campana 1842, pl. 6; Seroux D'Agincourt 1814, 20 pl. 7; this is also common since the late 19th century in research on the Etrusco-Italic and Greek architectural terracottas: Cozza 1888, 431 fig. 20; Hübner 1995, 120–133.

insights into the distribution of the genre, the method of production and the range of variants in image types. So, since the 1980s it has become increasingly clear that the use of 'Campana reliefs' was not just limited to Central and North Italy and occasionally also Southern Italy, but also occurred in the Gallic and Hispanic provinces.[26] In the 1990s, 'Campana reliefs' were found for the first time in the Peloponnese, and related clay reliefs even hail from Asia Minor (Ephesos).[27] In several cases, these originate from production contexts that are indicative of an Augustan date of origin, thus confirming the traditional opinion regarding the heyday of this class of material.[28] In the light of the decentralised production sites in Central Italy, 'Campana reliefs' can no longer be regarded exclusively as characteristic of the capital city and its immediate vicinity. In addition, there is a persuasive argument in favour of joint production with other sectors of the *opus doliare*, on the basis of the rare stamps as well as observations at the places of discovery.[29] The complex network of different production sites that is starting to become apparent arguably reflects the ownership structures and building projects (*villae rusticae* as well as public foundations) of their elite founders.[30] The fact that the individual image types crop up in diverse variations and differing dimensions might also be associated with the decentralised and purpose-driven manner of producing the 'Campana reliefs',[31] which we prefer not to interpret as mere mass-produced, 'off-the-shelf' goods.[32]

26 Cf. Reinhardt (in press); Tortorella 2007a, 15 f. Overviews of the individual regions are provided by Laubenheimer 1997; Laubenheimer et al. 1989 (Gaul); López Vilar et al. 2011; Dupré – Revilla 1991 (Hispania) and Di Franco 2019, 146–150 (Apulia); Pellino 2006 (Campania); Rendini 1995 (Etruria); Strazzulla 1987 (Veneto).

27 For Dyme/Peleponnese see the contribution by Elena C. Partida in this volume as well as Partida 2019b; Vasilogamvrou 2008; Vasilogamvrou 1998. I thank Konstantinos Zachos for pointing me to the archaistic terracotta revetments from the Victory Monument at Nicopolis to be published by Hara Kappa (Kappa [in preparation]). For the clay reliefs from Ephesus, which can probably be addressed as an example of ancient reception of the Campana reliefs, see Lang-Auinger 2012.

28 Reinhardt (in press). Cf. López Vilar – Piñol Masgoret 2008, 11–17. 107 (Tarragona); Vasilogamvrou 2008, 116–118 (Dyme); Béraud et al. 2001, 203 (Fréjus).

29 Cf. Stefano Tortorella in this volume; Braito 2016; Strazzulla 1995; Tortorella 1981a, 67 f.; Tortorella 1981b, 223–228; Rohden – Winnefeld 1911, 19*–22*. For production together with other building materials cf. generally Pensabene 2017b, 136 f.; Känel 2013a, 1117 f.; Rauch 1999, 119. 135 f.; Tortorella 1981a, 67 f.; Tortorella 1981b, 223–226; for concrete evidence see López Vilar et al. 2010, 656–658; Vasilogamvrou 2008, 116–118; Gualtieri et al. 2002; Laubenheimer 1997, 405.

30 See S. Tortorella in this volume; Reinhardt (in press). Cf. Rous 2011, 90 f.; Tortorella 1981a, 64 f. Tortorella 1981b, 223 f.

31 It is conceivable that new variants could be related to the ornamentation of individual building projects, in which the plaques' size in particular was newly defined and the pattern (e.g. the variation of counterparts) or the ornamental strips (see e.g. the example provided by Stilp 2005, 371–373) possibly modified. In parallel, there was also, of course, an interchange of forms (or finished items), which has been partially verified by scientific material analyses (López Vilar – Piñol Masgoret 2008, 74 f. 89–96 [A. Àlvarez – A. Gultiérrez]. 109–111): Reinhardt 2016a, 256–260; cf. Känel 2013a, 1117 f.; Rauch 1999, 142. In this context, the common idea of the mass production of the 'Campana reliefs' (see the following note) should also be critically scrutinised.

32 That the 'Campana reliefs' are cheap, mass-produced goods or 'the marble image of the man in the street', is an old preconception – cf. Känel 2013a, 1115; Rous 2011, 90 note 43; Froning 1981, 31 f.;

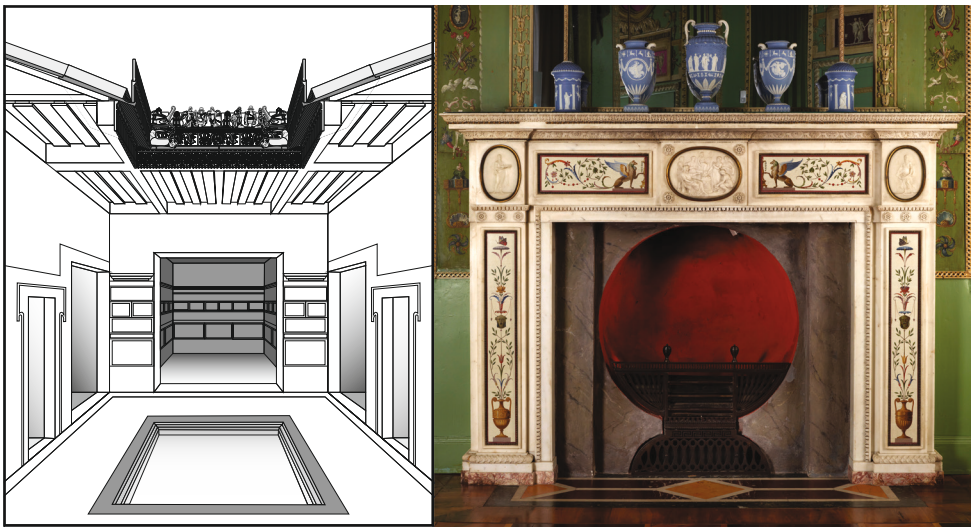

Fig. 5, a. b Two indicators of social prestige: acknowledging the obvious differences, this juxtaposition of a Republican *compluvium* adorned with figurative terracottas (Fregellae) and a neo-classical mantel piece (Potsdam, Marmorpalais) may hint at the former prestigious status of such terracotta decoration, which is all too often deemed mass-produced and humble due to its material.
Images: a) © Rudolf Känel – Claudia Zipfel (drawing); b) © Stiftung Preußische Schlösser und Gärten Berlin-Brandenburg/Bildarchiv, Fotograf: Wolfgang Pfauder (Foto Potsdam).

In order to suggest a positive (admittedly somewhat overemphasised) connotation, it seems interesting to juxtapose the decorated roof edges of mid-Republican to early-Imperial Roman houses with the modern Western tradition of adorning fireplaces with elaborate mantle pieces (Fig. 5, a. b). Notwithstanding the obvious discrepancies in terms of material, function and cultural background, this metaphor might point us in the right direction when it comes to sketching out the former prestige associated with such architectural terracottas in their heyday.[33]

Vermeule 1977, 12. In Reinhardt 2016, 254–256 and 259, I discuss the idea of small-scale series, created on the occasion of a new decoration or building project. It would be an interesting task to try to reconstruct the number of exact multiple pieces and their varied counterparts belonging to a single series by means of a blended approach (close formal analysis, measurements and clay-composition).

33 It is clear that a mid-Republican house in Central Italy does not simply match with a neo-classical, royal Palace in Northern Europe. What is more, in terms of the cultural traditions standing behind these two examples, there are no close parallels at all: the custom of adorning the roof edge with figured reliefs does not have an equivalent in the Western tradition, whereas Classical Antiquity saw no such fireplaces built to walls. Nevertheless, at the backbone of this juxtaposition stands a structural parallel, namely the urge to incorporate in architecture the irrepressible forces of nature (water and fire, respectively). Just as many elaborate mantle pieces had been produced for adorning palaces, a significant number of Roman architectural terracottas stems from illustrious find-spots which correspond with building projects of the Roman aristocracy such as the Palatine or the *villae* ad Gallinas albas or on the isle of Ventotene (cfr. Reinhardt [in press], note 115). Additionally, some

At any rate, the great accumulation of material in the second half of the 20th century resulting from new excavations and publications also impacts on the imagery of the 'Campana reliefs'. While Adolf Heinrich Borbein was able to assume, in the 1960s, that a supplementary new edition of the work by Hermann von Rohden and Hermann Winnefeld would not be necessary,[34] the situation today is different. Although only isolated cases of new image types have emerged,[35] the number of known variants has increased significantly,[36] so that it is currently very difficult to obtain a comprehensive overview.[37] Furthermore, many old collections are to date only partially published, if indeed at all.[38]

Thus the status quo of scholarly research on the 'Campana reliefs' is currently as follows: even 110 years after the monumental work of Hermann von Rohden and Hermann Winnefeld, basic groundwork is still needed in many relevant areas; at the same time, the genre needs to be better connected with current issues in the discipline. In the process, the rich and interesting imagery of this class of material should not be the only point of reference, but further connecting factors ought to be developed based on the image-carriers as artefacts and how they were used (and re-used) in ancient times. What already, in a nutshell, exists in the work of Hermann von Rohden and Hermann Winnefeld, and what has been pursued in many other works since the second half of the 20th century, will undoubtedly prove fruitful in the future too: ever advancing and diversifying contextualisation in the multi-layered dimensions of Roman cultural history (see also the summary).

houses in Pompeii show the storage and use (but also the re-decoration) of older architectural terracottas (Bauch 2023; Haug 2020, 102; Rohden 1880, 9–12). On the ambiguous position of clay/terracotta in the hierarchy of materials cf. Reinhardt 2022a.

34 Borbein 1968, 9 cf. 12 f. notes 12. 13. 16 for the most important new finds with respect to Rohden – Winnefeld 1911.

35 As an example, we can cite the archaistic women adorning a *baetylus* from the Palatine Hill: Pensabene 2017b, 139. 216 f. nos. 232–239 Colour pls. C. D; pls. 28. 29; Carettoni 1973, 78 fig. 15; Carettoni 1971/1972, 124. 129–131 fig. 5; cf. 134 f. note 14 fig. 8. For another case, compare Kappa (in preparation).

36 Not only have fragments that fill gaps in pieces shown by Rohden – Winnefeld, 1911, successively come to light, but there are also entirely new variants – see for example: E. C. Partida in this volume; Jessica Bartz in this volume; Reinhardt 2016a, 237–247 figs. 1–10; Petrilli 2007; Rendini 1995, 29 f. figs. 19. 20; Schefold 1968, 287 fig. 1. Cf. Rauch 1999, 8. See now also Jäger 2023 for an interesting fragment in Gießen.

37 This could be demonstrated, for instance, by the compilation of the 'Palaestra halls' variants by the author (Reinhardt 2016a, 247–250. 259 note 91), to which we should add the pieces from the Villa delle Grotte on Elba with the winged goddess (Psyche) in the centre intercolumniation: Casaburo 1996, 41 f. fig. 21; Rendini 1995, 29 f. fig. 19. See now also Tortorella 2023, 239–243.

38 For example, the collection of Evan Gorga in the Museo Nazionale Romano, of which only a few pieces have been published so far (Pensabene – Roghi 2013; Paris 1999). Stefano Tortorella is now preparing a publication of the important finds from Via Gallia in Rome (cf. Strazzulla 1987, 185; Tortorella 1981a, 70).

Problems and Prospects of Research

Significant contributions concerning the historico-cultural perspective have to some extent already been made; for instance, several studies examine the reliefs as bearers of political messages of the Augustan times, or as the appropriate embellishment of *villae* and other buildings in the late Republic and early Imperial period.[39] The same applies to the works that have highlighted the joint production of the 'Campana reliefs' with other products of the *opus doliare*.[40]

Nevertheless, there is a need for research in many areas – 'Campana reliefs' ought, for instance, to be further integrated into the architectonic practice of their times, and should be more actively viewed as artefacts that took up diverse stations during their 'lifetimes' and were thereby subject to human activity.[41] Instead of referring to 'Campana reliefs', 'antefixes' and '*simae* with waterspouts' as individual classes,[42] we could, for example, take a common theme, 'Roman roof edging', as a starting point to unite disassociated material groups and re-access overarching questions, for example, of contemporary taste and decor concepts.[43] This would mean taking a new look at the images of the 'Campana reliefs'; for although they originally formed continuous metre-long friezes at some height on roof edges and beams, close-up views of individual objects traditionally prevail in research.[44] My title, "tiled roofs – tiled images", attempts to suggest the necessity of querying the common label which is historically given, but remains quite limited in its meaningfulness. Without implying certain restraints regarding the imagery, style, manufacturing technique or form, the term 'tiled images' might help to mirror some of the genre's main characteristics: its evolution from, and primary function in, the decoration of eaves and entablatures, its material as well as typical mode of production. Finally, and significantly, the seriality of its design and imagery should be considered a dominant factor, both in terms of production as well as aesthetic appearance in the intended form of use.

This latter aspect already implies a stronger focus on the reliefs' materiality, where several knowledge desiderata appear regarding the handling and different modes of use and reuse. This is particularly the case for the original pigmentation of

39 Cf. notes 6. 7 and 23. 24, respectively.

40 Cf. note 29 above.

41 This should definitely lead in the direction of Material Culture Studies; for which cf. Karagianni et al. 2015, 33–38; Samida et al. 2014 and for 'object biographies' Boschung et al. 2015.

42 Cf. Pensabene 2017b, 136 f.; Pensabene 1999, 7 f. and note 29 above.

43 For the latter cf. Haug 2020, 1–3. 11–19. 45–49. For corresponding observations on 'Campana reliefs' from *villae* or temples see notes 23, 24 above.

44 The question of the genesis of the images has up until now referred almost exclusively to the relationship to the Greek archetypes, or the principle of symmetrical image composition, and discussed on the basis of individual plaques/pairs of plaques (Borbein 1974, 503 f. 527–529; Borbein 1968, 43–201). Apart from the formation of mirror-image pairs or varied counterparts, high-contrast colouration appears to have been an important factor in the diverse and more succinct configuration of metre-long 'Campana relief' friezes (cf. Reinhardt 2016a, 251 note 60). For the observer-remote position of the images on the 'Campana reliefs' see the dissertation by Rolf Sporleder (Sporleder 2022).

the reliefs – and their aesthetic embedding in the building[45] – just as for the aspects of the upkeep and/or replacement of terracotta ornamentations. Very little is known about ancient renovation of, and maintenance measures for, 'Campana reliefs'.[46] As a benchmark it is assumed that architectural decoration made of terracotta had to be 'renovated about every 20 to 25 years'[47] and that this form of figurative decoration was anyway more likely to have been a passing fad that was basically limited to about three or four generations around the Augustan Age.[48]

This perspective of integrating the artefact into human activities, however, steers us in another significant direction. Although it is known that 'Campana reliefs' were typically unearthed in situations of ancient reuse, there is no overall investigation into this phenomenon. Even if research is only at the very beginning here, it is becoming apparent that, apart from pragmatic reuse for instance as supplementary material in the masonry[49] or in coverings,[50] there were also deliberate cases of secondary usage, in which the relief images served as embellishment in a new context. This is, for example, the case with some revetment plaques showing Nike on a *biga* in the so-called Fullonica di Mustius in Pompeii (VI, 15, 3), but further examples could be given.[51] The latter cases, surely, indicate a certain change regarding the socio-cultural status of this

45 In the class of 'Campana reliefs', scientific analyses of extant pigments is a very young field of study – see below with note 79 and Reinhardt 2022a, 133–137; Pensabene – Gallocchio 2017, 168 f.; Blume 2016; Perry 1997, 58–60; Rohden – Winnefeld 1911, 26*–29*.

46 Corresponding observations refer exclusively to the Vesuvian towns, as far as I know – see Bauch 2023 (the author is currently carrying out a project on the life cycle assessment of architectural terracottas from Pompeii); Merone 1993/1994, 58 f. fig. 1; Rohden 1880, 9 f. 11 f. cf. Känel 2017, 171 note 15.

47 Cit. Borbein 1968, 20, who builds on the research by Richardson 1960 at Cosa; the division into phases that was proposed at the time is, however, criticised today: Taylor 2002, notably 68–81; gen. criticism also by Strazzulla 1985, 98 f.

48 Cf. Strazzulla 2007, 155; Strazzulla 1987, 43. 54 and Rauch 1999, 5 with notes 62–65.

49 Cf. Rohden – Winnefeld 1911, 14*. For example, Pensabene 2017b, 45. 53. 56–64. 126 f.; Pensabene – Gallocchio 2017, 164 f.; D'Alessio 2016, 340. 347; Reinhardt 2016a, 236 note 14; Caravale 1993, 71–74; Caravale 1996; Coarelli 1981, 20 f. pls. 8, 5. 6; in several cases, a *terminus ante quem* could thus be deduced for the origin of the reused relief. A 'Campana relief' under layers of plaster in Pompeii: Haagsma et al. 1993/1994.

50 As covering for a canal: Capaldi 2009, 178 fig. 8; further examples by Rohden – Winnefeld 1911, 14*. As covering for graves: cf. Giulia D'Angelo in this volume; Zabotti 2006a; Zabotti 2006b; Pagliardi – Cecchini 2002/2003, 403 (tomba 74); del Moro 1991, 12 notes 12. 13 cf. gen. Nuzzo 2000, 172 note 105 and the following note 50. As edging for a burial place: Aglietti 2005, 23; fragmentary terracottas were found in Luni as edging for a garden bed: Uboldi 1996, 10.

51 In the lower zone of the wall decoration in the adjacent room, the terracotta plaques, of which three are preserved, were spaced at intervals: Sogliano 1897, 21; Pompei: Pitture e mosaici. Enciclopedia dell'arte antica classica e orientale vol. V (Rome 1994), 578 f. s. v. VI 15, 3 Fullonica di Mustius (V. Sampaolo), referred to by Kosmopoulos 2021, 642 fig. 8 and Känel 2011, 78 f. fig. 6 – see also below, note 61 for two cases of 'decorative reuse' from Rome. Apart from these, 'Campana reliefs' were sometimes used as closing caps in the catacombs, in which case the images frequently showed outwards: S. Tortorella (this volume, note 11); del Moro 1991, 12 f. with compilation in note 11 cf. Aglietti 2021, 162 f. note 14 fig. 3. For examples of a decorative reuse of *simae* or antefixes see Fabiano – Rizzitelli 2019, 330 f. fig. 3 (wall decoration); Frese 2012, 77 (ancient finishing of a sima, probably as wall decoration). Moreover, in the Vesuvian towns there are examples of waterspout

kind of architectural decoration in the Imperial Age. Once used in their dozens as an adornment appropriate for the lavish buildings of the aristocracy, later single 'tiled images' were put to different uses and reached humble contexts (which seems to justify the otherwise misleading idea of these reliefs being 'images for the man in the street', at least under these circumstances).[52]

Apart from these implications, research on the forms of ancient use and reuse could, for instance, lead to more-detailed knowledge about the relative dating of individual variants or entire pictorial themes, and would expand the traditional focus, which centres on the origins of the genre and its great popularity in the Augustan Age, to its 'longue durée' in ancient times. Why were such 'tiled images' eventually no longer produced? This, in my view, is a controversial open question, which ought to be examined more thoroughly and with a differentiated approach.[53]

The ancient reuse of Roman architectural terracottas[54] could also shed light on an old controversy – that of the multi-functionality of the so-called cresting plaques ("Aufsatzplatten", Fig. 3), which have no direct precursors among the Etrusco-Italic terracottas.[55] The typological differentiation of these plaques from *simae* and crests ("Krönungen") is often difficult and the definition of their primary function controversial. On the one hand, we can identify clear instances of their use as eaves applied to the roof edge ("Stecksimen": 'plug-in *simae*'), for example of a *compluvium* or peristyle, but conclusive evidence in the form of waterspouts or perforation exists only for a few examples (Fig. 6).[56] On the other hand, it is legitimate to assume that this form was not used on the edge of the roof alone, but also on walls, namely as continuous friezes, individual images or even as fillings for *hyperthyra*.[57] From an evolutionary viewpoint, the cresting

protomes and antefixes being inserted in the outer walls of houses (I thank Taylor Lauritsen for this information); they appear to be unpublished to date (but cf. Iorio 2006).

52 For this common prejudice, see above, note 32.

53 Except for the explanation by Borbein 1968, 34 according to which the genre disappeared due to all too intensive reproduction, a change in architectural practice and in the production structures is generally brought forward as the explanation for the disappearance of the 'Campana reliefs' in the Imperial era – cf. Pensabene – Gallocchio 2017, 168–170; Rauch 1999, 5 note 64; 143 note 1034; Tortorella 1981b, 223.

54 The ancient reuse of bricks is now addressed in the volume edited by Bukowiecki et al. 2021 (see especially Gallocchio 2021 and Previato 2021).

55 Borbein 1968, 16; Rohden – Winnefeld 1911, 40*–42*. Many thanks to Rudolf Känel for discussing this point with me.

56 See, in this volume, the chapters by Rudolf Känel and Arne Reinhardt (examples in notes 18. 21–23) as well as Känel 2010, 265 f.; Bøggild Johannsen 2008, 27; Rohden – Winnefeld 1911, 43*. As to the fixation with lead, see the find from the Villa di Livia: Messineo et al. 2001, 101 f. figs. 112–114 cf. Lang-Auinger 2012, 67 notes 323. 324.

57 Fundamental for this point: Tortorella 2018a cf. Borbein 1968, 16. Rohden – Winnefeld 1911, 46* f. take it for granted that 'Campana reliefs' were used as wall adornment at least in the "Spätzeit"; cfr. p. 43* f. and the find from the 'bathroom' of the house of Avidius Quietus in Rome (p. 18*. 47*. 292 pl. 108). However, given that the terracottas (revetment plaques) from Avidius Quietus' house were found "fra le ruine dell'edifizio" (Visconti 1877, 74), it is not secure to assume that they had really been used as wall decoration, as one could not exclude that they only were stored there for later (re-)use in Antiquity. Calderone's suggestion in 1975, 66 f. figs. 1–3 (cf. Rohden – Winnefeld

Fig. 6 Although termed 'cresting plaque' (Rohden – Winnefeld 1911, 294), the waterspouts indicate an intended use as a so-called "Stecksima" ('plug-in sima'). Paris, Musée du Louvre, Inv. S 751 (partially restored).
Image: © 2009 Musée du Louvre/Anne Chauvet, <https://collections.louvre.fr/ark:/53355/cl010288338> (06.09.2023).

plaques would thus have 'migrated' from the exterior, namely from the edge of the roof to the interior, that is to decorated wall surfaces, and thus changed their original function.[58] This question is of some significance, since, on the one hand, the vast majority of images appears on these cresting plaques, while, on the other, the whole genre clearly stems from the roof edge and entablature, not from wall adornments.[59]

However, this should not be decided on the basis of general considerations alone – in further investigations, the aspect of ancient reuse of architectural terracottas should definitely be taken into account.[60] To cite two significant examples from Rome, cresting

1911, 46*), that the cresting plaques had been used to fill the gap between the door/window lintel and the cornice above (*hyperthyrion*) finds an interesting precursor in the façade of a neo-classical palace in Munich, a detail of which is illustrated here as fig. 2, b.

58 Cf. the contribution by R. Känel to this volume and Rauch 1999, 141; Rohden – Winnefeld 1911, 44*.

59 Cf. note 1 above. The fact that, even when applied to walls, the revetment plaques keep the morphological features characteristic of "Stecksimen", i.e. the 'serration' of the upper border as well as the tongue below, appears to me as an indicator in favour of the reuse hypothesis. Considering the malleability of clay before drying and firing, these features could have easily have been left out (for the interchangeability of the rims cf. Reinhardt 2016, 257 note 76; Borbein 1968, 13 f.). Alternatively, one could have enhanced the intended fixing to a plaster/stucco surface by scratching the backsides as was carried out for the terracotta plaques from Ephesos (cf. Lang-Auinger 2012, 67 f. pl. 18–20 and Känel 2017, 168–172 for this technique). This aspect needs further discussion.

60 As the cresting plaques that were used as wall embellishment still display the usual typological characteristics that they share with the sima and crests (the tongue below and the protruding and

plaques appear in a wall recess of the Roman house below Santa Cecilia in Trastevere and on a pedestal in the *hypogeum* of P. Numitorius Hilarus (Fig. 7) which dates to the first half of the first century CE (but its use continued into the 2nd century).[61] Whether or not, in the latter case, the rich pigmentation preserved could provide a reliable indication of the reuse of the plaque in Antiquity unfortunately has not been examined so far.[62]

Finally, and this is the last point that will be addressed in this section, the intensified contextualisation of the Campana reliefs in Roman cultural history is also in need of genre-based reflection, as already briefly mentioned.[63] The production methods and primary uses make it clear[64] that, with the modern name 'Campana reliefs', the scholarly tradition has created an artificial group of materials based on primarily modern grounds. As explicit as the name is, it is actually quite difficult to systematically define this class of material on the basis of the inherited criteria of morphology, imagery and quality.[65] Here are three examples.

In the collection of the Heidelberg Institute, there is an object that cannot be assigned to any of the four forms of the genre (Fig. 8).[66] That it could still be considered as a 'Campana relief' is due to the close resemblance to the upper ending of revetment plaques, in particular to the *gorgoneion*, for this finds direct parallels in the corpus of 1911.[67] The criterion of the ('Neo-Attic') imagery is, however, ambivalent, for similar *gorgoneia* also exist in other materials, and the images of the 'Campana reliefs' cannot be limited to this one aspect of their spectrum.[68] Apart from this single piece in

recessed upper edge), we lack clues that would guarantee a methodically reliable attribution to specific functions. In the case of the elongated terracotta tiles that came to light during the excavations in the basilica in the state market in Ephesus, the design of which is clearly based on the 'Campana reliefs', it is a different story. Here the characteristic structure of the rear surfaces clearly indicates the intended use in a mortar bed (s. Lang-Auinger 2012, 67 f. pl. 18–20).

61 In the Roman house below S. Cecilia in Trastevere, two 'Campana reliefs' decorate a (*lararium*) wall niche: Bøggild Johannsen 2008a, 29 fig. 6; for the cresting plaque with theatre scene from the *hypogeum* of P. Numitorius Hilarus before the Porta Salaria s. Rizzo 1905, 203–207 pl. 5; Rohden – Winnefeld 1911, 280 pl. 81; Cupitò 2007, 104 f. no. UC 10.349. For 'Campana reliefs' from graves cf. Borbein 1968, 18 f.; Rohden – Winnefeld 1911, 15* f. 46*.

62 The observations made by Rizzo 1905, 207 suggest possibly two phases of painting; for a clarification, however, an analysis by modern scientific means is needed.

63 Känel 2013a, 1116 note 2; Reinhardt (in press), note 31.

64 Cf. note 29 above.

65 Above, note 13. 17.

66 Collections of Antiquities of the University of Heidelberg Inv. C XVIII: Perry 1997, 25 f. no. 12 pl. 5, 3. The fragment, which is 20.3 cm long and 9.4 cm high, is directly reminiscent of the upper end plate of large-format revetment tiles, but on the underside there was no adjoining image area; it has two pin holes.

67 Perry 1997, 25 f. no. 12. Cf. also Rohden – Winnefeld 1911, 221 fig. 450 or the plaque from the Campana Collection in the Louvre, Inv. Cp 3879, <https://collections.louvre.fr/ark:/53355/cl010288149> (30.10.2023).

68 As an example, see Rossignani 1969, 45. 77 f. and Borbein 1968, 198 note 1072. Besides, not all of the image types of the 'Campana reliefs' can be ascribed to the so-called 'Neo-Attic' precursors: Tortorella 1981a, 73; Borbein 1968, 10. 196 f.

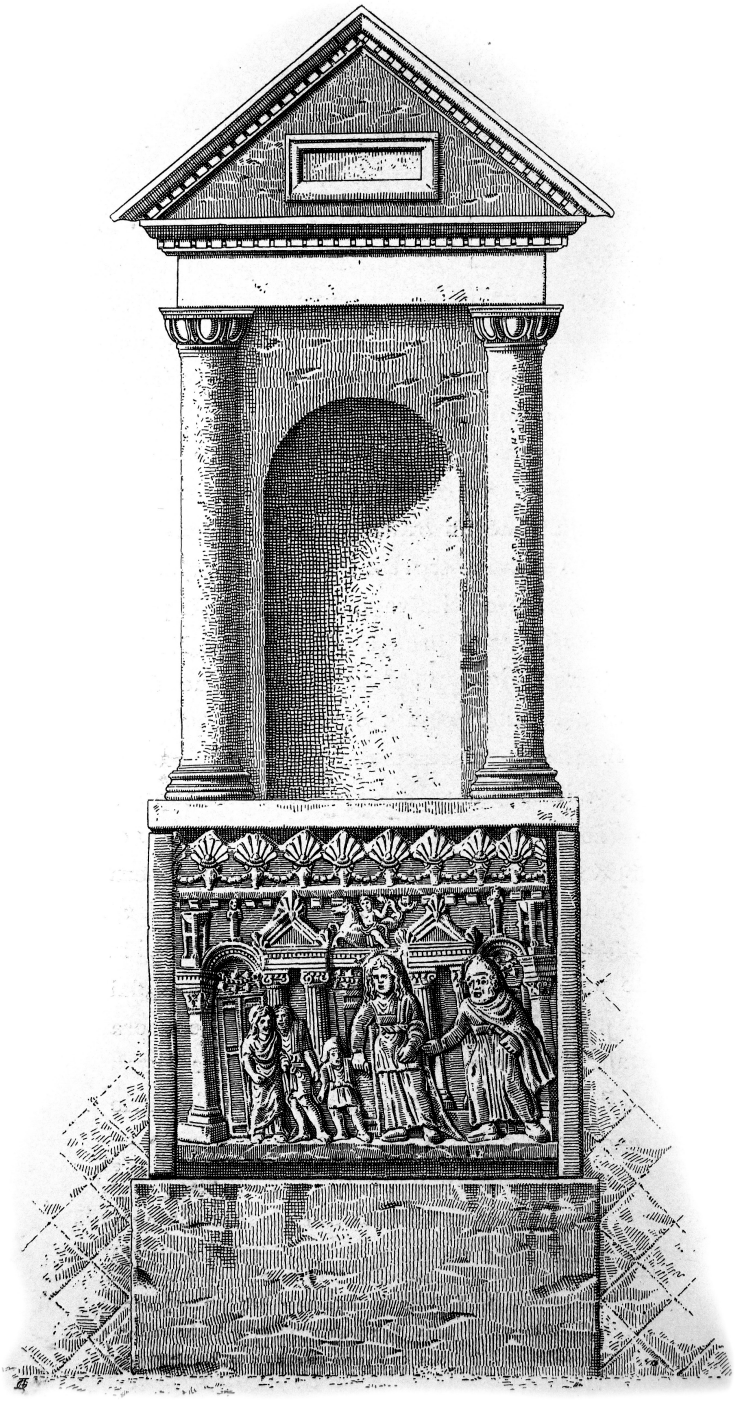

Fig. 7 A cresting plaque adorning the *aedicula* in the central niche of the *hypogeum* of P. Numitorius Hilarus in Rome.
Image: © after Rizzo 1905, 204 Fig. 46.

Fig. 8 Undoubtedly influenced by the upper borders of revetment plaques, this trim ("Zierleiste": Perry 1997, 25) does not match the common morphology of 'Campana reliefs'. Heidelberg, Antikensammlung der Universität, Inv. C XVIII.
Image: CC BY-NC-ND 4.0 (with kind permission of P. Lohmann, Heidelberg / Hubert Vögele).

Heidelberg, several plaques among the so-called Nilotic scenes also cause difficulties in terms of their morphology, and therefore deserve more attention.[69]

The quality of workmanship is a similarly ambivalent aspect.[70] The insights into the terracottas from Ossaia La Tufa, north of Lake Trasimeno, demonstrate the co-existence of high-quality items (that probably hail from Rome and / or surroundings) with ones that appear to have been reproduced locally.[71] Strictly speaking, the simpler workmanship of these would not lead us to describe these items as 'Campana reliefs' from a technical point of view, even though they are evidently connected with them in terms of design; therefore, it does not really make sense to draw a line here.

In other cases, the combination of the criteria of imagery and technical quality can lead to a situation in which items are not attributed to the 'Campana reliefs', even when they are clearly connected with them from a morphological point of view.

69 Rauch 1999, 224 f. 240 generally assigns all plaques with Nilotic scenes to the common forms of "Verkleidungsplatte" or "Aufsatzplatte" but repeatedly notices inconsistencies regarding the pin holes (which do not occur on the revetment plaques [where they are to be expected] of her variant 1, but are unexpectedly present on some cresting plaques of her variant 2). Does the standard morphology of the four types, as suggested by Hermann von Rohden and Hermann Winnefeld, really apply here? Alternatively, should we not take this as evidence for an interpenetration of two kinds of architectural relief images – one that stems from the continuous decoration of beams and roof edges, the other being more related to the idea of the *pinax* as a single image?

70 Cf. note 16 here and Känel 2013a, 1116 note 2.

71 Rossini 2014, 179–181; Gualtieri et al. 2002, 150–155. 161–163; Rauch 1999, 135 f.

This is the case, for example, with the *antepagmenta* from Giancola near Brindisi, which show eagles on thunderbolts (a pictorial theme that is not explicitly mentioned in the compilation by Hermann von Rohden and Hermann Winnefeld).[72]

Thus, for future research, it seems promising to operate less on the basis of individual genres inherited from scholarly tradition, and instead increasingly pursue an approach that is geared to the different ancient modes of use as well as on the primary and secondary functions of the objects. Future research on the 'tiled images' as indicators of Roman cultural history will demand, more than ever before, that the focus is shifted away from the 'Campana reliefs' to the 'Architectural Roman clay reliefs of the Imperial Era' in the comprehensive sense of the term. This cross-genre perspective could also shed new light on those terracotta reliefs that, up until now, do not fit into one of the better known classes.[73] Conversely, the inherited term 'Campana reliefs' will always retain its usefulness for questions regarding the history of collecting, research and reception in later times.

The Contributions to this Volume

The texts collected here are arranged into four sections. The first part, "**Genese, Produktion, Verwendung**", gathers new research on the manufacturing of Roman architectural terracottas, as well as on their relationship with their Etrusco-Italic predecessors and the stone architecture of the late Republic and early Imperial age.[74]

As to production, we have to state that the vast majority of Roman architectural terracottas preserved in museums today come to us without further information on their original context of use or their place of manufacturing. Only very few 'Campana reliefs' have actually been found on production sites and scientific analyses are still scarce.[75] Hence, stamped pieces are of special significance. The first chapter by Stefano Tortorella gathers all available evidence by not only taking into account the stamped 'Campana reliefs' themselves, but also the connected production of *antefices* and eave tiles as well as contextualisation of anonymous 'tiled images' with stamped bricks and roof tiles. Based on the 44 cases of stamped plaques, *simae* and *antefices* known up until now, his contribution offers valuable insights into the many-sided production of the various *figlinae* which formed the organisational backbone of this class of architectural ornaments.

One of the few known production sites of 'Campana reliefs' has been unearthed in Greece. About thirty years ago, rescue excavations in the district of ancient Dyme, near Patras on the Peloponnese, yielded the first evidence for 'Campana plaques' in Greece.

72 Manacorda 2012, 194–197 figs. 3.48; 3.49.

73 The contributions by R. Sporleder and Karoline Zhuber-Okrog both include interesting examples; for other reliefs that can be named here, see Di Franco 2019; Siebert 2011, 122 f. no. 97 fig. 179 cf. Rose 2010; Tortorella 2007a, 16 notes 30–32.

74 As to the latter aspect, see also the contribution by Dominik Maschek in the section "Bilderwelt".

75 Geissler – Mommsen 2016; López – Piñol 2008, 89–96 (A. Àlvarez – A. Gultiérrez). 76 f. 109–111; Gualtieri et al. 2002, 149 f. 153–162; Stutzinger – Feucht 2000; Scatozza-Höricht 1995, 810 f.; Laubenheimer et al. 1989, 306. 327–329 (vgl. Laubenheimer – Schmitt 2009, 70 f. 163); Strazzulla 1987, 415–427. Stefano Tortorella is preparing a publication of the finds from via Gallia in Rome.

In spite of several mentions in the literature and a subsequent selective publication of the kilns and some of the terracottas found, several aspects have so far remained untouched. For the first time, Elena C. Partida offers a comprehensive view on the preserved terracottas, which include revetment plaques (two of them showing rare image types) as well as pierced crestings and two forms of *simae*. Partida combines her presentation of the extant terracottas with a broad range of suggestions concerning the imagery, as well as the historical background, which can serve as a basis for further discussions of this unique find.

The second part of the first section then turns to the relationship between 'Campana reliefs' and their Etrusco-Italic predecessors on the one hand, and late Republican/early Imperial stone architecture on the other. Cresting plaques, revetment plaques and pierced crestings are the focus of these chapters, while *simae* come up in the next section. Focussing on new evidence from the Republican town of Fregellae, Rudolf Känel tackles the problem of the "Stecksima" ('plug-in sima') from a technical perspective, offering a convincing explanation for the emergence of the somewhat enigmatic cresting plaques. As terracotta fragments and remnants of lead from the Republican houses there show, special eave tiles allowed for the attachment of decorated fronts by the principle of mortise and tongue ("Nut und Spundleiste"). These 'plug-in *simae*' were used for the houses' *compluvia*, some with, and others without, additional crestings on top. As an alternative to the common *simae* with integrated roof tile (see the chapter by G. D'Angelo for comparison), 'plug-in *simae*' then seem to have led the way to developing the so-called cresting plaques ("Aufsatzplatten") by combining the decorated sima front and a crowning element in one piece. Taken altogether, Känel's contribution rightly stresses the former significance of the roof edge as a place for figurative decoration as well as self-representation in Central Italy's Republican houses, which is still somehow underrated.

Although 'Campana reliefs' are mostly renowned for their imagery, they show non-figural ornaments as well. In his chapter, Jon Albers focusses on this characteristic feature of the Roman architectural decoration in terracotta, comparing it with the 'ornamental habit' of late Republican and early Imperial stone architecture. Revetment plaques, which follow a largely uniform structure, serve as a case study here. Usually, the upper border is thicker, showing an Ionic *cymatium*; unlike with stone architecture however, the egg motif here remains isolated and is not accompanied by the common astragal (whereas in stone architecture Ionic *cymatia* usually do not frame picture zones). The lower border also proves to be independent from contemporary stone ornaments: here, palmettes occur (again, palmettes usually do not frame stone friezes). Interestingly, these palmettes are oriented upside down, thus following the logic of the curved lower edge, which protrudes and is recessed in regular intervals ('lambrequin'). It becomes clear that the ornamentation in terracotta and stone differed considerably, and that, although the Campana reliefs brought novelties (especially regarding their imagery), their decorative borders in many respects still depended on the older tradition of Middle Italian architectural terracottas.

In the last chapter of the first section, Arne Reinhardt addresses the so-called pierced crestings, sima attachments worked à-jour, which have all too often played

a subordinate role in scholarship. On the one hand, this seems understandable if we take into account that the focus of the scholarship in past decades was on the images that 'Campana reliefs' bear (and crestings usually show more ornamental patterns). On the other hand, it is a well-known fact that this kind of additional décor attached to the roof edge continued a much older tradition; combined with the modern assumption of Rome's 'Hellenised' architecture, pierced crestings may even appear as relics of long out-dated terracotta decorations. As his contribution aims to prove, however, this seems not to have been the case. Even if the evidence for terracotta is limited in terms of geographic distribution, examples carved in stone testify to a much broader use in Roman architecture of the Imperial age – the majority of which stems from the Northern provinces, such as *Gallia*, *Germania* and *Britannia*. Acknowledging the difference in the materials used, and the traditional borders of the disciplines involved, Reinhardt argues for a comprehensive view in which the former significance of this characteristic architectural motif begins to become visible again for Roman architecture in general.

The second section of the book – "**Bilderwelt**" – is dedicated to the traditional field of study for this class of material. As has been mentioned already, it was due to the manifold figural depictions that interest in the 'Campana plaques' arose in modern times. From the perspective of Roman Antiquity in the first century BCE, complex images on architectural terracottas was a new trend – part of a much broader "visual cultural revolution" manifesting in various parts of every-day life.[76] The contributions to section 2 address various aspects of the relief images; they range from presentations of individual types to analyses of the former discursive contexts with regard to both political meanings and architectural decorum.

In his chapter, "Le ninfe danzanti ai lati del Palladio nelle lastre Campana della casa di Ottaviano sul Palatino", Patrizio Pensabene offers a thorough reading of the dancing nymphs wearing a *kalathiskos* on 'Campana plaques' and other Roman images, with regard to their religious and political connotations. Of special interest to Pensabene is the close topographical and ideational nexus between the depiction of the Palladium flanked by these 'calathiscos dancers' and their use on revetment plaques in Octavian's early building project on the Palatine Hill, a crucial spot in the *urbs*' 'sacred topography', where several threads of Roman local myth and prehistory intertwine. Pensabene thus emphasises the Greek roots of the images, with regard not only to the artistic models but also the subject (that is, the Attic myths as a counterpart to the founding of Rome).

The next contribution offers a fresh perspective on the location of 'Campana reliefs' in the discourse about architecture and appropriate decoration of the late Roman Republic. To this end, Dominik Maschek examines the so-called Nilotic scenes as a case study. Whereas the traditional scholarly approach had seen a connection in terms of subject and history with the battle of Actium in 31 BCE, Maschek convincingly establishes a new contextualisation within the cultural history of the mid-first century BCE. While his research is based on the new chronology of the finds from the Palatine, his meticulous reading of the images rightly emphasises the many existing parallels

76 Cf. the summary below, notes 91 and 92.

to buildings and decorations from the late 2nd century onwards. Taken together, the contributions by Pensabene and Maschek offer complementary perspectives on the former meaning of two image types, thus mirroring the original significance and characteristics of the whole class among the multi-layered concerto of architectural décor of the late Republic and early Imperial age.

Whereas the image types discussed so far belong to the core of the figurative and stylistic repertoire 'Campana plaques' are renowned for, simpler images still stand in the background. This is the case with the many *simae* decorated, rather simplistically, with palmettes and columns, once deemed the humble predecessors of 'Campana plaques' (but now acknowledged as their simpler contemporaries). In her chapter, Giulia D'Angelo draws our attention to an interesting type of these *simae*, which hitherto has been known only incompletely. Based on several fragments found in Nemi, D'Angelo proposes a reconstruction of the figurative scene in the middle showing a crater flanked by cupids riding on panthers, as well as large parts of its original polychromy. Both the huge crater and the cupids riding on panthers refer to the Dionysian sphere; even if the decoration itself is simple, it takes up the most popular subject present on 'Campana plaques' in general.

Apart from the images of Greek myths often present on Campana reliefs, many scholars have appreciated the so-called 'pictures of Roman life' to which Hermann von Rohden and Hermann Winnefeld dedicated one of their book's sections.[77] Chariot races and gladiators fighting wild animals undoubtedly come to mind first here, and they are the subject matter of the last contribution to this section 2. As new finds in recent years have rounded out our knowledge of these image types, Jessica Bartz addresses these representations anew. While she also illustrates the variation of pendants, as well as the original contexts of use of the plaques (which all too often come from old collections and lack further information), her main interest lies in understanding the towers present in these scenes. Drawing on literary evidence and comparable images, she convincingly argues for understanding these structures as additional – and most probably ephemeral – constructions for spectators on the *spina* of the Circus Maximus. While the images on 'Campana plaques' usually depend on older, Greek and Hellenistic models, this type offers a close reference to Roman everyday life, namely the world of metropolitan *otium*.

Whereas scholarship on Roman architectural terracottas has traditionally privileged the rich imagery as a subject of study, the reliefs' original polychromy has been long neglected. Campana and his fellow dilettanti knew that the architectural clay reliefs originally bore colours, but this fact remained more or less irrelevant for a long time.[78] With their customary meticulousness, Hermann von Rohden and Hermann Winnefeld collected all information regarding extant colour traces, but their findings were obviously restricted to what the naked eye could observe. Modern analytical methods however prove the existence of colour residues even where the empirical

77 "Aus dem römischen Leben": Rohden – Winnefeld 1911, 131–160.

78 Cf. the contribution by M. Szewczyk in this volume and Reinhardt 2013, 149 note 40; 151. For example, the 1851 edition of Campana's book in Zurich contains only two plates showing coloured reliefs: pls. 18. 68, compare <https://doi.org/10.3931/e-rara-56375>.

approach can see only bare clay, but few studies of this kind exist so far.[79] Section 3 – "**Farbigkeit**" – offers two new contributions to this growing field of research.

The meticulous study by Bettina Vak, Katharina Uhlir, Martina Griesser and Roberta Iannaccone investigates the pigments of 14 'Campana reliefs' in the Collection of the Kunsthistorisches Museum Vienna. The pieces, of which five are described in detail, were analysed with several non-destructive methods. They identified various pigments, the majority of which belong to the range of yellow, red and brown, while white and blue also occur abundantly (Egyptian blue and vanadinite are included here). To complement their interesting results, Bettina Vak provides a helpful overview of the different methods applied, which might serve as a welcome introduction to this field.

In the next chapter, Cecilie Brøns, Jens Stenger, Jørn Bredal-Jørgensen and Alexandra Rodler-Rørbo offer a thorough phenomenology of the colour residues present on three cresting plaques preserved in the Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek, Copenhagen. Based on a combined approach, they not only confirm the hitherto scarce evidence for the pigments used in the colouring of Roman architectural terracottas (such as the common Egyptian blue), but they also prove, for example, the use of vanadinite as a pigment; this coincides with the findings from Vienna, but is otherwise entirely new. Furthermore, in two cases, two decoration phases are detected (one primary, the other resulting from a restoration in the 19th century). Both contributions thus offer important close-up insights into the original polychromy of the Roman architectural terracottas, and provide new evidence for overarching questions about colour schemes, the evolution of taste and aspects of use (for example, both studies seem to suggest that the reliefs studied did not necessarily undergo a refreshing or redecoration in Antiquity).

From the curiosity of dilettanti in the late age of antiquarianism to the monographic 'super-museum' of Hermann von Rohden and Hermann Winnefeld and current research projects, collections have always been the backbone of scholarly research on this topic of Roman material culture. The fourth and final section, "**Sammlungen**", gathers five chapters on the history of reception and research.

The starting point is given by Martin Szewczyk, who, in his chapter, turns to the surviving group of Giampietro Campana's 'Campana reliefs' preserved in the Louvre. The fall of the eponymous Marchese in the 1850s (after the misappropriation of funds), and the subsequent dispersal of his huge collection of Italian antiquities and art objects, seems to coincide with a turnaround in the appreciation of this part of his collection. While, in the first half of the 19th century, his decorated architectural terracottas had evoked the admiration of the many visitors to his private museum, disinterest grew among the early scholars for this kind of material. At the end of that century, the finds from new excavations met the heightened awareness of the need for authenticity much better than Campana's collection was able to do, consisting as it did of a huge

79 Tarquini et al. 2020; Buccarella Hedegaard et al. 2017; Michałowska 2014; Lorenzetti et al. 2013. In October 2022, on the occasion of the "11th International Round Table on Polychromy in Ancient Sculpture and Architecture", G. D'Angelo, A. Pergola and G. Severini presented first results of their on-going research on the polychromy of Roman architectural terracottas in the Museo Nazionale Romano.

amount of fragments and heavily restored plaques. Seen against this historical backdrop, Szewczyk offers a detailed documentation and careful reading of Giampietro Campana's restoration practices that did actually follow the original image types (but joined single fragments to 'ideal' completeness). Furthermore, Szewczyk characterises the perspectives that this interesting hoard, of several thousands of fragments, still holds for future scholarly endeavours.

The following text, by Dennis Graen and Nick Petukat sticks to the subject of Giampietro Campana but directs our attention toward other aspects of this formative character. In 1846, Campana donated, together with more than 60 Greek vases and other objects, 12 architectural terracottas to the University of Jena in Thuringia. Graen and Petukat trace the history of this donation, which became the founding act of Jena's public Antiquities Collection. While the majority of the architectural terracottas are now lost, the plaster casts included in Campana's donation are preserved. The authors present these, discuss their possible manufacture, and pay special attention to the provenance of the reproduced terracottas. While, unfortunately, the vast majority of Campana's objects come without historical indications of their origin, the example of an antefix with an elephant's head allows for an interesting conjecture.

Like Emil Braun (1809–1856), who acted as intermediary in the arranging of this donation, the diplomat August Kestner (1777–1853) was also an acquaintance of the Marchese Campana. His collection, kept in the museum bearing his name in Hannover, included dozens of 'Campana reliefs' and other Roman architectural terracottas, which were published in 2011. For her chapter, as a follow-up to her work, Anne Viola Siebert comes back to two of the reliefs, which, because of the archetypes, she can now convincingly prove to be modern imitations (or forgeries) dating back to the decades around 1800. These modern 'Campana reliefs' reveal an interest in the exotic topic of Roman *aegyptica,* as well as narrative scenes mirroring Graeco-Roman mythology. Siebert's contribution thus convincingly shows the great interest in the decorated architectural terracottas at that time (long before Campana's book had been published), when numerous collections arose.

The huge collection of Roman architectural terracottas in Berlin's Antikensammlung was also largely acquired in the first half of the 19th century. In his study on the history and provenance of the Berlin 'Campana reliefs', Rolf Sporleder shows how, in a first phase, this material mostly came into larger private collections of antiquities as 'bycatch' from excavations, often without generating great interest. This changed in the second half of the 19th century, when new 'Campana reliefs' were purchased from collectors or the art market. At the same time, the Berlin collection served as a supplement to the on-going research by Hermann von Rohden and Hermann Winnefeld, who were supposed to integrate it into their *corpus*; in consequence, their work of 1911 mentions some of the pieces in Berlin, while a huge number of fragments remain unpublished today.

Similarly to the collections in Berlin, the majority of the 'Campana reliefs' present in Vienna's Kunsthistorisches Museum was purchased in the first half of the 19th century. In the last chapter, Karoline Zhuber-Okrog offers a detailed overview of her ongoing research project on this class of material, which has been only partially published so far.

In comparison to the much larger collection in Berlin, characteristic parallels occur (such as the display on walls, and Rome as the major city for acquisitions). However, with her meticulous observations of the pieces, Zhuber-Okrog draws our attention back to fundamental aspects of the whole class, for example, regarding the fastening of crestings on *simae* and especially the various issues of production (such as the probable use of pieced moulds). The last chapter of these conference proceedings thus closes the circle: even after roughly 250 years of collecting and 150 years of research, scholarship on Roman architectural terracottas still demands both aspects – fundamental research on the objects themselves and new overarching perspectives.

Summary: A Culture of Making

At the beginning of this introduction, I labelled Roman architectural terracottas a "wide topic of (mostly) special interest". Over the past 150 years of scholarship, several attempts have been made to connect this class to the mainstream themes of research: first, their 'Greek' mythological images offered one point of connection, while the idea of a Roman 'art industry' provided another perspective; later readings focussed on political messages, both regarding the imagery and, very recently, their materiality. Complementary to these efforts stands the traditional 'antiquarian' approach (in the good sense of the term) aiming at a better understanding of the dynamics of production and use, which has become more and more visible on the basis of new finds.

Now, at the end of this introductory chapter, I wish to complement this somewhat overly complex situation by highlighting some of the main threads that I believe to be of general interest for Roman archaeology and material culture studies. For this, the idea of a 'culture of making' surely offers a productive starting point. While traditional approaches often set culture in opposition to materiality, the anthropologist Tim Ingold, and others, propose to overcome the traditional antithesis of the mind actively impressing designs on passive materials.[80] Instead, Ingold suggests acknowledging that "the forms of objects […] grow from the mutual involvement of people and materials in an environment". He also introduces the metaphor of weaving to epitomise the traditional concept of making: "[…] weaving [….] continues for as long as life goes on – punctuated but not terminated by the appearance of the pieces that it successively brings into being".[81]

I consider this figure of thought suitable to bridge some of the problematic rifts that have arisen in the history of research during the past 150 years. Three of them play a major role in this volume: first, the meticulous segregation of genres ('*antefices*' vs. '*simae*' vs. 'Campana reliefs' and so on) and materials (terracotta vs. stone), which somehow obscures the overall picture of the various ways of building and decorating practised in Roman architecture. This is mirrored, on a higher level, by the borders between the disciplines (for example, 'Classical Archaeology' vs. 'Art History'

80 See Ingold 2013, 20–26. 37 f. 44 f.; Ingold 2012, 369–371 and Hochscheid – Russel 2021, 2 f. with further references.

81 Quoted from Ingold 2012, 382 f. Cf. Ingold 2013.

vs. 'restoration sciences'). Secondly, the traditional, but problematic, tendency to emphasise – but at the same time to 'dematerialise' – the imagery at the expense of the image-carriers themselves, which have received very little attention so far as objects in their own right, as well as with a history of their own. The latter introduces my third point: traditionally, our field focuses on the moment of the creation of objects, and less so on the uses, fortunes and changes occurring later in the course of their existence.[82] It might make sense, in contrast to the established term of '*archaeo*-logy', to think of this perspective as a cultural-historical '*praxeo*-logy' under material premises. Using Ingold's metaphor of making as weaving, we assign new meaning(s) to the wide range of 'cultural information' enclosed in objects that have come down to us from Antiquity. What otherwise would be classified as details of 'antiquarian' interest only now gains further importance as it constitutes specific insights into the cultural history of the Roman world (and beyond) that only this class can offer. In material culture, every "Gattung" ('class') offers individual insights into its former cultural backgrounds, which could not be anticipated or replaced by the views which other genres provide us with. To perceive the full range of patterns and colours emerging, one has to turn the kaleidoscope by hand, so to speak.

In order to highlight the virtues of this volume, as well as the findings it offers to future research, I will briefly recapitulate three aspects of the culture of making that the objects treated here clearly mirror. First, there is material(-ity). Roman architectural terracottas owe everything to their substance.[83] Through the combination of its physical properties and the crafting involved, clay's malleability allowed for a vast range of forms and decorations to be created,[84] which could be fired to a high degree of stability. Its material strength becomes visible, for example, if we consider the relative thinness of the decorated plaques, often ranging between only two and four centimetres.[85] This robustness, as well as the good resistance to environmental impacts, underpins the development of this class of object, and is also the precondition for all of its further uses and its general endurance through time. In terms of material and technique, the decorated terracottas (be they *antefices*, *simae* or 'Campana reliefs' etc.) prove to be 'high-performance' products, made for fulfilling the functional needs of roofing. While the undecorated backsides point in the same direction, the decorated fronts clearly connect the terracottas to building façades and the architectural task of embellishment. Their basic substance may be highly functional and even pragmatic,

82 For the idea of a 'biography of objects', see e.g. the contributions in Boschung et al. 2015.

83 As I have stressed elsewhere, see Reinhardt 2022a, 131–139. Regarding the colouring of their fronts, however, the basic substance of these terracottas was usually complemented by further pigments, or even disguised under a white primer coat; on this, see below, note 88.

84 Research on the 'artisanal perspective', i.e. how the craftsmen engaged with the material and shaped their products in a reciprocal way (cf. Ingold 2013, 20–22. 69 f.; Hochscheid – Russel, 2021, 2 f.) is scarce for architectural terracottas, but Känel 2017 offers a first perspective.

85 See, for example, Pensabene 2017b, 364 no. 1568 pl. 199 (cresting plaque, 35 × 40 cm: 2 cm thick); 269 no. 765 pl. 89 (pierced cresting: 2 cm thick). With *simae* and revetment plaques, the thickest part is usually the upper border: Pensabene 2017b, 225 no. 351 pl. 35 (sima, 27 × 27 cm: 5 cm thick); 229 no. 256 pl. E (large revetment plaque, 74 × 60 cm: 5 cm thick); 299 no. 1059 pl. L (revetment plaque, 48, 2 cm wide: 3–4 cm thick).

but it is the very same clay from which the elaborate fronts emerge, which by their design express some of the cultural values and ideas typical of the period of their creation. Here again it is clay's malleability which allows for depiction of a vast range of decorations in shallow relief, be it geometrical, floral or figurative in motif. In the vast majority of cases, the 'tiled images' were created by means of mechanical reproduction (which always included the option to re-articulate parts of its decoration free-hand, as well as to introduce changes in pigmentation).[86] However, these 'tiled images' were produced in series not because they were cheap mass products, but because architecture demands the standardisation in its multiple members.[87] Seen against the backdrop of the more sober range of products among the *opus doliare* (see here the contributions by S. Tortorella and E. C. Partida), these decorations clearly stand out.

It is interesting to note, however, that in the vast majority of cases, the actors involved tried to overcome terracotta's monochrome tone by adding further colours to the decoration of the fronts,[88] as is meticulously documented by Bettina Vak and colleagues, as well as by Cecilie Brøns, Jens Stenger and their colleagues in section III of the book. This elaboration in terms of colour proves the terracottas' role in the variegated appearances of building façades, at the same time disconnecting them from the monochrome roofs. It is exactly this aspect which has great potential for the field of visual studies, which considers the interaction of architecture and architectural decoration with human actions in space. Furthermore, it has consequences for any engagement with the semantic meanings tied to terracotta decorations in Antiquity.[89]

Tiled roofs – tiled images: my second argument is that making implies transformation. Engaging with materials in the process of creation means to react to current and/or past customs, as well as other cultures of making. In Roman architectural terracottas, this becomes clearly visible in the so-called 'cresting plaques' ("Aufsatzplatten"), a new form in which characteristics of *simae* and crestings merge (see R. Känel's contribution and Fig. 3 here). Soon, these cresting plaques became the preferred medium for figurative decoration among the 'tiled images'.

While in many respects (for example, technique, intended usage, general design), the Roman architectural terracottas are deeply rooted in the older Etrusco-Italic tradition, their imagery clearly goes far beyond it.[90] Naturally, this offers a good touchpoint

86 Cf. the references given above, in note 18.

87 See Reinhardt 2019, 58 note 376 for references. As to 'Campana reliefs', see Reinhardt 2016a, 252–256 whereas in Reinhardt 2019, 55–63. 134 f. I suggest a more general definition regarding the (re-)production of marble reliefs.

88 For general trends see: Reinhardt 2022a, 134–137; Zink 2019, 18. 20 f.; Blume 2016; Perry 1997, 58–60; Rohden – Winnefeld 1911, 23*. 26* f. 29*.

89 In Reinhardt 2022a (esp. 132 f. 138 f. note 39) I argue that instead of general hypotheses referring to the basic substance alone, it is actually its surface treatment which allows for (or rules out) semantic references. Thus, in the case of the large revetment plaques from the Palatine Hill (Hallett 2018), it is the range of colours present as well as the lack of a white primer coat by which references to the older Etrusco-Italic tradition become possible.

90 See above, note 13, as well as the examples addressed in this volume by P. Pensabene, D. Maschek, G. D'Angelo and J. Bartz along with the contribution by J. Albers on ornamentation.

with the aspect of making as engaging with existing customs, as well as their possible transformation through making. It is no wonder though, that Roman architectural terracottas have often been included within the apparent change of material culture in the 1st century BCE, giving birth to new luxury goods, richly decorated with a variegated imagery, that did not exist before in Central Italy in this form.[91] In his oral contribution to our Heidelberg symposium, Manuel Flecker addressed this visual turn – "Rome's cultural revolution" (A. Wallace-Hadrill)[92] – which involved various genres and materials such as *terra sigillata*, clay lamps, along with marble sculpture and cameo glass, as well as metal vessels and so on. Of particular interest is the emphasis he places on clay as the basic substance standing at the core of this 'intermateriality', which he explains as a certain culture of overall coroplastic making (Fig. 9, a. b).[93] This offers an interesting perspective on how the figurative decorations of the architectural terracottas share some of their characteristics with other ambitious objects manufactured under the same cultural circumstances (without postulating the common model of one genre copying another).

In other respects, however, it occurs to me that other important aspects of this 'visual turn' have not been made fully explicit yet. For the architectural decorations in question, this is particularly true for the perspective of the Roman viewer[94] engaging with these architecturally bound images, but it also concerns the archaeology of figurative representations in the public, as well the private, sphere in a wider sense. I focus on two main thoughts here, as I wish to only sketch out this promising perspective, but not to anticipate in-depth studies.

Allow me to start with a short digression. In the first part of this summary, I argued that the architectural terracottas in question form a kind of interface between the roof and the façade, combining the protection of the wooden structures of the truss and entablatures with the task of their façade-like decoration. Considering their usage in the upper zones of architectural structures, it seems not too far-fetched to speak of the eminent position this kind of decor held.[95] Undoubtedly, the degree of decoration and the spectrum of decorative options, which often included lively colours and certain silhouette effects[96] attest to a special significance for this kind of architec-

91 Flecker 2022a, 385–388; cf. Wallace-Hadrill 2008. As to temple decoration in terracotta, Rous 2011, 92 calls the late Republic "an age without images", which according to him shifted from sanctuaries (but see Tortorella 2019a) to porticoes and private dwellings mainly (as to the latter, cf. note 104, below).

92 Wallace Hadrill 2008, who in chapter 7 (pp. 316–355) also speaks about consumerism. For this, see also Maschek 2018, 204–226.

93 Flecker 2022b, 272–274; Flecker 2021, 22–24. Undoubtedly, clay and plaster stood at the backbone of the ancient mechanical (re-)production of images; apart from identical designs in different media attesting to this practice, some technical intermediators have survived: Reinhardt 2019, 28–53. 133 f. colour pl. 1. 2; pl. 1–10). For fig. 9, see ibid. p. 124 f. and Reinhardt 2018, 307 f. with notes 30. 34.

94 On the Roman viewer, see e.g. Elsner – Squire 2016 with further references.

95 See Reinhardt (in press); Känel 2001, 77.

96 It is worth noting that with three of the four forms of 'Campana reliefs', jagged borders occur. This is the case with the lower sides of revetment plaques (which therefore might have protruded a bit in relation to the entablature's lower border: 'lambrequin'), as well as with crestings and

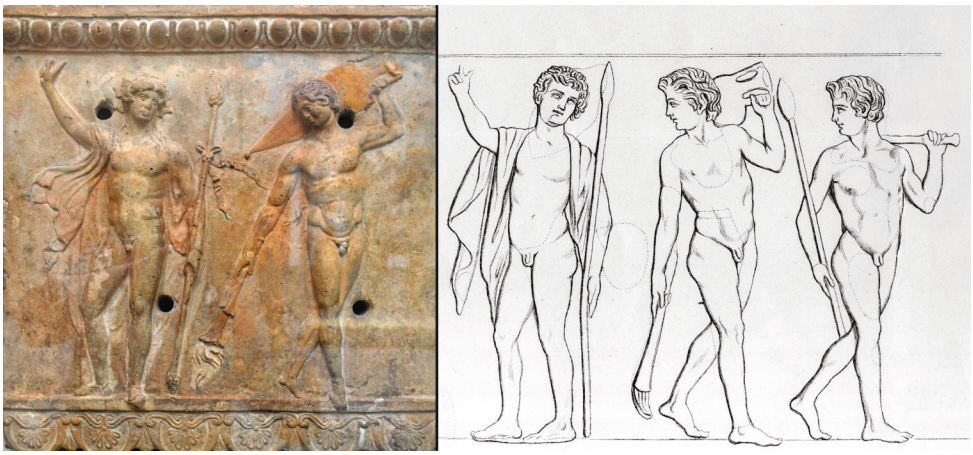

Fig. 9, a. b An example of 'intermaterial' images in the late Republic/early Imperial age: a revetment plaque showing Dionysus with a satyr in London (British Museum, Inv. D 530) and the same arrangement used for two satyrs on a marble *puteal* from Rome in Berlin-Tegel (detail of the drawing by H. Schenck).

Images: a) print version: © The Trustees of the British Museum; e-book version: © The Trustees of the British Museum. Shared under a CC BY-NC-SA 4.0 license; b) after Heydemann 1885, Fig. 3.

tural decoration (cf. Figs. 3–5). The application of multiform figurative images further underpins this (images as "preciosisation": Hölscher),[97] creating a certain 'splendour' of the tiled eaves and entablatures that was not met in earlier or later developments. When it comes to classifying the 'tiled images', we should not only focus on them in the general sense (that is, as part of the 'visual turn' mentioned earlier), but should also consider them as architecturally bound decoration in a given context. This would mean to further acknowledge the circumstances that shaped these 'tiled images', as well as their modes of viewing: for example, the eminent position in the upper zones of architectural structures certainly meant good lighting conditions, while at the same time it enlarged the space between the images and the viewers. When in place in the upper zones, the 'tiled images' did not allow for isolated, close-up viewing as we are used to when we encounter this class of objects in books or museum displays (Fig. 10). Nevertheless, the 'splendid' eaves and entablatures of the late Republican era and early Imperial age were at the same time 'decorative' – that is, repetitive but

cresting plaques respectively. The latter certainly were supposed to evoke a certain silhouette effect that could be further increased by piercing the background – cf. R. Känel in this volume; A. Reinhardt in this volume as well as Reinhardt (in press). In their concluding remark, C. Brøns, J. Stenger, J. Bredal-Jørgensen and A. Rodler-Rørbo refer to polychromy as a variegating factor in repetitive friezes (cf. Rohden – Winnefeld 1911, 163; Perry 1997, 43).

97 Hölscher 2018, 37–39 speaks of images as one instrument of 'preciosisation' ("Pretiosisierung") within the decoration of e.g. architecture serving as social representation; for a positive reading of 'décor/decoration', see also below note 99.

variegated[98] – and potentially capable of carrying complex meaning. Among other sorts of decoration, they share "the paradox of high meaning and low communication", as Tonio Hölscher emphasised for Graeco-Roman architectural sculpture.[99]

What does this mean for the making and viewing of these relief images in terms of their layout, the selection of themes, as well as the intentions standing behind the chosen images? While several of the design factors have been mentioned already,[100] we still lack detailed studies on the functioning of the images as multi-part terracotta friezes[101] – in the context of their use as well as in comparison to other image media (both in a given context, and regarding the characteristics of the individual media in comparison, that is, their 'polyphony'[102]). What role exactly did the 'tiled images' play in the history of images in Rome, regarding their creation, use, and the end of self-representation? In order to be able to answer this question in the future, we need to further contextualise the 'tiled images'. It appears, for example, that the eaves and entablatures they decorated mirror an early attempt to embellish public and domestic spaces with complex, two-dimensional images in a permanent way – this is important to note.[103] In today's scholarship on Roman houses, however, it is other contemporaneous media, mostly mosaic *emblemata* and wall painting, which almost completely dominate our view on the emergence of (mythological) images for permanent decorations.[104]

98 Cf. Reinhardt 2016a, 251 f.; Tortorella 1981°, 65 f.; Borbein 1968, 19; Rohden – Winnefeld 1911, 29*–31*.

99 See Hölscher 2009, 58 (quotation). 61–63 and Hölscher 2018 (among other contributions to that volume) for a positive reading of the concept of 'décor', which all too often occurs as a negative term in earlier scholarship.

100 The images in question develop from a clearly defined background, the space of which is determined by the sizes needed (cf. above, note 31), by technical feasibility as well as by the form chosen for the image carrier. It was possible to spread a scene over two or three plaques, as well as to create mirrored counterparts, but in general, the images had to serve the principle of repetitiveness and reproducibility typical of architectural decoration. Cf. the references given above, note 44 and 98. In rare cases, plaques even bear 'captions': Rohden – Winnefeld 1911, 22*. 26*.

101 It also seems worthwhile to further analyse the interplay of variegated plaques next to one another with regard to narrative aspects and the selection of subjects. The principles cited before (in note 99), for example, account for the need to limit complex narrative sequences: of the many deeds of Hercules, for example, three occur on revetment plaques (Borbein 1968, 157–159). Alternatively, to give another example, from the 'bathroom' of the house of Avidius Quietus in Rome come several revetment plaques: only one showed Ariadne and Theseus while the others all depict satyrs flanking a fountain (Rohden – Winnefeld 1911, 192 fig. 189; 292 pl. 108). Although a change in terms of motif, it seems reasonable to assume that this combination was intentional (which is confirmed by the ornamentation and technical aspects) and meant to be appropriate in terms of content (as seems logical, as it was believed that the abandoned Ariadne was first discovered by a satyr).

102 On the 'polyphony'/"Mehrstimmigkeit" of media, see the approach by Muth – Petrovic 2012 (who focus on the relationship of images and texts).

103 See Känel 2010; Känel 2001, 77 and the dissertation by Rolf Sporleder (Sporleder 2022).

104 I refer to Haug 2022 as a recent textbook opinion here, from which the 'Vesuvio-centrism', given by the rich record of Pompeii and Herculaneum, clearly emerges, as well as the emphasis on the Roman *convivium* as an important social practice by which these decorated floors and walls were embedded in the private sphere. However, there were also 'tiled images' present at the *compluvia* of these houses: cf. Känel 2000a, 269.

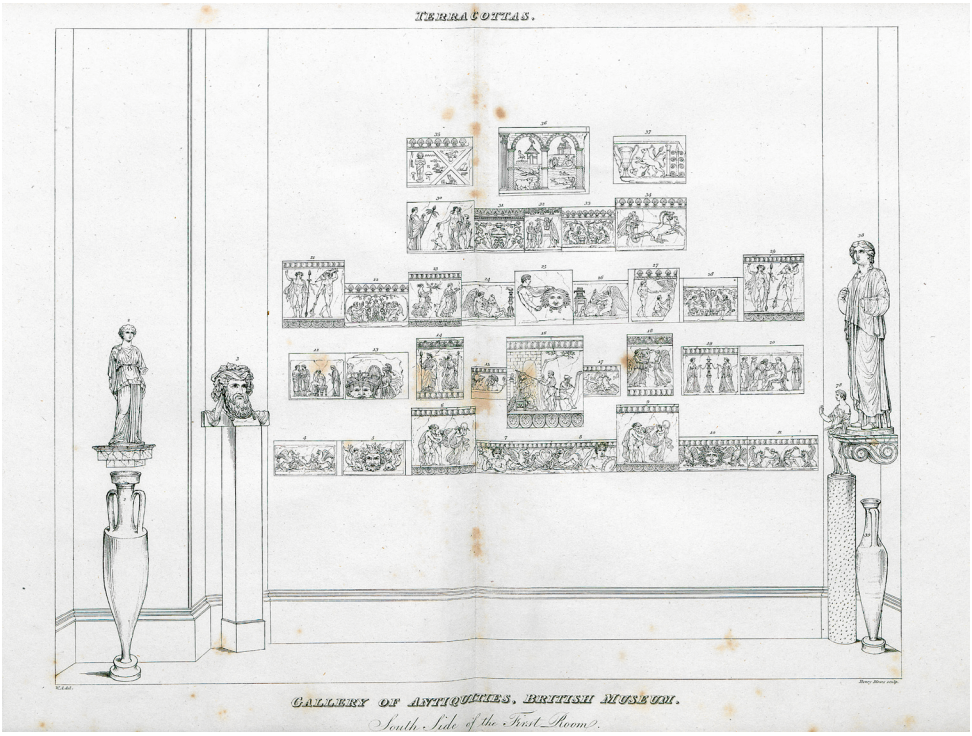

Fig. 10 'Tiled images' on display in the British Museum in the early 19th century: arranged in pendants the terracottas are displayed as wall decoration close to the viewer (Combe 1810, plate 1).
Image: Public Domain <https://doi.org/10.11588/diglit.5294#0048>.

However, as Rudolf Känel shows in his contributions, already in the 2nd century BCE, figurative terracottas were present on eaves in certain cities in Central Italy.[105] Thus the 'visual turn' of the first century cannot have been a complete revolution in all respects, although it seems clear that it brought an immense increase in image themes, new stylistic features and new arrangements, such as the invention of the "Aufsatzplatte" or possibly even the penchant for varied counterparts so typical of 'Campana reliefs'.[106]

While, on the one hand, we should further acknowledge and examine the 'tiled images' as a genuine medium of figurative architectural decoration in the late Republic,

105 Now, Bruder 2022, 411–425 gives further examples.

106 In his works, A. H. Borbein (1968, 23–28. 197–199; 1974, 503–508. 527–529) gives a detailed examination of symmetrical compositions in 'Campana reliefs' and proposes an interpretation of this common scheme. Compared with this, *variatio*/*varietas* has received far less attention (see above, note 98), even if it clearly ranks among the conceptual ideas standing behind the terracottas' designs; a further contextualisation within the 'visual habit' of the late Republican and early Imperial eras (cf. Reinhardt 2019, 119–125. 137) might be of interest in the future, however.

it is also clear that this use ceased to play a decisive role in the subsequent cultures of making and decorating during the middle and late Empire or Late Antiquity. The 'preciosisation' of the high zones in architecture with terracotta images was a limited phenomenon, which could not reach the role continuously played by other decorative media, such as wall paintings and mosaics. Apart from this being an obvious indicator for a change of taste and architectural practices,[107] the question arises whether, and to what degree, this might also mirror experiences with the communicative potential inherent in images. While images are a conspicuous mode of decoration, they may also unfold their communicative potentialities better in more equal situations of viewing which allow the viewers a closer look. It is interesting to note, that exactly this factor characterises many of the later re-uses, as we will see next. So far, one may hypothesise that the emergence and fading of 'tiled images' on the upper zones of architectural structures may constitute some kind of experimental phase in the reflection of cultural experiences with complex images in architectural decorations and their visibility and communicative potentialities.

Where the traditional *archaeo*-logical approach often stops,[108] Ingold's metaphor of making as weaving invites us to expand the focus to the various steps that occur later in the history or 'life' of the artefacts created ('*praxeo*-logy', see above). This is the third and last aspect to be addressed here, and it builds equally upon the material of the 'tiled images' as well as on some of their main affordances.[109] Given the durability and stability of the terracottas, the fact of their multiple uses is no surprise. In addition, their characteristic design, divided into the decorated 'façade-front' and the raw 'roof-back' allowed for their easy adaptation to other functions. In the first part of this introduction, I described some of the re-uses of 'tiled images', ranging from simple recycling as building material to a bricolage-like application of the images to new contexts (pp. 14–16), but this perspective is still new and somewhat understudied so far. Here, however, I wish to indicate some of the main threads in this weaving together of the genre.

First, it is important to note that already in the Augustan era – the genre's heyday – various reuses are attested; no doubt, the application of "Aufsatzplatten" ('cresting plaques') and other 'tiled images' to plastered walls had already occurred by that time.[110] Even if, by both design and production technique, these terracottas were shaped to function as iterative, albeit variegated, friezes in the upper zones of building façades, they also allowed for the separation of individual plaques (or small groups) as well as their 'hanging' on plastered walls, both in interiors and exteriors (Fig. 7). Among the range of affordances offered by these architectural terracottas, the possibility to (re-) use them as ready-made images for other purposes holds a central position.

107 See above, note 53.

108 However, and of course, there are exceptions; see e.g. Dräger 1994, 138–140 on the reuse of marble *arae* in Antiquity and the growing interest in the cultural habit of reuse and recycling (e.g. Previato 2021 for roof tiles).

109 For the concept of affordance by J. J. Gibson and its revision, see Knappett 2004.

110 Stefano Tortorella provides an important overview in Tortorella 2018a. See also above, note 57 and Bruder 2022, 407–410.

As Martin Szewczyk, Dennis Graen and Nick Petukat, Rolf Sporleder and Karoline Zhuber-Okrog show in their contributions, various displays of private and public collections between the second half of the 18th and the 20th century (Fig. 9) attest to the very same approach, which soon also included the display of fragments.[111] This tradition continues today. Therefore, while the interests responsible for this 'self-evident' mode of reception certainly differed in history, one may indeed hypothesise an inherent reaction to the possibility of close-up viewing that these elaborate relief images offer. The weaving that arose with and around the 'tiled images' over time thus mitigated the paradox of the images' 'low communication' characteristic of their former usage high up on a building (Hölscher, cf. above), while putting new emphasis on their possible 'high content'. In terms of content, it remains a task for future research to investigate the extent to which the reused images fit their secondary contexts, and/or how these might have encouraged new readings. As to the modern era, it seems clear that the picture-like display corresponded to the main interest of the collectors and early scholars in the genre's rich imagery as sources for, and illustrations of, ancient texts and mythology.[112] All too often, however, this has also led to a certain dematerialisation that we wish now to cure by re-contextualising the 'tiled images', as well as by stressing the positive qualities of their substance and making. In this respect, Ingold's weaving metaphor invites us to look further in the history of reception and research.

Complementary to the concurrent (re-)production of 'tiled images' in the Roman provinces and the plaques from Ephesos, that are clearly inspired by *simae* from Central Italy,[113] stand the remakes, restorations and fakes of the 18th and 19th century, which Martin Szewczyk and Anne Viola Siebert present. These are new 'punctuations' in the history of these objects (Ingold), while at the same time, they gave birth to new links in the complex 'chain of reproduction' that mechanically ties our days to Classical Antiquity.[114] This hitherto final chapter in the making of Roman architectural terracottas continues until today: Karoline Zhuber-Okrog refers to the latest recreations by the technical institute Ceramico Campus in Stoob (Austria), aiming at a better understanding of the original production techniques.

111 Cf. Lejsgaard Christensen – Bøggild Johannsen 2015, 21–23 fig. 13; Nadalini 2007, 24 fig. 1 (for the British Museum); Picozzi 1990 (for cresting plaques from the Villa of Voconius Pollio in the Palazzo Colonna in Rome); Reinhardt 2013, 149–151. Sometimes, architectural terracottas even received wooden frames for their hanging indoors (Stilp 2005, 367 f. fig. 3).

112 Does it seem too far-fetched to propose that this mode of close-up viewing also might have enhanced the modern readings of the genre as fraught with political meaning (as to this, see above, note 7 and Haug 2022, 24 f.)?

113 Lang-Auinger 2012, 51–54.

114 For the concept of a "Reproduktionskette" ('chain of reproduction') in the sense of mechanical impression, see Reinhardt 2019, 24–28. 133 f. In that section of my dissertation, I argue that mechanical reproduction skips temporal borders because former moulds or products are easily 'activated' by means of impression. As the contributions by A. V. Siebert and M. Szewczyk (see the quotation of S. Birch and Ch. Newton there, especially) in this volume show, the very same happened in the making, remaking and restoration/forging of architectural terracottas (see also Sarti 2001, 29. 77). Thus, with mechanically (re-)produced terracotta goods, Ingold's weaving metaphor actually comprises the uninterrupted fruition of certain physical properties as well as the iterated application of technical skills over time.

In a figurative sense, however, it is us, scholarship in general and now these conference proceedings, who continue the making by weaving our thoughts and methods, but also some of the current zeitgeist around the 'tiled roofs, tiled images'.

Notes to the Reader

Contrary to the usual practice, we have decided to forego individual lists of references after each essay; instead, a comprehensive bibliography is given at the back of the volume. Even if this cannot claim completeness in all respects regarding the class of 'Campana reliefs' as a whole, we nevertheless hope to provide here a useful bibliographic tool for future research on this topic, as, apart from the monographs, Roman architectural terracottas have been published in various, sometimes remote, places of scholarly literature.

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Bibliography

For the works cited in this article, please refer to the comprehensive Bibliography at the end of the volume.

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