



PAPERS AND MONOGRAPHS FROM THE NORWEGIAN INSTITUTE AT ATHENS

VOLUME 11

**THE PORTRAIT FACE**  
**Understanding Realism and Verism**  
**in Greek and Roman Portraiture**

Edited by

Sheila Dillon

Marina Prusac-Lindhagen

Astri Karine Lundgren



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ATHENS 2021



## Table of Contents

Introduction . . . . .	7
<i>Sheila Dillon and Marina Prusac-Lindhagen</i>	
Hellenistic Portraits Between the Ideal and the Real . . . . .	15
<i>Bente Küllerich</i>	
The Late Hellenistic Private Portraits in Macedonia: From the Heroic Realm to Realism . . . . .	47
<i>Theodosia Stefanidou-Tiveriou</i>	
Portrait Statues of Athenians in Late Hellenistic Delos and Athens: Honorands, Patrons, and Portrait Styles . . . . .	91
<i>Sheila Dillon</i>	
Greek Portraits and the Late Hellenistic Politics of Plunder . . . . .	139
<i>Catherine Keesling</i>	
Realistic Portraiture in Thasos (1st Century BC–1st Century AD): Re-considering Purported Caesar’s and Mark Anthony’s Portrait Heads . . .	167
<i>Guillaume Biard</i>	
‘Realism’ in Roman Female Portraiture . . . . .	191
<i>Siri Sande</i>	
Faces in Living Color: Marble Portraits, Portrait Painting, and Individualization, c. 330-30 BC . . . . .	233
<i>Mark Abbe</i>	
The Significance of Emotions in Realistic Portraiture . . . . .	269
<i>Marina Prusac-Lindhagen</i>	
The Contributors . . . . .	299



## Introduction

Sheila Dillon and Marina Prusac-Lindhagen

THE CHAPTERS in this volume emerged from a workshop entitled ‘The True Face: Between Verism and Realism in Greek and Roman Portraiture’, held at the Norwegian Institute in Athens on the 24th–25th of May 2018. Over the course of this two-day workshop, the participants and the audience discussed and debated a number of questions central to the topic. How does one define and describe ‘realism’ as opposed to ‘verism’ in this important genre of artistic production? How should one understand the aims and effects of these stylistic choices? Are these terms in fact still useful in understanding Greek and Roman portraiture of the later Hellenistic period? Although some argue that the ‘veristic’ style is Roman in origin, developed specifically for Roman patrons, there continues to be problems with this notion, including issues of chronology, geography and artistic agency. For example, the earliest well-dated examples of marble portraits in the ‘veristic’ style come from the island of Delos, a location known as a meeting point between east and west in the later Hellenistic period. However, the epigraphic evidence from Delos, and the material evidence from Thasos and Thessaloniki, point to Greek sculptors as the makers of these images. What might, then, have been more important in shaping the appearance and style of a portrait: the patron who commissioned the portrait, the subject represented, or the sculptor who made the image? What about the expectations of the public? Or the context in which the statue stood? What was the effect of long-standing local representational traditions? And what role might colour have played in the expressive and aesthetic impact—that is, the style—of these portraits?

The chapters in this volume engage with the above questions in a variety of ways and from a range of perspectives. The chronological focus is the Early Hellenistic to the Early Imperial periods. The geographic focus expands well beyond the traditional emphasis on Delos and Athens to encompass a more Mediterranean-wide perspective. The result is a series of new interpretations



of the range and meanings of portrait styles, grounded in the material and epigraphic evidence and a large body of earlier research. A number of authors reconsider well-known and well-studied portraits, while others take into account material not typically included in portrait studies, such as Hellenistic genre statues like the ‘Terme Boxer’ or the ‘Drunken Old Woman’. Some engage with the recent scholarly turn towards the study of emotions in antiquity in order to understand a portrait’s expressive effects on its viewers. The increasing use of marble in the portraits of the later Hellenistic period is considered from perspectives that move beyond the interior/exterior debate around display contexts. The possible effects of Roman plunder in the later Hellenistic period on portrait styles and the shift to an expanded use of marble are explored here for the first time. And while past scholarship on portraits of the late Hellenistic period has focused mostly on changes in the 1st century BC, a number of chapters highlight the importance of developments during the 2nd century BC. Problems and disagreements of course remain, due in part to the fragmentary nature of the evidence, the impossibility in the majority of cases of identifying the portrait subjects with any confidence, and what might be perceived as the subjectiveness of stylistic dating. Points of agreement include the difficulty in disentangling the ‘realism’ that characterizes much of Hellenistic portraiture and the ‘verism’ that is thought to define Roman portraiture, as the two genres share many common stylistic features, and the observation that the portrait styles of the Late Classical and Early Hellenistic periods persist into the Early Imperial period, particularly in the Greek East. The focus on style might seem somewhat old-fashioned, but it was the appearance of a portrait—its style and aesthetic impact—that shaped how it was perceived and understood.

This volume is part of the renewed and expanded scholarly interest in Greek and Roman portraiture since the beginning of the new millennium. The sheer number of new studies to emerge over the past twenty years is astonishing. Although the editors of the important volume *Early Hellenistic Portraiture: Image, Style, Context*, based on a conference held in Athens in 2002, could reasonably claim that at that point the portraits of the early Hellenistic period, beyond those of the Hellenistic kings, had been relatively understudied and, in addition, that inscribed statue bases had received hardly any attention in more art-historical portrait studies, neither is any longer the case.<sup>1</sup> Portrait

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<sup>1</sup> Schultz and von den Hoff 2007, 6-7.

studies that incorporate both the epigraphic and sculptural evidence as important axes of analysis are now much more common, and ‘private’ portraits of the Hellenistic period are dealt with in a large number of recent monographs and collected papers.<sup>2</sup> Many of these studies also focus on the micro-histories of portrait statues in particular contexts, or consider the circumstances of a statue’s reuse.<sup>3</sup> Understanding the impact and role of colour is quickly emerging as the new frontier in portrait research.<sup>4</sup> Equally important to these interpretive studies are the recent catalogues of portraits in museum collections or from particular archaeological sites, as well as the preliminary publication of new finds, particularly from Roman Greece, an historically understudied period.<sup>5</sup> In sum, we hope that the chapters in this volume make a productive contribution to this wide-ranging and important body of portrait research and generate new lines of inquiry in the future.

### *Acknowledgements*

This volume would not have been possible without the support of Professor Jorunn Økland, Director of the Norwegian Institute in Athens, and the staff, in particular Higher Executive Officers Žarko Tankošić and Delia Tzortzaki. The Institute helped to organize and publicize the workshop, and kindly hosted and financially supported the event, where earlier versions of the papers that now form the chapters included in this volume were first presented and discussed. Professor Økland has also, on behalf of the Institute, granted most of the funds for the publication of this volume. We are grateful to her and the staff for their generous support. We are also indebted to the Institute for making it possible to have the English language contributions of non-native speakers revised by a

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<sup>2</sup> e.g. Højte 2005; Connelly 2005; Fejfer 2008; Krumeich and Witschel 2010; Dillon 2010; Ma 2013; Dillon and Baltes 2013; Griesbach 2014; Hemelrijk 2015; Smith and Ward-Perkins 2016; Murer 2017; Biard 2017; Keesling 2017; Herbin 2019; Leone 2020.

<sup>3</sup> For recent research on the contexts of Greek portraits see von den Hoff, Queyrel, and Perin-Saminadayar 2016; Queyrel and von den Hoff 2017; Queyrel and von den Hoff 2019.

<sup>4</sup> Abbe 2008 and 2013; Skovmøller 2020, with extensive earlier bibliography.

<sup>5</sup> Some recent museum catalogues: Despinis, Stephanidou-Tiveriou, and Voutiras 2003; Dontas 2004; Despinis, Stephanidou-Tiveriou, and Voutiras 2010; Knoll and Vorster 2013; Scholl 2016; Zanker 2016. Archaeological site catalogues: Lagogianni-Georgakarakos 2002; Smith et al. 2006. Sculpture from Roman-period Greece: Vlizon 2008; Stephanidou-Tiveriou, Karanastasi, and Damaskos 2012; Karanastasi, Stephanidou-Tiveriou, and Damaskos 2018.

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# Hellenistic Portraits Between the Ideal and the Real

Bente Kiilerich

## *Abstract*

Hellenistic portraiture comprises many visual expressions ranging from the ideal to the real. Several factors play a part in the shaping of this diverse portrait art. From the 4th century BC onwards, there was a growing interest in the study of physiognomics, the art of judging character from facial and bodily characteristics. Knowledge of anatomy and physiology also advanced resulting in an increased awareness of how an individual's disposition could lead to permanent markings on the face. Drawing on ancient physiognomic and modern neurophysiological studies, this chapter analyses the interplay of the real and the ideal in Hellenistic portraiture. I argue that whether the representational mode is realistic or idealised, the portraits tend to exaggerate the most salient features of the subject. This is in keeping with the claim by the neuroscientist Vilayanur Ramachandran that exaggeration is an important stimulus that serves to capture the essence of the representation. In contrast to the classical *meden hyper agan*—nothing in excess—ideal, I therefore submit exaggeration as a main characteristic of Hellenistic portraiture.

The Hellenistic period was one of many faces. The cosmopolitan outlook affected the visual culture and resulted in the creation of new art forms and new expressions; in short, giving rise to an artistic vocabulary far beyond that of the Classical age. Due to the rise of the individual and the growing importance of ruler images, portraiture flourished. In the centuries after Alexander the Great, artists created portraits not only of rulers but also of people from all walks of life.

Several factors unfortunately hamper the study of Hellenistic portraiture: for one, the chronology of the sculpture is notoriously difficult, as artists and styles transgressed geographical boundaries and retrospective trends were common throughout the period. Scholars therefore often disagree vehemently on the dating of individual works. Moreover, a large part of extant 'Hellenistic' portraits consists of Roman copies and variations, thus adding yet another layer to an already complex stratigraphy. An obvious further drawback is that the inter-



pretation of a given work can be fraught with problems: for instance, the ‘Terme Ruler’ (to be discussed below) has been identified with half a dozen different Hellenistic and Roman rulers, as well as interpreted as a mythological figure. With the exception of numismatic and glyptic images, Greek portraits normally comprised the whole body; the meaning of the representation should therefore be understood in combination with body type, posture, gesture and attire. Given the problems of interpreting fully preserved statues, such as the ‘Terme Ruler’, it is therefore hardly surprising that when only fragments remain, the portrait becomes easy prey to misunderstanding.

When the body is missing, it is often difficult to tell—from the head alone—what kind of person the image is intended to portray. An example is provided by a slightly over life-size bronze head discovered in 2004 near Kazanlak in Bulgaria (Sofia Archaeological Museum).<sup>1</sup> The head is characterised by long hair, a long, full beard and a full, drooping moustache. The inlaid eyes in brown stone and the prominent nose give the portrait a very distinctive and idiosyncratic appearance, while the abundant growth of hair and beard brings to mind the various types of images that are generally classified as ‘philosophers’. For instance, in the ‘Antikythera Philosopher’, plausibly of late 3rd century BC date, the hair and beard are similarly rendered in an imposing, if slightly dishevelled, manner.<sup>2</sup> However, in the case of the Kazanlak portrait, the visual clues furnished by hair and beard do not indicate a philosopher. The head was found four metres below the ground at the entrance to a burial mound; from the find circumstances the man can be identified as the Thracian king Seuthes III (ruled c. 330-295 BC). If this splendid representation of a Hellenized Thracian had not been found in an archaeological context but in a shipwreck or during roadworks, interpretation would have proved far more difficult.

The study of Hellenistic portraits thus presents many challenges. A further problem is whether a given representation can be classified as a true portrait in the sense of a depiction of a specific, actual individual or whether it should be categorized as a generic image or a character study. It is, for instance, open

<sup>1</sup> Lehmann 2006; Saladino 2012-2013.

<sup>2</sup> Athens, National Museum inv. no. 10. 13400; Kaltsas 2002, cat. no. 575; Vlachogianni 2012, 62-63, 82-86; cat. no. 24a-g. Since body parts that can be ascribed to this figure included sandaled feet, an arm with the hand in a rhetorical gesture and part of a garment, the philosopher interpretation is reasonable, although other possibilities cannot be excluded. For various attempts to identify the Antikythera bronze with specific *sophoi*, see Vlachogianni 2012, 82.

to discussion whether the ‘Drunken Old Woman’ and the ‘Fisherman’, both preserved in many versions, predominantly of Roman imperial date, should be regarded as portraits or as genre images.<sup>3</sup> Problems of genre also pertain to the two famous ‘Terme Bronzes’ excavated on the Quirinal hill in Rome in 1885.

### *The ‘Terme Boxer’ and the ‘Terme Ruler’*

A prime example of so-called Hellenistic realism, in the sense of real or pretended verisimilitude or true-to-life representation, is the seated bronze statue known as the ‘Terme Boxer’.<sup>4</sup> The body is strong and muscular, but because of the seated posture, it assumes a somewhat heavy appearance, suggesting that the portrayal is that of a man who is beyond his first youth (Fig. 1). In this work, the artist has exploited the bronze to the full in order to display scarred cauliflower ears, a broken nose, swollen lips and a scarred face. The cuts and scars are inlaid with copper, while a *haematoma* under the right eye is indicated by use of an alloy in a darker colour. Thus, considering the impact of colour, when newly made, the image would have been even more suggestive.<sup>5</sup> One can even imagine the no-longer-extant eyes to have been blood-shot. The hollow eye-sockets make the portrait slightly disturbing, intensifying the notion of physical distress. However, while the ‘Boxer’s’ face is scarred, it is worth noting the carefully groomed beard and hair—including body hair engraved on the chest and under the arms—and the moustache, which is stylised in a non-naturalistic fashion. Indeed, neither the hair nor the beard conveys a ‘realistic’ image of a man who has just been engaged in a potentially deadly match (Fig. 2). (See also, Fig. 5, below.)

While the profusion of details serves to illustrate the negative consequences of the boxer’s profession, the exact meaning of the sculpture is open to a number of interpretations. Is the work a so-called generic image—a genre which may indeed be a modern invention—or does the bronze statue represent a particular, probably famous, boxer? Could it be a portrayal of a mythological fig-

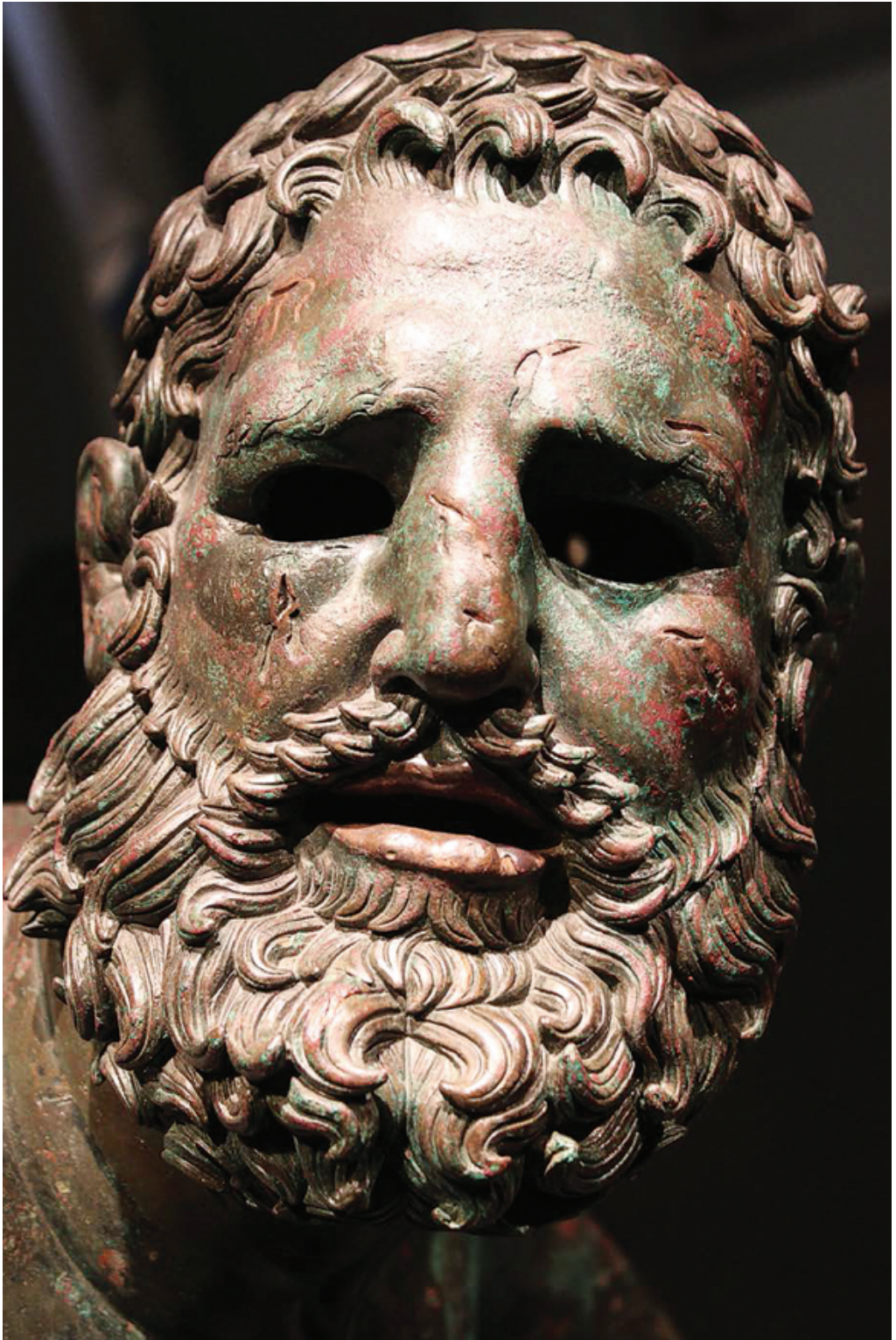
<sup>3</sup> For the ‘Drunken Old Woman’, see Sande, this volume; Masségliia 2012; 2015, ch. 4; Zanker 1989. Fisherman: Laubscher 1982.

<sup>4</sup> Rome, Museo Nazionale Palazzo Massimo alle Terme, inv. no. 1055; Himmelmann 1989, 150-174, with excellent colour photos, 165-171, and an extensive bibliography. The bronze is also presented in Daehner and Lapatin 2015, cat. no. 18.

<sup>5</sup> For a recent experimental reconstruction showing the strong impact of the polychromatic and polymaterial features, see Brinkmann and Koch-Brinkmann 2018, fig. 79 and figs. 106-114. I am grateful to the authors for sending me a copy of the article.



*Fig. 1.* 'Terme Boxer'. Bronze, height 120 cm. Rome, Museo Nazionale Palazzo Massimo alle Terme, inv. no. 1055. Photograph: © Bente Kiilerich.



*Fig. 2.* 'Terme Boxer'. Head. Rome, Museo Nazionale Palazzo Massimo alle Terme no. 1055. Photograph: © Bente Kiilerich.

ure? The reading of the ‘Boxer’ further depends on whether or not he is to be associated with the ‘Terme Ruler’ in a two- or multi-figure group. The fact that both were discovered in the ruins of an ancient building on the south slope of the Quirinal hill suggests a connection. Unfortunately, the find context provides no archaeological criteria for dating and the chronology of the ‘Boxer and the Ruler’ remains uncertain. Proposed dates for the ‘Boxer’ are based mainly on stylistic criteria, while the date of the ‘Ruler’ depends on stylistic evaluation and on attempts to identify his facial features through comparison with portraits of historical persons.<sup>6</sup>

The over life-sized (2.10 m plus raised arm) bronze statue known as the ‘Terme Ruler’ depicts a standing male in ‘heroic nudity’, a lance in his left hand, the right hand resting behind his back.<sup>7</sup> The most eye-catching feature of the representation is the bodybuilder-like physique, in which the swelling muscles contrast with the disproportionally small head (Fig. 3). This muscular body type is quite different from that of, for instance, (the copies of) Polykleitos’ *Doryphoros*.

The swag, the hand on hip or behind the back and the raised arm held in the spear-holding position, recalling the ‘Alexander with the Lance’, are important signs of a person in power.<sup>8</sup> Initially, it therefore seems reasonable to interpret the statue as a representation of a ruler. Alas, it has proved highly difficult to identify him with a specific historical person. Among the proposed candidates, regarding the identity of the ‘Terme Ruler’, are Antiochus II of Syria (r. 261-246 BC); Philip V of Macedon (r. 221-179 BC); Demetrius I of Syria (r. 162-150 BC), Attalos II of Pergamon (r. 159-138 BC), and the Romans Quinctius Flamininus (228-174 BC) and Sulla (138-79 BC).<sup>9</sup> The face displays idiosyn-

<sup>6</sup> While I formerly placed the two bronzes around the middle of the 1st century BC, Kiilerich 2007, 204-208, an earlier date cannot be excluded. Pollitt 1986, 147, for instance, writes of the Boxer: ‘That he is to be dated somewhere between the beginning of the second century BC and the middle of the first seems reasonably certain...’, while Smith 1991, 62, suggests 3rd to 2nd century BC, and Daehner and Lapatin 2015, cat. 18, advocate a 3rd century BC dating. The bronze alloys hardly help narrow the date: the Terme Ruler is 89 % copper, 8 % tin, 3 % lead; the Boxer is 80 % copper, 10 % tin, 10 % lead, according to Colacicchi and Ferretti 2018, 109, 106.

<sup>7</sup> Rome, Museo Nazionale Palazzo Massimo alle Terme, inv. no. 1049; Himmelmann 1989, 126-149 with bibliography and detailed colour photos; Queyrel 2003, 200-234.

<sup>8</sup> For the ‘Alexander with the lance’, Stewart 1993, 163-171.

<sup>9</sup> Himmelmann 1989, 143-147. Among more recent studies, Queyrel 2003, 200-234, argues for Attalos II.



*Fig. 3.* 'Terme Ruler'. Bronze, height 209 cm (to top of head). Rome, Museo Nazionale Palazzo Massimo alle Terme, inv. no. 1049. Photograph: Marie-Lan Nguyen for Wikimedia Commons.



*Fig. 4.* ‘Terme Ruler’. Head. Rome, Museo Nazionale Palazzo Massimo alle Terme, inv. no. 1049. Photograph: Marie-Lan Nguyen for Wikimedia Commons.

cratic features: small, close-set eyes (the sockets are now unfortunately empty), a slightly aquiline nose, full lips and a stubble beard (Fig. 4). The meaning of these features must be deciphered differently according to whether the statue is that of a ruler, an athlete or a mythological figure.<sup>10</sup> It is difficult to associate the ‘Terme Ruler’ with an historical figure; since he is not wearing a diadem, and since he was probably grouped together with the ‘Boxer’, the muscular nude is perhaps most likely to represent an athlete (presumably a spear-thrower) striking a heroic pose.

<sup>10</sup> A mythological reading, Amykos (the ‘Terme Boxer’) and the Dioskuroi (with the ‘Terme Ruler’ interpreted as Polydeukes) was proposed by Lehmann 1945, who based her interpretation on iconographic parallels on the Ficorini cista. Most recently this interpretation is also argued by Brinkmann and Koch-Brinkmann 2018. They compare the Boxer’s face with Theokritos’ description of Amykos’ wounds from the blows he received from Polydeukes.



Fig. 5. 'Terme Boxer'. Detail of hair. Rome, Museo Nazionale Palazzo Massimo alle Terme, inv. no. 1055. Photograph: © Bente Kiilerich.

While the faces of the 'Ruler' and the 'Boxer' appear idiosyncratic, the back views of their heads present a very different image, with hair finely delineated and arranged in a star-shape at the top of the head (Fig. 5).<sup>11</sup> Thus, both statues combine apparently realistic physiognomies with standardised, well-groomed hairstyles. Indeed, the Hellenistic hair design differs only slightly from that of the *Doryphoros*' classical style. For the two bronzes, the classical/idealising mode is applied to 'realistic' figures in such a way that there seems to be a split between the 'real' face and the ideal' hair. It can thus be called into question whether the two works should be considered realistic in terms of style. At any rate, they provide evidence of the heterogeneous nature of Hellenistic realism.<sup>12</sup>

<sup>11</sup> For the hair-star (*komes* means both hair and star) and its divine derivation, see Kiilerich 2002.

<sup>12</sup> I prefer to use the generally accepted term realism rather than naturalism, as advocated by von



### *The 'Pseudo-Athlete' from Delos*

Delos was an important centre of commerce in the Late Hellenistic period and many portraits of both male and female subjects were displayed on the island. These sculptures, mainly in marble but with a few surviving in bronze, are datable on historical grounds to after 166 BC, when Delos was handed over to Athens, and before 88 BC, when it was sacked by Mithridates. At the very least, they must pre-date the final sack of the island by pirates in 69 BC.<sup>13</sup>

The 'Pseudo-Athlete' is an impressive marble statue of a now anonymous man depicted in heroic nudity (Athens, National Archaeological Museum, inv. no. 1828).<sup>14</sup> The impact made by the work is due in part to its impressive scale of 2.25 m, slightly larger than the 'Terme Ruler' (Fig. 6). The marble was one of several unfinished sculptures excavated in 1894 in the 'House of the Diadoumenos', a large building which probably functioned as the seat of an official body rather than as a private domicile.<sup>15</sup> The 'Pseudo-Athlete' is generally hailed as an example of an ideal body combined with a realistic face, in the sense that the head is supposed to bear close resemblance to the individual portrayed. However, baldness and prominent ears do not necessarily reflect either the original appearance of the man himself or the original appearance of his sculpted representation. Perhaps a separately made hairpiece could originally have covered the top of the head.<sup>16</sup> An example of a related practice is the colossal portrait head from Pergamon generally interpreted as Attalos I (height

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den Hoff 2007, 51, 54. One could argue that realism is a question of subject matter and naturalism a question of style; still, whether we speak of realism or naturalism, we are in any event precluded from knowing if there is any resemblance between a given image and the person portrayed.

<sup>13</sup> The Delian sculpture was published by Michalowski 1932 in the *Exploration Archéologique de Delos* series.

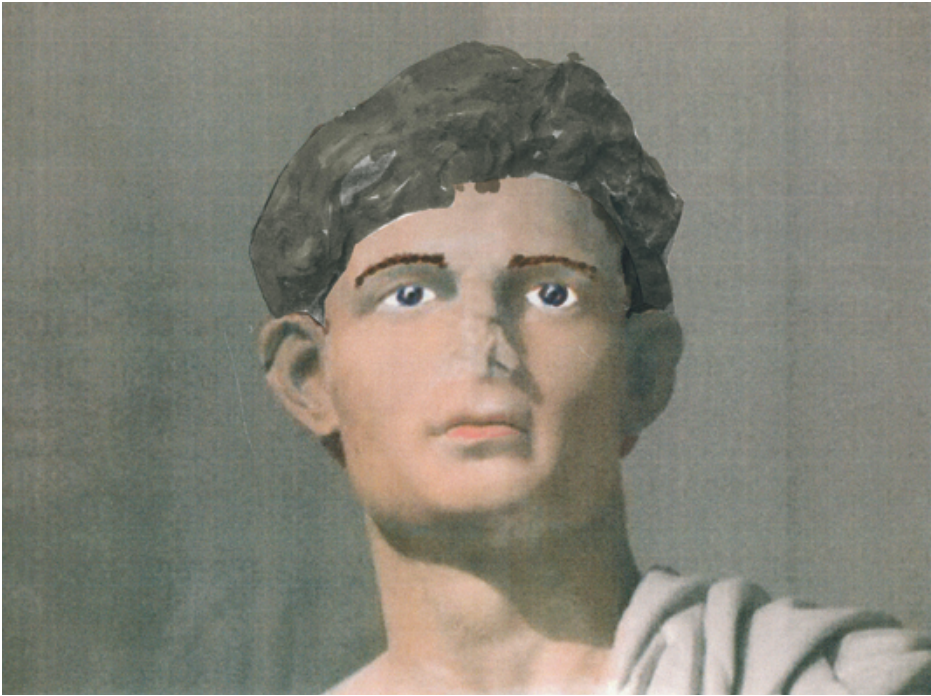
<sup>14</sup> Michalowski 1932, 17-22, pl. 14-18, suggested a surprisingly late date, about 50 BC, 22; Kaltsas 2002, cat. no. 623; Romiopoulou 1997, cat. no. 1.

<sup>15</sup> The name of the building derives from the Polykleitan, originally gilded, *Diadoumenos* that was found there; Athens National Museum inv. no. 1826: Bourgeois and Jockey 2004-2005, 335-339.

<sup>16</sup> Although Michalowski 1932, judges that '*la partie supérieure du crâne est rapportée*' ('the upper part of the head is attached'), and suggests that the head might have been '*complété par un morceau ajouté*' ('completed by a separate piece') (n. 2), he does not entertain the idea of a wig, but holds that the portrait was meant to be bald (translation mine).



*Fig. 6.* 'Pseudo-Athlete' from the House of the Diadoumenos, Delos. Marble, height 225 cm. Athens, National Archaeological Museum, inv. no. 1828. Photograph: © Bente Kiilerich.



*Fig. 7.* ‘Pseudo-Athlete’. Hypothetical sketch of head with added hair and polychromy. Photograph and reconstruction: © Bente Kiilerich.

0.395 m.).<sup>17</sup> The Pergamene head shows two potential working phases—with and without hair—that are difficult to distinguish chronologically.<sup>18</sup> Without the wig and with merely sketchily indicated hair, the Berlin Pergamon head looks unfinished. Rather than being the result of consecutive phases or a consequence of a change in plan during the execution of the work, a luxurious head of hair was probably planned from the start. The practice of adding hair separately is seen in other Pergamene works.<sup>19</sup> If the ‘Pseudo-Athlete’ was meant to have an

<sup>17</sup> Berlin, Staatliche Museen, Antikensammlung, inv. no. P130

<sup>18</sup> Pictures of the Berlin head with and without added wreath of locks, e.g., L’Orange 1947, 41, fig. 19; Smith 1991, fig. 180.1-2. Smith holds that the portrait was made c. 240 BC and shows Attalos as a dynast with the hair added for Attalos as king in the 230s BC. For the problems of identity, see, most recently, Romeo 2017, 260-262, who argues for Seleucus I (325-281).

<sup>19</sup> Himmelmann 1989, 210, with reference to a head of a youth with parts of the hair added separately.

attached hairpiece, it could have been fashioned in marble, like that of Attalos, or made of a differently coloured stone. Following the Alexandrian tradition, it could also have been completed in stucco. Although it remains purely hypothetical: when hair is added to the head, the ears become less prominent and the man gains a younger look. Originally, the statue, which lacks the final surface treatment, was, undoubtedly, intended to be painted. When the figure is imagined in a complete polychrome state, the initially experienced dichotomy between the ideal body and the real head vanishes (Fig. 7).<sup>20</sup>

### *The ‘Worried Man’ from Delos*

A bronze head of an ‘Anonymous man from Delos’ has been nicknamed the ‘Worried Man’.<sup>21</sup> It is one of the most important Hellenistic portraits, generally acclaimed for its high quality.<sup>22</sup> Like the marble statue of the ‘Pseudo-Athlete’, the bronze must date between 166 and 88/69 BC. The slightly above life-size head (total preserved height: 0.32 m; height of head 0.27 m) was found in the area of the Palaestra. Since the mature features do not strike one as those of a young athlete, the portrait is perhaps more likely to represent a magistrate or a particularly successful businessman (Fig. 8). The head is inclined slightly to the man’s left. This posture should obviously be seen in connection with the no-longer-extant body and with the original display of the statue, as both might have furnished some clues to his identity. Taken on its own, the inclination of the head could be a *semeion* mimicking the head posture of Alexander the Great.<sup>23</sup> The hair locks are short yet rather full and rendered in stylized, almost abstract formations; they provide a vigorous note that is somewhat at odds with the face that, especially in left profile view, appears somewhat heavy. An interesting facial feature is the slightly undulating eyebrows. This too could be a *semeion* intended to communicate some character trait of the portrait subject.

<sup>20</sup> According to Bourgeois and Jockey 2004-2005, 335-339, the *Diadoumenos* was originally totally covered in gold-leaf, including the tree trunk. One might therefore speculate whether the *Pseudo-Athlete* could similarly have been (partly) gilded.

<sup>21</sup> Athens, National Archaeological Museum, inv. no. 10. 14612; Michalowski 1932, 1-5, pl. 1-6: ‘*portrait pathétique*’, c. 200-150 BC, a Greek or an Oriental; Kaltsas 2002, cat. no. 654.

<sup>22</sup> Stewart 1990, 228: ‘perhaps the greatest masterpiece of Hellenistic portraiture extant’.

<sup>23</sup> For head inclination and its various interpretations, see Kiilerich 2017a. Many of the heads found on Delos show an inclination are inclined, see, e.g., Stewart 1979, pls. 18b, 18c, 19b, 19d.



*Fig. 8.* The 'Worried Man' from Delos. Bronze, presumed height 32.5 cm. Athens, National Archaeological Museum, inv. no. 10.14612. Photograph: © Bente Küllerich.

In the *Poetics*, Aristotle notes that ‘pictures cannot imitate character (*ethos*), but they can give signs (*semeia*) showing the character’ (Arist. *Poet.* 1340a, 35). Strangely, Aristotle’s pupil Theophrastus, in his *Charakteres*, scarcely mentions physical signs that might reflect inner qualities.<sup>24</sup> Such *semeia*, however, are explicitly described in the pseudo-Aristotelean *Physiognomonica*, a compilation of two different treatises written by authors in the Aristotelean tradition around the 3rd century BC.<sup>25</sup> According to the physiognomists, the most favourable part for examination is the region around the eyes, forehead, head and face (814b, 4-5). Hair colour, the shape of the nose and the number of wrinkles on the brow are signs that disclose specific character traits. In the Delos bronze, the slightly flabby facial skin and lined forehead might, when viewed on a superficial level, suggest mature age. However, according to the *Physiognomonica*, a forehead neither too smooth nor too wrinkled is the most harmonious (*euarmostos*) (812a, 2-3). Moreover, it is explicitly noted that a courageous man can be recognized from a ‘square forehead, rather hollow from the centre, overhanging towards the brow and nostril like a cloud’ (809b, 21-24), a trait that does appear in muted form in the Delos head’s slightly bulging brow. So, is the man virtuous or worried?

Casimir Michalowski, who published the head, interpreted the looks as melancholic, but somewhat at odds with melancholy, he also judged the man as being of vigorous temperament and energetic character.<sup>26</sup> Andrew Stewart goes even further. Based on the facial features, he judges that the impression of ‘contingency, instability, and impermanence’ invites us to see the sitter as ‘uncertain, stressed out, and acutely self-aware – even haunted by doubt.’<sup>27</sup> These readings show how we tend to project qualities onto a portrait while dis-

<sup>24</sup> Theophrastus is mainly interested in behaviour and tends to concentrate on negative traits, such as greed, squalor, etc. The few times he mentions appearances, he addresses grooming. What he finds unappealing is dishevelled hair, black teeth and long fingernails (n.19: *duschereias*, squalor). The authoritarian (n. 26, *oligarchia*) has ‘hair cut to a moderate length and fingernails trimmed’. Theophrastus *Characters*, ed. and transl. by Jeffrey Rusten, 190.225, 1993<sup>2</sup>.

<sup>25</sup> Förster 1893; Pseudo-Aristotle, *Physiognomonica*, trans. W.S. Hett, in Aristotle *Minor Works* (LCL), 1936, 81-137; Evans 1969, 7-9 for the 3rd-century BC dating; further Kiilerich 1988, 51-53.

<sup>26</sup> Michalowski 1932, 5. In marble, the closest comparison to ‘a worried look’ is probably Athens NM 320, see Stewart 1979, 112 and pl. 25b.

<sup>27</sup> Stewart 2014, 153.

regarding whether these qualities are an inherent part of the portrait or not.<sup>28</sup> A person who commissions, or is presented with, an expensive honorary portrait statue in bronze is unlikely to have wanted to be portrayed in a manner that conveyed negative associations, for example, as worried or anxious.

Seen from different viewpoints, different aspects of the face come into focus. When seen from below, rather than straight on, the face assumes a stronger and more demanding presence.<sup>29</sup> The context in which the statue originally appeared, its garments, its general comportment, the base and the accompanying inscription would all have guided the viewers' perception of the work. It seems reasonable to assume that the portrait-mode reflected cultural values and that the various *semeia* were intended to signify positive traits. In spite of some mixed messages, that may be due to a clash between the ideal and the real—the person portrayed in bronze on Delos should also be recognizable as an individual—the physiognomic features and facial expression possibly indicate *areté* combined with notions of seriousness. It thus presents an ideal that suggests professional competence.<sup>30</sup>

### ***Physiology, anatomy and expression***

The Delos bronze depicts the portrait subject in a physiologically convincing manner with accurate rendering of the flesh and muscles that overlie the bone structure. This indicates that the artist had considerable anatomical knowledge. For the rendering of the 'Terme Boxer's' haematoma, anatomical knowledge was similarly required. The study of physiology and anatomy developed over time to reach a high point in the Hellenistic period when Alexandria was a leading centre for anatomical studies.<sup>31</sup> As Iain McGilchrist explains, the expressiveness of Hellenistic portraiture, 'required an awareness of the huge complexity of independently innervated muscle fibre groups, particularly in the upper

<sup>28</sup> Brilliant 1991, 38: 'Failure to recognize the many physiognomic indicators compromises the viewer's response'.

<sup>29</sup> In 2018, the Delos bronze was one of the objects chosen for the temporary 'The Countless Aspects of Beauty' exhibition at the National Archaeological Museum in Athens; being set on a pillar with a running film screen as a dramatic backdrop, the impression is different from when the head is viewed in its usual museum display.

<sup>30</sup> For the *gravitas* ideal in late Republican portraiture, see Dasen 2007, esp. 19.

<sup>31</sup> Anatomy was studied especially at Alexandria, where doctors are known to have performed dissection in the 3rd century BC, Kudlien 1979.

half of the face around the eyes—and that simply takes time'.<sup>32</sup> The interest in the natural sciences certainly influenced the execution of Hellenistic portraits. Given that artists were now technically capable of depicting physiological features accurately, they must have taken pride in displaying their excellence in this field. The more accomplished artists accordingly represented heads with realistically rendered physical features and varied expressions.<sup>33</sup>

Genuine expressions stem from the inner workings of the body and brain. Facial expressions are caused by the enervation of a network of nerves linked to a group of facial muscles, also known as the mimetic muscles, via the upper motor neurons (and the facial nerve).<sup>34</sup> The physical signs may be caused by temporary emotions, like anger, joy or sadness, but a person's general disposition, such as, for example, melancholic or cheerful will inevitably leave marks on the face.<sup>35</sup> Faces, including sculpted and painted portraits, are primarily processed in an area dedicated to perceiving faces, known as the fusiform face area (located in the *fusiform gyrus* in the *occipitotemporal cortex*). However, other brain areas are also involved when viewing faces. The superior temporal *sulcus* at the top of the temporal lobe interprets expression and head- and gaze orientation. In fact, different neurons fire in response to a frontal face and a profile face. Different cells are also involved in registering direct and indirect gazes.<sup>36</sup> From the visual areas, stimuli go to the limbic system where the *amygdala* is located. The *amygdala* is, among other things, the seat of emotions. Being responsible for processing our own emotions as well as necessary for reading the emotions of others, the *amygdala* is activated when reading a face, irrespective of whether the face is that of an actual person or a portrait.<sup>37</sup>

The human capacity for grasping faces is innate. Yet, as the 'Worried Man' from Delos shows, in spite of our finely tuned capacity for reading faces and expressions, facial features can be quite difficult to decode. Moreover, apparently realistic features need not necessarily be peculiar to the sitter but may have been chosen in order to achieve a particular effect: whereas a bland face may seem

<sup>32</sup> McGilchrist 2009, 284.

<sup>33</sup> Amberger-Lahrman 1996 uses the Pergamon altar to illustrate Hellenistic artists' proficiency in the fields of anatomy and physiognomy.

<sup>34</sup> Rinn 1984.

<sup>35</sup> Emotions in ancient art has been explored in many recent publications of which only a few can be mentioned here, e.g., Chaniotis 2012; Chaniotis and Ducrey 2014; Mylonopoulos 2017.

<sup>36</sup> Calder et al. 2007.

<sup>37</sup> Whalen et al. 2013.



impersonal, distinct traits convey the impression of being ‘real’ in the sense of reflecting some specific features of the sitter.<sup>38</sup> In such instances, the realism is a pseudo- or quasi-realism. Because of the seemingly idiosyncratic traits, the viewer is led into believing that this is what the person portrayed actually looks (or looked) like. In fact, the expressions visualized by artists are often conventional and conditioned by social expectations. For instance, a calm, dignified appearance required a face without much expression.<sup>39</sup> This applied especially to ruler iconography, where (with some exceptions) expressive and realistic features in the sense of true likeness, resemblance and verisimilitude were usually tempered and the royal subject depicted in idealized and symbolic guise.

### *From the real to the ideal*

The fusion of realistic and idealistic traits is evidenced in numismatic images of the Ptolemaic dynasty. Ptolemy I Soter (r. 323-285 BC) assumed the title of king in 304 BC, at the age of about 60 years. The profile image of a coin type struck around 295/290 BC, when the king was in his 70s, seems to reflect traits peculiar to this particular man as well as betray his advanced age: deep-set, slightly hooded eyes, prominent nose and protruding chin.<sup>40</sup> His hair, however, arranged in elegant locks with a conventional star shape at the top of the skull, is youthfully full in the style of Alexander-Ammon. The dichotomy of face and hair, which is characteristic also of the ‘Terme bronzes’, can be demonstrated when—for the sake of illustration—we separate the coin portraits in terms of hair and face. While the hair is in the idealistic style, the face is apparently realistic. Still, it is possible to distinguish a shift in emphasis from the Ptolemy I coins issued around 295/290 BC, where we get an impression of seeing the true features, to the posthumous issues struck by his son Ptolemy II Philadelphos (r.

<sup>38</sup> For the idea of resemblance as an effect, see Zerner 1993. Von den Hoff 2007, 54, 56 and 58 addresses the concept of ‘reality effect’ as a formal means to produce authenticity. Further discussion in Kovacs 2018, esp. 40-45.

<sup>39</sup> Masségia 2014. In connection with Roman art, Lindstrøm 2008, 92 points out that the Roman ideal of control and self-composure required serene and dignified expressions and that a smiling or emotionally charged face might have been taken as a sign of inferiority, even imbecility. She also notes that while the male face was expressionless, the female one opened for more emotiveness. It is of interest that in late antiquity, the female face has become the blank one and the male face the more expressive and ‘realistic’ one, Kiilerich 2011.

<sup>40</sup> Svoronos 1904, pl. 3, e.g. n. 17, 24, 25; variants of the type: pls. 7-9; Lorber 2012, pl. 1-3.



Fig. 9. Tetradrachm of Ptolemy I. Gold. London, British Museum. Photograph: PHGCOM /Public domain by way of Wikimedia Commons. Edited by Håkon Roland.

284-246 BC), when Ptolemy I's face gradually acquires a smoother and overall ideal look.<sup>41</sup> Indeed, in the final step, the 'Ptolemy' features give way to 'Alexander' features, the images of the two rulers becoming almost interchangeable (Fig. 9). Like Alexander's profile portrait, that of Ptolemy shows a marked forehead, deep-set eyes, strong, slightly aquiline nose, full lips and strong chin. In the earlier coins, it is only the proportions and the specific combination of the features that distinguish the portrait of Ptolemy from that of Alexander. In fact, a closer look discloses that Ptolemy's image is basically composed of standard features derived from the same physiognomic mould as Alexander's image: brow overhanging like a cloud, deep-set eyes, aquiline nose, full lips and protruding chin—the very signs of manliness and courage according to the physiognomic handbooks (Ps.-Arist. *Phys.* 809).

A striking feature in the posthumous numismatic images of Ptolemy I and of his son is the tendency to depict extremely large eyes. Thus, twin portrayals on gold octadrachms (*mnaieia*) of Ptolemy I and his wife Berenike I with portrait busts of Ptolemy II (deified around 272 BC) and his wife/sister Arsinoë II on the obverse are conspicuous for the enormous profile eyes (Fig. 10). The formula is identical, only the face of the younger man is smoother and his hair-

<sup>41</sup> Svoronos 1904, pl. 12; Grimm 1998, fig. 34, fig. 56a; Pfrommer 1999, fig. 84 (colour): posthumous Ptolemy I with aegis; fig. 105a: 'haggard-faced' Ptolemy I, c. 295/90; Kakavas 2016 for further examples.



Fig. 10. Octadrachm, with Ptolemy I and Berenike I (reverse); Ptolemy II and Arsinoë II (obverse). Gold. 283-246 BC. Alexandria, Greco-Roman Museum, inv. no. 25018. Photograph: Classical Numismatic Group, Inc. by way of Wikimedia Commons.

style shorter. Wide-eyed, all four *theoi adelphoi*, sibling gods, stare hypnotically into space. This iconography undoubtedly reflects large-scale representations.<sup>42</sup>

Super-large irises are also rendered in mosaics. Two mosaics from Thmuis in the Egyptian delta, southeast of Alexandria, depict a female bust with ship-prow headdress. The work, signed by Sophilos ( $\Sigma\Omega\Phi\text{ΙΛΙΟΣ ΕΠΙΟΙΕΙ}$ ), an artist not attested elsewhere, is laid out as a carpet with fringes along the edges of the panel. The female bust is set in a square panel enclosed within an intricate three-dimensional meander.<sup>43</sup> The second mosaic image is framed by a scale pattern, bringing to mind designs that display a gorgoneion on a scale-patterned shield.<sup>44</sup> Like the meander, the scale-pattern is an apotropaic motif. Another potential apotropaic element is the mesmerising, green-brown irises, the most prominent feature of the two female faces.<sup>45</sup> While the representations could be

<sup>42</sup> Svoronos 1904, pl. 28, 1-2: Ptolemy I and II with wives. See also Grimm 1998, figs. 104 e, f; Pfrommer 1999, figs. 30a, b; Richter and Smith 1984, fig. 198 and 200. For the iconography of Ptolemy II in sculpture, see Queyrel 2009.

<sup>43</sup> Alexandria, Graeco-Roman Museum, inv. no. 21739.

<sup>44</sup> Alexandria, Graeco-Roman Museum, inv. no. 21736; Daszewski 1985, 146-158, n. 38, 39. Andreae 2003, 33-38 with colour photos: fig. 6, 28, 33-35 (mosaic signed by Sophilos): fig. 26 and 37 (mosaic in round frame).

<sup>45</sup> The impact of the eyes has also been pointed out by Plantzos 1999-2000, 80-83.

personifications, perhaps of Alexandria, the idea that the busts portray the Ptolemaic queen Berenike II (270-221 BC), the wife of Ptolemy III (r. 246-221), as proposed by Wiktor Daszewski, is attractive. The thesis is strengthened by the wide-eye-iconography attested on Ptolemaic coins and in other media. The question may of course be legitimately raised as to whether these representations in the new sophisticated medium of *opus tessellatum* are true portraits. They are perhaps better understood as emblematic crypto-portraits mating a royal stereotype with a conventional formula for female personifications.

A prominent instance of an emphatic gaze is the image of Alexander the Great in the famous Battle mosaic from Pompeii, similarly a work in the Alexandrian tradition.<sup>46</sup> While many figures in the mosaic, such as king Darius, have large eyes, the depiction of Alexander stands out. With its large diluted black pupil that almost fills the amber-coloured iris, the out-of-proportion eye is the most salient feature of the mask-like portrayal.<sup>47</sup> The expanded pupil may be an indication of the Macedonian's agitated state of mind in the heat of the battle, caught in the act of impaling a high-ranking Persian with his lance. It is noticeable that although Alexander's head is rendered in strict profile, the circular iris is shown in frontal view and the gaze is simultaneously directed at the enemy and at the viewer. Modern studies have found a profile view looking at the viewer to be the most scaring, a fact the ancient artist may already have been aware of.<sup>48</sup> In a different vein, the emphasis on the eye could reflect the renowned melting and liquid eyes (*diachysis, hygrotos*), that was hailed as a main *semeion* of Alexander's iconography (Plut. *Alex.* 4; Plut. *De Alex. virtu.* 2.2). According to the physiognomic handbooks, bright and shiny eyes were a sign of a brave and upright character (Ps.-Aris. *Phys.* 807b, 809b, 812b).<sup>49</sup> In

<sup>46</sup> Given that many of the mosaics in the House of the Faun at Pompeii, where the Alexander mosaic was found, depict Egyptianizing themes, it is reasonable to assume an Egyptian (Alexandrian) prototype for the battle mosaic. The painter Helena from Egypt is known to have painted the Battle of Issos; Säflund 1990 argues that the Alexander mosaic derives from this painting. Other possibilities remain, thus Moreno 2000, ascribes the prototype to Apelles, while still others associate it with the painting made by Philoxenos of Eretria (cf. Plin. *NH.* 35. 110).

<sup>47</sup> Excellent colour photos in Moreno 2000, see especially pl. 8 for a close-up of Alexander's head; also, Andrae 2001, 62-77 with close-up on 67.

<sup>48</sup> Calder et al. 2007. Cf. also Plantzos 1999-2000, 74: 'we can be certain that Alexander's portrait used the unsettling effect of the single, powerful eye to impress its viewer'.

<sup>49</sup> For references, see Kiilerich 1988, 59-60.

any event, like a luxurious growth of hair, enlarged eyes serve to underline the divine nature of the ruler. In this formula, the ideal overrules the real.

### ***Exaggeration, amplification and super-stimuli***

On the scale between the opposite poles of the real and the ideal, it is important to note that in Hellenistic art both representational modes—idealism and realism—tend to move towards the same end: *exaggeration*. In the idealised images of Alexander and the Ptolemaic rulers, eyes, hair and pathos formula are intensified. In the realistic features of the ‘Terme Boxer’, the bloody cuts and other physical particulars are amplified. In sum, one may claim that the portraits respectively display *exaggerated idealism* and *exaggerated realism*. Thus, without implying that this principle pertains to all Hellenistic portraits, I propose exaggeration as a main characteristic of Hellenistic portraiture.

Of interest in this connection is the research of the neurobiologist Vilayanur Ramachandran and the philosopher William Hirstein.<sup>50</sup> Ramachandran has formulated what he calls eight laws of aesthetics, one of which is exaggeration, also known as the peak shift principle.<sup>51</sup> Ramachandran claims that art is nearly always an exaggeration of reality. According to him, art is not meant to convey realism, but to capture the essence of something, in India known as the *rasa*. This can be done by amplifying significant characteristics, as witnessed at its most extreme in caricature, where emphasis is put on the person’s most salient features, for example, a big nose. Since the nervous system is activated by images that intensify the essence of the object, exaggeration makes it easier to grasp and process the visual information.<sup>52</sup> With a strong visual stimulus such as, for instance, a distorted form, unusual colour combination or enlarged size, the artist achieves an emotional reaction and thereby engenders empathic response in the viewers. The stimulus becomes a super-stimulus.

<sup>50</sup> Ramachandran and Hirstein 1999, esp. 16-21.

<sup>51</sup> Peak shift: when asking for food, a seagull chick pecks at a red spot on the mother’s beak. In experiments with pseudo-beaks in the form of sticks, it was found that the chicks reacted more strongly to a stick with two or three red spots than to a stick with a single red spot, and most surprisingly, pecked more vigorously at the stick with three red stripes – the super-stimulus – than at the real beak, Ramachandran and Hirstein 1999, 19-20.

<sup>52</sup> Duarte and Stefanakis 2015, 517-518; Ramachandran and Hirstein 1999.

In portraiture and in sculpted representations in general, as well as in other media, Hellenistic artists explored the potentials of super-stimuli to the full:

### 1) *Scale, size*

Exaggeration of size is an important stimulus in the ‘Terme Ruler’ and the ‘Pseudo-Athlete’, the over-life size making their presences and ‘heroic nudity’ more imposing. Still, they are not represented on a gigantic scale. The most megalomaniac project, that was however never realised, was Deinokrates’ ambition of carving a gigantic sculpture of Alexander the Great in the hillside of Mount Athos: in one hand, he was to hold a town, while the other should contain a spring with running water (Vitruv. 2 *prae*f. 2). Another instance of Hellenistic megalomania, which was actually executed, was the ‘Colossus of Rhodes’, the precise appearance of which is somewhat uncertain (Plin. *NH*. 34.41).<sup>53</sup> Although not a portrait in the strictest sense, except that it possibly had some Alexander-like features, the ‘Colossus’ illustrates the Hellenistic tendency to think big.

At the other extreme, the ‘Artemision Jockey and Horse’ presents an instructive example of how, by manipulating the small size of the jockey and the large size of the animal, the composition acquires a dynamic quality (Athens, National archaeological museum inv. no. 10. 15177).<sup>54</sup> It has been speculated whether the boy, whose coarse features are also grossly exaggerated, actually belongs together with the horse. Still, while the pair may appear incongruous, the combination of disparate elements is an artistic means that serves to underline the essence of the motif: the strength and swiftness of the horse. This effect could not as easily have been achieved had the two parts of the composition been rendered in identical true-to-life scale.

### 2) *Bodily characteristics, physique*

The ‘Terme Ruler’ follows in the main line the Alexander with the lance type. But in contrast to the late 4th-century-BC body-type—as represented, for instance, by the copy of Lysippos’ *Apoxyomenos*—his physique displays the swelling muscles of a bodybuilder; in combination with a disproportionally small head, the body appears even larger. The dichotomy between head and body entices the

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<sup>53</sup> See, e.g., Hoepfner 2000.

<sup>54</sup> For the group, see Hemingway 2014.

viewer's gaze to shift from the one to the other and back again. This tension is a strong visual stimulus. With reference to Ramachandran's claim that the essence of a representation is captured by amplifying significant clues, the essence of the bronze statue can be defined as physical strength; this lends support to the interpretation of the figure as an athlete rather than a ruler. The facial features, dominated by small close-set eyes, are very far from the ruler iconography that puts emphasis on the eyes; this may also speak against interpreting the statue as a ruler.

### 3) '*Realistic*' facial features

In the portrayal of the 'Terme Boxer' the elaboration of the physical scars is a means of characterisation. Not only is the nose broken, the face is loaded with particulars: numerous old scars and new cuts, a *haematoma*, blood and perhaps bloodshot eyes vie for the viewer's attention. While a few of these signs would have been sufficient to present the general idea, the artist overloads the image, as if to ensure that the message gets across. The most distinctive visual features are exaggerated.<sup>55</sup> This type of realism is 'realism for effect' rather than the outcome of mimetic representation. In fact, the physical scars are not so much realistic as they are intensifications that function as clues of attention intended to engage the viewer.

### 4) '*Ideal*' facial features

Exaggeration of traits with positive connotation is a significant factor in the public image of Alexander the Great. In order to convey the strength and near-divine, eternal youthfulness of the ruler, the artists make use of some easily identifiable clues: the full hair with the *anastole*, the liquid eyes (rendered in paint or by inset eyes in bronzes) and the vigorous head turn.<sup>56</sup> After Alexander's death, Hellenistic and Roman artists tended to blow these essential traits out of proportion: the full hair grew even fuller and the turn of the neck became sharper.<sup>57</sup> As evidenced in sculpture and especially in numismatic images, the

<sup>55</sup> In the suggested reconstruction of the 'Boxer' by Brinkmann and Koch-Brinkmann 2018, the result is close to caricature. The overall impact of the statue would have depended on several factors including viewing distance.

<sup>56</sup> Kiilerich 1988; 1993; 2017a; 2017b.

<sup>57</sup> Hence the torticollis, wry neck, diagnosis, first launched by the physician A. Dechambre in the mid-19th century, and still upheld in many recent medical publications, see Kiilerich 2017a, 8-11.

official portraiture of Ptolemaic rulers similarly emphasized hair and eyes, the most salient feature of the face. Since we respond more strongly to exaggerated features this also makes sense from a propagandistic point of view.

##### 5) *Emotion, engagement and empathic response*

In contrast to the classical ‘nothing in excess’ (*meden hyper agan*) ideal and the almost expressionless face of the Classical age, as represented by the *Doryphoros* and the human figures depicted on the Parthenon frieze, in Hellenistic sculpture emotions and expressions are, when appropriate to the subject, often intensified. Heightened emotional content is especially strong in the mythological realm, the prime example being the ‘Laocoön group’, in which the priest’s facial features and suffering expression must be categorized as highly exaggerated.<sup>58</sup> But emotion is also featured in the rendering of presumably real persons. Here we may return to the notorious ‘Drunken Old Woman’, an enigmatic work that exemplifies the complexity of Hellenistic art.

What could be the essence, *rasa*, of the ‘Drunken Old Woman’? When characterising some of his bad characters, Theophrastus mentions immodest consummation of undiluted wine resulting in drunkenness.<sup>59</sup> Still, I doubt that the purpose of the ‘Drunken Old Woman’ was to moralise. There is more to the image than a warning of the consequences of having too much to drink. Among preserved versions of the sculpture, the Roman copy in Munich is one of the best, presumably reflecting the main characteristics of the original.<sup>60</sup> At first, we see a drunken old woman. But perhaps the ‘realism’ of the sculpture tricks us into seeing only this one aspect of it. A closer look reveals a discordant note in the representation. The sculpture is strangely paradoxical, inasmuch as the lower half could be that of a young woman, while from the waist up, the young woman’s torso turns into an emaciated, elderly version of herself. The woman has well-toned arms and slender hands contrasting with the sagging breasts. In sum, within the same representation it is possible to see both a young and an old woman. The sculpture thus captures more than a single moment in time.

<sup>58</sup> In an interesting paper, Queyrel 2002, proposes that the cause of Laocoön’s pain could have been a sudden loss of vision, a condition that would have been easier for the viewer to perceive when the sculpture’s original polychromy was still intact.

<sup>59</sup> Theophrast, *Characters*, n. 4: Boorishness: he drinks his wine too strong (*zoroteron*). Theophrastus also wrote a no-longer-extant treatise *On Drunkenness* (fr. 574).

<sup>60</sup> Munich, Glyptothek inv. no. 437; Zanker 1989, Munich version figs. 1, 29 and plates at the back; other versions of the sculpture are also addressed; Masséglià 2012.



Another factor of importance for evaluating the sculpture is its multisensory aspect. With her wide-open mouth, the woman seems to be talking or singing: we can almost hear her uttering some inarticulate sounds. In effect, the image addresses multiple senses: in addition to the visual and the aural, the fine texture and originally vivid colour of her garments suggest tactility and invites touch. Finally, the large *lagynos* with its ivy-leaf and flower decoration (in the Munich version) references the taste and smell of wine. Thus, although the ‘Drunken Old Woman’ escapes a definite interpretation, it may be tentatively suggested that the essence of the object is not a realistic representation of a woman of a certain age and in a certain state (of drunkenness).<sup>61</sup> The importance of the sculpture lies primarily in the artist’s ability to create an image that engages the viewers beyond the apparent banality of the motif, in other words an image that engenders empathic response.<sup>62</sup> In the ‘Drunken Old Woman’ realism goes far beyond simple verisimilitude.

In sum, to a much larger extent than earlier sculptors, Hellenistic artists explored the potentials for engaging the viewers by visual means. Emotional impact, paradoxical content, exaggeration of bodily features and manipulation of scale were among the stimuli used. Whether the physical features were rendered in a realistic or in an idealized manner, the ‘ideal’ and the ‘real’ were means to an end, rather than an end in itself.

### ***Conclusion***

We have argued that even the most apparently realistic Hellenistic portraits (for instance the ‘Worried Man’ from Delos) tend to include ideal elements. The notion of ‘true realism’ in Hellenistic art is therefore illusive. The best artists displayed anatomical and physiological knowledge along with technical skill and artistic virtuosity and they were fully capable of rendering realistic traits. However, true-to-life rendering or verisimilitude was hardly their primary aim. Indeed, although a realistic representation may impress by its mimetic qualities, realism as such easily becomes bland and boring. In order to make a work interesting, there needs to be something that transcends the real. Moreover, realistic or ‘quasi-realistic’ features, such as a lightly wrinkled brow, could serve other

<sup>61</sup> Zanker 1989, 39 calls the woman ‘abstossend hässlich’ (disgustingly ugly), but this certainly misses the point of the sculpture.

<sup>62</sup> For the importance of empathy, see, e.g., Freedberg 2014; Freedberg and Gallese 2007.

purposes than recording an actual appearance: they could communicate specific character traits and qualities, as explained in the physiognomical handbooks. On the scale between the opposite poles of the real and the ideal, in Hellenistic art both representational modes tend towards *exaggeration*. Because whether the chosen modus was predominantly 'real' or 'ideal', the artists consistently exaggerated salient features and expressions, driving home their point by use of visual super-stimuli. Hellenistic realism is actually quite unrealistic.

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# **The Late Hellenistic Private Portraits in Macedonia: From the Heroic Realm to Realism**

Theodosia Stefanidou-Tiveriou

## *Abstract*

The debate over naturalistic portraiture in Greece during the Hellenistic period has, until now, referred almost exclusively to Delos and Athens and more rarely to finds from other cities of Southern Greece and the islands. It could be useful in this context to also include the evidence from Macedonian cities. Of course, portrait heads from this region, and the period in question, especially the Late Hellenistic period, have to date rarely come down to us, but there is a large group of reliefs, mainly (although not exclusively) of a funerary nature, from Beroia, Thessaloniki, and Lete that allow us to examine how the subjects of honorific or funerary monuments were depicted and how they wished to present themselves. There are two advantages to looking at these particular monuments: firstly, they preserve full-length figures and permit us to make relatively accurate assessments regarding the dating and, in some cases, in light of their clothing, about the identity of the people depicted, and secondly, they often have inscriptions that provide information about the names, status and ethnicity of the people being honoured. An examination of a group of the aforementioned works, dating to between the end of the 2nd century BC and the Augustan age, reveals the strong presence of the Hellenistic tradition in Macedonia throughout this period. Nevertheless during the 1st century BC we observe a gradual change due to the adoption of realistic models from Rome. We will also, finally, address the interesting question of whether realistic portraits in the Eastern part of the empire can depict not only Romans but also members of the elites of the Greek cities.

Macedonia has, to date, played almost no part in the debate over the Late Hellenistic/Late Republican portrait.<sup>1</sup> Portrait heads from this region and the period

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<sup>1</sup> With one notable exception, on which see below, n. 79. Some other references to works from Macedonia, as for example in Zanker 1976, 582, n. 3, are based on datings by Rüsçh 1969, which are no longer valid in light of more recent publications. I extend my grateful thanks to my colleague Ilias Sverkos for his obliging help with the bibliography and his useful comments on my text. I am also most grateful to the archaeologist Yiannis Graikos for allowing me to access



in question have, thus far, rarely been preserved.<sup>2</sup> Nevertheless, we do have some relief monuments, usually (although not exclusively) of a funerary nature, which, thanks to their high quality, can serve as substitutes for statuary. The advantage of reliefs is that, on the one hand, they often preserve full-length figures intact, which can thus be more accurately assessed with regard to figural types and dating, and, on the other, funerary monuments are usually accompanied by inscriptions, which provide us with information about the identity of the people depicted.<sup>3</sup>

Unquestionably, Macedonia was ‘Romanized’ at an early date, a process that started as soon as the province was established, initially through basing officials of the Roman administration there, especially in its capital Thessaloniki.<sup>4</sup> Moreover, in the second half of the 2nd century BC, merchants and businessmen (*negotiatores*) began to migrate from Italy to the important cities on the coast and of the interior and to establish communities (*conventus civium Romanorum*), activities that, according to our current information, intensified around the middle of the 1st century BC.<sup>5</sup> Immediately after that, colonies were estab-

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the resources of the Archaeological Museum of Verria. I am obliged to my colleagues Victoria Allamani-Souri, Dimitris Damaskos and Natalia Kazakidi for providing photographic material, and to Hans Rupprecht Goette and Natalia Kazakidi for our discussions on some of the issues involved in this project. I am also obliged to PhD student Zacharias Lambrinos for his assistance in photographing some of the sculptures in Verria, to the publishers University Studio Press in Thessaloniki, and also Elena Kotsiri for processing figures 4-7, 11, 13, 15, 20 free of charge. Finally, the text was translated into English by Valerie Nunn.

<sup>2</sup> See, e.g., the female statue from Lete, see below, n. 36. The bearded male head from Philippi, dated by Damaskos 2013, 117-18 cat. no. 120, fig. 274-278 to the 1st century BC, is not from the period under discussion. In my opinion, it is a work of the Trajanic or early Hadrianic period.

<sup>3</sup> For detailed publication of the stelae and reliefs of Beroia see mainly Allamani-Souri 2014. The latest and most complete work on the equivalent material from Thessaloniki is the Dissertation Terzopoulou 2019, who will replace from any point view the Heidelberg Master of Arts, Tatas 2009. For the figured tombstones from Macedonia in general until the 1st century BC, see recently Kalaitzi 2016. For a general picture of the production and function of stelae, reliefs and other forms of funerary monuments in Thessaloniki from the Late Hellenistic period onwards, see the recent publication by Stefanidou-Tiveriou 2018a.

<sup>4</sup> On the founding of the Province of Macedonia with the seat of government in Thessaloniki in 146 BC, see Burrell 2004, 198, n. 1; Haensch 1997, 104-112. For a brief history of Macedonia in the Roman period, see Sverkos 2012a with abundant bibliography.

<sup>5</sup> See Rizakis 2002, according to whom the migration of the Italiotes to Macedonia began cautiously in the 2nd century BC, but peaked after the battle of Philippi in 42 BC. For the latest information on this subject, see Sverkos 2017, 301, n. 87; Nigdelis and Sverkos 2017, esp.

lished, to which, along with the colonists, a variety of *negotiatores* flocked.<sup>6</sup> In this respect, it is reasonable to question not only whether, and to what extent, these events affected the artistic character of the region but also in what way; and, more especially, regarding what concerns us here, how it affected the way in which the recipients of honorific or funerary monuments were depicted or presented themselves. Integrating migrants into the traditions of the cities, on the one hand, and the appropriation/reception of innovative elements, on the other, are simultaneous processes that are, in my opinion, expressed to some extent in the monuments themselves.

An examination of a group of portrait heads, dating to between the end of the 2nd century BC and the Augustan age, will reveal the strong presence of the Hellenistic tradition in Macedonia throughout this period. In the second half of the 1st century BC, however, faces begin to emerge that show a clear attempt at individualization in accordance with models from Rome, e.g. imitating the portrait of Julius Caesar should probably be seen as part of this tendency to ‘Romanize’ the subjects’ facial features. A crucial question, which I want to address in the end is, whether or not the portraits with realistic features erected in the Eastern part of the empire are connected exclusively with Romans. In all probability, this style affected both the Roman officials depicted in Greek cities and also members of the local elites.

First of all, our topic involves works created by craftsmen from Beroia, a city that was already flourishing in the Hellenistic period,<sup>7</sup> and which, in the Imperial period, was the seat of the Macedonian Koinon and became a *neokoros* city, a privilege that was not awarded to Thessaloniki until the 3rd century AD.<sup>8</sup> From the late 2nd century BC onwards, Beroia proved itself a dynamic artistic centre in the Late Hellenistic world. The large number of funerary stelae and

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107-108. On the Thessaloniki area, see Sverkos 2012b, esp. 645-646 n.16, with reference to the Latin inscriptions from Macedonia and more especially from Thessaloniki, the earliest of which date to c. 70 BC. On Beroia see Allamani-Souri 2014, 46, n. 34, 80, n. 202.

<sup>6</sup> Kremydi-Sisilianou 1996, 12-17; Rizakis 2002, 119; Rizakis and Touratsoglou 2016, 133, n. 16. According to Rizakis and Touratsoglou 2016, 122 changes are also due to the temporary presence of Roman soldiers in Macedonia as a result of the civil wars and to the presence of newcomers after the battle of Pharsalos in 48 BC.

<sup>7</sup> Allamani-Souri 2014, 43-44 with bibliography; Graikos 2017; *I. Beroia* 1998, 37-40. On the archaeological remains, see a presentation in Brocas-Deflassieux 1999.

<sup>8</sup> Adam-Veleni and Sverkos 2008; Burrell 2004, 191-197; Guerber 2009, 199-204; *I. Beroia* 1998, 38-39, n. 38; Papazoglou 1988, 141-148; Touratsoglou 2006.

reliefs from its workshop are part of the Hellenistic artistic koine with clear references to corresponding works from Asia Minor and the Aegean,<sup>9</sup> especially Delos and Athens, while influences from Italy are few and far between,<sup>10</sup> despite the arrival of Italiote immigrants.<sup>11</sup> The importance of the Beroia workshop is underlined by the fact that signed works by Beroian craftsmen have been found in various parts of Macedonia and Thessaly,<sup>12</sup> and its products exerted a more general influence over the creations of other workshops, including the ones in Thessaloniki.<sup>13</sup>

I am going to start by discussing the funerary stele of Paterinos, which is the most monumental with a height of 220 cm, and also the example of the highest quality, it also happens to be the earliest known among the series of Late Hellenistic stelae from Beroia (Figs. 1a-b).<sup>14</sup> The form of the tall relief stele surmounted by an *anthemion* and the depiction of the figures in a square panel (*Bildfeldstele*) can be traced back to Hellenistic models. The inscription on the upper part of the stele gives us the name of the standing, chlamys-wearing figure of the deceased and establishes his heroic nature: ‘Πατερῖνος Ἀντιγόνου ἥρωος’ (‘Paterinos, son of Antigonos, hero’). The horse’s head and the snake coiled around a tree also show him to be a hero.<sup>15</sup> According to the verses under the scene, Paterinos, the wise and illustrious son of a celebrated father, died aged fifty, having served two terms as ruler (*ταγός*) of his homeland. The monument was set up by his daughter Agathe.

<sup>9</sup> In my opinion, Rizakis and Touratsoglou 2016, 121 underestimate the contribution of Macedonian workshops in regard to the funerary monument types in the Hellenistic period.

<sup>10</sup> Allamani-Souri 2012a; 2014, 301-305. On Beroia, its significance and artistic production, with bibliography, see also, recently, Tzanavari 2012, 321-322.

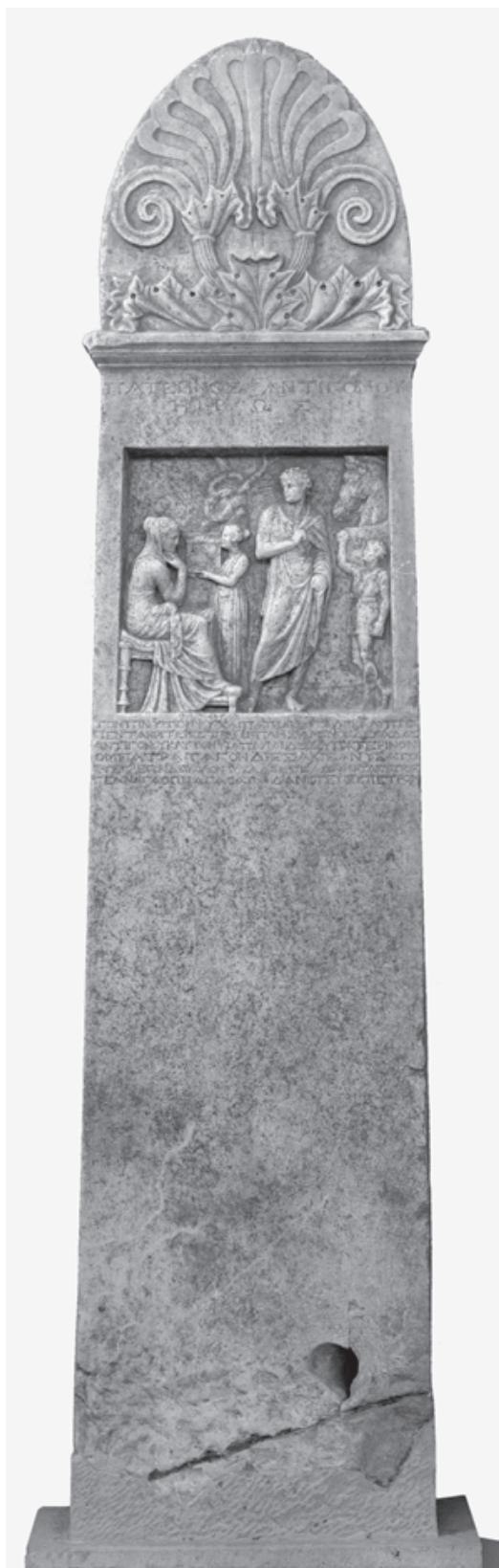
<sup>11</sup> On Italiotes owning property in Beroia, see Rizakis 2002, 123.

<sup>12</sup> I am referring to the work of ‘Evander’ and his family, Allamani-Souri 2012a, 357, n. 1; 2012b; 2014, 295-296,

<sup>13</sup> Allamani-Souri 2014, 125-127, n. 445, 160, 190, 290-291, 297, n. 1351; Stefanidou-Tiveriou 2018a, 119-120, n. 34 with bibliography. On the influence of the Beroian workshop on that of Dion, see Papagianni 2018.

<sup>14</sup> Archaeological Museum of Beroia, inv. no. Α294; Allamani-Souri 2011, 158, fig. 3; Allamani-Souri 2012a, 358-361, fig. 1; 2014, 348-349, n. 45; *I. Beroia* 1998, 392; Kalaitzi 2016, esp. 100, 112, 207-208, n. 88; Touratsoglou 1972.

<sup>15</sup> On the horse’s head and the snake as heroic symbols, see Fabricius 1999, 58-60, 63-66. See also Voutiras in Despinis et al. 1997, 73, n. 2, cat. no. 55; 74, n. 7, cat. no. 56; Allamani-Souri 2014, 262-263 with further bibliography.



*Fig. 1a (left).* Funerary stele of Paterinos, height 220 cm. Last quarter of the second century BC. Marble. From Beroia. Beroia, Archaeological Museum, inv. no. Λ294. Photograph: © Gösta Hellner for D-DAI-ATH-1971-0722.

*Fig. 1b (above).* Detail of *Fig. 1a*. Photograph: © Gösta Hellner for D-DAI-ATH-1971-0725.

The head of Paterinos, though on the small scale of 5.5 cm, is of such high quality that it can safely be compared with even large-scale works. His face is bony with high cheekbones but flat cheeks, a low forehead, deep-set eyes that are overshadowed by heavy brows, a small, fleshy mouth and small round chin. The hair grows around the forehead and the temples in predominantly untidy curls. The physiognomy is highly expressive but with no individualized features,<sup>16</sup> which gives absolutely no indication of the age of this fifty-year-old man. There are similar images of 2nd century Macedonian, Pergamene or Seleucid rulers,<sup>17</sup> with similar physiognomies conveying intensity and *pathos*, to use the conventional description.<sup>18</sup> The extremely dynamic figure of Paterinos and its lively relationship with its Hellenistic models make me think that this stele still belongs to the final decades of the 2nd century BC.<sup>19</sup> Indeed, it may even precede rather than follow the well-known bronze head from Delos in the National Archaeological Museum in Athens, which has been dated to the second half, or, more precisely, to the beginning of the last quarter, of the 2nd century BC by a number of scholars.<sup>20</sup>

The turn of the head and the movement captured in the body of Paterinos are consistent with the intensity of the face, a common way of depicting Hellenistic rulers, known mainly from statuettes with a heroic appearance.<sup>21</sup> Yet,

<sup>16</sup> Scholars mostly refer to a combination of idealized and personalized features, see Touratsoglou 1972, 157-158, and recently Allamani-Souri 2014, 192, n. 784. On the issue see also below, n. 17.

<sup>17</sup> See e.g., Fleischer 1991, pl. 45e for Antiochos VIII; Smith 1988, pl. 74, 10 for Philipp V, 74, 11; for Perseus 74,1 4; for Eumenes II. On the typical Hellenistic royal portrait, see Smith 1988, 46, who astutely observes that: 'the facial features can be given a quite recognizable portrait individuality, but this may be sacrificed in varying degrees to the presentation of a strikingly handsome, "idealized" appearance'.

<sup>18</sup> As Smith 1988, 48 explains, the turn of the head and the parted lips on the royal portraits do not, as in Late Classical and Hellenistic art, suggest defeat and 'suffering'. On this expression and the discussion about its interpretation in Late Hellenistic works, see Giuliani 1986, esp. 102-104, 161.

<sup>19</sup> It has been dated to the turn of the 2nd to the 1st century, or alternatively to the early 1st century BC; Allamani-Souri 2014, 191-192; Voutiras in Despini et al. 1997, 75, n. 15; Touratsoglou 1972, 157-158.

<sup>20</sup> See Marcadé 1969, 88-89, 372-373, n. 1, who provides a number of alternative views; Giuliani 1986, 102, n. 2; Megaw 2005, 148, n. 494-495, 149 suggested a date between 130-120 BC, rejecting the usual dating of around 100 BC; Papini 2004, 487 cat. no. 85.

<sup>21</sup> For example, the naked or semi-naked statuettes; see Hansen et al. 2010, 244-245, n. 8-11;

the man with the rare Macedonian name of Paterinos<sup>22</sup> is depicted in traditional Macedonian dress, in this case a long *chlamys*, which clearly references his ethnic identity and his status,<sup>23</sup> as well as the glorious past of his family, which is also explicitly mentioned in the verses inscribed on the monument.<sup>24</sup> The city would most probably have honoured this man, who had twice been ruler of Beroia, with statues in public places, which could have used as models for the depiction in this private relief.

A funerary slab from Lete, a city 12 km northwest of Thessaloniki, depicts a certain Dionysophon in a similar way to Paterinos (Figs. 2a-c).<sup>25</sup> Under the inscription with the name of the deceased, 'Farewell, Dionysophon, son of Hippostratos' ('Διονυσσοφῶν Ἱπποστράτου χαῖρε'), there is an artist's signature: 'Evander of Beroia, son of Evander, made this' ('Ἐβάνδρος Ἐβάνδρου Βεροιαῖος ἐποίησεν'). In this case the figures are on a larger scale: the head of Dionysophon measures 14 cm in height. Once again, the heroic nature of the deceased is depicted by a horse's head and a snake. The figure's pose and the more restrained turn of the head, compared with that of Paterinos, account for this relief being dated somewhat later. The facial features, though rather damaged, are in the same tradition as the Paterinos relief, as the contraction of the brows and the deep-set eyes show. These features are depicted with less intensity in the second and (to judge by the bulging cheeks) evidently younger male figure on this

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Smith 1988, pl. 70-71; Svenson 1995, pl. 3, 28-29. Some large-scale statues also display a marked turn of the head, e.g., Queyrel 2003, pls. 12-14, 16, 30.1 etc.

<sup>22</sup> I. Beroia 1998, 392; see also Tatakis 1988, 354, 356, n. 197. For commentary of the name, see Solin 2010, 257-261.

<sup>23</sup> For more details on the *chlamys*-wearing type and its variants and symbolism on stelae from Beroia, see Allamani-Souri 2012a, 363-364; 2014, 185-193. On the *chlamys* and the Macedonian identity, see also Stefanidou-Tiveriou 2018b, esp. 117-119.

<sup>24</sup> Beroia is a Macedonian city in which some families from the old aristocracy survived after the dissolution of the Macedonian kingdom and the expulsion of part of the local aristocracy, Tatakis 1988, 435. For a detailed treatment of the epigraphic evidence relating to the Macedonian aristocracy, see Sève 2005, who also discusses Paterinos in terms of his membership of the Beroian aristocracy, Sève 2005, 266-267; Sverkos 2017, 295, n. 46.

<sup>25</sup> Thessaloniki, Archaeological Museum, inv. no. 1935B, height 129 cm; E. Voutiras in Despinis et al. 1997, 75-77 cat. no. 56 with bibliography. See also Allamani-Souri 2014, 188-190, 260-261, 296, fig. 46β, 75; Kalaitzi 2016, 234-235, n. 142. The slab was intended to clad a built monument of unknown form, Allamani-Souri 2014; Stefanidou-Tiveriou 2009a; 2018a, 126. On Lete (now Derveni), which flourished above all in the Hellenistic period, see Sverkos and Tzanavari 2009, 183, with n. 1, with bibliography; Tzanavari 2017.

relief. The greater flatness and neatness of the hair on both of these heads is reminiscent, for example, of the statue of Kleonikos, son of Lysander, the so-called Youth from Eretria,<sup>26</sup> for which the most common dating is late 2nd or early 1st century BC.<sup>27</sup> Thus I would suggest dating the Lete relief to the first decades of the 1st century BC.<sup>28</sup>

The deceased honoured on the Lete relief, whose name, Dionysophon, is found in Macedonia, albeit rarely<sup>29</sup> (unlike his father's more common name: Hippostratos),<sup>30</sup> was, like Paterinos, a member of a local elite (in this case from Lete) and also adopts the Macedonian *chlamys*; whereas the younger man beside him is depicted in a *himation*, in a local version of the arm-sling type (the so-called normal type).<sup>31</sup> The depiction of the two men is almost frontal, like statues,<sup>32</sup> each holding a book, probably as a sign of their education.<sup>33</sup> On a second slab, which was found with that of Dionysophon and which probably originally belonged with it,<sup>34</sup> two female figures also clearly have statue types

<sup>26</sup> Athens National Museum, inv. no. 244; Kaltsas 2002, 314-15 no. 655; Kazakidi 2015, 167-172, 251-252 with bibliography.

<sup>27</sup> For proposed datings, ranging from c. 100 BC to the Augustan period, see Kazakidi 2015, 251-252, n. 1477; for the statue, see recently Biard 2017, 338-339.

<sup>28</sup> Lagogianni-Georgakarakos 1998, 56 n. 51 dates it to the early or first half of the 1st century BC; Voutiras in Despini et al. 1997, 75 n. 56 to the second third of the 1st century BC; Rizakis and Touratsoglou 2016, 122-123, fig. 7.2, to the middle of 1st century BC. In my opinion, Allamani-Souri 2014, 296 is more correct in placing this relief close to her n. 13, Allamani-Souri 2014, 319: early or first quarter of the 1st century BC.

<sup>29</sup> Despini et al. 1997, 77, n. 8.

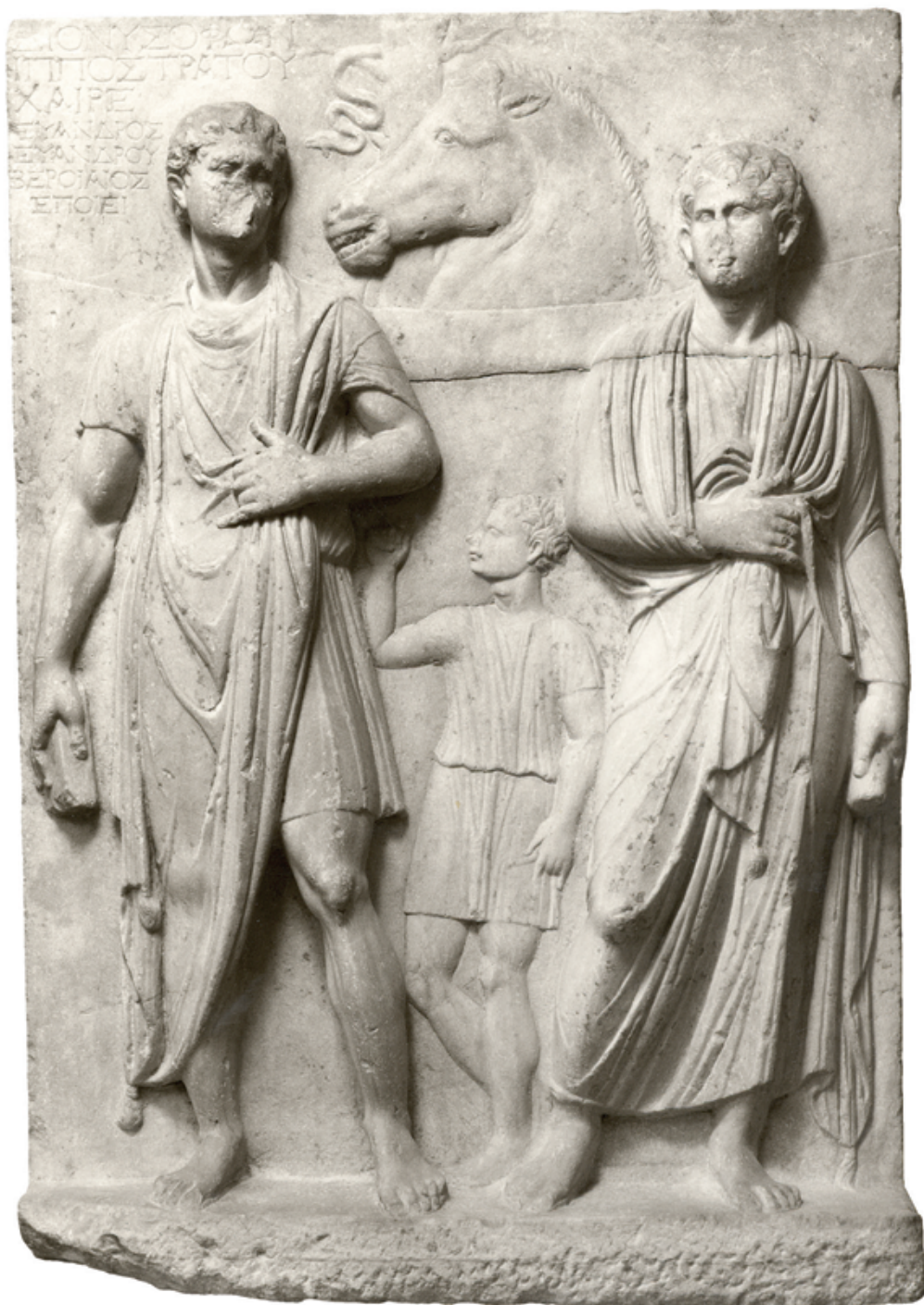
<sup>30</sup> Tataki 1988, 340, n. 64.

<sup>31</sup> Allamani-Souri 2014, 168-173, fig. 63-65; Sève 2005, 270 hints at Dionysophon's high social position. Surprisingly, Rizakis and Touratzoglou 2016 assume that the monument was perhaps a commission by a wealthy Roman freedman.

<sup>32</sup> On the comparison between this *palliatius* and a male statue of the same type from the well-known group from Palatiano/Kilkis, see Allamani-Souri 2014, 169, figs. 63, 65; for the most recent publication of the group, see Stéfanidou-Tivériou 2009c.

<sup>33</sup> On this interpretation of the book as a symbol of education on funerary reliefs of the Hellenistic and Roman period, see Voutiras 1989, esp. 355, n. 3, who is mainly concerned with the placing of the book in the right rather than the left hand. See also Allamani-Souri 2014, 174, 179, 182, n. 738, 273, 1214; Zanker 1993, 218.

<sup>34</sup> Archaeological Museum Thessaloniki inv. no. 1935A: Voutiras in Despini et al. 1997, 78-79, cat. no. 57, does not exclude its attribution to another side of the monument from which slab n. 56 came, although he points out that it could also have come from another similar monument in the same cemetery; Kalaitzi 2016, 234, n. 141.



*Fig. 2a.* Funerary relief slab of Dionysophon, height 129 cm. First quarter of the first century BC. Marble. From Lete. Thessaloniki, Archaeological Museum, inv. no. 1935B. Photograph: © Makis Skiadaressis for AFME no. 80 (Photographic Archive of Sculpture in the Museum of Casts in the Aristotle University of Thessaloniki).





Fig. 2b. Funerary relief slab of Dionysophon, details of Fig. 2a. Photograph: © Theodosia Stefanidou-Tiveriou.

from the Hellenistic period;<sup>35</sup> as can be shown, for example, by comparing them with a statue from the sanctuary of Demeter in the same city, Lete.<sup>36</sup> There are similarities in the female heads too, with their smooth faces, low foreheads, broad cheeks and straight hair pulled back and tied in a bun. The statue has been dated to the end of the second century BC or the beginning of the first, so the relief with the two females could belong to the early decades of the 1st century BC, like the Dionysophon relief.

The subjects of a *naiskos* stele from Beroia, the stele of 'Philotera', daughter of Alexander, and of Kassander, son of Paramonos, come from the same social context as the honorands of the reliefs discussed above (Figs. 3a-b).<sup>37</sup> The

<sup>35</sup> The figure on the left repeats the so-called Baebia type, and, in fact, it resembles more particularly the statue of Cleopatra from Delos, see Eule 2001, 16, 186-187, KS 60, fig. 2, while the one on the right can be associated with the so-called Nikokleia type and is closer to the statue from the Odeion on Kos; Eule 2001, 25-27, 167, KS 10, fig. 26.

<sup>36</sup> Archaeological Museum Thessaloniki inv. no. 1066; Voutiras in Despini et al. 1997, 55-56, cat. no. 36.

<sup>37</sup> Archaeological Museum Beroia inv. no. Λ729; Allamani-Souri 2011; Allamani-Souri 2014, 357, n. 53; *I. Beroia* 1998, 189; Kalaitzi 2016, 217, n. 109.



*Fig. 3a (left).* Funerary stele of Kassander, height 139 cm. First half of the first century BC. Marble. From Beroia. Beroia, Archaeological Museum, inv. no. Λ729. Photograph: © Theodosia Stefanidou-Tiveriou.

*Fig. 3b (right).* Detail of *Fig. 3a*. Photograph: © Theodosia Stefanidou-Tiveriou.

figures, which are seated facing one another, are depicted as heroes: not only in the inscription on the lower part of the slab but also by virtue of the accompanying symbols. In this instance too, we are dealing with people of Macedonian descent, as indicated by their names.<sup>38</sup> The sitting posture, rare for men in Beroian reliefs, that was chosen for Kassander is probably a means of showing the social prestige of the subject,<sup>39</sup> perhaps also his age, while the scroll that is held out to him by a slave refers to his education, as on the Dionysophon relief mentioned above.

<sup>38</sup> Tataki 1988, esp. 344, 413 for Kassander; 331, 380, n. 316 for Philotera; Allamani-Souri 2011, 156 n. 5; *I. Beroia* 1998, 189.

<sup>39</sup> Allamani-Souri 2011, 163, n. 44; 2014, 161.

The head of Kassander is in high relief and too big for his body, although there is no evidence of any reworking of the relief. It looks as though the artist wanted to emphasize it and to depict the features with the appropriate care and attention; alternatively, it could be that another artist, who specialized in depicting heads, worked the male head from the rough stone that had been left blank for this.<sup>40</sup> The face is long and thin with slightly prominent cheekbones and a high, round skull. The forehead is also high and etched with two quite prominent wrinkles, while the cheeks are flat, the eyes very small and excessively shaded, the lips fleshy and beautifully formed, the chin small and round. One can see a tendency to depict individual features in this face, and perhaps also age, deviating slightly from the idealizing canon, though the hairstyle follows idealized models and resembles those on the Dionysophon stele. That is to say, it consists of heavy, plastic curls separated by carved lines, creating an overall impression that is almost orderly, though not without movement.

This piece has been dated to the second half of the first century BC and more specifically to the early part of Augustus' reign (40-20 BC),<sup>41</sup> as the head was thought to exhibit certain advanced features.<sup>42</sup> In my opinion, this head has not entirely shaken off the late 2nd/early 1st century BC models, known to us from Delian portraits, that combine idealism with restrained individualization.<sup>43</sup> Moreover, the head of Kassander closely resembles two works from Smyrna,<sup>44</sup> and an example that was once mistaken for a portrait of Claudius (Fig. 4).<sup>45</sup> Both the Smyrniot sculptures were recently convincingly compared with works from

<sup>40</sup> Allamani-Souri 2011, 162 suggests that the two heads on this stele were carved by one talented artist, perhaps Evander, whereas the rest of the relief was the work of an inferior craftsman.

<sup>41</sup> Allamani-Souri 2011, 160; 2014, 357, n. 53; see also Allamani-Souri in Stefanidou-Tiveriou and Voutiras 2020, n. 1053, n. 8.

<sup>42</sup> See Allamani-Souri 2011, 160, n. 27, who despite this mentions certain Delian works. At the same time, the stele has been thought to mix some earlier features, such as similarities with the Dionysophon relief and other later ones, such as the style of the linear folds and some epigraphic elements, though neither of these decisively affect the dating, see Allamani-Souri 2011, 162, n. 36 who also points out the very late dating to the 1st century AD, as proposed by the publishers of *I. Beroia* 1998, 189.

<sup>43</sup> See, e.g., Buschor 1995, 106, n. 192, pl. 51; Michalowski 1932, 14-17, pls. 12-13.

<sup>44</sup> Athens, National Archaeological Museum inv. no. 362 and no. 328; for no. 362 see Kaltsas 2002, 288, n. 607; Kazakidi 2018, 299, n. 27 (with more recent bibliography), figs. 9-11; for no. 328 (recent publication) see Kazakidi 2018, esp. 294 figs. 1-4.

<sup>45</sup> See, e.g. Fittschen 1977, 58 n.8 (h): Claudius, third type. For the correct, in my opinion, dating of the head to the late Hellenistic period, see Kazakidi 2018.



*Fig. 4.* Portrait head of a man, height 29 cm. First half of the first century BC. Marble. From Smyrna. Athens, National Archaeological Museum, inv. no. 328. Photograph: © Kostas Xenikakis for ΑΓΜΕ, no. 1310 Α.

Delos, Athens and the Eastern Aegean belonging to the period from the end of the second century to the mid-1st century BC.<sup>46</sup> The shape of the heads and the delicate moulding of the contours is similar in each case, as are the depiction of the area around the eyes and the characteristically fleshy lips, while the upper—noticeably protruding—lip curves in a ‘cupid’s bow’. There is a shared perception of the understanding and depiction of the physiognomy that probably points to a date in the same time frame, i.e. the first half of the 1st century BC. I would also place the head of Kassander, which especially resembles the one of the above mentioned Smyrniot heads in the Athens National Museum, in the same time frame.<sup>47</sup>

The Beroian works that we have looked at thus far are part of an artistic environment that belongs to the wider Hellenistic tradition and developed in parallel with the artistic centres of the central, northern, and eastern Aegean. As regards the recipients of these private works of art, in all three cases they are men belonging to the elite of two Macedonian cities, and the fact that they self-identify as Macedonians is attested through their names and/or their dress.<sup>48</sup>

The classicism that was, as we know, gaining ground in the Late Hellenistic period<sup>49</sup> is expressed in the Macedonian relief workshops through works characterized by flatness in the depiction of the figures and extreme idealization. One such typical example is a relief in Thessaloniki featuring a scene with multiple figures (Fig. 5).<sup>50</sup> The compositional scheme, like the figural types, is in the

<sup>46</sup> On comparisons with the so-called Ariarathes IX from the Western slope of the Athens Acropolis in the National Archaeological Museum, Athens inv. no. 3556 (Kaltsas 2002, 287, n. 605; Vorster 2007, 278, 406, fig. 241), and the head from Rhodes now in the British Museum in London inv. nos. 1867.5-6.7/1965 (Vorster 2007, 278, 406, fig. 240), see Kazakidi 2018, 302, n. 46, 47, figs. 16-17.

<sup>47</sup> Athens, National Archaeological Museum inv. no. 328, see n. 44. On the connection between Beroia and the Smyrna workshop, see Allamani-Souri 2012a, 358; Allamani-Souri 2014 with many scattered references, esp. 68, n. 144, 302.

<sup>48</sup> In the Beroia monuments the figures wearing a chlamys constitute a distinct, albeit small, group in this period, which in any case does not go beyond the age of Augustus, Allamani-Souri 2014, 190. On the Macedonian elites during the Roman period see, e.g., Sève 2005; Sverkos 2017; Tataki 1988, 447-453.

<sup>49</sup> See, e.g., Kunze 2002, 239-241.

<sup>50</sup> Thessaloniki, Archaeological Museum, inv. no. 7198, height 104.5 cm; Papagianni in Stefanidou-Tiveriou and Voutiras 2020, cat. no. 1038.



*Fig. 5.* Funerary relief depicting a family, height 104.5 cm. Around the mid-first century BC. Marble. Exact provenance unknown. Thessaloniki, Archaeological Museum, inv. no. 7198. Photograph: © Klaus Valtin von Eickstedt for AIGME, no. 358.

same tradition as the Late Hellenistic creations from Beroia,<sup>51</sup> but the heads of the two youths and the bearded man have adopted entirely idealized models that go back to the Classical period. No names are inscribed on the plinth of

<sup>51</sup> The dependence of local Thessalonican reliefs on works from Beroia has been repeatedly remarked upon, as have their specific characteristics; for a detailed discussion and bibliography, see Stefanidou-Tiveriou and Voutiras 2020, cat. no. 1019.



Fig. 6. Funerary relief of *L(ucius) Cornelius Neo*, height 80 cm. c. 50 BC. Marble. From Thessaloniki. Thessaloniki, Archaeological Museum, inv. no. 10773: Photograph: © Makis Skiadaressis for AFME, no. 38.

the relief, thus we know nothing about the identity of the people depicted. On the other hand, in another relief from Thessaloniki, stylistically similar to the one described above, the identity of the deceased is known to us (Fig. 6).<sup>52</sup> Its composition is a more developed version of the Paterinos stele (above, Fig. 1), which was made at least fifty years earlier. The male *himatiophoros* is depicted

<sup>52</sup> Thessaloniki, Archaeological Museum, inv. no. 10773; Voutiras in Despinois et al. 1997, 82-83 cat. no. 61; Kalaitzi 2016, esp. 96, 228-229, n. 133; *IG* 10 2,1s 1198.

as clean-shaven with youthful, idealized features and short, curly hair, like the figures on the previous relief. The deceased being honoured here is a Roman freedman, as we are informed by the bilingual Latin and Greek inscription, one *L(ucius) Cornelius Neo*; the monument was set up by his friend, another freedman, called *P(ublius) Tertinius Amphio*. There can be no doubt that without the inscription we would not have supposed them to be Romans, whose funerary monuments, like those of the Roman *ingenui*, were making their first appearance in Thessaloniki at precisely this time, around the mid-1st century BC. It is probably no coincidence that this coincides with when the tide of immigrants from Italy was reaching its peak and a significant increase is observed in the number of grave stelae in Thessaloniki (as mentioned above).<sup>53</sup>

Another relief from Beroia introduces a new male figural type next to a traditional female figural type: the *togatus* (Fig. 7).<sup>54</sup> The young man is depicted wearing the toga *exigua* in the Aa type of the early togas.<sup>55</sup> Thus he is a Roman citizen, evidently one of the aforementioned members of the Roman community in Beroia, whose name we do not know as there is no inscription. This relief is dated, like the two previous ones, to around the mid-1st century BC or slightly after, and the head of the young man shows idealized features with short curly hair and no expressivity in the face, i.e. it is extremely similar to the youthful heads on the two previous reliefs from the Archaeological Museum of Thessaloniki.

Despite the fact that in the last two cases the deceased being honoured were Roman citizens, the way in which they were depicted has clearly in no way been affected by the fashion for the so-called realistic Roman portraits, which, at that time had (as is well known) spread beyond Italy. In a general sense, the aforementioned monuments show that incomers to Macedonia, the Romans, and their freedmen, were perfectly willing to adopt the artistic traditions of the

<sup>53</sup> It is worth noting that the earliest known Latin inscription from Thessaloniki, which is a dedicatory one, is dated to c. 70 BC; see above n. 5, and see also Papagianni 2017, 249, n. 1. On the significant increase in the number of funerary stelae in Thessaloniki from the mid-1st century BC, onwards, see Stefanidou-Tiveriou 2018a, 117-121.

<sup>54</sup> Beroia, Archaeological Museum, inv. no. Λ498; h. 80 cm. See Allamani-Souri 2014, 193, fig. 79, 326, no, 20.

<sup>55</sup> Allamani-Souri 2014, 193, n. 795. On early depictions of the Roman toga in Greece, see Papagianni 2019. For depictions of *togati* in Greece more generally, see Papagianni 2018, 183, n. 19, with bibliography.





*Fig. 7.* Funerary relief depicting two figures, height 80 cm. c. 50 BC. Marble. From Beroia. Beroia, Archaeological Museum, inv. no. A498. Photograph: © Theodosia Stefanidou-Tiveriou.



*Fig. 8a (left).* Funerary stele of Caius Popilius, height 110 cm. c. 50 BC. Marble. From Thessaloniki. Thessaloniki, Archaeological Museum, inv. no. 10138. Photograph: © Makis Skiadaressis for AGME, no. 72.

*Fig. 8b.* Detail of *Fig. 8a*. Photograph: © Theodosia Stefanidou-Tiveriou.

Macedonian cities;<sup>56</sup> yet they highlighted their identity through their names and bilingual inscriptions, as well as through their dress, and sometimes (probably) through family scenes with series of frontal depicted figures.<sup>57</sup>

Another member of the Roman community in Thessaloniki, the most populous and important one in Macedonia,<sup>58</sup> as a bilingual inscription indicates, was *C(aius) Popilius*, who adopted a traditional form of stele (Figs. 8a-b).<sup>59</sup> He is portrayed seated on a chair, wearing a himation like Kassander on the Beroian stele discussed above (Fig. 3), and accompanied by the same symbols. However, the depiction of his head diverges from the usual idealizing models. Despite its small scale, with a height of 7.5 cm, it offers some points of comparison with large-scale works: e.g. its spherical shape with the flat face and the high, wrinkled forehead with the hair receding at the temples, small eyes and fleshy mouth. Similar physiognomies, with or without wrinkles on the forehead, are known to us not only from Late Hellenistic portraits from Delos,<sup>60</sup> but also from the well-known male portrait from the *heroon* of Diodoros Paspáros at Pergamon, who was the recipient of many honorific and cult statues (Fig. 9).<sup>61</sup> This marble head, if he indeed represents this distinguished benefactor of the city, is connected with the Hellenistic phase of the *heroon* and must be dated shortly

<sup>56</sup> See, e.g., Papagianni 2017, *passim*; esp. Stefanidou-Tiveriou 2018a, 119-120. On the assimilation of the Italiotes into the local societies of the cities, see most recently Rizakis 2017, 21-22, n. 51; Sverlos 2017, 295, n. 47. For a more extensive treatment of the peaceful integration of the Romans into Greek society and its institutions, see Errington 1988.

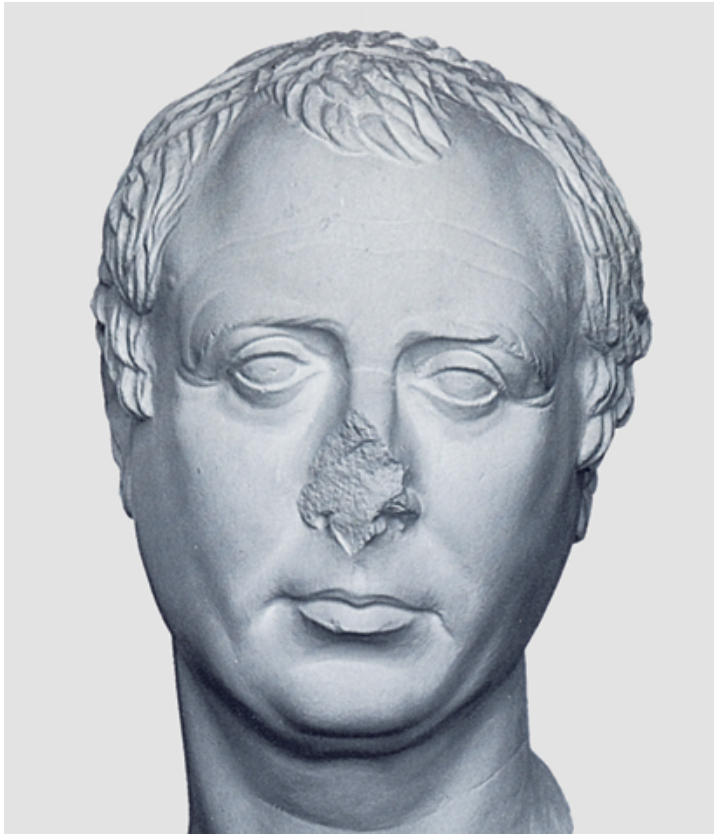
<sup>57</sup> In this respect it recalls the freedmen's reliefs in Rome, see Papagianni 2017, 249, n. 1. At this period, the relief bust portrait, which was above all used for this purpose in the capital, had not noticeably been taken up in Macedonia, something that would only happen some time later. On its emergence in Macedonia in the time of Tiberius and its more widespread dissemination in the reigns of Trajan and Hadrian, see Stefanidou-Tiveriou 2018a, 130-135.

<sup>58</sup> Rizakis 2002, esp. 118. On the political and social history of Thessaloniki, see Nigdelis 2006.

<sup>59</sup> Thessaloniki, Archaeological Museum, inv. no. 10138: Voutiras in Despintis et al. 1997, 82-84, cat. no. 60; Kalaitzi 2016, esp. 99, 228, no. 132; *IG* 10 2,1s 1358.

<sup>60</sup> See Michalowski 1932, 33-35, pls. 25, figs. 18; 42-44, pls. 29-30, fig. 27; see also Queyrel 2009, 254-255, n. 48, figs. 14-15. On the standardization, which, despite the tendency towards individualization, still exists in the portrait heads from Delos, see Zanker 1995, 475, n. 10; Zanker 2011, 111, 114.

<sup>61</sup> For a detailed publication of the *heroon*, see Filgis and Radt 1986; and of the head, see Hübner 1986. On recorded statues of Paspáros and their dating, see Queyrel 2009, 248, n. 19, with bibliography.



*Fig. 9.* Portrait head, 39.5 cm. Shortly after 70 BC. Marble. From Pergamon, the *heroon* of Diodoros Paspáros. Bergama, Museum, inv. no. 3438. Photograph: G. Geng for DAI/Arachne, ser. no. 3305052.

after 70 BC,<sup>62</sup> a date which would also most likely be acceptable owing to its apparent kinship with the Late Hellenistic (and Delian) portraits.<sup>63</sup> By contrast, I

<sup>62</sup> Radt 2011, 248-250. On the probability of the complex on the main road to the north of the terrace of the sanctuary of Demeter being identifiable with the Diodoreion and the attribution of the head to its cult statue, see Radt in Filgis and Radt 1986, 113-120 with other suggested identifications. On Radt's proposed dating of phases of construction, see Filgis and Radt 1986, 106.

<sup>63</sup> Fittschen 1988, 26, n. 158; Kunze 2011, 319. Hübner 1986, 143-144 suggests unconvincingly that it was modelled on the portrait head of Julius Caesar, which leads to its late dating to after 58 and before 40 BC; see also, Hübner 1988. Fittschen 1988, 37, n. 158 is critical of Hübner's argumentation.

consider the comparison that has been proposed with the portrait of Cicero to be problematic,<sup>64</sup> in that the emphasis on depicting the details of the physiognomy shows a distinctly different stylistic approach: a Western one. Yet a date for the stele of *C(aius) Popilius* before the middle of the 1st century BC, though it cannot be ruled out altogether, seems improbable given what we currently know from the Thessaloniki evidence: funerary monuments for Romans made their first appearance around the mid-1st century BC, as noted above.

A head from Beroia that should be attributed to a large-scale relief like that of Dionysophon is quite different stylistically (Fig. 10).<sup>65</sup> The bony face, with the receding hair and distinct signs of ageing, such as the wrinkles on the forehead, the bags underneath the eyes and the nasolabial lines that emphasize the slack cheeks, all point to a date in the second half of the 1st century BC, the highpoint of the so called realistic, individualized portrait in Rome.<sup>66</sup> Its models probably go back to the time around the mid-century or later, i.e. they are close to the Pisa/Chiaramonti type of Julius Caesar<sup>67</sup> and particularly close to a private portrait head in the Capitoline Museum.<sup>68</sup> Nothing is known about the identity of the person depicted, for which the 'period face' of the time has been adopted.<sup>69</sup> Was he an immigrant from Italy? If so, his realistic physiognomie, combined with the toga, would be a way of displaying the subject's *romanitas*. Indeed, we encounter this combination of the toga with a realistic depiction

<sup>64</sup> Voutiras in Despinis et al. 1997, 81, n. 8 cat. no. 60. The portrait of Cicero has been dated from 60-50 to c. 40 BC, see Megow 2005, 124, who accepts a dating in the 50s BC or at the beginning of the 40s BC. More recently a dating of 63 BC, the year of Cicero's consulship, has been suggested, Zanker and Cain in Fittschen et al. 2010. In recent years the Florence/Apsley House type has begun to be acknowledged once again as representing Cicero, after years of this connection being questioned, see Zanker and Cain in Fittschen et al. 2010, 14-18 cat. nos. 9-10; Megow 2005, 109-124.

<sup>65</sup> Beroia, Archaeological Museum, inv. no. Λ436; height 20 cm. Allamani-Souri 2014, 374, n. 71.

<sup>66</sup> See recently, Zanker 1995, 476-477; 2011, 113.

<sup>67</sup> For more details on this type, see Zanker and Cain in Fittschen et al. 2010, 19-23, cat. no. 12. See Zanker 2009, 308-310. The earlier version was created just before or just after 30 BC. See also the parallels for the head presented by Allamani-Souri 2014, 206.

<sup>68</sup> Rome, Musei Capitolini, inv. no. 412 is thought to be a copy of a model dated to around 50 BC; see Zanker and Cain in Fittschen et al. 2010, 18-19, cat. no. 11.

<sup>69</sup> As far as we know, Julius Caesar was the first Roman politician whose portrait was imitated, see Zanker 1995, 480, n. 34; 2011, 116, n. 30. See also, on the widespread dissemination of the Tusculum type from the 40s BC up to the Late Augustan period, Kreikenbom 2010, 11-12; Zanker 1981, 356-358.



*Fig. 10.* Male head from a relief, height 20 cm. Second half of the first century BC. Marble. From Beroia. Beroia, Archaeological Museum, inv. no. Λ436. Photograph: © Theodosia Stefanidou-Tiveriou.

of the face on a stele from Beroia,<sup>70</sup> but it is dated slightly later—to the early Imperial period,<sup>71</sup> as is shown by the type of toga, i.e. one with a long *sinus*.<sup>72</sup>

This head raises a crucial question, which I shall now address: whether or not the faces with realistic features are connected exclusively with Romans. In this context, I would point to an important, already well-known work of art from Thessaloniki, a relief male head, more or less life size, made of Pentelic marble (Figs. 11a-b).<sup>73</sup> In this instance, it is not one of the Macedonian funerary reliefs,<sup>74</sup> but an Attic creation of extremely high quality,<sup>75</sup> which comes from a conspicuous place in the city (i.e. the Roman Agora)<sup>76</sup> where finds associated with the cult of the emperors have been discovered.<sup>77</sup> It probably comes from an earlier monument of an honorific or commemorative nature.<sup>78</sup> Since its very first publication in 1960 by Manolis Andronikos, it has been associated with Republican parallels of the mid-1st century BC.<sup>79</sup> It is the best representative on Greek soil

<sup>70</sup> Beroia, Archaeological Museum inv. no. Λ2014: Allamani-Souri 2014, 363, n. 59.

<sup>71</sup> Allamani dates this stele to the early or mid-1st century AD; Allamani-Souri 2014, 131 to the early 1st century AD; 195, 363 to the mid-1st century AD.

<sup>72</sup> The length of the *sinus* and the *umbo* in the form of a ‘U’ would suggest a date in the first half of the 1st century AD. And this is probably where it should be dated, despite the fact that there are clear references to the earlier period in that the toga covers the right arm in a way we recognize from the Republican toga (type Ab – Ac), while the head of the elderly man with the bony face and the high cheek bones recalls the realistic faces of the second half of the 1st century BC. I am grateful to my colleague Hans Rupprecht Goette for his observations on the type of toga depicted on the Beroia relief. On the mixed features in the garment, cf. Allamani-Souri 2014, 195-196. On the characteristics of the type Ab-c toga with arm-sling arrangement and Ba with *umbo*, see Goette 1990, 24-27, 29-42.

<sup>73</sup> Thessaloniki, Archaeological Museum inv. no. 906: Andronikos 1960; Voutiras in Despintis et al. 1997, 89-91 cat. no. 66; Voutiras 2017, with recent bibliography; see also Allamani-Souri 2014, 206, n. 868.

<sup>74</sup> On earlier scholars’ assertions that it was a funerary relief, see Voutiras in Despintis et al. 1997, 90, n. 14. Moreover Voutiras 2017, 160 appears to have abandoned his view that it was probably a head from an *imago clipeata*, Despintis et al. 1997, 90, n. 3, 16. This argument cannot be sustained, given the sloping cut at an obtuse angle behind the right-hand side of the head; see Andronikos 1960, 39-40, figs. 2-3, which may have been connected with some special construction.

<sup>75</sup> Andronikos 1960, 51-52; Voutiras in Despintis et al. 1997, 91, n. 17; Lagogianni-Georgakarakos 1998, 58, no. 53; Voutiras 2017, 158, n. 16.

<sup>76</sup> Despintis et al. 1997, 89; Voutiras 2017, 155, n. 1.

<sup>77</sup> Stefanidou-Tiveriou 2001a; 2001b, 390; 2009b, 620-624.

<sup>78</sup> Voutiras 2017, 160.

<sup>79</sup> Andronikos 1960, 46-50.



*Fig. 11a (left)*. Male head from a relief, front view, height 30 cm. c. 50 BC. Marble. From Thessaloniki. Thessaloniki, Archaeological Museum, inv. no. 906. Photograph: © Ilias Iliadis for AFME, no. 239A.  
*Fig. 11b (right)*. Three-quarter profile of the portrait head in *Fig. 11a*. From Thessaloniki. Photograph: © Gösta Hellner for D-DAI 71-645.

of the portrait with realistic features that we know from Rome, as evidenced in the portrait of Julius Caesar, for example,<sup>80</sup> and other works of that period, such as the Copenhagen/Florence type:<sup>81</sup> i.e. a middle-aged man with a scrawny face, hollow cheeks, high, wrinkled forehead with sparse hair, a strongly marked area around the mouth, and a thin neck with a prominent Adam's apple. The Thessaloniki portrait is nevertheless an independent work by an important Greek artist who developed a widespread portrait types from the capital, which represents

<sup>80</sup> On this comparison, see Voutiras in Despinis et al. 1997, 90, n. 9. However, the comparison of the curls on the forehead with the Actium type of Augustus is not convincing. On the comparison of the head from Thessaloniki with the Tusculum Caesar, see Hübner 1986, 14, n. 157; Zanker 1973, 35, n. 60.

<sup>81</sup> Voutiras in Despinis et al. 1997, 90, n. 13. For more details, see the recent publication by Voutiras 2017, 155-158. On the Copenhagen/Florence type see Megow 2005, 59-61, pls. 24-25. The early dating of this work to 75 BC was proposed by Croz 2002, 102 and correctly rejected by Voutiras 2017, 156, n. 6.



the 'period face' of the mid-1st century BC (as mentioned above). Indeed, it is worth noting that this head, with its intensely realistic features, manages at the same time to capture the essence of Hellenistic art most convincingly, something that is rare in other works of this period from Greece.<sup>82</sup>

However, the thorny issue remains as to whether the subject was a Roman or a Greek, a question that Manolis Andronikos left unanswered.<sup>83</sup> More recent scholars have attempted to solve the puzzle of this individual's ethnic background.<sup>84</sup> The similarity of the head to numismatic and sculptural portrait heads from mid-1st century Rome is, according to Emmanuel Voutiras, who returned to this subject recently, an important indication of the high ranking of the man concerned and of his association with Roman rule. Consequently, in Voutiras' opinion, it must depict a Roman dignitary from the Province of Macedonia.<sup>85</sup>

Yet, given that we are dealing with a portrait head with intensely realistic features in the East, the question needs to be approached from a wider angle. Although the question 'Roman or Greek?' has often been posed by scholars with reference to portraits, especially those of the Late Hellenistic period, no definitive answer has been forthcoming.<sup>86</sup> Just how slippery the ground is when attempting to identify Romans or their friends (*φιλορώμαιοι*) in this way,<sup>87</sup> i.e. based on the iconography, and predominantly in the realistic depiction of the

<sup>82</sup> See, e.g., the portrait head of a priest in Athens, National Museum, inv. no. 437; Buschor 1995, 108, n. 219, fig. 59; Kaltsas 2002, 311, n. 650 with bibliography; Kreikenbom 2010, 11-12, fig. 13; Vorster 2007, 291, 409, figs. 273a-b;

<sup>83</sup> Andronikos 1960, 44-46, 51; cf. Croz 2002, 151. The surviving part of the draperies on the right-hand side of the neck could equally well belong to either a himation or a toga, which in either case would have covered the right arm.

<sup>84</sup> For relevant discussion see Voutiras 2017, 158-159.

<sup>85</sup> Voutiras 2017, 158-159. On the other hand Croz 2002, 150-151 argues that the close contact the local elite of Macedonia would have had with the Roman authorities would have influenced the way in which they were depicted.

<sup>86</sup> For relevant discussion see Papini 2004, 488. In recent years R.R.R. Smith has been the main representative of the view, that was also held by some earlier scholars, that Romans were distinguished from Greeks iconographically, Smith 1981, esp. 33-38; 1988, 125-128. Others have been critical of this view, e.g., Fittschen 1988, 26, n. 162; 1992, 248, n. 92; Lahusen 1989, 73-74; Zanker 1995, 476, n. 15; see also Zanker 2011, 111-113 who does not accept that there were set formulae for what was 'Greek' and what was 'Roman' in Late Republican portraits, particularly in the context of the '*Akkulturationsprozess*' that is observable at all levels. On the contrary, he believes that there were a variety of different trends; see the present paper, below, n. 106. See also Vorster 2007, 275-280.

<sup>87</sup> Smith 1988, 104-106, 125-128, 130-134.

physiognomy,<sup>88</sup> is shown by the portrait of the Greek comic poet Poseidippos from the mid-3rd century BC, which was once thought to depict a Roman politician of the early 1st century BC.<sup>89</sup>

Late Hellenistic portraits from the East that can be securely identified as Greeks or Romans are unfortunately almost non-existent,<sup>90</sup> and this is also true of the numerous examples from Delos.<sup>91</sup> The portrait of Diodoros Paspáros from Pergamon (mentioned above) can be cautiously accepted as being an identified portrait. In any case, its highly individualistic physiognomy that, it should be noted, is depicted with plasticity and particular sensitivity, is probably not attributable to this individual's association with the Roman authorities,<sup>92</sup> but was rather a stylistic choice and can be understood as a feature of the Late Hellenistic artistic tradition with which we are familiar mainly from Delos. There is only one case in which we can speak without hesitation of a securely identified portrait from the 1st century BC from the East and that is the portrait head of Theophanes. This distinguished citizen of Mytilene, a close friend and adviser of Pompey, was posthumously honoured (36/35 BC; d. 44 BC) by the city with, *inter alia*, issues of coins bearing his portrait head and the legend *θεός*.<sup>93</sup> In these numismatic portraits, his physiognomy and his age are depicted so realistically that it points to a close relationship with the Republican works from Rome of the mid-1st century BC.<sup>94</sup>

<sup>88</sup> On the simplistic earlier view that the realistic and individualized portraits point to Romans, whereas an idealized physiognomy was used for the Greeks, see Megow 2005, 147, n. 492. Moreover there is no basis for viewing hairstyles as a criterion for distinguishing people of Italiote origin in the 1st century BC either, Croz 2002, 140, 156-157, 350. For a critique of the views of Croz, see Papini 2007.

<sup>89</sup> Fittschen 1992. Cf. Schmidt 2007, 99. On the emergence of the individualized depiction in the Greek world around 300 BC at the latest, see, for example, Fittschen 1988, 25; von den Hoff 2007, 31-40; Zanker 2011, 110.

<sup>90</sup> Salzmann 1985, 246-247.

<sup>91</sup> On the subject, see Smith 1988, 127. A poorly preserved work, the *imago clipeata* of Diofantus from Delos of 102-101 BC. See Buschor 1995, 102, n. 159; Fittschen 1988, 22, n. 130; Megow 2005, n. 497; Michalowski 1932, 9-10, n. 3 is an exception. Trümper 2014, 81 expresses some doubts as to whether the honorific statues from the Italian Agora would have expressed their specifically Roman/Italian identity through portrait heads.

<sup>92</sup> Smith 1988, 105-106, 131-132.

<sup>93</sup> According to Salzmann 1985, 254-255, the coins were issued immediately after his death. On Theophanes, see the updated bibliography in Treister and Vinokurov 2016, 504, n. 22.

<sup>94</sup> Salzmann 1985.

In my opinion, the same is not true of the marble head, also from Mytilene, which Dieter Salzmann identified as representing the same person (Fig. 8a).<sup>95</sup> The heroic air and the dynamism of the face with the turn of the head, the contraction of the brows, and the deep-set eyes, combined with the rather restrained depiction of the facial features keep the tradition of Late Hellenistic portrait sculpture alive, unlike the portraits of Theophanes on the coins, which show a 'drier' sort of realism.<sup>96</sup> These stylistic differences do not necessarily undermine the identification of the sculptural head with Theophanes, if we accept that the Greek sculptor worked independently of the engravers who produced the portrait for the coins, and based it on his own perceptions regarding how to depict the face, and indeed perhaps at an earlier date.<sup>97</sup> If the dynamic, impassioned style, a well-known Late Hellenistic trend,<sup>98</sup> has been emphasized more in this case than in that of Paspáros, this may well be due to the patron's own preferences. The rich artistic repertoire of the period allowed both patrons and artists to deploy the various possibilities at their disposal.<sup>99</sup>

Based on the available data, I think that in the late 2nd and during the 1st century BC the private male portraits that were set up in Greek cities in the Eastern provinces present a wide variety of style and typology. I reached the same conclusion based on the material I studied above from several Macedonian cities. That is, I concluded that, until the middle of the 1st century BC, the artistic stream of the Hellenistic tradition is dominant in Macedonia as is known mainly from the portraits of Delos, in which the intention to depict individual

<sup>95</sup> Mytilene, Archaeological Museum inv. no. 1109; Salzmann 1985, 247-249, 256-257, pls. 98, 1, 105, 1-2. He was correct to reject the initial identification of this head with Agrippa, Schmalz 1978. The head of Theophanes has also been identified on a series of red-gloss bowls with portrait medallions made in Mytilene itself, but which were also distributed outside the island, see Treister and Vinokurov 2016; Williams 1998, esp. 325-329.

<sup>96</sup> Smith 1988, 106, n. 46 is cautious about identifying this portrait head with Theophanes on the basis of the coins, but, referring to this on p. 131, he says that the head 'could also be him'.

<sup>97</sup> Salzmann 1985, 249 dates it to roughly the middle or second half of the 1st century BC. He attributes the differences that even he notices between the sculpture and the coin portraits of Theophanes to the different ways in which the figure is portrayed on the coins in profile and on works in the round in three-quarter profile; see 256-257.

<sup>98</sup> See, e.g., the depictions of the Seleucids from the late 2nd century onwards and of Mithridates VI, Smith 1988, 99-101, 121-124.

<sup>99</sup> On the variety of styles ('*Stilpluralismus*') used in this period, see Fittschen 1988, 26, pls. 152-158; Lahusen 1989, 73-75; Salzmann 1985, 249, n. 31; Stewart 1979, 65-98; Vorster 2007, 275; Zanker 2011, 111-113.



*Fig. 12.* Portrait head, height 27.5 cm. c. 50 BC. Marble. From Mytilene. Mytilene, Archaeological Museum, inv. no. 1109. Photograph: © G. Geng for DAI/Arachne, ser. no. 3001069.



*Fig. 13.* Male head from a relief slab, height 23 cm. Late 1st century BC- early 1st century AD. Marble. From Thessaloniki. Thessaloniki, Archaeological Museum, inv. no. 868+2596. Photograph: © Ilektra Stephanatou for AFME, no. 1071.



*Fig. 14.* Funerary relief slab, detail with a male figure, height 139 cm. Late 1st century BC- early 1st century AD. Marble. From Lete. Thessaloniki, Archaeological Museum, inv. no. 1934A-Γ. Photograph: © Theodosia Stefanidou-Tiveriou.

features is limited. In the reliefs of Paterinos from Beroia (above, Fig. 1b) and of Dionysophon from Lete (above, Figs. 2b-c), the heads still keep the connection with the 'heroic' models of Hellenistic rulers alive, as is also true for the posture of the bodies. In the relief of Kassandros from Beroia (above, Fig. 3b), we notice a more pronounced tendency to depict certain individual features. This tendency is even more evident in the relief of Gaius Popilius in Thessaloniki from the middle of the century (above, Fig. 8b) that bears similarities to both Delos' examples and also to Paspáros' supposed head from Pergamon (above, Fig. 9). However, in a series of reliefs, almost contemporary with the cases above, there is a strong classicizing tendency with a purely idealistic rendering of heads reminiscent of classical models (above, Figs. 5, 6, 7). Around the middle of the century, on the other hand, we also notice influences from Rome's realistic portrait style, albeit to a very limited extent at the time, such as on a relief head from Beroia (above, Fig. 10). In none of these cases can we conclude that the realistic or the classicistic style of the portrait heads is associated exclusively with Greek or Roman patrons. This is due to the fact that immigrant Romans in Macedonia chose the same forms of funerary monuments, the same styles in depicting physiognomy and often the same costume also (i.e. the *himation*) as the Greek inhabitants of Macedonia.

However, the high-quality relief head of Thessaloniki dating to around the middle of the 1st century BC (above, Figs. 11a-b) is clearly dependent on the realistic style of Rome as well as on a particular type of portrait head. This can be interpreted as an indication of the influence that the portraits of powerful figures at the heart of the Empire, and above all of Julius Caesar, would have exerted, even in the East. In all probability, this influence affected both the Roman officials depicted in Greek cities and members of the local elites, who were inevitably very often close to the centre of power. The case of Theophanes speaks volumes and cannot be regarded as an exception among the Greek elites, as was recently proposed.<sup>100</sup> But even when it comes to the well-known portrait of a priest in the Athens National Museum, which refers directly back to

<sup>100</sup> See Voutiras 2017, 159, who believes that there is currently no evidence to suggest that 'the relations of upper-class Greeks with representatives of the Roman administration before the Imperial period, even when they were friendly, led to Romanization, even on a superficial level'. We have a good deal of information on the good, and for the most part beneficent, relations between the cities and the central government (e.g., Salzmann 1985, 249-250, n. 35 with references) and thus the influences from the Romans are almost self-evident.

Julius Caesar in terms of its facial features,<sup>101</sup> there is no reason to assume that it depicts a Roman, when we bear in mind the fact that those who held priestly offices in Roman Greece were members of the local elite in their cities.<sup>102</sup> Thus identifying the beautiful relief portrait from the Agora of Thessaloniki with a Roman official is indeed one possibility, but not the only one. It might perhaps be presumed that in Macedonia (and elsewhere) in the 1st century BC, the conditions of that time were not particularly favourable to awarding honours to people from the local elites; yet, evidence of this (although rare) is not entirely absent. One such piece of evidence comes from Thessaloniki itself, indeed from exactly the same place where the relief portrait mentioned above was found. It concerns one ‘Parnassos’ (the name has not been preserved in its entirety) from Thessaloniki, who was honoured for his benefactions by the city in 62-61 BC with a foliage wreath, a bronze statue, and the erection of a stele in the most conspicuous place in the Agora (*ἐν τῷ ἐπιφανεστάτῳ τόπῳ τῆς ἀγοράς*).<sup>103</sup> It is worth noting that, according to Paul Gauthier’s completed version of the surviving inscription, ‘Parnassos’ undertook to cover the costs of all the above honours himself, a practice that was observed in many Greek cities in the 2nd and 1st centuries BC, and which was, to a large extent, a consequence of the impoverished state of these cities.<sup>104</sup>

However, in addition to such high-profile individuals, we should not exclude the possibility of other members of local communities, e.g. *negotiatores*,

<sup>101</sup> See above n. 83. The same applies to the roughly contemporary head with *strophion* from the Athenian Agora, inv. no. S 333; Buschor 1995, 108, n. 217, fig. 58; Croz 2002, 101, G6, 134; Harrison 1953, 13; Karapanagiotou 2013, 171, n. 40, figs. 9-10; von den Hoff 2008, 139, n. 97. Even if he is a priest of Isis, he is not necessarily an Egyptian, Harrison 1953, 13. Unlike the one mentioned above, the priest Lakrateides on the large relief from Eleusis, Archaeological Museum, inv. no. 5079, was depicted with classicizing features as a mature, bearded man, see Klöckner 2012, 32-33, 40, n. 54, fig. 2; von den Hoff 2008, 139-140.

<sup>102</sup> See Camia 2017.

<sup>103</sup> *IG* 10 2,15. See recently Biard 2017, 396, n. 17, 416, n. 83; Gauthier 2000; Voutiras 2017, 160, n. 26-27; see esp. Sève 2005, 259, where other honorific inscriptions from Thessaloniki dedicated to Greeks of the 1st century BC are also recorded. See also more recently on another, fragmentarily preserved, decree of 57 BC from Thessaloniki, that was intended to be set up in the gymnasium, *IG* 10 2.1s 1045. On that too the honorand was the recipient of a crown of foliage, a painted image, and a bronze statue.

<sup>104</sup> Gauthier 2000, esp. 59. Cf. Ma 2013, 247, n. 36. According to Sève 2005, 269, as far as we know, Parnassos is the only case of a large-scale benefactor and member of the elite in Thessaloniki.



and not just Romans but also Greeks adopting the individualized physiognomy for their funerary monuments. Just as it had in Rome,<sup>105</sup> the notion of highlighting the personal element would have proved alluring to the up-and-coming social classes.<sup>106</sup> It is unlikely that all the local workshops in Macedonia were capable at that time of responding to new demands from patrons, unlike the Attic artist who carved the beautiful portrait from Thessaloniki. Nevertheless we can see just how quickly, in the subsequent decades, the desire to follow the new, Augustan fashion left its mark on local works of art. In two well preserved reliefs from local workshops of the Augustan period, a votive image from the Sarapieion in Thessaloniki (Fig. 13) and a funerary one from the cemetery at Lete (Fig. 14), the large-scale male figures have features and hairstyles that undoubtedly adopted the new fashion of the period.<sup>107</sup>

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<sup>105</sup> See, e.g., Zanker and Ewald 2012, 176-178.

<sup>106</sup> Zanker 2011, 115.

<sup>107</sup> They are both in the Archaeological Museum in Thessaloniki inv. nos. 868+2596; Stefanidou-Tiveriou and Voutiras 2020, cat. no. 899 and inv. no. 1934A-Γ; Despinis et al. 1997, 85-87, n. 62-64; Kalaitzi 2016, 235-237, n. 143; for details of the heads see Lagogianni-Georgakarakos 1998, pl. 27, 56b. On their dating to somewhere between the end of the 1st century BC and the early 1st century AD, see Stefanidou-Tiveriou 2018b, 111-112, fig. 16.

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# Portrait Statues of Athenians in Late Hellenistic Delos and Athens: Honorands, Patrons, and Portrait Styles

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## *Abstract*

This chapter analyses the patterns of patronage in portrait statues on Delos and in Athens in the late Hellenistic period. The aim is to reassess the notion, first suggested by Andrew Stewart in 1979 and now widely accepted, that in this period Delos and Athens represented wholly separate spheres of portrait production, with the portraits from one—Delos—more cutting-edge in their style, and those from the other—Athens—still being made in the by then old-fashioned neo-Classical style. I first examine the abundant epigraphic evidence from both places, focusing on the portraits set up by Athenian patrons of Athenian subjects, and I then consider the sculptural remains. I conclude that the epigraphic evidence shows a much closer connection between Delos and Athens in this period and, while it does indeed appear sculptors mostly worked in one center or the other, the patrons and subjects of these statues were active in both. Finally, I argue that the realism one observes in these late Hellenistic portraits is better understood within the long history of portraiture in Athens, rather than being explained as the result of Roman influence.<sup>1</sup>

In his ground-breaking book, *Attika: Studies in Athenian Sculpture of the Hellenistic Age*, published in 1979, Andrew Stewart set out a compelling argument, based on epigraphic, archaeological, sculptural, and historical evidence, for dating the bulk of the marble portraits preserved from Delos to between

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<sup>1</sup> I would like to thank John Camp for giving me permission to study and publish the portraits found in the Athenian Agora excavations. Thanks are also due to Elizabeth Baltes for her assistance in studying the statue bases from Delos, the initial results of which can be found in Dillon and Baltes 2013. Finally, I commend my co-editors and the staff of the Norwegian Institute at Athens for all their hard work in getting this volume into print, and in particular the director, Dr. Jorunn Økland, for her kind and generous hospitality in hosting the conference from which this volume derives.

about 130 and 88 BC.<sup>2</sup> This conclusion is now well accepted. The portraits from Delos have thus emerged as the sole substantial corpus of well-dated Late Hellenistic portraits, and as such they have become *the* crucial group of images for understanding the historical development of Late Hellenistic portraiture, and in particular of the so-called veristic style.<sup>3</sup> In addition, by analyzing the epigraphic evidence for portrait statues on Delos and in Athens, Stewart also concluded, based on sculptors' signatures, that the majority of Athenian portrait sculptors who signed statue bases on Delos had little if any connection to their home city, and, conversely, that Athenian sculptors who signed bases in Athens hardly ever worked on the island. This division, Stewart hypothesized, was the result of a divergence between the portrait styles current in the two centers: on Delos, the dominant mode was cutting edge and innovative stylistically, perhaps due to what he characterized as 'a novel and singular clientele and its demands,' while in Athens, the dominant portrait mode was backward looking in its continued use of the styles of the classical past.<sup>4</sup> According to Stewart, 'the as yet barely-articulated needs and prejudices of new patrons, a bourgeois clientele dominated by non-Greeks, especially Italians'<sup>5</sup> made the Neo-classical style of contemporary Athenian portraiture of little interest or use to the portrait sculptors of Delos.

This geographic divide in sculptors between Delos and Athens as expressed in the epigraphic evidence seems real enough: it is certainly striking, for example, that in the later 2nd and early 1st century BC, Hephaisstion, son of Myron, and Eutyichides, son of Hephaisstion, both from Athens, together made about 25 statues on Delos mostly for Athenian patrons,<sup>6</sup> but Eutyichides' signature

<sup>2</sup> Stewart 1979, 65-73. See the helpful chart on page 68, where Stewart compiles the various dates given to individual Delian portraits by Buschor 1971; Hafner; 1954; Marcadé 1969; Michalowski 1932 and Schweitzer 1948. Prior to Stewart's redating, these scholars had dated the portraits from Delos to between 100 and 20 BC; only Marcadé suggested that most of the portraits were made before 75 BC.

<sup>3</sup> Other important studies of Late Hellenistic/Late Republican portraiture include Croz 2002 (with review by Papini 2007); Giuliani 1986 (with review by Smith 1988b).

<sup>4</sup> Stewart 1979, 67.

<sup>5</sup> Stewart 1979, 72.

<sup>6</sup> Of the nine statue bases from Delos signed by Hephaisstion, seven preserve the names and places of origin of the subject and/or patron. Of these seven, six are for Athenians (ID 1643, 1647, 1870, 1966, 2007, 2076). Of the 16 statue bases from Delos signed by Eutyichides, 13 preserve the names and places of origin of the subject and/or patron. Of these 13, 11 are for Athenians (ID 1869, 1871, 1872, 1873, 1891, 1892, 1923bis, 1929, 1994, 2010, 2081).

is preserved on only one base in Athens itself. And although scholars tend to emphasize the sculptor's share in shaping the appearance of a statue, the patron perhaps played an even more important role.<sup>7</sup> Stewart certainly acknowledged the influence of the patron in his reference to 'a novel and singular clientele' on Delos, by which, however, he meant the Romans/Italians on the island, who placed 'new demands on Greek portraiture in the late second century with the "new Hellenism" of Rome'.<sup>8</sup> But the fact is that, in the period from c. 167-c. 88 BC, there are more than twice as many portrait statues set up in honor of Athenians on Delos than of Romans or Italians.<sup>9</sup> It should also be noted that of the approximately 39 portrait monuments for Romans on the island, almost one-third were set up in the so-called Agora of the Italians. The notion, therefore, that the portrait statue landscape of Delos was dominated by Romans/Italians, who, because of their overwhelming presence, would likely have driven the stylistic agenda,<sup>10</sup> is undercut by the evidence of the portrait statue bases.

What about the sculptural evidence? I have argued elsewhere that a marble portrait head from the Athenian Agora Excavations suggests there was in fact a much closer connection in terms of style and technique between the Late Hellenistic portraits from Athens and Delos, and that a series of 'veristic'-looking marble portraits from Athens, currently dated to the mid- to later-1st century BC, are more likely historically to predate the sack of Sulla in 86 BC, and are therefore contemporary with the portraits from Delos.<sup>11</sup> My aim in this chapter is to compare the patterns of portrait patronage on Delos and in Athens in the Late Hellenistic period in order to ground my argument for the re-dating of

<sup>7</sup> Smith 2002, 71-72; Smith 2007, 86.

<sup>8</sup> Stewart 1979, 67.

<sup>9</sup> According to my own calculations, and taking into account only those inscriptions that are either securely or likely dated between 167 and 88 BC and for which the name and *ethnikon* of the portrait subject are known, there were about 39 statue monuments for Romans and about 98 monuments for Athenians. I have compiled my lists from ID volumes 4 and 5; the Packhard Humanities Institute online corpus of Searchable Greek Inscriptions (<https://epigraphy.packhum.org>); Biard 2017, 433-464; Brun-Kyriakidis 2016; Habicht 1991; Payne 1984; Trümper 2008, 316-322; 2014.

<sup>10</sup> Stewart 1979, 73, 'The Delian material, in significant part representations of Italians'; (Smith 1991, 256), 'Inscriptions (from Delos) show that of the about seventy "private" or non-royal statues set up in the later second and early first century, close to one half were of Romans and Italians (merchants and other)'.

<sup>11</sup> Dillon 2019b, 133-135; Queyrel 2003, 132-137 has also suggested that a number of the marble portraits from Athens are contemporary with the portraits from Delos.

these portraits, based primarily on sculptural style and technique, in the history of portrait practice at these two centers. The inscribed statue bases for portraits of Athenians set up by Athenians form the core of my evidence; this evidence suggests that in both places, images of Athenians dominated the portrait statue landscape. My intention is to show that, just as the religious and political history of Delos and Athens in the Late Hellenistic period are seen as closely interrelated,<sup>12</sup> for the history of Late Hellenistic Attic portraiture, Athens and Delos are also best understood not as separate and wholly unrelated centers of production, but as a single, interconnected sphere of activity. This is actually not a new idea, but an old one: that there was a close relationship between portrait styles in Athens and Delos in the Late Hellenistic period was argued for long ago by both Giovanni Becatti and Seymour Howard.<sup>13</sup> The close connection between Athens and Delos in this period is also suggested by the individuals and families who played prominent public roles in both centers, some of whom set up portrait statues in both places. That patrons were active in both Athens and Delos is perhaps more salient than the fact that, with few exceptions, the sculptors were not.

Finally, I revisit the issue of Roman influence on the style of the Late Hellenistic marble portraits from Athens. I argue that, rather than their realism being seen as the result of the influence of Roman portrait styles, these images are better understood within the long history of portrait representation in the city: already in the Early Hellenistic period, that is long before the advent of the Roman 'veristic' style, portrait statues in Athens exhibited in their own way a naturalistic insistence on the characteristics of age. In fact, from the evidence of Attic funerary monuments, the adoption of recognizably Roman styles of portraiture in the representation of local subjects is not widespread, at least in Athens, until the mid- to later-1st century AD, and even then it is the images of women that appear to be most affected by this trend.<sup>14</sup>

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<sup>12</sup> Political history of Athenian Delos summarized in Habicht 1997, 246-263; religious history in Mikalson 1998, 208-241.

<sup>13</sup> Becatti 1940, 73-75; Howard 1970, 106, n. 13.

<sup>14</sup> That recognizably Roman portrait styles appear later than is usually acknowledged is paralleled in the later adoption of Roman styles in Athenian pottery in the early 1st century AD (Rotroff 1997). See also Smith 2015, which questions the usefulness of labelling the visual culture of the Greek East in the Roman Imperial period as 'Roman'.

### *Portrait statues of Athenians on Delos, c. 167-88 BC*

Some of the earliest portrait statues from the period of Athenian control of the island were public monuments set up in honor of Athenian officials, in particular for *epimeletai*, who led the government on the island.<sup>15</sup> The earliest preserved statue base for an *epimeletes* honors Pausimachos of the deme Kolonos, set up by the *demos* in c. 150 BC,<sup>16</sup> but the majority of preserved statue bases for Athenian *epimeletai* and other Athenian officials date to the last quarter of the 2nd century BC,<sup>17</sup> when the setting up of portrait statues on Delos for all honorands was at its height.<sup>18</sup> From the statue bases of these Athenian officials it is also clear that, by the later 2nd century BC, the Athenians shared in governing the island with other groups either living or present on Delos, including Romans, other Greeks, and merchants and shipowners.<sup>19</sup> Examples include three statues of the *epimeletes* Epigenes of Melite, two of which stood next to one another in front of the Portico of Philip;<sup>20</sup> two statues of Theophrastos of Acharnia, *epimeletes* in 126/5 BC;<sup>21</sup> a statue of Zenon of Phyle, *epimeletes* in c. 118/7 BC;<sup>22</sup> a statue of Drakon of Bate, *epimeletes* in c. 112/1 BC;<sup>23</sup> and a statue of Dionysios of Pallene, *epimeletes* in 110/9 BC.<sup>24</sup> Other Athenian officials were also honored with portrait statues by these governing groups, including Menophilos of Sounion, *epimeletes* of the *emporion* in 124/3 BC;<sup>25</sup> and Kalliphon of Pambotadai and Thrasippos of Gargettos, who served as *agoronomoi*

<sup>15</sup> Public portrait statues, mostly of *epimeletes* but also of other Athenian officials: ID 1618-1619, 1643-1658, 1664-1666, 1670, 1703, 1813, 1815-1816, 1820. See also Mikalson 1998, 220.

<sup>16</sup> ID 1618; for Pausimachos see also Tracy and Habicht 1991, 210-211.

<sup>17</sup> 19 statues out of a total of 24: ID 1643-1655, 1664, 1670, 1703, 1813, 1815, 1820.

<sup>18</sup> See the chart in Stewart 1979, 66.

<sup>19</sup> See Habicht 1997, 250-251. These groups also set up portraits in honor of the overseers of the markets (ID 1647-49), and of a priest of Apollo (ID 1656). According to Habicht 1997, 259, 'Delos reached the peak of its prosperity in the last third of the second century. The surviving inscriptions are most numerous for the period 120-89, and the wealth of dated dedications greater than ever'.

<sup>20</sup> ID 1643, made by Hephaistion son of Myron; ID 1644, made by Boethos and Theodosios.

<sup>21</sup> ID 1645-1646.

<sup>22</sup> ID 1652.

<sup>23</sup> ID 1653.

<sup>24</sup> ID 1654, and perhaps 1655.

<sup>25</sup> ID 1647; made by Hephaistion son of Myron.



in 124/3 BC.<sup>26</sup> As at Athens, public honorific statues of religious functionaries were more unusual, although Ammonios of Pambotadai, priest of Apollo, was so honored in 103/2 BC.<sup>27</sup>

Much more common were the statues set up by family members in honor of their relatives' activity in cultic rituals.<sup>28</sup> A statue of Echedemos of Sounion, who had served as priest of Asklepios and as *agoronomos*, was set up by his brother Demonikos at the end of the 2nd century BC.<sup>29</sup> Shortly after 116/5 BC, Dionysios of Sphettios set up a bronze statue of his son Dionysios in Sarapieion C in honor of his priesthood of the Egyptian Gods.<sup>30</sup> In 101/0 BC, a daughter of Protogenes of Philaidai set up a statue of her father, who had been priest when Agathokles was archon.<sup>31</sup> As we will see was also the case at Athens, parents frequently honored their children for more minor cult service: on Delos, sons who served as *kleidouchoi* were honored with statues,<sup>32</sup> as were daughters who were *kanephoroi* and sub-priestesses of Artemis.<sup>33</sup> A few specific examples stand for the group as a whole. Nicharchos of Halai and Gorge of Marathon set up a statue of their son Nicharchos, who had been *kleidouchos*, in Sarapieion C.<sup>34</sup> The priest Sosion of Oinoe set up an under-lifesize marble statue of his daughter Hedeia in honor of her service as *kanephoros* of the Dionysia, also in Sarapieion C.<sup>35</sup> The extended family of Zenon—his parents, his uncle and his siblings (two brothers and a sister)—set up his portrait statue in honor of Zenon's service as *kleidouchos* and *pythiast* at Delphi.<sup>36</sup> The base of the statue was found on the summit of Mount Kynthos and was signed by the sculptor Eutychedes, son of

<sup>26</sup> ID 1648-1649; both statues made by Ammonios and Perigenes, the sons of Zopyros.

<sup>27</sup> ID 1656; statue made by Demonstratos son of Demonstratos of Athens.

<sup>28</sup> Portrait statue dedications by Athenians of family members to Apollo: Mikalson 1998, 220-221.

<sup>29</sup> ID 1834; his father Echos had been priest of Asklepios in 158/7 BC: ID 2605, ll. 22-23.

<sup>30</sup> ID 2058; a second statue of Dionysios was set up by the *melanphoroi* and the *therapeutai* in Sarapeion C: ID 2078. See Brun-Kyriakidis 2016, 75-76.

<sup>31</sup> ID 2067; SEG 16:454. Priests might also be honored by friends and/or family members. ID 1885; Zenon of Athens, priest of Zeus Kynthios and Athena Kynthia, statue set up by his three sons and his friends (*oi philoi*); ID 1887: Diophantos of Marathon, priest of Zeus Kynthios and Athena Kynthia, set up by his friends(?).

<sup>32</sup> ID 1830, 1869, 1875-1876, 1891-1892, 2070.

<sup>33</sup> ID 1867-1873, 1963, 2074, 2238.

<sup>34</sup> ID 1875; c. 130.

<sup>35</sup> ID 2016; Brun-Kyriakidis 2016, 76-77. Set up in 110/9.

<sup>36</sup> ID 1891.

Hephaistion. The same sculptor also made a statue of Zenon's sister, Menias, who served as *kanephoros* at Delphi and as sub-priestess of Artemis on Delos.<sup>37</sup> This statue too was set up by her parents, her uncle, and her three brothers, in the sanctuary of Apollo. Eutyichides, who worked primarily for Athenian patrons, made two other statues of Athenian girls: one, for the daughter of Basileides of Melite, who had been sub-priestess of Artemis and whose statue was set up by her parents by decree when Medeios was archon;<sup>38</sup> the other for a girl who had been *kanephoros* of Dionysos and sub-priestess of Artemis when Pasion of Anaphlystos was *epimeletes* of the island.<sup>39</sup> Her statue too was likely set up by her parents. That a number of these statues were signed by the sculptors who made them suggests the prestige value of these monuments for their patrons.<sup>40</sup>

While many of the statues of these young cult personnel were set up by Athenian citizens about whom we know very little, a number of these monuments are associated with well-documented individuals. Two of the best-known are Sarapion (II) of Melite and Medeios (II) of Piraeus, who were among the most influential men of late Hellenistic Athens and who were politically active both on Delos and in Athens.<sup>41</sup> Sarapion was Hoplite General in Athens in 102/1 and 98/7 BC, and *epimeletes* of Delos in 100/99 BC;<sup>42</sup> he set up a statue of his daughter Sosandra, in honor of her service as *kanephoros* for the Lenaia and the Dionysia, and for her role as sub-priestess of Artemis.<sup>43</sup> Sarapion himself was commemorated with a statue set up on Delos by a man from Tyre.<sup>44</sup> Medeios of Piraeus, who may have been a long-term resident of Delos, was honored for his role as *Delias* by his parents in an exedra monument set up in the sanctuary of Apollo c. 120 BC that included statues of his sisters, Philippe, who had

<sup>37</sup> ID 1871.

<sup>38</sup> ID 1872; in 100/99.

<sup>39</sup> ID 1873; in 89/8.

<sup>40</sup> On the issue of sculptors signing statue bases on Delos see Dillon and Baltés 2013, 232-237, with additional bibliography. It should be noted that the inclusion of the sculptor's name on a statue's base was always a minority choice: from the period between 166 and the end of the first century BC, only about 20 % of the statue bases on Delos include the name of the sculptor who made the statue.

<sup>41</sup> Stemma in Perrin-Saminadayar 2005, Annexe I, 404. See also Habicht 1997, 288; Mikalson 1998, 239-241, 279-280; Tracy 1982, 159-168, 210.

<sup>42</sup> Tracy 1982, 159-168, 215-216.

<sup>43</sup> ID 1870; the base was found in front of the Portico of Antigonos and the statue was made by Hephaistion son of Myron.

<sup>44</sup> ID 2005; Perrin-Saminadayar 2005, 56.

been *kanephoros* at the Delia and sub-priestess of Artemis, and Laodameia, who served as *kanephoros* at both the Delia and the Apollonia.<sup>45</sup> Medeios later served as *trierarch* on Delos around 106/5 BC;<sup>46</sup> Archon at Athens in 101/0 BC;<sup>47</sup> director of the public bank on Delos in 100/99 BC;<sup>48</sup> Hoplite General in Athens in 99/8 BC;<sup>49</sup> and *epimeletes* of Delos in 98/7 BC, for which he was honored with a statue set up near the Temple of Apollo by a father and son pair from Athens.<sup>50</sup> Sarapion and Medeios were clearly both of enormous wealth, contributing several talents to help fund the Pythais of 98/7 BC,<sup>51</sup> and both were closely aligned both politically and personally: when Sarapion was *epimeletes* of Delos, Medeios ran the public bank, and their families were first connected through the marriage of Medeios' sister Philippe to Diokles of Melite, Sarapion's son.<sup>52</sup> Their political careers show the close ties and constant movement back and forth between Delos and Athens in this period. In the 1st century BC, the families continued to be joined through marriage in successive generations, and multiple members occupied important political and religious offices in Athens and Eleusis.<sup>53</sup>

Perhaps the largest category of statue monument was the votive portrait statue: a statue dedicated to the gods, typically to Apollo, Artemis, and Leto, but unrelated, at least according to the inscription, to any religious service the subjects may have performed.<sup>54</sup> These statues might be set up by family members either individually<sup>55</sup> or as family groups.<sup>56</sup> A number of the Athenian family

<sup>45</sup> ID 1869; the statues were made by Eutyichides son of Hephaistion.

<sup>46</sup> ID 1841.

<sup>47</sup> IG II<sup>2</sup> 1028 and 2336.

<sup>48</sup> IG II<sup>2</sup> 2236.

<sup>49</sup> IG II<sup>2</sup> 2236.

<sup>50</sup> ID 1816.

<sup>51</sup> Tracy 1982.

<sup>52</sup> Perrin-Saminadayar 2005; Tracy 1982, esp. 159-168.

<sup>53</sup> Perrin-Saminadayar 2005, with a comprehensive stemma in Annexe I, 404.

<sup>54</sup> Of the approximately 98 portrait statue monuments for Athenians on Delos, around a third (33) were straightforward votive portrait statues with no mention of any religious office held by the honorands. These include: ID 1962, 1964, 1966, 1968-1970, 1972-1975, 1980-1983, 1985, 1987, 1991-1995, 1998-1999, 2006-2007, 2010, 2011bis, 2092-2093, 2095-2096, 2246, 2487.

<sup>55</sup> ID 1966, 1972-1973, 1980-1983, 1985, 1991, 1993-1995, 1998-1999, 2006-2007, 2010, 2011bis, 2092-2093, 2096, 2246, 2487.

<sup>56</sup> Family monuments: ID 1962, 1964, 1968-1970, 1974-1975, 1987, 1992, 2095.

group monuments took the form of an *exedra*, an imposing statue monument that featured a line of bronze portrait statues standing above and at the back of a bench for seating.<sup>57</sup> The *exedra* as a monument form was especially popular on Delos between 167-100 BC, with more examples found here than at any other site. The format seems to have been particularly favored by Athenians: almost half of the *exedrae* that preserve their inscriptions were set up by and for Athenian families.<sup>58</sup> It is interesting to note that the *exedra* as a monument form has been found only once in Hellenistic Athens itself; this monument, set up by a family with connections to Delos, is discussed in more detail below.

Finally, individuals from Athens who were unrelated by family ties might also dedicate portrait statues for other Athenian subjects who were friends or acquaintances, perhaps in return for some favor. Two examples: the brothers Dionysios and Sostratos of Athens dedicated to Apollo a statue in honor of their friend Nikion of Athens because of his *kalokagathia* towards them;<sup>59</sup> Dositheos and Diordoros, sons of Diodoros, and Dosithea, daughter of Straton, all three from Athens, set up a statue of Jason, also of Athens, on account of his *dikaio-syne* and *eunoia* towards them; the statue was dedicated to Apollo, Artemis, and Leto.<sup>60</sup>

In sum, it is clear from the evidence of both the signed and unsigned portrait statue bases from Delos that the height of Athenian honorific activity, and statue activity in general, was from about 130 until about 88 BC, after which there was a precipitous drop-off in the setting up of statues.<sup>61</sup> In the post-88 BC period, there are only a handful of statues set up in honor of Athenians: these comprise a statue of Asklepiades of Athens, who was honored with gold

<sup>57</sup> *Exedrae* set up by/for Athenians, some statues set up in recognition of religious activity: ID 1869, 1962-1964, 1968-1969, 1975. On *exedrae* in general see von Thüngen 1994; for *exedrae* on Delos see Baltes 2016, 68-103; Dillon and Baltes 2013.

<sup>58</sup> There are at least 42 *exedrae* on Delos, in various states of preservation. Most are concentrated on the Dromos and in front of the Portico of Antigonos in the Sanctuary of Apollo. There are around 18 *exedra* monuments that preserve at least part of their inscriptions; of these from which the origin of the subjects can be discerned, eight were set up by Athenians.

<sup>59</sup> ID 1999; dated to the last quarter of the 2nd century BC.

<sup>60</sup> ID 2006; dated to the last quarter of the 2nd century BC.

<sup>61</sup> Chart in Stewart 1979, 66 (only dated inscriptions are included): 166-150: six bases, one of which is signed; 149-125: 28 bases, five signed; 124-100: 94 bases, 19 signed; 99-88: 54 bases, ten signed; 88-69: 16 bases, only four are signed, all of which are restored monuments; 69-0: 21 bases, 20 of which are not signed.

crowns and a bronze statue in c. 70 BC for his role in protecting the island;<sup>62</sup> a statue of the *epimeletes* Alexandros of Phlya in 54/3 BC;<sup>63</sup> and two statues of Polykritos of Azenia, a member of one of the leading families of mid-1st century BC Athens:<sup>64</sup> one set up by his father Polycharmos for his son's role as *kleidouchos*,<sup>65</sup> and the other by his mother Sosipolis, dedicated to Apollo.<sup>66</sup> With regard to sculptors, as Stewart has shown, the few sculptors' signatures attested after 69 BC show a complete turnover in personnel – that is, no sculptor who signed before the two disasters appears to have been active on the island in their aftermath.<sup>67</sup> We see similar patterns in Athens itself.

### *Portrait statues of Athenians in Athens, c. 167-86 BC*

By the time that Athens was given control of Delos by the Roman Senate in 167/6 BC, the city had a very long history of honoring its citizens with portrait statues.<sup>68</sup> Public honorific bronze statues, the evidence for which comes primarily from inscribed decrees and literary sources, were set up by the *boule* and the *demos* beginning in the 4th century BC, mainly in honor of military success, with the Agora the most prestigious display location.<sup>69</sup> In the Early Hellenistic period the honor of a publicly sanctioned portrait statue was extended to, for example, Athenian politicians/orators, poets, and civic benefactors,<sup>70</sup> and in the

<sup>62</sup> ID 1661; statue set up by the Athenians, the Romans, and the other Greeks living on the island, and the merchants and shipowners who put in on the island.

<sup>63</sup> ID 1662; see Tracy 1982, 212-213.

<sup>64</sup> On Polycharmos of Azenia, see Habicht 1997, 324, 326, 327; Rawson 1985, 52-53. He appears to have served as both Archon of Athens and Hoplite General.

<sup>65</sup> ID 1876.

<sup>66</sup> ID 1988.

<sup>67</sup> Stewart 1979, 67. Aristandros of Paros restores the statues made by Agasias of Ephesos.

<sup>68</sup> For a brief and clear sketch of the history of honorific portraits and the portrait statue landscape in Athens from the 4th century to the Late Hellenistic period, see Ma 2013, 103-107; see also Keesling 2017; Krumeich 1997; Oliver 2007.

<sup>69</sup> Oliver 2007, S3 (Konon), S6 (Chabrias), S7 (Iphikrates), S8 (Timotheos), S12 (Diphilos), S15 (Demades), S16-17 (names not preserved), S20 (Lykourgos), S24 (name not preserved).

<sup>70</sup> Oliver 2007, 190-93; S30 (Olympiodoros), S34 (Philippides of Paiania), S37 (Chairippos of Aphidna), S38 (Philippides of Kephale), S39 (Demosthenes of Paiania), S40 (Demochares of Leukonoe), S 41 (Kallias of Sphettos), S43 (Phaidros of Sphettos), S45 (Thoukritos of Myrrhinous), S46 (Aristophanes of Leukonoe), S49 (Glaukon), S50 (Demainetos of Athmonon), and S 51 (Demokles of Aphidna). We should add to this list the statue of Menander that was set up

Later Hellenistic period, other institutions, such as the *ephebes*, the cavalry, and soldiers, authorized statue awards.<sup>71</sup> According to the evidence preserved, the *ephebes* seem to have been particularly active in this regard.<sup>72</sup> From decrees we know that the *boule* and the *demos* approved the requests of the *ephebes* to set up bronze statues in honor of a series of *kosmetai*: Apollonios in 161/0 BC;<sup>73</sup> Dionysios of Phlya in 122/1 BC;<sup>74</sup> Theochares of Kerameis in 118/7 BC;<sup>75</sup> Demetrios of Alopeke in 116/5 BC;<sup>76</sup> and Eudoxos of Acherdous in 106/5 BC.<sup>77</sup>

Inscribed statue bases for public honorific portrait statues add to the evidence provided by the decrees. For example, in the mid-2nd century BC, the *demos* honored Miltiades son of Zoilos of Marathon with a statue, probably for his service as *agonothetes* of the Theseia in 153/2 BC and/or for his role in putting on the Panathenaia in or shortly after 144/3 BC.<sup>78</sup> At the end of the 2nd century BC, the *demos* dedicated a double statue base for a father and son pair: Zenon son of Asklepiades and Asklepiades son of Zenon, both perhaps of Phyle.<sup>79</sup> The father may have been *archon* in 133/2 BC and *epimeletes* of Delos in 118/7 BC; his statue as *epimeletes* stood on Delos in the Sanctuary of Apollo.<sup>80</sup> Just as on Delos, public honorific statues in honor of cult officials were more unusual, although there are a few cases in which the *demos* did dedicate statues: Philistion, priestess of Pandrosos, was honored with such a statue in

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in the theater of Dionysos c. 292/1 BC: Fittschen 1991; Papastamati-Moock 2007. See also Ma 2013, 273-279 for an analysis of three public honorific portraits set up in Athens in the early third century (Menander, Olympiodoros, and Demosthenes).

<sup>71</sup> Oliver 2007, S52 (Euphanes of Euonymon), S53 (Kephisodoros of ?Xypete), S54 (a hipparch, ?Herakleitos of Ikarion), S55 (the *ephebes* of 185/4), S56 (Satyra), S57 (Hermaios of Paionidai), S58 (Epikles of Acharnai), S61 (Apollonios, *kosmetes*), S63 (a hierophant), S65 (Dionysios of Phlya), S66 (Theochares of Kerameis), S67 (Demetrios of Alopeke), S68 (Diodoros of Halai), S 70 (Eudoxos of Acherdous), and S71 (Onaso).

<sup>72</sup> Oliver 2007, 192.

<sup>73</sup> Oliver 2007, S61.

<sup>74</sup> Oliver 2007, S65; IG II<sup>2</sup> 1006, l. 96.

<sup>75</sup> Oliver 2007, S66; IG II<sup>2</sup> 1008, ll. 63, 71.

<sup>76</sup> Oliver 2007, S67; IG II<sup>2</sup> 1009, l. 42.

<sup>77</sup> Oliver 2007, S70; IG II<sup>2</sup> 1011, ll. 43, 50-51.

<sup>78</sup> Statue base: IG II<sup>2</sup> 3867, statue made by Eucheir and Euboulides. Honors recorded in IG II<sup>2</sup> 968. See Perrin-Saminadayar 2012, 143 and Mikalson 1998, 257-258, 261.

<sup>79</sup> The base, which preserves the settings for the feet of the bronze statues, was found in the Agora Excavations: Geagan 2011, H335.

<sup>80</sup> ID 1652; 1878a, 2054, 2227; Habicht 1990, 461, n. 10; 1991, 198.

c. 150 BC;<sup>81</sup> the *demos* and the boule set up a statue of an *epimeletes* of the Mysteries (his name is not preserved) in the Sanctuary of Demeter and Kore at Eleusis, sometime between c. 169-135 BC;<sup>82</sup> and a woman who had been a hearth initiate and *kanephoros* in the Pythaïs and the Panathenaia (whose name is also not preserved) received a public honorific portrait statue in the City Eleusinion, set up in the latter half of the 2nd century BC when Habryllis, daughter of Mikion of Kephisia, was priestess.<sup>83</sup> Catherine Keesling has also suggested that the statue of Philtera, priestess of Athena Polias in c. 130-125 BC and a descendent of Lykourgos, was set up on the Acropolis as a dedication of the *demos*.<sup>84</sup> The evidence from decrees shows, however, that the more typical public honors for priests and priestesses in Athens was praise and the awarding of a crown.<sup>85</sup>

As was the case on Delos, it would appear that public honorific portrait statues were in the minority in the statue landscape of Hellenistic Athens, at least outside of the Agora. Much more numerous were the privately dedicated portrait statues, set up by family members primarily in sanctuaries such as the Acropolis and the City Eleusinion.<sup>86</sup> The earliest preserved statue bases date to the 4th century BC,<sup>87</sup> but most of the epigraphic evidence comes from the Later Hellenistic period; the second half of the 2nd century BC is particularly rich.<sup>88</sup> As on Delos, these statues honor the person, and by extension their families, for their religious service. For example, Dionysios, Niketes, and Philylla, the

<sup>81</sup> IG II<sup>2</sup> 3481; SEG 39: 218.

<sup>82</sup> IG II<sup>2</sup> 3463; Clinton 2005, n. 226.

<sup>83</sup> Geagan 2011, H333; IG II<sup>2</sup> 3477. On Habryllis see Connelly 2007, 67-68, 242-243.

<sup>84</sup> Keesling 2012, 499-500.

<sup>85</sup> The practice of awarding public statues to priestesses may have begun in the 4th century BC: Keesling 2012, suggests that the statues of Lysimache, priestess of Athena Polias, and her diakonos Syeris were set up by the *demos*; Lambert (2012, 72, n. 20), however, thinks the statue of Lysimache may have been set up by her son, and that portraits of priests or priestesses were mostly privately dedicated. For the public honors awarded to priests and priestesses (crowns), see the decrees in Lambert 2012.

<sup>86</sup> Ajootian 2007; Clinton 2005; Dillon 2019a; 2019b; Keesling 2007; 2012; Löhr 2000; Müller 2010; Schmidt 2010; von den Hoff 2003; von den Hoff 2008.

<sup>87</sup> For some of these 4th-century BC statue bases see Ajootian 2007, Dillon 2019b (City Eleusinion) and Keesling 2012 (Acropolis).

<sup>88</sup> The removal, reuse, and reinscription of many of the portrait statues on the Acropolis from the 4th and early 3rd centuries BC may well obscure the true nature of the statue landscape of the sanctuary in the Early Hellenistic period: see, e.g. Keesling 2007; 2012.

children of Athenobios of Eupyridai, set up a statue on the Acropolis of their niece, Chrysis, daughter of Niketos of Pergase, who was priestess of Athena Polias;<sup>89</sup> Ameinokleia, daughter of Philanthos of Phyla, was honored by her children with a portrait statue in Eleusis for her role as priestess of Demeter and Kore;<sup>90</sup> Aristonoe of Rhamnous, priestess of Nemesis, was honored with a marble portrait statue set up by her son;<sup>91</sup> the *hierophant* Menekleides son of Theophemos of Kydatenaios was honored with a statue in Eleusis by his wife and daughter, probably after his death;<sup>92</sup> and Apollonios son of Agenor of Erikeia was honored with a portrait statue, also in Eleusis, by his wife and son in honor of his role as *exegete* of the Eumolpidae.<sup>93</sup> Even more common were the dedication by family members of statues in honor of young cult personnel, such as *arrhephoroi*, *kanephoroi*, and hearth initiates. The dedication of statues of *arrhephoroi*, typically set up on the Acropolis by the girls' parents, appears to begin in the second half of the 3rd century BC and becomes increasingly more common in the 2nd century BC.<sup>94</sup> According to Ralf von den Hoff, the statues of these young girls defined the Acropolis visually as a sphere of female religious activity.<sup>95</sup>

At the 'Sanctuary of the Two Goddesses at Eleusis', the history of votive portraits played out slightly differently than it did in the city itself. In contrast to the large number of votive portrait statues set up in the City Eleusinion in the 4th century BC,<sup>96</sup> there are only around three votive portrait monuments set up in Eleusis in this same period,<sup>97</sup> and only one from the 3rd century BC.<sup>98</sup> Hon-

<sup>89</sup> IG II<sup>2</sup> 3484; see Keesling 2012, 496, 500 (dated to 106/5 BC).

<sup>90</sup> IG II<sup>2</sup> 3495; see Clinton 2005, n. 268 (early 1st century BC).

<sup>91</sup> IG II<sup>2</sup> 3462; the only statue to survive along with its base. For this statue see Dillon 2010, 106-110; Ma 2013, 170, 286-287.

<sup>92</sup> IG II<sup>2</sup> 3512; see Clinton 2005, n. 242 (end of the 2nd century BC; as he is named, it was probably set up after his death).

<sup>93</sup> IG II<sup>2</sup> 3487; Clinton 2005, n. 241 (dated to the end of the 2nd century BC).

<sup>94</sup> See Choremi 2004-2009; Mikalson 1998, 199, 256-57; Schmidt 2010; von den Hoff 2003; von den Hoff 2008. On the social status of these girls see Aleshire and Lambert 2003, 85-86 (Lambert). Statue bases dated prior to 86 BC: IG II<sup>2</sup> 3461, 3465, 3466, 3470-3473, 3482, 3486, 3488, 3528. For a possible example of the statue of an *arrhephoros* preserved in two Roman-period copies see von den Hoff 2008, 134-137, figs. 11-12.

<sup>95</sup> von den Hoff 2008, 134.

<sup>96</sup> Dillon 2019b, with earlier bibliography.

<sup>97</sup> Clinton 2005, n. 57-59.

<sup>98</sup> Clinton 2005, n. 211.



orific activity increases dramatically in the 2nd century BC, particularly in the second half, when the focus seems to shift from the City Eleusinion to Eleusis, with around 18 portrait statue monuments set up prior to 86 BC; these honor various Eleusinion officials, including hierophants, priestesses of Demeter and Kore, and young hearth initiates.<sup>99</sup> Many of the individuals represented in the statues at Eleusis were from families who were very active in the city's civic and religious life in the Late Hellenistic period.<sup>100</sup>

In contrast to Delos, however, there appears to have been very few portrait statues set up in honor of Romans in Athens prior to the mid-1st century BC. According to the epigraphic evidence, there are only three statues that are earlier than 86 BC: one of the Roman architect D. Cossutius, who worked on the Temple of Olympian Zeus, set up in c. 175 BC;<sup>101</sup> one for Sextus Pompey, set up by the *demos* on the Acropolis in 118/7 BC;<sup>102</sup> and another for his son Gnaeus Pompey, also set up on the Acropolis by the *demos* c. 104-93 BC.<sup>103</sup> It should, however, be noted that, of the 52 statues compiled by Payne for Roman subjects set up in the period between about 146-88 BC, 33 or over 60 % come from Delos.<sup>104</sup> That is, the number of statues for Romans in Athens before the first century was not unusually low (most Greek cities or sanctuaries appear to have had only a handful<sup>105</sup>); rather, in comparison to other centers, the number of statues of Romans on Delos was unusually high.

In sum, honorific portrait activity in Athens does closely follow what we find on Delos in that the number of portrait monuments of Athenians set up in Athens also peaks in the second half of the 2nd century BC. Of the approximately 50 statues of Athenian subjects set up over the course of the 2nd century BC, over half (or around 35) are dated to between c. 150-100 BC, and most of these (around 25) were set up in the last third of the 2nd century BC. Also as on Delos,

<sup>99</sup> Hierophants: Clinton 2005, n. 236, 242, 246; priestesses: Clinton 2005, n. 243, 266, 268; hearth-initiates: Clinton 2005, n. 238, 244-245, 251-253, 264, 267, 269. Ma (2013, 170) points out that 'the private statue habit at Eleusis is noticeably circumscribed chronologically to the second and first centuries'.

<sup>100</sup> Mikalson 1998, 259-260.

<sup>101</sup> IG II<sup>2</sup> 4099, in the Olympieion sanctuary.

<sup>102</sup> IG II<sup>2</sup> 4100.

<sup>103</sup> IG II<sup>2</sup> 4101.

<sup>104</sup> Payne 1984, 237-238.

<sup>105</sup> Samos: one; Thessaloniki: one; Argos; one; Samothrace: one; Cos: two; Delphi: five; Olympia: six (numbers compiled from Payne 1984, 193-248).

in the immediate aftermath of the sack of Athens in 86 BC, there is a clear drop off in the numbers of new portrait monuments, with only about nine portraits of Athenians set up in the period from 86 to about 50 BC.<sup>106</sup> Five of these portraits, decreed by the *boule*, were painted,<sup>107</sup> which may hint at public financial straits; even those painted portraits that were gilded probably cost much less than a large-scale bronze statue.<sup>108</sup> Two of the nine were statues for descendants of Medeios and Sarapion, both set up at Eleusis: one was a bronze public honorific set up in honor of Medeios (III),<sup>109</sup> the son of the Medeios (II) who had earlier been statuefied on Delos; the other was a private dedication for Medeios III's daughter Timothea,<sup>110</sup> who was Sarapion's (II) great-granddaughter, as hearth initiate, set up by her parents. These families, who came to such prominence in the 2nd century BC, appear to have been among the few leading families of Late Hellenistic Athens to survive and prosper in the wake of the sack.<sup>111</sup> The Sanctuary of the Two Goddesses at Eleusis is a particular focus of honorific and votive portrait activity in the second half of the 1st century BC, when portraits of Athenians once again begin to be set up in increasing numbers: of the almost 60 statues of Athenians set up in the second half of the 1st century BC, around a third (20) come from this sanctuary.

What can the names of sculptors who signed bases in Athens add to this picture?<sup>112</sup> In contrast to Delos, where the names of about 25 sculptors are preserved, most of whom were portraitists and just over half of whom were Athenians,<sup>113</sup> there are fewer sculptors' names preserved from Athens in this period: about 12 sculptors in total, who signed around 23 works.<sup>114</sup> A number of these

<sup>106</sup> IG II<sup>2</sup> 1039, 1049, 1050, 3480, 3489, 3490, 3491; Agora I 683, I 5990.

<sup>107</sup> IG II<sup>2</sup> 1039, 1049, 1050; Agora I 683, I 5990.

<sup>108</sup> Cost of a bronze statue: Ma 2013, 264-265; on the low cost of gilding see Schultz 2009, 74-75.

<sup>109</sup> IG II<sup>2</sup> 3490.

<sup>110</sup> IG II<sup>2</sup> 3491.

<sup>111</sup> For the socio-political discontinuity after the sack in 86 BC, with a number of families who had risen to prominence after 166 BC disappearing from the historical record, see Aleshire and Lambert 2003, 85-86; Aleshire and Lambert 2011, 559-560.

<sup>112</sup> I am relying here primarily on the information gathered in Stewart's Appendix of Athenian sculptors Period 4 (c. 160-c. 86 BC), which lists sculptors from both Delos and Athens in this period.

<sup>113</sup> Stewart 1979, 66 for a summary of the Delian statistics. According to the chart on p. 66, 35 portrait statues from Delos are signed by the sculptors who made them.

<sup>114</sup> These comprise: Apollonios son of Archias (IG II<sup>2</sup> 4290); Demetrios son of Philon (IG II<sup>2</sup> 3782, 4257; *SEG* 17: 78, 21: 793); Euboulides son of Eucheir (IG II<sup>2</sup> 4298-4301); Eucheir

bases were certainly for portrait statues,<sup>115</sup> but many only preserve the signature itself, so the type of monument to which the signature belonged is unclear. That is, unlike portrait statue bases from Delos, where most of the sculptors' signatures are included on the same block as the dedicatory inscription, although typically set off beneath it and inscribed in smaller letters, most of the portrait statue bases from Athens include the sculptor's name on an element separate from the block that carries the main dedicatory text. When these portrait statues were dismantled, the different elements of the base became disconnected, so that we cannot now know how many of these sculptor's signatures once belonged to portrait statues.<sup>116</sup> Just as on Delos, however, we see a complete change in personnel after the sack in 86 BC: no sculptor who signed a base in the period before 86 BC signed one in Athens after 86 BC. This is perhaps not surprising, as sculptural and architectural production appears to have diminished considerably in the immediate aftermath of the Sullan destruction. In fact, Olga Palagia has suggested that a dearth of local talent may be behind the inclusion of two Roman architects on the team that repaired Perikles' Odeion in the mid-1st century BC.<sup>117</sup> In any case, the two Late Hellenistic sculptors who did sign bases both in Athens and on Delos between 160 and 86 BC are worth considering in more detail, as are the patrons who set up portrait statues in both places, as I believe they provide important but under-examined links between the portrait sculpture of these two centers in this crucial period.

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and Euboulides (IG II<sup>2</sup> 3474, 3867, 4293-4297; *SEG* 21: 773; Geagan 2011, H545); Eucheir son of Euboulides (IG II<sup>2</sup> 4291-4292); Eutyichides son of Hephaistion (IG II<sup>2</sup> 4303); Kephisodotos III and Timarchos IV (IG II<sup>2</sup> 3867); Maarkos of Piraeus (IG II<sup>2</sup> 4305); Timarchides II son of Polykles IV (IG II<sup>2</sup> 4302, 4309); Dio (IG II<sup>2</sup> 3149); Mnaseas (IG II<sup>2</sup> 4340); and Timon (IG II<sup>2</sup> 3875). NB: Stewart has recently revised the stemma of the Polykles family (Stewart 2012b, 669), so that Timarchides II son of Polykles IV is now identified as Timarchides III 'the Younger', son of Polykles III. Herodoros of Athens (IG II<sup>2</sup> 3890), included in Stewart's list of sculptors in Period IV, was active in the first century BC: *SEG* 51: 1023.

<sup>115</sup> Only six are certainly portraits: IG II<sup>2</sup> 3782, 4257 (by Demetrios' son Philon); IG II<sup>2</sup> 3474, 3867 (by Eucheir and Euboulides); IG II<sup>2</sup> 3149 (by Dio); and IG II<sup>2</sup> 3875 (by Timon).

<sup>116</sup> More work clearly needs to be done on the range of formats and types of portrait statue bases from Athens. Ma (2013, 261, n. 122) has suggested that 'the rule seems to be that most public honorific statue bases are not signed; most signed bases are not public honorific statues: but this is purely impressionistic'.

<sup>117</sup> Palagia 1997, 81.

### *Delian-Athenian connections*

While Stewart is clearly correct in his observation that, according to the epigraphic evidence, most of the Athenian sculptors who signed bases on Delos seemed not to have worked in Athens and vice versa, there are two important sculptors who did. The first is Timarchides son of Polykles, who was a member of the last generation of a well-documented Late Hellenistic sculptural dynasty: the Polykles family from the deme Thorikos. Stewart recently published a revised stemma of the family that identified this sculptor, who had previously been known as Timarchides II, as Timarchides III or Timarchides 'the Younger'.<sup>118</sup> This Timarchides, who is attested by two signed bases from Athens dated to c. 150-130 BC,<sup>119</sup> also made, together with his cousin Dionysios, the statue of Gaius Ofellius Ferus on Delos. This portrait, dated to between c. 120-100 BC, is thought to exemplify the new style of Late Hellenistic portraiture that tends to be closely associated with the Italians on Delos.<sup>120</sup>

The second sculptor is Eutychedes, son of Hephaisstion. His signature, and only his signature, is preserved on a single base from Athens from the north slope of the Acropolis.<sup>121</sup> Based on the evidence from Delos, where his signature is preserved on 16 bases, his career ran from about 130s BC until the first sack of the island in 88 BC, and he specialized in portrait statues, mostly for Athenian clients.<sup>122</sup> One of his earliest portraits was of the wildly successful athlete Menodoros of Athens, set up around 130 BC in the area of the Agora of Theophrastos.<sup>123</sup> This spectacularly large base, inscribed on one face with 36 crowns set in a striking grid, is the only base Eutychedes signed as 'son of Hep-

<sup>118</sup> *Hesperia* 81 (2012), 655-689, esp. 668-670 and Appendix 2, 685-686 s.v. Timarchides III the Younger, son of Polykles III.

<sup>119</sup> IG II<sup>2</sup> 4302 and 4309. Unfortunately, these bases preserve only the sculptor's signature, so we have no idea of the type of statue they supported. One base (IG II<sup>2</sup> 4302) does come from the Theater of Dionysos, which may suggest it supported a portrait. The other was found on the Acropolis, near the Propylaea.

<sup>120</sup> ID 1688; Hallett 2005, 103-108.

<sup>121</sup> IG II<sup>2</sup> 4303: according to Marcadé (1957, 55), the base was found in 1838 north of the Acropolis. The block is H. 97 cm, L. 97 cm, D. 24 cm. It was reused in the corner of the Ekklesia tou Taphou, 14 Prytaneiou St, Plaka; it seems now to be lost (*DNO* 3674). See also Malouchou-Dailiana 2010, 212, n. 1509.

<sup>122</sup> Marcadé 1957, 46-55.

<sup>123</sup> ID 2498 (signature); ID 1957 (monument): Ma 2013, 230-231, fig. 6.7.

haiston'. If this was indeed his first portrait statue monument, as it appears to have been, it seems to have made a striking impression and helped to guarantee his fame: all of his other portrait monuments are simply signed 'Eutyichides', including the base in Athens. The same athlete was also commemorated with a similarly large and elaborate monument in Athens, made by the sculptors Charmolas and Menodotos of Tyre, probably set up in the Agora in front of the Stoa of Attalos.<sup>124</sup>

Medeios (I) of Piraeus, whose son's activities on Delos and in Athens were discussed above, was also one of Eutyichides' early patrons. Eutyichides made two portrait monuments of Medeios (II) son of Medeios of Piraeus: the first was an exedra set up in about 120 BC in the sanctuary of Apollo with statues of the young Medeios and his sisters Philippe and Laodameia,<sup>125</sup> and later, in about 100 BC, he made the statue of Medeios that was set up by the *Aleiphomenoi* in the gymnasium.<sup>126</sup> Sarapion (II) son of Sarapion of Melite, who seems to have been of the same generation as Medeios' (II) father, was a patron of Eutyichides' father Hephaistion, who made the statue of his daughter Sosandra, perhaps around the same time, in 100/99 BC when Sarapion was *epimeletes* of the island.<sup>127</sup> In addition, then, to their alliance through marriage and their political and religious connections, the pair may also have shared access to artist-workshops. That is, Hephaistion, who also specialized in portraits primarily for Athenian patrons, and his son Eutyichides were among the busiest sculptors in Late Hellenistic Delos. I have suggested elsewhere that being able to commission either of these sculptors to make a bronze portrait statue may well have been a mark of real prestige, which is why their names figure so prominently in the epigraphic record.<sup>128</sup> As two of the most powerful and wealthy men of Late Hellenistic Delos and Athens, Medeios and Sarapion would surely have been able to command the patronage of the best sculptors of their day.

While the evidence suggests that only a few Athenian sculptors worked in both Athens and Delos, it is clear on the other hand that many Athenian

<sup>124</sup> IG II<sup>2</sup> 3150: Geagan 2011, C196. Stewart (1979, 119) suggested that the Agora monument may have been a wrestling group, but the size of the base is similar to other *orthostate* monuments from Delos that held single standing statues: see Trümper 2014, 72 and Zarmakoupi 2019 for the honorific monument of C. Billienus.

<sup>125</sup> ID 1869.

<sup>126</sup> ID 1929.

<sup>127</sup> ID 1870.

<sup>128</sup> Dillon and Baltes 2013, 234-236.

families were active in both centers: occupying offices, taking part in religious rituals, and setting up portrait statues.<sup>129</sup> For example, according to Mikalson, the family of Athenagoras of Melite ‘had a long and constant involvement in the cults of both Athens and Delos’.<sup>130</sup> Athenagoras was priest of Artemis on the island in 158/7 BC, around the same time that his brother Zenon was priest of Asklepios in Athens. This Zenon dedicated a monument in the Sanctuary of Asklepios in Athens that honored his son Leonides as *kleidouchos* and his niece Soteira, Athenagoras’ daughter, as *kanephoros*.<sup>131</sup> In the later 2nd century BC, members of the family are well represented in the portrait statue landscape of Delos, and were patrons of Eutychides son of Hephaistion, who made three statue monuments for the family. The sculptor made a bronze statue of Zenon to commemorate his role as *kleidouchos* and *pythiast* at Delphi, set up by his parents, Zenon and Soteira, his uncle Athenagoras, and Zenon’s siblings: Athenagoras, Leonides, and Menias.<sup>132</sup> Eutychides also made a statue of Zenon’s sister Menias in honor of her role as *kanephoros* at Delphi for the Pythais, and for being sub-priestess of Artemis, set up by the same family members in the Sanctuary of Apollo,<sup>133</sup> as well as a statue of his uncle Athenagoras, set up by Zenon the elder’s four children, near the Portico of Philip.<sup>134</sup> Additional portrait statues were set up in Sarapieion C, a cult the family actively patronized.<sup>135</sup>

As discussed above, the families of Medeios (II) and Sarapion (II) were actively involved in both Athens and Delos, with their members holding a wide variety of important political and religious offices.<sup>136</sup> While most of the evidence for the family’s portrait monuments comes from Delos, they were also represented in the portrait statue landscape of Athens and Eleusis. On the Acropolis, there was a portrait monument of Sarapion, who had served as archon in 116/5 BC; this portrait statue was one of the few Late Hellenistic statues set on a high column, which would have clearly set it apart from the other monuments in the

<sup>129</sup> For the same social groups of leading citizens active in the religious life of both Delos and Athens see Lambert 2012, 87-88 and Perrin-Saminadayar 2012.

<sup>130</sup> Mikalson 1998, 238.

<sup>131</sup> IG II<sup>2</sup> 4456: Aleshire 1989, 91, 372; Mikalson 1998, 238.

<sup>132</sup> ID 1891.

<sup>133</sup> ID 1871.

<sup>134</sup> ID 1994.

<sup>135</sup> Brun-Kyriakidis 2016; Mikalson 1998, 238.

<sup>136</sup> The importance of their involvement in the most prestigious cults of Delos and Athens is explored in Perrin-Saminadayar 2005.

sanctuary.<sup>137</sup> Medeios himself had served as priest of Poseidon-Erechtheus in Athens in about 120 BC.<sup>138</sup> Medeios' sister Philippe, who married Sarapion's son Diokles, served as priestess of Athena Polias in 98/7 BC, the same year that her husband was a *pythaïst* to Delphi; she may have received a portrait statue on the Acropolis for her role as this important priestess, although no base for one is preserved.<sup>139</sup> As mentioned above, Medeios' (II) son Medeios (III), who had been eponymous archon of Athens in 75/4 BC and again in 63/2 BC, was one of the few individuals to receive a public honorific portrait statue, set up in Eleusis, in the decades following the sack of 86 BC.

While their portrait monuments preserve no sculptors' signatures, we should also consider here the family of Kleopatra and Dioscurides of the Attic deme Myrhinnoutte, whose well-known portrait statues stood in the peristyle of their house in the Theater Quarter. While this particular branch of the family was clearly resident on Delos, they were also active in Athens, as a decree of the Athenian Assembly in honor of Dioscurides and his two daughters for their generosity to the Athenians makes clear.<sup>140</sup> In addition, members of other branches of the family set up portrait monuments on both Delos and in Athens: Theodoros, a nephew of Dioscurides, set up a family *exedra* in front of the Portico of Philip that included statues of himself, his wife and cousin Myro and their daughter Myro.<sup>141</sup> And a third branch of the family is recorded in a monument from the Agora: Kleopatra, daughter of another Theodoros, set up bronze statues of her father, her brother, and her husband/uncle on an elaborate *exedra* that perhaps stood in the Athenian Agora.<sup>142</sup> The form of this monument also suggests a close relationship to, and knowledge of, what is going on in Delos, as this is the only attested example in Athens of a type of statue monument that was exceedingly popular among Athenians on Delos.

<sup>137</sup> IG II<sup>2</sup> 3881: Krumeich and Witschel 2009, 214-225, 224, fig. 1; Krumeich and Witschel 2015, 25, n. 140.

<sup>138</sup> Plut. *X orat.* 843B; Tracy 1982, 210.

<sup>139</sup> According to Keesling (2012, 467-505) a new series of portrait statues honoring priestesses of Athena Polias begins on the Acropolis in the last quarter of the 2nd century BC. The restart of this tradition, which goes back to the early 4th century, appears to begin with the statue of the priestess Philtera, made by Eucheir and Euboulides in c. 130 BC (IG II<sup>2</sup> 3474).

<sup>140</sup> ID 1508; dated to c. 145-135 BC in Rolando 2004.

<sup>141</sup> ID 1975.

<sup>142</sup> Geagan 2011, H329.

Finally, Anna Karapanagiotou has recently argued that the production of figural tombstones began again in Athens in the 2nd century BC and not in the mid-1st century BC as is usually thought. This redating has much to recommend it, as it would put Athens more in line with the cities of Asia Minor and the Aegean, where a smaller and distinctive type of grave monument emerged sometime in the 3rd century BC and became widespread in the second. In addition, she observed that the format and layout of these Late Hellenistic Attic *stelai*, particularly those with images of seated women, clearly show the close ties between workshops in Athens and those in the Greek east, particularly on Delos.<sup>143</sup> Indeed, the Hellenistic gravestones from Delos/Rhenia tend to be much more classicizing in their iconography than those from the Greek east; with figures mostly shown in profile, both seated and standing, and shaking hands, they appear as simplified, smaller versions of Late Classical Attic tombstones.<sup>144</sup>

The close connections between Athens and Delos and the active involvement of Athenians in both centers is, of course, not surprising; Delos clearly played a vital role in the political, social, and religious history of Late Hellenistic Athens. In addition, it appears that many of the leading families of 2nd century BC Athens, such as those of Athenagoras, Sarapion, and Medeios, derived much of their wealth and power from their commercial interests on the island, and these commercial interests were a driving cause of Athenian prosperity in this period. Tracy sums up the situation in his important study of IG II<sup>2</sup> 2336, a conclusion worth quoting in full:

The men who were politically most influential in Athens in the latter part of the second century BC were men from families which had, in most cases it seems probable, extensive commercial interests on Delos. The leading Athenian families in these years should be considered Delian, in the sense that they resided for extended periods on Delos, made their money in the commercial activities there, and got their initial political experience there. It may legitimately be concluded that Delian businessmen and bankers, men therefore of comparatively broad international experience, were prominent in guiding Athens in its last two generations of vigorous prosperity (146-86 BC). This came as a natural consequence of two factors. First, II<sup>2</sup> 2336 reflects a system of government in which people paid for the privilege of holding office instead of being paid. It required considerable means to be

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<sup>143</sup> Karapanagiotou 2013, 223.

<sup>144</sup> Couilloud 1974.



able to stand for the highest offices and to meet the financial obligations they entailed, if one were elected. Wealth, then, may go a long way towards accounting for the Delian connections of the men holding these offices. The commerce on Delos was, after all, the primary source of wealth in this period. Second, the Island was an important international center, the administration of which required business acumen combined with the ability to deal effectively on a daily basis with traders from all over the Mediterranean world. Naturally, men who grew up on the Island and whose families dealt with the international trading community on a regular basis were best qualified for many of the key political and administrative posts.<sup>145</sup>

Given the close political, commercial, and religious connections between Athens and Delos, and the fact that at least some of the leading families of Late Hellenistic Athens were setting up portrait statues in both places, I think it would be productive to reassess the evidence for the styles of portraiture current in Delos and Athens in this period. While we have a good idea of the range of portrait styles in use in Late Hellenistic Delos, what did portrait statues in Athens look like? Is it likely that the portrait statues the Athenians set up on Delos differed significantly in their style and appearance from those that they set up in Athens? Were sculptors (and patrons) in 2nd-century BC Athens so committed to the Neo-classical style that they were completely disinterested in any other stylistic options? Is it true, as Stewart surmised, that in the 2nd century BC 'Athenian portraiture was passing the point of no return just when the star of Delos was beginning to rise'?<sup>146</sup> The available evidence for exploring these questions is examined in the following and final section of this chapter.

### ***Marble portraits from Late Hellenistic Delos and Athens: subjects and sculptural style***

I begin with the material from Delos, as here we have the benefit of a good number of externally dated marble portraits, either because they are associated with their inscribed bases<sup>147</sup> or were found in destruction contexts dated to 88

<sup>145</sup> Tracy 1982, 167-168.

<sup>146</sup> Stewart 1979, 69.

<sup>147</sup> These include, in chronological order, the statues of Diodora (140-130 BC), Kleopatra and Dioscurides (c. 138/7 BC), Gaius Ofellius Ferus (c. 110-100 BC), portrait medallions from the Monument of Mithradates, Diophantos (102/1 BC); and C. Billienus (c. 100 BC).

or 69 BC;<sup>148</sup> this kind of evidence is unfortunately lacking for the majority of Late Hellenistic portraits from Athens. As discussed above, Stewart's careful and compelling analysis of the epigraphic evidence, in combination with the archaeological and historical evidence, has shown definitively that the majority of marble portraits from Delos must date to between the 130s and 88 BC.<sup>149</sup> While this date range has been widely accepted, whether the portraits mostly represent Romans/Italians or Greek subjects is still a matter of contention, although recent research has tended to question the connection between physiognomic style and ethnicity.<sup>150</sup> The formats and, in particular, the costumes of portrait statues are more likely to have been the characteristics of these images that allowed the ancient viewer to distinguish visually between Roman and Greek subjects. I consider first the range of portrait costumes and then the style of the portrait heads.

The portrait statues of Roman/Italians on Delos seem primarily to have worn military costumes: cuirass, fringed *paludamentum*, and *calcei*.<sup>151</sup> So-called heroic nudity was also an option, as shown by the statue of C. Ofellius Ferus, which wears a fringed military cloak and carries a sword.<sup>152</sup> Togate statues are completely missing from Delos, as they are from Athens, where the absence

<sup>148</sup> See the chart in Stewart 1979, 68, nos. 3-5 and 13 from the House of the Diadoumenos (A 2912, 4189, 4196, NM 1828), nos. 10 and 18 from the Agora of the Italians (A 4186, 4340); and nos. 16-17 from the House of the Seals (A 7258-59).

<sup>149</sup> Stewart notes that Michalowski (1932) and Schweitzer (1948) had distributed the Delian portraits from c. 120 to c. 50 BC, while Buschor (1971) and Hafner (1954) had placed most around the mid-1st century BC. Marcadé (1969, 273) suggested a range between c. 95 and 75 BC, distributing the portraits on either side of the crucial date of 88 BC. Stewart (1979, 70) observed that while Marcadé's dating scheme is more reasonable than the others, the epigraphic evidence, which dates most of the portrait statues to before 88 BC, and the complete change in sculptors active on Delos after the sack of 88 BC call it into question.

<sup>150</sup> Cadario 2016; Papini 2004, 486-491; 2011; Trümper 2014, 81; Zanker 2011. Trümper is perhaps most explicit in her rejection of the connection between physiognomic style and ethnicity: 'Although the well-preserved head from niche 44 (A 4186) is often cited as an exemplary realistic portrait of a Roman, recent research has clearly defeated the notion of a distinct Roman (and Italian) as opposed to Greek portraiture in the Late Hellenistic period, especially in Delos. Thus, the existence of specific Roman dress elements notwithstanding, it is highly doubtful that the honorific statues from the "Agora" would have expressed a particular Roman-Italian identity in their portrait heads.'

<sup>151</sup> Zarmakoupi 2019, with earlier bibliography.

<sup>152</sup> Trümper 2014, for this statue and the range of statue formats and costumes in the 'Agora of the Italians'.

of this costume in portrait statues appears to extend into the Imperial period. Also missing from the epigraphic record of Delos are statues of Roman women, which is perhaps not surprising, as it seems that it is only in the 1st century BC, after the sack of 88, that statues of Roman women of the senatorial class first begin to be set up in the Greek east.<sup>153</sup> The well-known portrait of a woman from the House of the Diadoumenos has long been considered the portrait of a Roman subject because of the emphasis on age and the severe expression; the complete lack, however, of good parallels dated to this period makes the evaluation of this image very difficult.<sup>154</sup>

The statues on Delos of Greek male subjects appear to have mostly worn the normal civic/urban costume of *himation* and *chiton*, with a Greek-style sandal. The statue of the Athenian Diocurides is so attired, and the pose of his statue follows the 'arm-sling' type, one of the most popular statue formats in the Greek east.<sup>155</sup> An under lifesize male portrait statue from the House of the Five Statues, this time with the head preserved, has a somewhat more unusual draping of the himation, which is reminiscent of the 'Koan' style: the left arm is tightly wrapped and held close to the body, leaving the right arm uncovered and free to move.<sup>156</sup> The figure extends the right arm out with the palm up, possibly pouring a libation. Given the ubiquity of priest portraits in the epigraphic record, perhaps this statue represents a priest.<sup>157</sup> A number of more fragmentary marble statues also wear both *himation* and *chiton*,<sup>158</sup> which is not surprising; this was the favorite costume by far for male figures on the grave reliefs from Delos/Rheneia.<sup>159</sup> That the statues of Athenian *epimeletai* also wore this costume is suggested by the base from the Portico of Philip for the statue of an *epimeletes* that preserves the bronze left foot shod in a Greek-style sandal.<sup>160</sup> The wearing of the himation alone seems to have been a minority choice. An under lifesize male statue from

<sup>153</sup> Dillon 2013, 206-208, with earlier bibliography.

<sup>154</sup> A 4196: see most recently Papini 2011, 162.

<sup>155</sup> Smith 1998, 65-66.

<sup>156</sup> A 4142: Marcadé et al. 1996, 206-207 (Queyrel).

<sup>157</sup> As two later statues from Aphrodisias, both in a similar pose and drapery format, but wearing priestly crowns, might suggest: Smith et al. 2006, cat. nos. 45, 51; Smith 1998, 65-66, pl. 5, 3-4.

<sup>158</sup> Marcadé 1969, pls. LXIX (A 4172), LXX (A 4252), and LXXI (uninventoried statue from Sarapieion C).

<sup>159</sup> See the plates in Couilloud 1974.

<sup>160</sup> ID 1666; Roussel 1908, 416-417, n. 6.

the House of the Masks,<sup>161</sup> with its head preserved, wears the *himation* with no undergarment; the figure stands in a pose, with the right arm bent at the elbow and held straight across the front of the body, that one finds frequently on East Greek grave reliefs.<sup>162</sup> The lack of a *chiton* and the fact that the statue's feet are bare may have been meant to evoke the gymnasium.<sup>163</sup> Although they are not numerous, statues of *gymnasiarchs* are attested in the epigraphic record of Delos.<sup>164</sup>

The portrait costumes and statue types for female subjects on Delos follow formats that are well-known and come to be widely reproduced in the Roman Imperial period. There are two examples of the more conservative, classicizing Small Herculaneum format: one from the House of the Lake that preserves its head,<sup>165</sup> and another, which is headless, perhaps from the Agora of Theophrastos.<sup>166</sup> Both probably represent young unmarried women, a group frequently honored with portrait statues on the island. The statues of Kleopatra and Diodora, both unfortunately headless, show us that more mature Athenian citizen women might be represented in the most up-to-date and cutting edge Hellenistic transparent style of drapery-through-drapery in their portrait statues, here in the popular 'Pudicitia' format.<sup>167</sup> The preserved head of the Small Herculaneum statue and two veiled female heads from Delos, both worked for insertion into a statue,<sup>168</sup> suggest that portraits of women on the island generally followed the conventions of Hellenistic female portraits found elsewhere: idealizing, with generically beautiful facial features.<sup>169</sup>

<sup>161</sup> A 4136: Marcadé 1969, 269-273, 276, 279, 287, pls. LXVIII-LXIX; Papini 2011, 222, cat. no. 3.1.

<sup>162</sup> Pfuhl and Möbius 1977, e.g. cat. nos. 119, 253, 254, 256, 258, 259, 543, and 660. Many of these figures wear both *himation* and *chiton*.

<sup>163</sup> Roughly contemporary marble statue from the lower gymnasium at Priene that wears only a *himation*, is unshod, and may have represented a *gymnasiarch*: Ma 2013, 284. See also figures on East Greek grave reliefs wearing only the *himation* and no sandals who appear with symbols of the gymnasium, such as a herm: Pfuhl and Möbius 1977, cat. nos. 108, 117, 137, 139, 140.

<sup>164</sup> ID 1923bis, 1928, 1979.

<sup>165</sup> Athens, National Archaeological Museum, inv. no. 1827: Kreeb 1988, 162-163; Marcadé et al. 1996, 88-89 (Queyrel); Trimble 1999, 22.

<sup>166</sup> A 2937: Marcadé 1969, 287, pl. LXVI; Trimble 1999, 22-23.

<sup>167</sup> Kleopatra (A 7763): Marcadé et al. 1996, 208-209 (Queyrel); Diodora (no inventory number): Marcadé et al. 1996, 210-211 (Jockey). On the Pudicitia format see Dillon 2010, 87-90.

<sup>168</sup> A 7493: Dillon 2010, 116, fig. 54; Marcadé 1969, pl. XXXV. A 4185: Dillon 2010, 116, fig. 55; Marcadé 1969, 437.

<sup>169</sup> On the phenomenon see Dillon 2010.

As the male portraits from Delos, which are preserved in greater numbers than the female portraits, have been so well-studied and are so well-known, I only briefly summarize their general characteristics here. Both Jean Marcadé and Andrew Stewart have observed that, as a group, the portraits are broadly similar in their range of physiognomic styles and sculptural techniques: eyes deeply set, many with an emphatic drill line delineating the upper lid; full sensuous lips that are sometimes slightly parted; short-cropped hair; indications of age, including furrowed brows, crow's feet, and vigorous nasolabial lines; a dynamic turn of the head, which gives the portrait an emotional energy. Surface finishes range from highly polished to a more matte finish. The bronze head from the Granite Palaestra,<sup>170</sup> whose proposed date ranges from the mid-2nd century BC to the early first century BC, shares many of these same features, including a strong turn of the head, full sensuous lips that are slightly parted, and facial furrows, but with thicker, fuller hair. All of these portraits are also clean shaven, as one would expect for male civic portraits of the Hellenistic period. Many of the marble heads have been separately worked for insertion into a statue body, while some were made in one piece with the body, a more expensive method of statue production as it would have required a larger block of marble.<sup>171</sup> That the lifesize statues of Kleopatra and Dioscurides were each made from a single piece of marble underscores the extravagance of that domestically displayed group monument.<sup>172</sup> In addition to inset heads, there is also evidence of more elaborate piecing, as one might expect on an island where statuary marble had to be imported: for example, in one head worked for insertion, the front part of the face from the ears has been made in a separate piece of marble and joined to the neck and back part of the skull;<sup>173</sup> in the *himation* statue from the House of the Masks, a slice from the top of the head has been separately attached.<sup>174</sup>

What then can be said about portrait sculpture from Late Hellenistic Athens? In contrast to the evidence from Delos, there are a vanishingly small

<sup>170</sup> National Archaeological Museum, Athens inv. 14612: Kaltsas 2002, 298, cat. no. 623 (dated to the early 1st century); Marcadé et al. 1996, 220-221 (Queyrel; dated to just after the mid-2nd century); Queyrel 2003, 136 (c. 130). For the context see Bruneau and Ducat 2005, 240-243.

<sup>171</sup> Smith et al. 2006, 30-31.

<sup>172</sup> Only the front part of Kleopatra's left foot was separately attached.

<sup>173</sup> A 4186, head from the 'Agora of the Italians': Marcadé et al. 1996, 202-203; Papini 2011, 164, cat. no. 2.26.

<sup>174</sup> A 4136: Marcadé 1969, 269-273, 276, 279, 287, pls. LXVIII-LXIX; Papini 2011, 222, cat. no. 3.1.

number of portraits that can be dated to the period based on external criteria. I know of only two examples: the marble portrait statue of Aristonoe from Rhamnous, preserved with its inscribed base,<sup>175</sup> and the seated portrait of the philosopher Karneades, whose head is preserved in a small number of Roman copies, while the base of the statue was found near the Stoa of Attalos in the Athenian Agora.<sup>176</sup> Both portraits are dated to the mid-2nd century BC and were privately dedicated, and both have classicizing elements: the Aristonoe in its style of drapery and its slim proportions, which has led many scholars of Greek sculpture to date the image much earlier, or to suggest that the statue itself was reused;<sup>177</sup> the portrait of Karneades with its full, well-ordered beard and facial proportions derived from Late Classical funerary monuments, although the face also incorporates clearly individualizing physiognomic elements.<sup>178</sup> The notion that the Neo-classical style, as exemplified by these two portraits, was the default mode for 2nd-century BC Athenian portraiture is strongly held, and has, I believe, resulted in the dating of a series of realistic-looking marble portraits from Athens to the mid- to later-1st century BC based on the belief that these heads must owe their individualizing style to Roman influence. But was the Neo-classical style the only available portrait option in 2nd century BC Athens? Given the long history of portraiture in Athens, it would be useful to place these later marble portraits within a broader context.<sup>179</sup>

As mentioned above, public honorific portrait statues begin to be set up in Athens already in the 4th century BC, mostly for military achievement; private votive monuments of male subjects appear earlier, in the 5th century BC, and votive portrait statues of women, almost all privately dedicated, are first set up in the city's sanctuaries beginning in the 4th century BC. In the Early Hellenistic period, the range of subjects expands to include orators/politicians, poets, philosophers, and civic benefactors. We know what some of these portrait statues looked like, mostly from Later Roman period copies; the evidence skews main-

<sup>175</sup> For a full discussion of the statue, with additional bibliography, see Dillon 2010, 63, 76-77, 106-109. Stephen Tracy (1990, 165) has dated the inscription on the statue's base (IG II<sup>2</sup> 3462) to c. 155 BC.

<sup>176</sup> IG II<sup>2</sup> 3781: Geagan 2011, H331. Date based on epigraphic and historical grounds.

<sup>177</sup> See most recently Pilz 2013, 161-162.

<sup>178</sup> Zanker 1995, 181-183

<sup>179</sup> For a brief and clear sketch of the history of honorific portraits and the portrait statue landscape in Athens from the 4th century to the Late Hellenistic period, see Ma 2013, 103-107; for a more detailed look at portraits in Athens in the Early Hellenistic period, see Ma 2013, 273-279.

ly to the Late Classical and Early Hellenistic periods and is focused primarily on those portrait subjects—philosophers, poets, and orators—who were of interest to the Romans.<sup>180</sup> This evidence shows us that, by the Early Hellenistic period, there was a broad range of physiognomic styles in use in Athens, from portraits that represented in a realistic way the individualizing characteristics of advanced age (e.g., Menander and Demosthenes) to images that incorporated idealizing or classicizing elements (e.g., Epicurus and Metrodoros).<sup>181</sup> That is, both strands of representation—individualizing and idealizing/classicizing—already existed in Attic portraiture of the 3rd century BC, and there is every reason to believe that both continued as available options into the 2nd century BC. In fact, the difficulties in distinguishing Early Hellenistic portraits from Late Hellenistic/Early Republican images and in dating unidentified portraits was made clear in the early 1990s by Klaus Fittschen's discovery that the portrait long thought to represent an unnamed late Republican Roman general was in fact the portrait of the Early Hellenistic Athenian New Comedy poet Poseidippos.<sup>182</sup>

I also think that there has been an exaggerated importance placed on the portraits from Delos in the dating of the so-called veristic style: rather than marking the beginning of this style, which would, as Bert Smith has observed, put too much historical weight on evidence 'left to us by fate',<sup>183</sup> the Delian portraits in fact give us the latest possible date for the style's inception. More recent scholarship, which takes into account the evidence of images on clay seal impressions from the site of Kedesh in northern Galilee and Kallipolis near Delphi, pushes the date for the style back to before the mid-2nd century BC.<sup>184</sup> The portraits from Late Hellenistic Delos, therefore, should not be seen as something completely new; rather they are more usefully set within the longer history of portraiture in the Greek east, and in particular, given the Delian-Athenian connections sketched out above, within the history of Athenian portraiture. Paul Zanker has, in fact, argued for just such a connection in his comparison of the portrait of Theophrastos with a head from the Palaestra of the Lake on Delos.<sup>185</sup>

<sup>180</sup> See Dillon 2006.

<sup>181</sup> Ma 2013, 273-279; von den Hoff 2007.

<sup>182</sup> Fittschen 1992.

<sup>183</sup> Smith 1988a, 127.

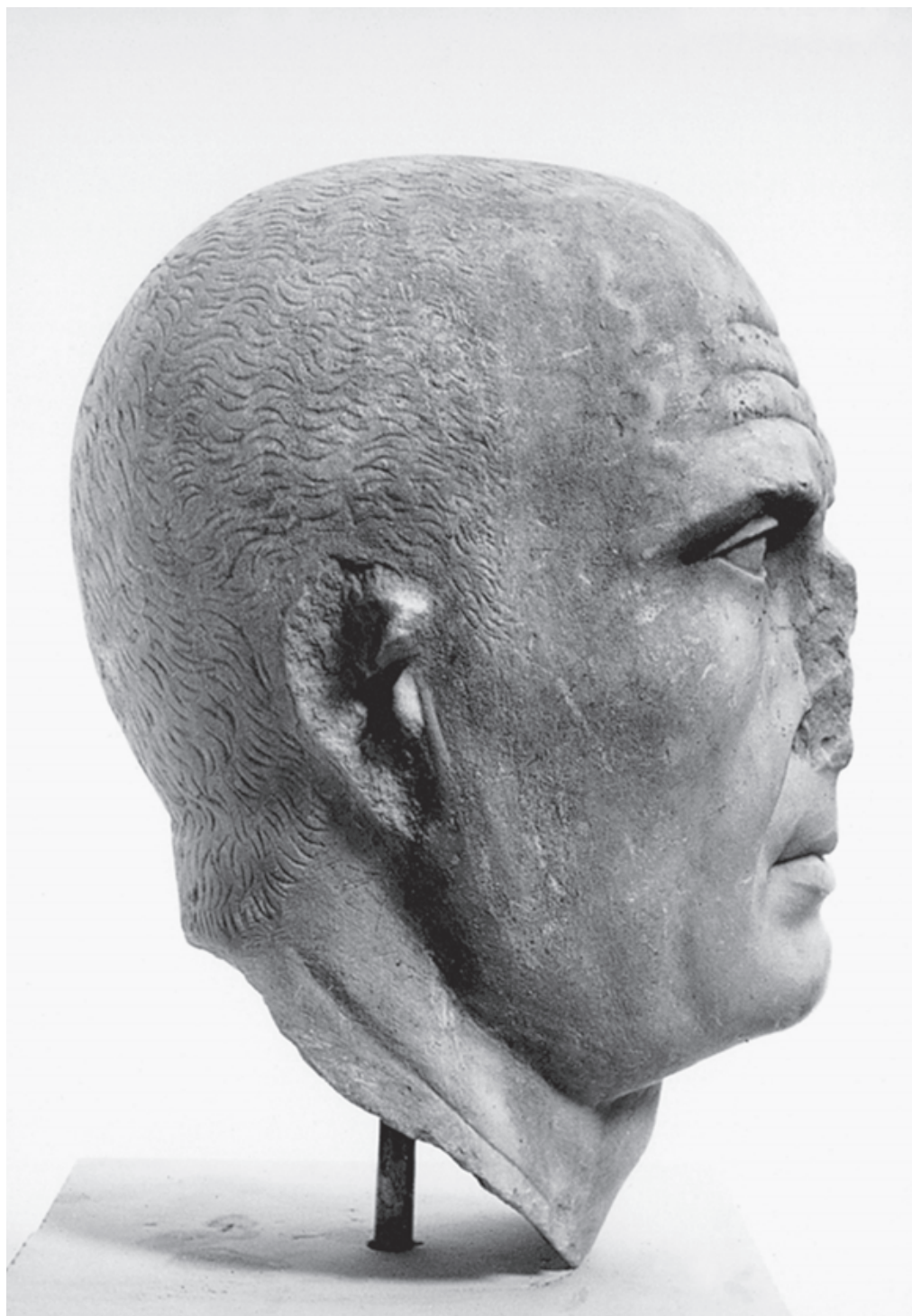
<sup>184</sup> Material from Kedesh: Rose 2008, 108-109. Kallipolis: Pantos 1996.

<sup>185</sup> Zanker 2011, 111.



*Fig. 1.* Marble portrait head from the Areopagus area: front view, height 29.5 cm. Agora Excavations inv. no. 1182. Photograph: Courtesy of the American School of Classical Studies at Athens: © Agora Excavations.





*Fig. 2.* Marble portrait head from the Areopagus area: right profile of the portrait in *Fig. 1*. Photograph: Courtesy of the American School of Classical Studies at Athens: © Agora Excavations.

In light of these observations, how might we reassess the marble portrait heads from Athens currently dated to the mid- to late 1st century BC? I begin with a head from the Athenian Agora that first prompted me to reconsider the chronology of Late Hellenistic Attic portraiture and its connection to Delos (Figs. 1-2). The head was found in 1939 in a Late Roman deposit at the north-east foot of the Areopagus.<sup>186</sup> While the portrait was originally published by Evelyn Harrison as Late Flavian or Trajanic in date, she commented at length in the catalogue entry that the head had many physiognomic and stylistic features in common with earlier Late Hellenistic/Late Republican-period portraits. Harrison also observed that the relatively soft modelling and surface finish of the face were different from the hard polish one tended to find on Attic portraits of the Trajanic period. The head also does not show any evidence of the tooth-chisel anywhere on its surface, which is a prominent technical feature of most of the Roman Imperial-period portraits from the Agora. Then there is the deeply drilled line that separates the upper eye lid from the overhanging brow, a technique we also find in many of the Hellenistic portraits from Delos. Rather than Late Flavian or Trajanic, it is more likely to be contemporary with the Delian portraits; that is, Late Hellenistic in date.

Around this head, I would group a number of marble portraits from Athens that have traditionally been dated to the second half of the 1st century BC. I consider only those portraits currently in Athenian museums, as they certainly come from the city itself. Perhaps the best-known of these is the head of a priest, also from the Athenian Agora (Figs. 3-4).<sup>187</sup> The head was found in 1933 in a Late Roman deposit near the northwestern corner of the Library of Pantainos. It depicts a middle-aged man wearing a continuous rounded fillet or diadem on what appears to be a shaved head. The eyebrows are plastically rendered and the face is smooth but not polished. The undulating furrows in the brow are here more sharply cut into the surface, and therefore more linear, than the head from the Areopagus area. But to be sure a similar range of techniques, from more linear to more plastic, can also be found in the portraits from Delos; that is, I do not think we need necessarily take these as chronological differences,

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<sup>186</sup> Agora Excavations, inv. no. S 1182; Harrison 1953, 28-30, cat. no. 18.

<sup>187</sup> Agora priest, Agora Excavations, inv. no. S 333; Harrison 1953, 12-14, cat. no. 3. Harrison herself noted the following: 'this head has been dated anywhere from the second half of the second century B.C. to the forties of the first century B.C.' (13 and n. 1); Hafner 1954, 60, n. A2; Stewart 1979, 80-81.



*Fig. 3.* Marble portrait head of a priest from the Athenian Agora: front view, height 29 cm. Agora Excavations inv. no. 333. Photograph: Courtesy of the American School of Classical Studies at Athens: © Agora Excavations.



*Fig. 4.* Marble portrait head of a priest from the Athenian Agora: right profile of the portrait in *Fig. 3*. Photograph: Courtesy of the American School of Classical Studies at Athens: © Agora Excavations.

but rather as differences in sculptural technique. Both heads also share the same prominent, serpentine-shaped vein on the temple.<sup>188</sup> While Harrison dated the Agora priest to middle of the 1st century BC, she did admit that the head had previously been dated anywhere from the second half of the 2nd century BC to the forties of the 1st century BC.

Although it was not found in the Agora Excavations, a third head should be mentioned here, as it was brought into the Agora by a workman in 1936, and Harrison included it in her portrait volume (Fig. 5).<sup>189</sup> While the surface is much more poorly preserved, Harrison observed that the style of the head 'has its origins and finds its best expression in the 2nd century BC' and characterized it as a purely Hellenistic portrait.<sup>190</sup> Its closest parallels, she suggested, were two marble portraits in the National Museum, inv. nos. 320-321 (Fig. 6). These two heads, which were found together and are thought to come from the same monument, were included by Stewart in a group of portraits that he called the 'Immediate followers of the Agora Priest,' which he dated to between 50 and 30 BC.<sup>191</sup> Stewart saw National Museum no. 320 as a weak descendent of the bronze head from Delos, remarking that 'the sculptor tried to resurrect the romanticised pathos of the bronze head from Delos, without conspicuous success.'<sup>192</sup> François Queyrel, on the other hand, has recently redated both these marble portraits to c. 130 BC, and suggested that the bronze head from Delos is a 'brother' of National Museum inv. no. 320.<sup>193</sup> Zanker, too, has suggested this head is late 2nd century BC in date, and interpreted it as a portrait of a 'contemplative citizen,' influenced by the images of Hellenistic philosophers.<sup>194</sup> Two other heads in the group Stewart suggested were made by the same sculptor: the portrait of an

<sup>188</sup> See also a fragmentary head from Messene that has a similarly prominent vein on the left temple, dated to the later 1st century BC: Karapanagiotou 2012.

<sup>189</sup> Agora Excavations, inv. no. S 608: Harrison 1953, 11-12, cat. no. 2 (dated to the first half of the 1st century BC).

<sup>190</sup> Harrison 1953, 11.

<sup>191</sup> Athens, National Archaeological Museum no. 320: Avagliano 2011, 159, cat. no. 2.22; Datsoule-Stavríde 1985, 23-24, pls. 4-5; Hafner 1954, 68-69, n. A15; Stewart 1979, 81, n. 3; Zanker 1995, 189; Queyrel 2003, 135-136. National Museum no. 321: Hafner 1954, 71, n. A21; Stewart 1979, 81, n. 4; Queyrel 2003, 132-135, 136-137.

<sup>192</sup> Stewart 1979, 82.

<sup>193</sup> Queyrel 2003, 132-137.

<sup>194</sup> Zanker 1995, 189, fig. 100.

old man, National Museum inv. no. 331,<sup>195</sup> has the short-cropped hair engraved into the surface of the head, much like the head from the area of the Areopagus, while the other, much more fragmentary head, National Museum inv. no. 3294, is currently dated, interestingly enough, to the Trajanic period (Fig. 7).<sup>196</sup>

I would also include here a number of portraits that Stewart gathers together in a group called ‘The sculptor of National Museum 351 and his circle’, which he dates to around 40 BC.<sup>197</sup> The beautifully preserved head for which the group is named probably represents a priest (Fig. 8).<sup>198</sup> Klaus Fittschen has suggested that this portrait might be late 3rd century BC in date,<sup>199</sup> and Andrew Stewart has more recently revised the date of this head to 200 BC.<sup>200</sup> Another, National Museum inv. no. 437, may also represent a priest as he wears a rolled fillet like the priest from the Agora (Fig. 9).<sup>201</sup> This portrait is reminiscent of the Delian head from the Palaestra of the Lake. One head that Stewart dates to the Early Imperial period but that I think may belong here is National Museum inv. no. 3561 (Fig. 10). It is a sensitively characterized and strikingly original portrait of a man with deep set eyes, a furrowed brow, thick locks of tousled hair, and the lightest of beards, which compares well in the subtlety of its style and its emotional expression to the famous bronze head from Delos.<sup>202</sup>

Like the portraits from Delos, these heads, while by no means homogenous, exhibit technical and stylistic bonds that unite them together. Indeed, it was these broad similarities that led other scholars to group these portraits together. Rather than dating to around the mid- to later 1st century BC, however, I would argue it is much more likely historically that these marble portraits predate the sack of Sulla in 86 BC. As both Palagia and Stewart have recently observed, for decades after the sack, sculptural production, particularly of private dedi-

<sup>195</sup> Datsoule-Stavride 1985, 24-25, pls. 6-7; Hafner 1954, 61, n. A3; Romiopoulou 1997, 19, n. 5; Stewart 1979, 80, n. 1.

<sup>196</sup> Romiopoulou 1997, 70, n. 68; Stewart 1979, 81, n. 2.

<sup>197</sup> Stewart 1979, 82-84.

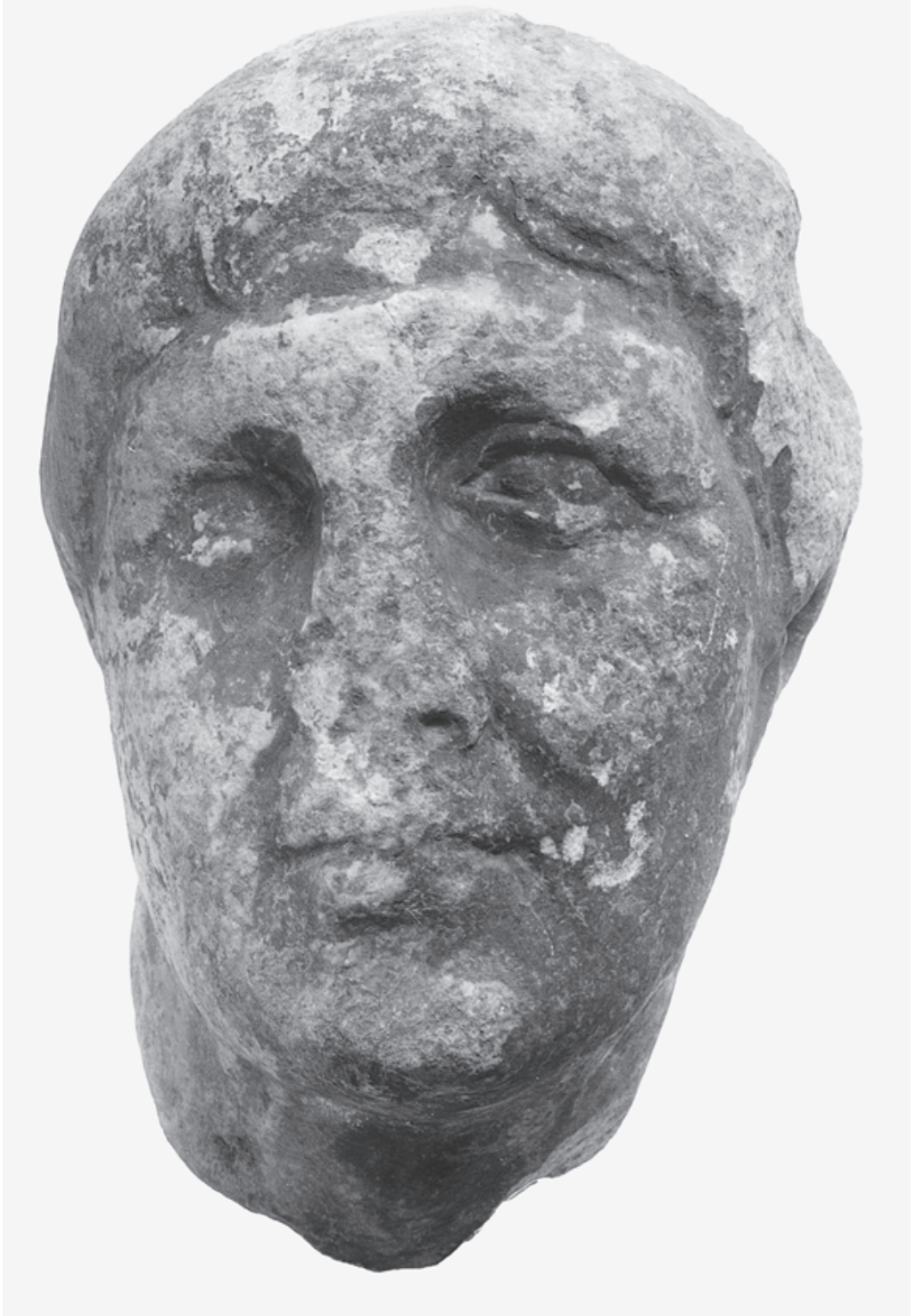
<sup>198</sup> Kaltsas 2002, 297, n. 621.

<sup>199</sup> Fittschen 1988, 26, n. 155; see also von den Hoff 2008, 127, n. 66, in which he provides additional bibliography and helpfully lists the various dates that have been put forward for this portrait.

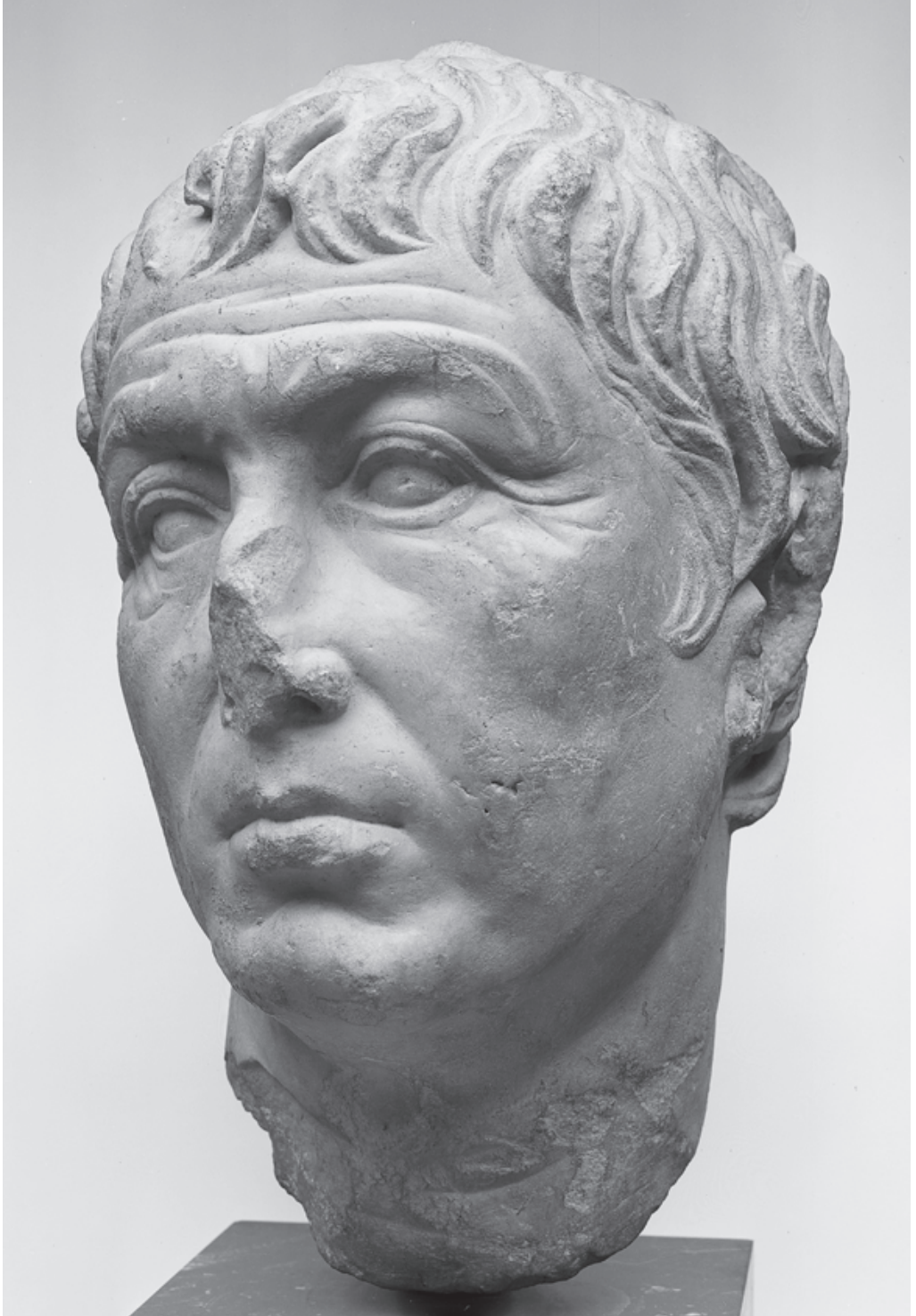
<sup>200</sup> Stewart 1990, fig. 781.

<sup>201</sup> Hafner 1954, 63-64, n. A8; Romiopoulou 1997, 21, n. 7; Stewart 1979, 83, n. 5.

<sup>202</sup> Datsoule-Stavride 1985, 22-23, pls. 2-3; Hafner 1954, 72, n. A22; Stewart 1979, 86, pl. 28d.



*Fig. 5.* Marble portrait head, height 23 cm. Brought into the Agora by a workman. Agora Excavations inv. no. S 608. Photograph: Courtesy of the American School of Classical Studies at Athens: © Agora Excavations.



*Fig. 6.* Marble portrait head from Athens, height 35 cm. National Archaeological Museum inv. no. 320. Photograph: © D-DAI-ATH-1973-1302.





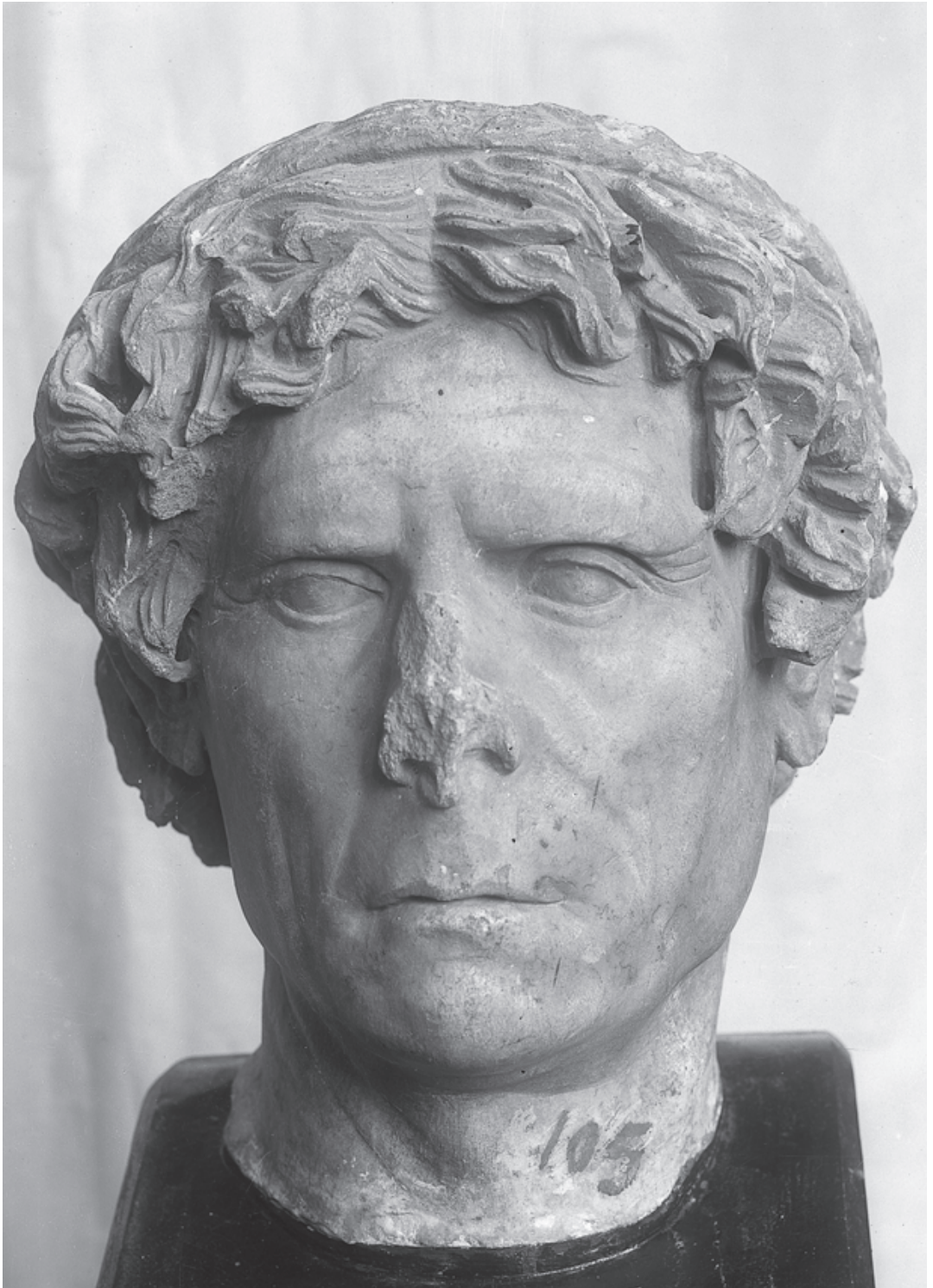
*Fig. 7.* Marble portrait head from Athens; sometimes identified as the Emperor Trajan, presumed height 16 cm. National Archaeological Museum inv. no. 3294. Photograph: © Sheila Dillon.

cations in marble, was very much diminished.<sup>203</sup> The epigraphic evidence also shows a steep decline in this period in the number of portrait statues, which is not surprising, given the dire straits of the Athenian economy in the years after 86 BC.<sup>204</sup> Hoff has even claimed that Athens was not on the 'road to recovery' until over 50 years later, after the Battle of Actium.<sup>205</sup> This picture of decline and depression stands in stark contrast to Athens in the 2nd century BC, when all kinds of arts flourished: not only were Attic sculptors in high demand all over

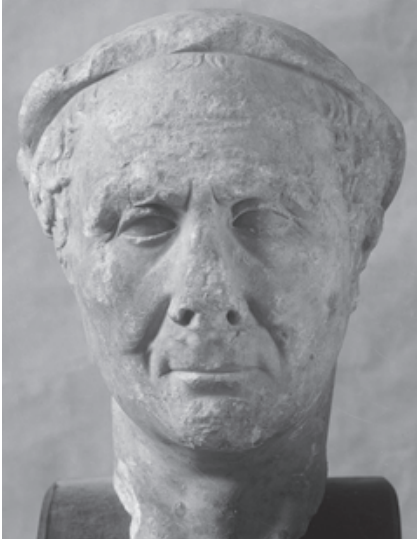
<sup>203</sup> Palagia 1997; Stewart 2012a, 311.

<sup>204</sup> Hoff 1997, 44.

<sup>205</sup> Hoff 1997, 44.



*Fig. 8.* Marble portrait head of a priest from Athens, height 31 cm. National Archaeological Museum inv. no. 351. Photograph: © D-DAI-ATH-NM-0527.



*Fig. 9.* Marble portrait head of a priest from Athens, height 31 cm. National Archaeological Museum inv. no. 437. Photograph: © D-DAI-ATH-NM-0553A.



*Fig. 10.* Marble portrait head from Athens, height 30. National Archaeological Museum inv. no. 3561. Photograph: © D-DAI-ATH-Athen-Varia-0178A.

the Mediterranean, but also Athens became the center of sculptural production for the booming and lucrative Roman villa market.<sup>206</sup> In addition to the large number of portrait statue dedications on the Acropolis, the Polykles family of sculptors made a new set of colossal cult statues in imported Parian marble, perhaps for the Temple of Demeter and Kore in the City Eleusinion,<sup>207</sup> and the priest Lakratides dedicated a monumental votive relief to the Goddesses at Eleusis in c. 100 BC.<sup>208</sup> The Classical Agora was thoroughly remodeled and modernized in the 2nd century BC,<sup>209</sup> and the technologically sophisticated and impressively decorated 'Tower of the Winds' was constructed.<sup>210</sup> Athens was clearly booming and its citizens prosperous in the 2nd century BC, at least

<sup>206</sup> Harris 2015, 400 and n. 64, where he suspects that the current date for the emergence of the Graeco-Roman art trade in the last third of the 2nd century BC is probably too late.

<sup>207</sup> Stewart 2012b.

<sup>208</sup> Klöckner 2012, with full bibliography.

<sup>209</sup> Dickenson 2017, 142-157.

<sup>210</sup> Kienast 2014, 129-145.

partly due to its possession of Delos, whose port was the center of trans-Aegean trade.

In sum, although the evidence I have gathered here is largely circumstantial, I hope to have demonstrated, or at least made a compelling case for, the following conclusions:

- 1) there was a wide variety of portrait options available in 2nd century BC Athens that ranged from more classically influenced images to more realistic looking portraits; that is, Neo-classicism was not the only game in town when it came to sculptural production, including portraiture;
- 2) there were close connections between Athens and Delos, and both Athenian patrons and Athenian sculptors would have known and seen the kinds of portraits set up on the island;
- 3) the marble portraits from Athens are much more likely to date to before the sack of Sulla than to the second half of the 1st century BC, and the realism of these portraits have little if anything to do with influence from Rome; it is the longer history of Attic portraiture that needs to be taken in account in our understanding of these images.

Finally, it is becoming clear from my initial study of the Roman-period portraits from the Athenian Agora that even those Attic portraits that are certainly Imperial in date are more concerned with the visual expression of local interests than in responding to or incorporating portrait styles emanating from Rome itself. This is especially apparent in the portraits of local male subjects. The default approach that compares this material to Roman metropolitan examples has, I believe, obscured the importance of this local portrait history for our understanding of these images. Like the portraits of the Late Hellenistic period, they spoke to an audience of fellow citizens in a visual language that was strongly Attic, historically aware, and locally directed.

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# Greek Portraits and the Late Hellenistic Politics of Plunder

Catherine Keesling

## *Abstract*

This chapter examines the historical background to the production of veristic portraits on late Hellenistic Delos, drawing attention to a powerful but neglected subtext: the destruction and plunder of portrait statues in mainland Greece and the Aegean from the last quarter of the third century BC through the early first century BC. First, I survey episodes of portrait destruction in Polybius, then address archaeological and epigraphical evidence for the Roman collecting of portraits. The ever-present danger of removal made Greek portraits alienable from both their contexts and their subjects in new ways. Three developments in the display and production of portraits in this period might be viewed as either responses to removal or as protective strategies against removal: the placement of portraits within new *temene* or para-sacred spaces, such as the *dromos* on Delos; the epigraphic habit of inscribing dedications to the gods on portrait bases, especially those that stood outside sacred spaces; and the increasing use of marble for portrait statues.

The appearance of several veristic marble portraits on the island of Delos in the late 2nd century and the first decades of the 1st century BC—the problem at the heart of this volume—has long resisted explanation.<sup>1</sup> Is the realistic approach to portraiture evident in the faces of these statues really something new, or does it

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<sup>1</sup> These portraits include: the pseudo-athlete from the House of the Diadumenos, inv. no. NM 1828; Hermary et al. 1996, 192-193 n. 86, with photograph; a head from the Agora of the Italians, inv. no. Delos A 4186; Hermary et al. 1996, 202-203, n. 91; another male head, inv. no. Delos A 4187; Hermary et al. 1996, 212-213, n. 96; and the two male busts found in the Maison des Sceaux, Delos, inv. nos. Delos A 7258-7259; Hermary et al. 1996, 218-219, n. 99.

I would like to offer my warmest thanks to Elizabeth Baltes, for discussing the present chapter with me and for permission to reproduce her plan of the *dromos* on Delos. Any errors that remain here are my own. 'The Politics of Plunder' in my title recognizes Scholten 2000.

represent a continuation of earlier tendencies toward realism in Greek male portraits in bronze, which have since largely vanished?<sup>2</sup> Or does the introduction of a new form of realism correlate with patrons and portrait subjects who belonged to a Roman/Italian clientele particular to Delos?<sup>3</sup> Is the Roman verism that is well-attested in the 1st century BC really the same thing as that which we see already in the Delian portraits of the previous century?<sup>4</sup> The recent discovery of veristic-looking portrait heads on early 2nd-century seal impressions found at Kallipolis in Aetolia and at Tel Kedesh in Palestine suggests that the style originated in the Greek east as much as a century earlier than the Delian statues, and that it was not necessarily limited to portraits of Romans.<sup>5</sup> In reality, we are not dealing with a single change, but with several interlocking developments in Greek portraiture that, based on present evidence, can be placed in the 2nd century BC: the increasing use of marble rather than bronze for freestanding portraits; the so-called inflation of honors in the Greek city, one manifestation of which was the simultaneous awarding of multiple portraits in different media (bronze, marble, painting) to the same individual; the awarding of portraits painted on *pinakes* and shields, some of them truncated at the shoulders, as a lesser honor by the Greek cities; the crowding of public spaces with portrait statues; and a shift in the Greek terminology for portraits, with *andrias* increasingly used to designate portrait statues and *eikon* painted portraits.<sup>6</sup> Any simple cause-and-effect equation—i.e., the appearance of the Romans in the Aegean caused Greek sculptors to develop the veristic style in portraiture—seems too reductive to account for the sum total of these developments.

<sup>2</sup> For realism in Classical and Early Hellenistic Greek portraiture, see Dillon 2006, 90-98, 113-26; von den Hoff 2007.

<sup>3</sup> In a foundational article, R.R.R. Smith hypothesized that Roman patrons on Delos asked for 'a realistic facial likeness combined with some of the external elements of Hellenistic idealizing portraiture', but Greek sculptors gave them harsh, uncompromising, unsympathetically realistic heads attached to traditional Greek bodies; see Smith 1981, 37-38. For further reflections on realism in Delian portraits, see Queyrel 2009.

<sup>4</sup> Fejfer 2008, 262-270 and Rose 2008, 102-118 both note the lack of 2nd-century BC evidence for veristic portraits in Rome and Italy. For Roman verism of the 1st century BC, see Giuliani 1986, 205-238.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. Rose 2008, 108-109.

<sup>6</sup> Multiple honorific portraits for the same individual: the classic example is the first-century benefactor Diodoros Paspáros at Pergamon, discussed by Biard 2017, 101-103, who received nine statues, five of them bronze or gilded bronze *eikones* and the other four marble *agalмата*. Painted portraits: see most recently Biard 2017, 141-145. Shift in terminology: Keesling 2017b, 851-858.

Though the Romans may not in fact be the catalysts driving either veristic portraiture or any of the other developments I have just mentioned, their arrival in the eastern Mediterranean is arguably the axis around which Greek cultural change turned in the 2nd century BC.<sup>7</sup> In this chapter, I would like to bring to the fore what I consider to be a powerful but neglected subtext to the portrait culture of Late Hellenistic Delos: first the destruction, and then the plunder, of portrait statues in mainland Greece and the Aegean, which the Greek historian Polybius claims began in the last quarter of the 3rd century BC. This era of plunder may have begun as early as the Social War (of 220-217 BC) between the Aetolians and the Achaean League and its ally, Philip V of Macedonia; it continued through the First and Second Macedonian Wars of 211-205 and 200-197 BC. Significant milestones in the history of Roman involvement in the plundering of Greek artworks, including portrait statues, are the sack of Syracuse in 211 BC; M. Fulvius Nobilior's sack of Ambracia in 187 BC; the Roman defeat of the Macedonian Perseus at Pydna in 168 BC, resulting in the awarding of Delos to the Romans' ally Athens in 167/6 BC; and L. Mummius' destruction of Corinth and his exactions from other mainland Greeks in 146 BC.<sup>8</sup>

The plunder of Greek portrait statues by Roman commanders eventually gave way, probably over the course of the 2nd century, to an art market driven by Roman collecting.<sup>9</sup> Both forms of removal made Greek portraits alienable from both their contexts and their subjects in new ways. My goal in this chapter is not to suggest a cause-and-effect relationship between plunder and collecting on the one hand and veristic portraiture on the other; rather, I aim to see if we can detect a back-and-forth dialectic between Roman interventions and evolving Greek portrait practices. What effects, if any, might the new alienability of Greek portraits, the ever-present danger that they could be removed from their settings, have had upon the conditions of their production and display? The removal of Greek portraits potentially changed everything: it suddenly raised the questions of portraits' value and how portrait statues could be protected.

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<sup>7</sup> An example of Greek cultural change driven by contact with Rome: Nevett 2010, 63-88 for the opening up of house plans in late 2nd-century Delos interpreted as a reaction to Roman house types and social customs.

<sup>8</sup> For the history of this period, see Gruen 1984; Scholten 2000, 200-233.

<sup>9</sup> Recent studies of Roman collecting and collections, with earlier bibliography, include Bounia 2004; Bravi 2012; Gahtan and Pegazzano 2015.

### *Early episodes of portrait destruction*

I begin with four interrelated episodes in Polybius' *Histories*, almost certainly written after 146 BC but recounting events that took place in the last quarter of the 3rd century. If we are interested in the ontological status of Greek portrait statues—and the dangers they faced—in the Late Hellenistic period, Polybius' narration of these events deserves to be taken seriously.<sup>10</sup> Near the opening of a long narrative that begins in 220 BC, we find the Achaean League and its ally Philip V of Macedonia engaged in a brutal back-and-forth conflict with the Aetolian League. First, in 219 BC, the Aetolians sacked the Macedonian sanctuary of Zeus Olympios at Dion. Polybius (*Hist.* 4.62.2) writes:

When the inhabitants had deserted the place, [Scopas the Aetolian general] upon entering it demolished the walls and the houses and the gymnasium, and in addition to these he also burned the stoas around the *temenos*, and he destroyed the remaining *anathemata* [dedications], such as served for *kosmos* or the use of those who frequented the festivals. He also overturned all the *eikones* [portraits] of the kings.<sup>11</sup>

Next (4.67), the Aetolians under Dorimachos sacked the sanctuary of Zeus at Dodona; once again they destroyed *anathemata*, but here Polybius makes no special mention of portrait statues. In the following year, 218 BC, in retaliation Philip V sacked the sanctuary of Apollo at Thermon, which served as the headquarters of the Aetolian League (Polyb. *Hist.* 5.9.1-3):

Up to this point all had been done fairly and justly according to the *nomoi* of war; about what followed I am at a loss for words. Mindful of what had been done at Dion and Dodona by the Aetolians, they burned the stoas and

<sup>10</sup> Cf. Pritchett 1991 (519-528) who, in his catalogue of sacks in Polybius, does not see a clear distinction between episodes in which Polybius mentions the destruction or plunder of *eikones*, *andriantes*, *agalмата*, and *graphai* (paintings) and the looting of other sorts of objects such as *kataskeuasmata* (temple fixtures or decorations). On the contrary, statues and paintings are mentioned seldom enough that these distinctions seem to be significant. Other sacks in Polybius involving statues and/or paintings are: Syracuse in 211 BC (Polyb. *Hist.* 9.10); Ambracia in 187 BC (21.30.9); and Bithynia in 156 BC (32.15.1-9). Polybius' account of the sacks of 167 BC is not preserved. At 39.15.1-9, Polybius reports that he himself had intervened in 146 BC to keep portraits of the leaders of the Achaean League from being destroyed or removed by the Romans.

<sup>11</sup> All translations from Greek and Latin are my own unless otherwise noted.

destroyed the rest of the *anathemata*, being high in quality, elaborate, and crafted with both expense and care. And not only did they put to the fire the roofs, but they razed the buildings to the ground. They also threw down the statues [*andriantes*], being not less than 2000 in number; many they destroyed, except for those that bore inscriptions or images of the gods (*πλήν ὅσοι θεῶν ἐπιγραφὰς ἢ τύπους εἶχον*). They even wrote on the walls the familiar verse of Samos, who was the son of Chrysogonos and a foster-brother of the king, whose cleverness was at that time already recognized: ‘Do you see how far the divine (*δῖον*) bolt has flown?’ Indeed, both the king and his friends were possessed of the greatest possible conviction that they were acting justly and fittingly by retaliating in kind against the Aetolians for their sacrilege at Dion.

When Philip V returned to Thermon a few years later in 206 BC (Polyb. *Hist.* 11.7.1-3), his men went even further and destroyed the *anathemata* they had spared the first time around, presumably including divine statues.

Should we really imagine the Aetolians at Dion in 219 BC singling out the portraits of the Macedonian kings for destruction? Polybius’ claim that 2000 statues were destroyed at Thermon in 218 BC seems like an exaggeration.<sup>12</sup> But even if it is not, should we accept that Philip’s army at Thermon paused to read statue base inscriptions to help them decide which statues to destroy? Archaeological evidence from Dion, though suggestive, does not entirely support Polybius’ supposition that portrait statues there were targeted for destruction. The base for a large bronze statue dedicated to Zeus Olympios by the late 4th-century Macedonian king Cassander (SEG 34.620) was reused not once but twice.<sup>13</sup> But even if we supposed that the statue was destroyed by the Aetolians in 219 BC, the inscription uses the votive formula: though the statue might have

<sup>12</sup> Similar references in Pliny the Elder are certainly suspect, e.g. his claims that there were 3000 bronze statues in Rhodes town (*HN* 34.36) and that M. Aemilius Scaurus’ temporary theater building in Rome had 360 columns and 3000 bronze statues (*HN* 36.5; 36.113). Polybius (*Hist.* 5.8.9) also claimed that the stoas at Thermon contained more than 15,000 *hopla* (pieces of armor or weapons).

<sup>13</sup> See Pandermalis 1984, 271-272. The Cassander base was first turned upside-down and reused to support the portrait of a woman named Herennia Prima, dedicated by her parents with a Latin inscription. The text of this inscription is as yet unpublished, but it is visible in the photograph published by Pandermalis 1997, 72. The base was found *in situ* where it was reused a second time as the base for the marble cult statue of Isis inside her temple at Dion in c. 200 AD; the Isis statue’s plinth conceals the original Cassander inscription.



been a portrait (*eikon*) of himself dedicated by Cassander, the more obvious way to interpret it is as a votive statue representing Zeus. Significantly, Dion was sacked a second time in 167 BC by the Roman general L. Aemilius Paullus after his defeat of the Macedonian king Perseus at Pydna. Three inscribed statue bases reused in later contexts attest to the removal of three statues associated with the Macedonian kings in 167 BC: these inscriptions name Philip V (SEG 63.425) and Perseus himself (SEG 34.619 and SEG 49.697). Only one of these three bases, however, belongs to a royal portrait (of Perseus) rather than a votive dedication.<sup>14</sup> On balance, both the sack of 219 BC and the later one in 167 BC at Dion targeted monuments bearing the inscribed names of the Macedonian kings, not their portraits.

Dodona, like Dion, was sacked not only in 219 BC, but once again in 167 BC. Here the evidence of statue bases makes it clear that bronze portrait statues were targeted for destruction or removal; what is less clear is whether this happened in 219 BC, 167 BC, or on both occasions.<sup>15</sup> At Thermon, the evidence for the (selective?) targeting of portrait statues already in the last quarter of the 3rd century BC is quite convincing: the base for the bronze portrait of an Aetolian hipparch of the mid-3rd century BC was found built into the stylobate of Temple C, its construction dated between the 206 BC sack and the catastrophic defeat of the Aetolians in 167 BC.<sup>16</sup> The truly extraordinary evidence for the

<sup>14</sup> SEG 49.697 belonged to a portrait of Perseus dedicated by an association of Musaists to the Muses and Dionysos between c. 179 and 168 BC, recut as a Doric capital found built into a house of the 3rd century AD (Pandermalis 1999; 2002, 101-103). The fragmentary inscription SEG 34.619 (see also SEG 46.741) preserves only the name of Perseus in the nominative followed by his patronymic; there is a cutting on the top of the base for a marble plinth (Pandermalis 1984, 272-273). SEG 63.425 is a votive dedication by Philip V to Zeus Olympios found reused in a late antique house (Pingioglou et al. 2011, 138-139).

<sup>15</sup> Two portrait bases are among those reused in post-167 buildings: one of the portraits represented Krison (Katsikoudis 2005, 46-66, n. B12; SEG 24.449 and *DNO* 3173) and the other his son Menelaos (Katsikoudis 2005, 66-70, n. B16; SEG 24.451 and *DNO* 3174). Katsikoudis' suggestion that Krison's portrait was destroyed in 219 BC and Menelaos' in 167 BC has been roundly criticized (SEG 55.628 and *BE* 2007, n. 38). Sebastian Prignitz in *DNO* (n. 3168-3174) suggests that both statues were destroyed in 219 BC based upon the presumed dates for their sculptor, Athenogenes of Argos; Dieterle (2007), however, argues that the 167 BC destruction was a far more significant event in the sanctuary's history and a more likely occasion.

<sup>16</sup> This base is IG IX 1<sup>2</sup> 1 55 (Thermon Museum, inv. no. 93), mentioned by Soteriades 1899, 58; Kuhn 1993, 33-34, n. 33. For destruction phases at Thermon, see also Papapostolou 2014, 170-174.

destruction of portraits at both Dodona and Thermon are the deposits of bronze statue fragments found at both sites. That these fragments do not belong to divine or heroic images is clear from the dagger hilts and pieces of cuirasses, *pteryges*, and equine tackle that must come from honorific portraits in the guise of warriors, both pedestrian and equestrian. Sadly, the extant publications of both Dodona and Thermon omit detailed contextual and stratigraphic evidence that might make it clear when exactly these bronze portrait statues were destroyed: 218 BC, 167 BC—or even a later date.<sup>17</sup>

### *Roman collecting of Greek portrait statues*

Polybius wrote his history of the events at Dion, Dodona, and Thermon about 70 years after the fact. By that time, both the Aetolians and the Macedonian kings had been thoroughly defeated by the Romans, for whom the opportunity to remove portrait statues outweighed the symbolism of destroying them. Polybius' vivid accounts of the raids of 219 and 218 BC align chronologically with the Roman sack of Syracuse in 211 BC, viewed by both Polybius (*Hist.* 9.10) and Livy (25.40.2) as a turning point in Roman attitudes toward the plunder of Greek art works.<sup>18</sup> In 187 BC, the Roman general M. Fulvius Nobilior, in his campaign against the Aetolians, accepted the surrender of the city of Ambracia but, according to Polybius (*Hist.* 21.30.9), nevertheless took the opportunity to seize and take to Rome *agalмата* [divine images], *andriantes* [portrait statues], and *graphai* [paintings]. In 146 BC, L. Mummius sacked Corinth, removing statues of all types and redistributing them both in Italy and among friendly communities in Greece itself.<sup>19</sup> At Dion in Macedonia in the same year or soon after, the Roman general Q. Caecilius Metellus Macedonicus made off with one of the most famous Greek portrait groups of all: Alexander and twenty-five of

<sup>17</sup> What the small fragments of broken bronze statues found at both Dodona and Thermon resemble most closely are late antique deposits at Olympia that Bol (1978) argued were the result of statues in the sanctuary being broken up in preparation for sale as scrap metal (discussed further, below). At Samothrace, bronze statues on the Eastern Hill were systematically removed from their bases and broken up after an earthquake in the late 1st or early 2nd century CE, leaving behind similar small fragments of bodies and clothing (Wescoat 2017, 313-317, 419-427). Would the aftermath of a brief episode of looting by hostile forces really look the same in the archaeological record?

<sup>18</sup> For the ancient sources on the sack of Syracuse, see Stoffel 2009.

<sup>19</sup> Miles 2008, 73-76, with earlier references.

his companions on horseback, made by Lysippos of Sikyon (Cic. *Verr.* 4.4.126; Pliny *HN* 34.64).<sup>20</sup>

It remains unclear exactly when and how plunder by Roman generals gave way to a commercial art market sustained by customers in Roman Italy.<sup>21</sup> Though literary sources (both Greek and Roman) for plunder and the art trade focus almost exclusively on divine images, archaeological evidence of various kinds demonstrates that Greek portraits of all periods were also targeted for removal from their original Greek contexts. Bronze portrait statues have been found in the commercial cargoes of both the Mahdia and the Antikythera shipwrecks of the first half of the 1st century BC.<sup>22</sup> In addition, in Rome and elsewhere in Italy several series of statue bases used to support statue collections that included looted Greek portraits have been found.<sup>23</sup> To take one example, five matching bases were found in the gardens of the Villa Mattei in Rome; these are available only in facsimile drawings of their inscriptions (*IGB* nos. 481-485 = *IG XIV* 1149) because the bases themselves are now lost. At least four of the five statues were portraits. The subjects are varied, and clearly some of them were familiar and of historical interest to elite Romans: the Athenian general Timotheos, son of Konon (*IGB* 482); the Athenian orator Hyperides (*IGB* 483). Other Greek statues in this collection might have been valued for their sculptors: Kalamis of the mid-5th century BC (*IGB* 485); the Early Hellenistic sculptor Sthennis of Olynthos (*IGB* 481); and maybe also Demokritos (Damokritos) of Sikyon (*IGB*

<sup>20</sup> For the Roman plunder of Greek art works in this period, see Miles 2008, 44-104; Pollitt 1978.

<sup>21</sup> Harris (2015, 397-401) places the beginning of the commercial art market in the first half of the 2nd century. Cf. Welch 2006, who sees 146 BC as a turning point in Roman attitudes toward looted statues: after this date, statues were increasingly valued as works of art whose sculptors and subjects mattered rather than as war booty. See also Holz 2009.

<sup>22</sup> Mahdia (c. 70 BC): Hellenkemper Salies et al. 1994. Antikythera (c. 80-50 BC): Bol 1972. Both cargoes included older bronze statues removed from their original settings. The Piraeus cache, which includes a combination of antique bronze statues removed from their bases and newly-made Pentelic-marble sculptures, has traditionally been interpreted as a cargo awaiting transport on a ship when Sulla attacked the Piraeus in 86 BC (Palagia 1997, esp. 179-180; cf. the doubts expressed by Palagia 2016).

<sup>23</sup> For examples, see Keesling 2017a, 184-185; 2018. A series of statue bases found at Pergamon (*IvPergamon* 48-50) supported bronze statues (probably not portraits) attributed by inscriptions to Classical and Hellenistic sculptors including Onatas of Aegina and Silanion of Athens. These statues seem to have been removed from Oreus on Euboea and from Aigina by the Pergamene forces of Attalos I, who fought alongside the Romans against Philip V in the last decade of the 3rd century BC (Kuttner 2015, 49-53).

484), a sculptor of the first half of the 4th century BC.<sup>24</sup> Demokritos' signature appears on the most puzzling Greek portrait in this group: its name label reads 'Lysis, the Milesian woman'. Is this a private portrait, perhaps from a family portrait group set up in a sanctuary? Where could it have come from? Since this Lysis is unlikely to have been someone famous, her statue brings to the fore the question of what exactly Romans valued in the Greek portrait statues of earlier periods. Was her statue valued not for its subject, but rather for its sculptor or its period style? This particular example seems to show that any Greek portrait statue, no matter how seemingly insignificant, was potentially a desirable target for removal from the Greek east and shipment to Italy.

The intrinsic value of bronze as a material presented another danger. Not all of the bronze portraits removed from the Greek east in the Late Hellenistic period were shipped to Italy intact: some were broken up and sold as scrap. The Antikythera shipwreck of c. 80-50 BC included, in addition to intact bronze portrait statues, extra arms, legs, and feet, at least some probably intended to be melted down.<sup>25</sup> The Brindisi shipwreck of the 6th century AD, found off the coast of southern Italy in 1992, contained fragments of as many as 100 different bronze statues, ranging in date from the 4th century BC through the early 3rd century AD, all smashed to pieces for sale as scrap metal.<sup>26</sup> Though the date of this shipwreck is very late, the elder Pliny (*HN* 33.130 and 34.160) indicates that the metal foundries at Brindisi were active already in the Early Imperial period.

Did the removal of portraits from the Greek east in the Late Hellenistic period amount to a crisis from the Greek point of view? In some places, it did. The Asklepieion sanctuary at Epidauros is perhaps the clearest example of a site where large numbers of bronze portraits were removed at this time. In the 100 years between 146 BC and c. 50 BC, a bare minimum of 15 different portrait statues or portrait statue groups were taken off their bases, whether by L. Mummius in 146 BC, by Sulla in 86 BC, by Aegean pirates before 67 BC, or by other forces now unidentifiable.<sup>27</sup> We can tell these statues were removed

<sup>24</sup> For Demokritos (Damokritos of Sikyon), see *DNO* 2126-2130. He is mentioned by Paus. 6.3.5 and Pliny *HN* 34.87.

<sup>25</sup> Bol 1972, esp. 29-32 with pls. 13-14, 35-36 with pl. 15; Mattusch 1997, 4-6.

<sup>26</sup> Mattusch 1997, 13-14.

<sup>27</sup> Sulla at Epidauros: Diod. Sic. 38.7; Plut. *Sulla* 12.3; Paus. 9.7.5-6. Plunder by pirates before the *lex Gabinia* and Pompey's campaign in the Aegean: Plut. *Pomp.* 24.5. L. Mummius in 146

because their bases were recycled to support different statues beginning in c. 50 BC.<sup>28</sup> Several other reused bases of the 4th century through the 2nd century BC in the Asklepieion are likely to belong to removed bronze portraits as well; their inscriptions are simply not well enough preserved to be certain. The statue bases left empty as a result of this looting included some of the most prominent ones in the sanctuary: the exedras framing the space in front of the temple of Asklepios and the other buildings.<sup>29</sup>

### *Were Greek portrait statues ‘sacred’?*

At this point I would like to draw attention to one potential conflict between Roman attitudes toward portraits and Greek ones. Romans looked at the fully developed statue landscapes of Greek cities and sanctuaries and asked a question it had never occurred to the Greeks to ask before: Should the portrait statues here be considered sacred or not? For the Greeks, any portrait statue placed inside a *temenos* was the property of the god and for that reason sacred; but that did not necessarily mean that portraits standing in an Agora were profane.<sup>30</sup> This issue arises in Polybius’ description of Philip V’s sack of the sanctuary of Apollo at Thermon in 218 BC, quoted earlier, in which Polybius claims that portraits were singled out for destruction: the statues bearing ‘inscriptions or images of the gods’ were presumably spared on the grounds that they were more sacred than the portraits. Polybius wrote after 146 BC, and he had personal experience of Roman looting; he may be guilty of retrojecting post-146 BC attitudes back upon earlier events, as is Livy (25.40.2) when he singles out the sack of Syr-

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BC reused a ship base that originally supported an Early Hellenistic bronze Nike for a bronze portrait of himself (Griesbach 2014, 59-60); we do not know whether Mummius himself removed the Nike, though this seems likely. Cf. Livy 45.28.3 (contrast between the riches seen in the Asklepieion by L. Aemilius Paulus in 167 BC and the denuded state of the sanctuary in the Augustan period).

<sup>28</sup> The bases for portraits that were removed are the following (the portraits are dated by their sculptors, by the prosopography of their subjects, or by the letter forms of their original inscriptions): IG IV 1<sup>2</sup> 211, 213, 232=630+700, 239, 246, 336+620, 589, 616, 623, 626, 627, 633+654+655, 635+691, 659+660+661, and 670+671+672+673.

<sup>29</sup> Griesbach 2014, 61-64.

<sup>30</sup> To what extent the ancient Greek agora was a sacred space has been debated in modern scholarship. For a synopsis, see Sielhorst 2015, 30-33. Hölscher’s (1998, 43-45) position is perhaps most easily defensible: ‘*Die Agora kein Kultplatz [ist], sondern ein Platz mit Kulturen*’ (quotation on 45).

acuse in 211 BC as the moment when Roman admiration for Greek art began to outweigh scruples about looting property sacred to the gods.<sup>31</sup> Making a distinction between non-sacred portraits and sacred divine images standing in the same sanctuary was, I believe, simply not an aspect of Greek portrait thinking before the Romans intervened in the Greek east in the Late Hellenistic period.

Some historical background is called for. Perhaps the earliest manifestation of the 'sacredness' debate is the series of more than 200 inscribed documents concerning the right of asylum and territorial inviolability requested by Greek cities and reaffirmed by the Roman Senate, which began to be inscribed on stone in the 260s BC. The earliest documents may be responses to 3rd-century BC piracy in the Aegean; the majority, however, date later and constitute attempts to affirm traditional rights of asylum and the inviolability of sanctuaries, rights that were an anomaly in Roman law.<sup>32</sup> Curiously, we have no such inscribed documents from Delos, but that may be because Delos was understood by Greeks and Roman alike to be sacred and inviolable, making an official declaration superfluous.<sup>33</sup> The issue came to a head in 22 AD (Tac. *Ann.* 3.60-63 and 4.14), when the Roman Senate seems to have reaffirmed traditional rights of asylum and inviolability while at the same time prohibiting the further extension of the practice.<sup>34</sup>

The question 'can Greek portraits be considered sacred?' emerges most clearly later in the period discussed here, in Cicero's *Verrine Orations* of 70 BC. For Romans, the stakes were high because if Greek portraits were truly sacred then under most circumstances it would be a religious offense to remove them.<sup>35</sup> Cicero naturally devotes most of his energy in the *Verrines* to the Roman provincial governor Gaius Verres' thefts of sacred divine images from Sicily in

<sup>31</sup> See Miles 2008, 91-92.

<sup>32</sup> See especially Rigsby 1996, 1-29; Pritchett 1991, 160-68; Sinn 1993.

<sup>33</sup> Rigsby 1996, 51-53 and Livy 44.29.2 (168 BC). Cf. Étienne et al. (2018, 25-29) who note that literary references to the *hieron* at Delos are ambiguous, sometimes referring to the *temenos*, sometimes to the temple of Apollo, and sometimes to the areas of the island where asylum-seekers lodged.

<sup>34</sup> Rigsby 1996, 580-586.

<sup>35</sup> One significant exception, of course, is that Roman military commanders who won a battle victory were allowed to carry off the property of the defeated no matter what it was. At *Verr.* 2.4.55.122, Cicero notes that M. Claudius Marcellus, upon defeating Syracuse in 211 BC, was entitled to consider everything there unconsecrated, but nevertheless did not touch the contents of the temple of Minerva (Athena) there.

order to inspire maximum outrage. But while Cicero proceeds under the unspoken assumption that statues of gods and heroes were consecrated in a way that portraits were not, at one point he explicitly acknowledges that this was not the Greek attitude. In the passage I quote here, the citizens of Roman Sicily react to Verres' shameless looting of everything sacred by violating their own principles and attacking the honorific portraits of Verres himself (Cic. *Verr.* 2.2.65.158):

Has it ever been heard that what happened to you [Gaius Verres] happened to any other man? That portraits [*statuae*] of him in his province, set up in public places, some even in sacred temples, were thrown down by force by a united multitude? .... I would not believe this about the portraits had I not seen them lying there, wrenched off their bases; for it is the custom among all the Greeks that in these monuments the honor bestowed on men is imbued with divine consecration.

Throughout the *Verrines*, Cicero moves the boundary between sacred and profane back and forth freely to suit his rhetorical needs: for example, altars in front of statues of Cupid (Eros) and Hercules inside a private house are cited as proof of the statues' sacredness even though they did not come from a temple or sanctuary (2.4.2.4-5). In fact, one could even argue that non-Roman religious spaces had no status in Roman law to begin with, and consequently that removing things from them was not sacrilege.<sup>36</sup> But insisting that there was a boundary between sacred and profane, and that the Greek gods of Sicily and their sanctuaries were analogous to Roman gods and their temples, allowed Cicero to impugn Verres as an offender against the gods. The terrible irony is that all this Ciceronian talk of consecration and sanctity, which the Greeks might have thought worked to their advantage, made no difference in the end: wherever they went, Romans and their commercial agents showed no hesitation in removing both portraits and images of the gods, wherever they stood, whether or not the Greeks considered them 'consecrated'.<sup>37</sup>

<sup>36</sup> See Dillon 2016, 341: 'The use of Roman religious terms enables Cicero to cast the sacred sites violated by Verres, and the gods who dwell within them, as virtually Roman in sacral-legal terms'. For statues' varying degrees of sacredness in the *Verrines*, see also Miles 2008, 171-185.

<sup>37</sup> In the Late Hellenistic and Roman Imperial periods, even some statues of gods and heroes were specially marked as sacred with the verb *καθιερόω* (to make *ιερός*). Though this verb is common in literature already in the Classical period (Rudhardt 1992, 223-224), it appears epigraphically in the Hellenistic period first in documents related to the right of asylum discussed

### *Greek responses to Roman plunder: sacred portraits, marble portraits*

To return in a roundabout way to Delos, it seems worthwhile questioning whether any of the Late Hellenistic changes in the production and display of portraits in the Greek world other than the development of verism can be interpreted as responses to the realities of statue plunder or to the problem of the religious status of Greek portrait statues.

One such change is the designation of *temene* and other sacred spaces, some of them newly developed, as display spaces specifically for portraits. When the polis of the Delphians began to award honorific portraits in its own right in c. 200 BC, it chose to place them in the so-called *Halos* at the center of Apollo's sanctuary rather than develop a civic Agora outside the *temenos*.<sup>38</sup> On its own, this example may not be significant. After all, the Epidaurians used the Asklepieion as a preferred location for honorific portraits beginning in the last quarter of the 5th century BC, probably with the goal of making them more visible; and, as we have already seen, the fact that they were located within a *temenos* did not protect portraits in the Asklepieion from looting in the 1st century BC. Florens Felten has drawn attention to a more radical development: the invention of what he calls the 'hiera agora', a new, planned space which seamlessly combined the functions of an agora and a sanctuary and made it clear that the portraits within should be considered sacred.<sup>39</sup> The Asklepieion at Messene is the clearest example of this. The Messenians constructed this complex (described by Paus. 4.31.4-33.2) soon after their defeat of Philip V of Macedon in 215/4 BC (Polyb. *Hist.* 3.19 and 7.10-14). A temple shared by Asklepios and the heroine Messene stood at its center, completely surrounded by cult rooms and stoa buildings. Nearly all of the more than 150 statues erected in the open air within this complex were bronze honorific portraits; by comparison, only a handful of statue monuments were set up in the nearby, and much

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above, and then on statue bases. An example is ID 1753 (113 BC), the bilingual dedication of a statue to Herakles by a named group of Roman/Italian Hermaists, Apolloniasts, and Poseidoniasts found inside the so-called Salle Hypostyle located northwest of the *temenos* of Apollo (Bruneau and Ducat 2005, 214-216): the Latin formula *coeraverunt, dedicaverunt* is translated *ἀνέθηκαν καὶ καθιέρωσαν* ('they dedicated and sacralized [the statue]'). In traditional Greek votive dedications, the verb *ἀνατίθημι* (*ἀνέθηκε, ἀνέθηκαν, ἀνέθεσαν*) was sufficient in itself.

<sup>38</sup> Jacquemin 1999, 39-41.

<sup>39</sup> Felten 1996.



larger, agora of Messene.<sup>40</sup> In Athens at about the same time, we see a different permutation of a new sacred space designated to receive portrait statues. Sometime after their expulsion of the Macedonian garrison from Athens in 229 BC and before 211 BC, the Athenians created a new sanctuary of Demos and the Charites (Graces). This was a full-fledged cult space with its own hereditary priesthood, located adjacent to the Athenian Agora, and intended to supersede the Acropolis as the preferred location for portraits and inscribed decrees in honor of non-Athenian benefactors.<sup>41</sup> Placing these portraits within a *temenos* rather than in a more visible location in the open Agora made it clear that they were to be considered sacred to the gods.

On Delos in the Hellenistic period, Jochen Griesbach has remarked upon the spatial interpenetration of civic space and sacred space in the area around the sanctuary of Apollo: in the 3rd century BC, a 'civic' Prytaneion was folded into the sanctuary, complete with its own honorific portraits dedicated by the then-independent polis of the Delians.<sup>42</sup> When Delos was under Athenian control from 167 BC onward, this development continued, and it had significant spatial and epigraphic dimensions. The so-called *dromos*, which functioned as a preferred display space for portraits on Delos from the late 3rd century down through the early 1st century, can be characterized as a para-sacred space, clearly linked with the sanctuary of Apollo but at the same time outside the *hieron* proper.<sup>43</sup> The definition of this new space leading from the harbor to the sanctuary began with the construction of the South Stoa, built between 250 and 230 BC, perhaps under the auspices of Attalos I of Pergamon. The earliest portrait statues along the façade of the South Stoa date to the 230s or 220s BC. Philip

<sup>40</sup> Themelis 1993; 2000, 11-34.

<sup>41</sup> For the date and function of the sanctuary of Demos and the Charites, see IG II<sup>2</sup> 1 1137, a stele featuring three honorific decrees. The first (228/7 BC) awards a bronze portrait to Eumarides of Kydonia and specifies that it will be placed on the Acropolis; the second (211/0 BC) moves the portrait's location to the sanctuary of Demos and the Charites; the third (193/2 BC) adds a portrait for Eumarides' son Charmion. See also *Agora* 3, n. 125-132; Ma 2014; Mikalson 1998, 172-178; Monaco 2001. The other individuals represented by portrait statues here include Philonides of Laodicea and his sons in c. 180 BC (IG II<sup>2</sup> 1236; cf. Ma 2014); two relatives of the naturalized Athenian sculptors Kaikosthenes and Dies in c. 200 BC (IG II<sup>2</sup> 3864); and the 2nd-century Jewish high priest and Hasmonean ruler John Hyrkanos I (Josephus *AJ* 14.149-55).

<sup>42</sup> Griesbach 2013, esp. 93-96; see also Bruneau and Ducat 2005, 189-91; Étienne et al. 2018, 47-60; Herbin 2014.

<sup>43</sup> My discussion of the *dromos* is deeply indebted to Dillon and Baltus 2013; see also Biard 2017, 453-463; Bruneau and Ducat 2005, 163-168; Griesbach 2013, 100-115.

V of Macedon built another stoa opposite the South Stoa between 221 and 201 BC (in 218/7? *Syll.*<sup>3</sup> 574), which enclosed the space and enhanced its function as a processional way leading from the harbor to the sanctuary. The Athenians added a monumental *propylon* gateway into the *hieron* of Apollo in c. 150 BC, at a time when the *dromos* space between the two stoas was already being used extensively for portrait statues, both family portraits and official honorifics.

As Sheila Dillon and Elisabeth Baltes have noted, the *dromos* was a desirable location for portrait monuments because of the outstanding visibility it offered: both processions and everyday foot traffic into the sanctuary of Apollo were funneled through the space between the two stoas. But even though the *dromos* stood outside the sanctuary, did setting up portrait statues there make a claim for those portraits' sacredness, as if they stood within the *hieron*? The fact that dedicators took advantage of this space in great numbers, especially between c. 150 and c. 100 BC, speaks to its perceived safety. In addition to the portraits' locations along the *dromos*, the inscribed formulae on some of the bases—specifically whether or not they were inscribed as dedications to gods—also have something to contribute to our analysis. The practice of inscribing the name of the recipient deity in the dative case on bases for portraits is an understudied aspect of Greek portraiture, and at the same time one that needs to be approached with caution. Greek epigraphical cultures were local, and this is no exception. In the Samian Heraion, for example, most statues in the sanctuary were inscribed as dedications to Hera (*τῆι Ἡρῆι*) throughout the sanctuary's history; on the Athenian Acropolis, on the other hand, dedications to Athena were common in the Archaic period and the 5th century BC but became much rarer from the 4th century BC onward, when portraits constituted the majority of the statues in the sanctuary.<sup>44</sup> To conclude from this difference in usage that portraits in the Samian Heraion were more 'votive' or more religious in nature than those on the Acropolis would be a mistake.

In his foundational 1962 article on the development of Greek honorific portraits, Paul Veyne called attention to the practice of dedicating portraits to the gods in general rather than to specific deities worshipped in a sanctuary. The simplest formula is *τοῖς θεοῖς* ('to the gods'), and it became common in the 2nd century BC. Veyne's interpretation of the *τοῖς θεοῖς* formula was unequivocally negative: he viewed it as an empty gesture toward religious tradition in an era

<sup>44</sup> Samian Heraion: Herrmann 1960, 96-97.

when portrait statues, even those set up in sanctuaries, had lost their religious character and become purely honorific.<sup>45</sup> Subsequent discussions have characterized the *τοῖς θεοῖς* formula either as a sign of diminishing awareness of local cults and their histories, or as one facet of the Hellenistic *koine* in inscribed votive texts.<sup>46</sup> Each of these approaches is misleading: the *τοῖς θεοῖς* formula was only adopted with any frequency in a few places in the Greek east, and in some of these places awareness of the gods and their local cults remained high throughout the Hellenistic period.<sup>47</sup> For example, at Lindos on Rhodes, portrait statues from the 4th century BC onwards were either dedicated to Athena Lindia and other gods using a dative formula, or their inscriptions referred to the gods whose priesthoods the portraits' subjects had held. Beginning in the early 3rd century BC, some portrait inscriptions included a dedication either to 'all the gods' (*θεοῖς πᾶσι*) or simply 'to the gods' (*τοῖς θεοῖς*). At Lindos, the *τοῖς θεοῖς* formula evidently became standard for portraits at the end of the 3rd century BC and remained common through the 3rd century AD.<sup>48</sup> Most of the portraits dedicated at Lindos with the *τοῖς θεοῖς* formula represented priests of the city's major cults and members of their families—a group that can scarcely be accused of indifference toward local religious tradition.

A look at the use of both dedications to Apollo (or jointly to Apollo, Artemis, and Leto) and the *τοῖς θεοῖς* formula along the *dromos* on Delos [Fig. 1 and appendix] demonstrates two different things. First, we can see that these formulae were 'viral' in the modern, internet sense: once they were inscribed on one monument, the dedicators of later monuments nearby adopted the formula as well. More importantly, we also see that the earliest portraits set up at both ends of the *dromos* were inscribed with dedications to the gods. At the southern end, farthest away from the entrance to the *hieron* of Apollo, an equestrian portrait of a Pergamene general dedicated c. 238-223 BC by Attalos I himself (IG XI 4 1109) bore a dedication to Apollo; as did another base possibly dedicated by Attalos (IG XI 4 1110) that stood at the far northern end of the South Stoa, closest to the *hieron*.<sup>49</sup> Similarly, the inscriptions on the late third-century family

<sup>45</sup> Veyne 1962, 84-94, esp. 90-91.

<sup>46</sup> Diminishing awareness of cult: Geagan 1996, 147-154. Hellenistic *koine*: Lazzarini 1989-1990.

<sup>47</sup> There are very few examples, for portraits or otherwise, of inscribed dedications to the gods (*τοῖς θεοῖς*) from Athens, none from Delphi, and one (*IvO* 328) from Olympia.

<sup>48</sup> See *Lindos* 2 and Biard 2017, 442-449, n. 104-151.

<sup>49</sup> Dillon and Baltes 2013, n. 5, 41.

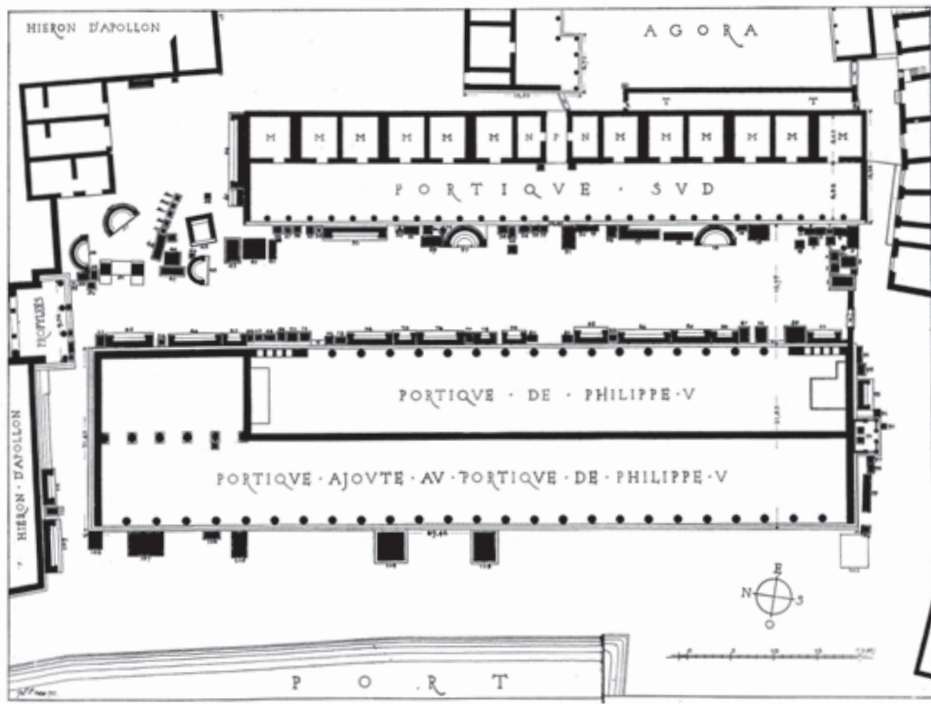


Fig. 1. Restored plan showing the locations of portrait statue monuments along the *dromos*, Delos, ca. 50 BC. Drawing: © Elizabeth Baltes.

exedra of Soteles (IG XI 4 1173 and 1174<sup>50</sup>) include the *τοῖς θεοῖς* formula: this exedra stood in the empty space between the northern end of the South Stoa and the entrance to the *hieron*.<sup>51</sup> A resurgence of inscribed dedications to Apollo, or to Apollo, Artemis, and Leto, occurred between c. 150 and 100 BC, near the end of the use of the *dromos* for portraits: these statues marked as dedications to the gods also clustered at the two ends of the *dromos* space.<sup>52</sup> It seems possible that

<sup>50</sup> Dillon and Baltes 2013, n. 57.

<sup>51</sup> For the earliest (c. 250-200 BC) phase of portrait monuments along the *dromos*, see Dillon and Baltes 2013, 212-219, 241-242.

<sup>52</sup> For dedications to Apollo, Artemis, and Leto on Delos in general, see Wallensten 2011. Trümper (2008, 328-329) notes that on Delos portraits of Romans and Italians were somewhat less likely to be dedicated to gods than portraits of Athenians. Only four of the portraits in the Agora of the Italians (ID 1688, 1722, 2000, and 2001) were dedicated to Apollo. But since the Agora of the Italians was not part of the sanctuary of Apollo, the dedication of some portraits there to Apollo

this clustering is not only a consequence of the quest for visibility, but also a way of first staking out and then reaffirming the sacred and inviolable character of the *dromos* and its monuments. On Delos, both dedications to the gods of the island's major sanctuary and *τοῖς θεοῖς* dedications extended the reach of the gods beyond the physical boundaries of the *hieron*; in light of the question of portraits' sacredness, marking portraits with these formulae seems significant.

One of the most vexed questions about Late Hellenistic Greek portraiture on Delos and elsewhere is why more of these portraits began to be made of marble. In the Late Classical and Early Hellenistic periods, when marble portraits were scarce, there seems to have been a preference for placing them in indoor as opposed to outdoor locations.<sup>53</sup> In the Late Hellenistic period, the indoor/outdoor distinction still seems to hold, but it hardly explains why on 2nd-century BC Delos we find an increasing preference both for marble *and* for indoor settings. Biard points to the inflation of honors as a driving force: in honorific decrees, marble portraits are in most cases awarded to civic benefactors as part of an ensemble of portraits in different media (bronze, marble, and painting).<sup>54</sup> When benefactors paid for buildings, they were honored with a marble portrait statue standing inside the building. Klaus Tuchelt, in an influential discussion of the portraits of Roman magistrates in the eastern Mediterranean, associated the use of marble for portraits with Hellenistic kingship and the extension to Roman *imperatores* of its associations with deification or divine honors.<sup>55</sup> Though some of the settings for marble portraits on Delos—especially the elevated niches in the so-called Agora of the Italians—do evoke divine cult images, at the same time it is doubtful that the material itself carried these connotations.<sup>56</sup>

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reinforces my point that dedicatory formulae were sometimes used to assert the sacredness of portraits that stood outside *temene*.

<sup>53</sup> *I Erythrai* 8 (360s or 350s BC) records the award of honorific portraits to Mausollos and Artemisia of Caria: Mausollos' statue is to be made of bronze and placed in the agora of Erythrai, and Artemisia's is to be made of marble and placed inside the temple of Athena. The Daochos statue group at Delphi seems also to have stood inside a building, or at least under a three-sided *naïskos* (Keesling 2017a, 108-111, with earlier references).

<sup>54</sup> Biard 2017, 150-151, 429-432 (catalogue of decrees awarding honorific portraits in marble).

<sup>55</sup> Tuchelt 1979, 79-90.

<sup>56</sup> See Trümper 2014. The Agora of the Italians accounts for one-third of the marble portrait statues set up on Delos before 69 AD (I owe this statistic to Rachel Nouet). Trümper (2008, 221-223) points out that several of the marble portrait statues on Delos were only summarily worked in back, a sign that they were not of the highest quality. Unlike bronzes, marble por-

Though this fact is seldom remarked, Classical and Hellenistic Greek funerary monuments were made in marble rather than bronze not only because marble was less expensive, but also because cemeteries could not be protected in the same way that sanctuaries could.<sup>57</sup> Even in sanctuaries, casual damage to bronze statues and the theft of small pieces of bronze were constant and unavoidable problems.<sup>58</sup> Marble lacked the intrinsic value of bronze, and the bulk and fragility of marble statues naturally rendered them more resistant to removal than bronze ones.<sup>59</sup> Did marble begin to be used for portrait statues on Delos partly in response to the vulnerability of bronze statues in the Aegean and in mainland Greece to plunder? What we do know is that, after the sack of Delos by the troops of Mithridates VI of Pontus in 88 BC, a new advantage of marble portrait statues was discovered: not only were they resistant to plunder, but they could also be repaired. Unlike the episodes of destruction, looting, and collecting surveyed earlier in this chapter, Mithridates' attack was directed not at Greeks but at Romans. We know of six marble portraits of Roman subjects on Delos, four of them made and signed by the sculptor Agasias of Ephesos, that were repaired and restored in the years following the 88 BC sack.<sup>60</sup> In this instance,

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traits could be painted and gilded easily, and indoor settings protected their surface decoration, now largely lost.

<sup>57</sup> The 2015 museum exhibit 'Power and Pathos: Bronze Sculpture of the Hellenistic World' included the lifesize bronze portrait of a boy, dated to the first half of the 1st century BC, found near Hierapetra in Crete in 1958 in an uncertain context (it is now in the Herakleion Archaeological Museum inv. no. 2677). The exhibit catalogue (Daehner and Lapatin 2015, 258-259, n. 34) repeats the unfounded claim that this statue 'probably came from a funerary monument'. There is ample statue-base evidence in Greek sanctuaries for Late Hellenistic bronze portraits of children, and we should think of the Hierapetra statue as a rare (unique?) preserved example.

<sup>58</sup> On Delos, temple inventories mention fragments (*κλάσματα*) fallen from *andriantes* that were collected (the earliest inventory to mention these seems to be *ID* 379, c. 200 BC). Dio Chrysostom (*Or.* 31.82-83) in the late 1st century AD compared the theft of the body parts and attributes of bronze statues to the crime of temple robbing.

<sup>59</sup> Marble statues weighed about ten times as much as hollow-cast bronze ones (statistics in Biard 2017, 225-227).

<sup>60</sup> The following statues were made by Agasias of Ephesos (*DNO* 3929-3942) and restored by the sculptor Aristandros, son of Skopas of Paros after 88 BC. All may have stood in niches in the Agora of the Italians, and they are discussed by Bruneau 1968, 671-674; Marcadé 1957, 10-11; Szewczyk; 2017; Queyrel (2003): *ID* 1695-1697 (portrait of L. Munatius Plancus, beginning of the 1st century BC: the original dedication is in Latin, and the base was placed on top of a substructure with Aristandros' signature); *ID* 1710 (portrait of C. Billienus, end of the 2nd century BC); *ID* 1849 (this could go with *ID* 1848, a Latin inscription recording the dedication

the decision to use marble instead of bronze had a tangible, concrete payoff: portrait plunder was successfully averted and damage repaired.

***Conclusion: Why veristic portraits?***

What I have described in some detail in this chapter might be viewed as historical background to the production of veristic portrait statues on Late Hellenistic Delos. Examining these events, however, also constitutes an essential step toward recovering the discourse around portrait statues in the 2nd century BC in Greece, and specifically on Delos, a discourse involving patrons and sculptors, Greeks and Romans alike. Although the historical events themselves are datable, some chronological ambiguity remains around the targeting of Greek portrait statues for destruction in the various wars that took place on Greek soil between 220 and 146 BC. Likewise, it proves impossible to pinpoint the earliest instance of the removal of Greek portrait statues to Rome and Italy for collections, though the origins of this practice must belong to the same period. Destruction responds to portraits' symbolism, their function as avatars for their subjects; Roman collecting responds to portraits' value as art works from earlier periods in Greek history. The great majority of pre-200 BC Greek portraits were made of bronze, and the commodity value of their material was also a factor contributing to their removal. I have suggested here that three particular elements of the display and production of portraits in this period might have been viewed as protective strategies against removal: the placement of portraits within new *temene* or para-sacred spaces; the epigraphic habit of inscribing dedications to the gods on the bases for portraits, especially ones that stood outside sacred spaces; and the increasing use of marble for portrait statues.

Portrait destruction, collecting, and other removals speak to the larger issue of the alienability of Greek portraits from their subjects and original settings.

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of a portrait of Q. Pompeius Rufus), and ID 2494 (possibly to be associated with a portrait of the proconsul Gaius Cluvius, ID 1679). On a fifth statue base from Delos (ID 1604bis), an Athenian epimelete takes credit for the repair and restoration of a portrait of the second-century consul L. Caecilius Metellus dedicated by the Athenian *demos*. The base was found on Paros, but the circumstances of its renovation suggest that it came from Delos (Bruneau 1968, 673-674). L. Caecilius Metellus can be identified as the consul of either 142 BC or 117 BC. The marble portrait of C. Billienus that stood inside the Stoa of Antigonos in the Apollo sanctuary was restored at the instigation of an Italian named in a Latin inscription on the base's cornice (ID 1854). See also Zarmakoupi 2018.

This alienability culminated in the practice of portrait reinscription attested in some Greek cities and sanctuaries between c. 86 BC and c. 50 AD: that is, the inscribing of the names of new portrait subjects, most of them Roman, on the bases of portrait statues that remained standing in their original contexts.<sup>61</sup> This particular type of alienability can be interpreted as yet another form of protection: local Greek authorities capitalized on the value Romans assigned to older Greek bronze portraits by reusing these portraits to honor powerful Romans. The clearest example is the Amphiareion at Oropos, an isolated extramural sanctuary where nearly all of the Hellenistic portraits standing near the temple were converted into portraits of Romans: first Sulla, his wife, and his officers, and later (in the 40s BC) Brutus, and eventually (in the Augustan period) M. Agrippa.<sup>62</sup> Inscribing the names of Roman subjects on the bases of the portraits in the Amphiareion accomplished several things at once: it conveyed the genuine honor of equating Sulla and the others with the Greeks of the past; it allowed the Oropians to award portrait honors without having to pay for new statues or wait for a sculptor to finish making them; and it made the statues' removal from the sanctuary far less likely.

The development of verism poses such a difficult problem because it seems to show that sculptors and their patrons valued contradictory things at the same time: Greek bronze portraits in traditional Classical and Hellenistic styles, and more developed, individualized facial likenesses in marble. Rather than marking out a new Roman/Italian clientele, the earliest veristic portraits on Delos may have been intended to spotlight their subjects (and their sculptors) amid a crowded and socially competitive landscape.<sup>63</sup> In this view, the quest for distinction was a catalyst for stylistic change. The particular form that change took was proof against alienability: a veristic portrait head conveyed the particularity of its subject and distinguished his honor from the vast throng of older portraits filling Delian public spaces. What is more, if that veristic portrait was made of marble, it was in virtually no danger of being removed.

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<sup>61</sup> See especially Keesling 2017a, 182-216; Krumeich 2010; Perrin-Saminadayar 2004.

<sup>62</sup> Löhner 1993; Ma 2007.

<sup>63</sup> Dillon and Baltes 2013, 237-240.



*Appendix*

Inscribed dedications to gods on the *dromos*, Delos (see *Fig. 1*)

- 5 Apollo (IG XI 4 1109) c. 250-200
- 20 Apollo (IG XI 4 1194) c. 250-200
- 41 Apollo (IG XI 4 1110) c. 250-200
- 50a Apollo (ID 1526) c. 250-200
- 53 Apollo (IG XI 4 1135) c. 250-200
- 57 Gods (IG XI 4 1173 and 1174) c. 250-200
- 5a Gods (IG XI 4 1195) c. 200-167/6
- 48 Gods (IG XI 4 1199) c. 200-167/6
- 50 Gods (IG XI 4 1181) c. 200-167/6
- 50b Gods (IG XI 4 1185) c. 200-167/6
- 62 Gods (IG XI 4 1197 and 1198) c. 200-167/6
- 63 Gods (IG XI 4 1184) c. 200-167/6
- 6 Apollo, Artemis, and Leto (ID 1547 and 1548) c. 150-100
- 7 Apollo, Artemis and Leto (ID 2012) c. 150-100
- 66 Apollo (ID 1643) c. 150-100
- 67 Apollo (ID 1703) c. 150-100
- 76 Apollo (ID 1975) c. 150-10
- 7a Gods (ID 2007) c. 150-100
- 80 Apollo (ID 2009) after c. 100

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**Realistic Portraiture in Thasos  
(1st Century BC–1st Century AD):  
Re-considering Purported Caesar’s and Mark Anthony’s  
Portrait Heads**

Guillaume Biard

*Abstract*

This paper proposes a new publication of two realistic marble portrait heads from Thasos and reassesses their chronology, style, and identification. The first one, long considered a portrait of Julius Caesar, represents undoubtedly a local priest or magistrate, as already suggested by Anne-Kathrein Massner, and is most probably a product of the Tiberian era. The second one, identified as Mark Anthony by Bernard Holtzmann and François Salviat, belongs to Emperor Claudius’ main portrait type. It is one of only a few preserved portraits of members of the imperial family in Thasos during the 1st century AD. Both heads illustrate a new stylistic trend in the portraits of the island, which is completely different from the Hellenistic production: the heavily lined and emaciated faces have no precedent in Thasos. Politically, these new portraits undoubtedly reflect the allegiance to Rome of the Thasian upper classes, who consciously promoted an exogenous style (likely deriving from Rome), while adopting the title of *φιλοκαίσαρες* (friends of the emperor). The material source of inspiration of the Thasian workshops may be more difficult to trace. However, the characteristics of the portraits make any direct influence of Rome unlikely, whereas a connection with Thessaloniki’s workshops, the inspiration for which was drawn from Athens, seems to be a better hypothesis. The Thasian workshops trained in this new style continued their activity through the 1st century AD and even exported their production to cities of Macedonia.

The city of Thasos underwent an economic and political bloom during the Principate,<sup>1</sup> particularly reflected in the increasing number of portrait statues erected

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<sup>1</sup> Grandjean and Salviat 2000, 32.

This chapter is part of my broader project of systematic publication of the portrait sculpture in Thasos. I am greatly indebted to the École française d’Athènes and to the Ephorate of Antiquities of Kavala for their support. I also warmly thank the editors and authors of this volume for their suggestive comments. Chantal Jackson extensively revised the first version of this text,



in the public space.<sup>2</sup> Officials boasted of their relationship to the Roman power, calling themselves *φιλοκαίσαρες*, friends of the emperor,<sup>3</sup> thus revealing the importance of Rome in the political life of the free city. This new context brought about a change in cultural practices: while the traditional trends of Thasian Hellenistic sculpture lingered through the 1st century AD,<sup>4</sup> some of the portrait statues carved during this period radically differed in their style from those of earlier Thasian production.<sup>5</sup> Among this number are two high-quality portrait heads that are considered benchmarks of the analysis of Thasian sculpture since their identification as depictions of famous Roman generals of the 1st century BC. Recent studies on Roman portraits tend to cast doubt on these proposals of identification and call for new interpretation of the style and the historical significance of these two pieces. In actuality, when arranged in a different chronological sequence, they provide valuable information on the introduction and development of the realistic style in Thasos.

### ***'Pseudo-Caesar'***

The earliest preserved work of this new realistic style was found in 1939, directly southwest to the passageway of the *Theoroi* (Figs. 1-4).<sup>6</sup> François Chamoux published the head as a portrait of Julius Caesar,<sup>7</sup> an identification that Flem-

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greatly improving its accuracy. It is a pleasure for me to express my sincere gratitude to her for her work.

Unless otherwise stated, the inventory numbers pertain to the Archaeological Museum of Thasos.

<sup>2</sup> The portico of the Artemision sheltering female honorific statues most probably dates to the Augustean period (Biard and Imbs 2016, 123). Several inscriptions attest to the erection of statues elsewhere in the city (cf. Bernard and Salviat 1967, 590-592, n. 40, fig. 16; Dunant and Pouilloux 1958, n. 232, 234; Hamon 2009; Picard 1921, 169, n. 22).

<sup>3</sup> For example, Dunant and Pouilloux 1958, n. 230 (first half of the 1st century AD)

<sup>4</sup> The portrait head of Caius Caesar, formerly identified as Lucius Caesar, at Thasos (Archaeological museum, inv. no. 102) is one of the most striking examples of the vividness of the Hellenistic style (Chamoux 1950; Biard, Fournier, Imbs 2018).

<sup>5</sup> Biard 2017 offers a glimpse into Early Hellenistic portraiture in Thasos.

<sup>6</sup> Thasos, Archaeological Museum, inv. no. 101; Will and Martin 1944-1945, 133, fig. 4; The location where the head was found is only known approximately: it was unearthed in trench CC' of fig. 1 in Will and Martin 1944-1945.

<sup>7</sup> Chamoux 1953.

ming Johansen initially accepted,<sup>8</sup> only to subsequently reject,<sup>9</sup> in the most comprehensive study of Julius Caesar's portraits to date. Discussion about the identification of the portrait head has to some extent obscured reflection on the origin and the characteristics of this style in Thasos. Nevertheless, this piece, when included in a broader context, offers other possibilities of interpretation.

### *Description*

The head, broken at the base of the neck, is quite well preserved. The nose has shorn off, and the surface of the marble is weathered throughout. This slightly over life-size head depicts an elderly man looking almost imperceptibly to his left. His elongated cylindrical neck, marked with two curved wrinkles and a slightly protruding Adam's apple, emerges from a garment. The elongated, narrow face has a sharply demarcated bone structure. The protruding chin, jaw, and cheekbones are set against taught skin and emaciated features, notably the slightly drooping lips to a narrow mouth. The small, closely set, eyes, overshadowed by prominent eyebrows, are accentuated on each side by hollows emphasizing the shape of the skull. The heavy eyelids tail off at the inner, medial, angles towards carefully delineated lacrimal glands. A network of wrinkles emphasizes the grave and solemn expression of the face, especially at the commissures of the lips, the nasolabial folds, at the base of the nose and beneath the eyes. Two horizontal deeper wrinkles traverse the forehead, which is framed by a high-set fringe of sickle-shaped locks. The hairstyle is rather unusual, since its general shape (mainly at the forehead and at the nape of the neck) follows the early Imperial fashion, whereas three plump rounded curls, punctuated at the center by a drill hole, align on the right temple beneath the crown. The remains of a similar pattern can be seen on the more damaged left temple. An oak-leaf wreath sits upon the head, held in place by a broad ribbon that trails down the spine. Deep drill holes outline the bracts, while larger channels separate the leaves at regular intervals. An oblong-shaped jewel adorns the center of the wreath, directly above the forehead. In its current state of preservation, this ornament does not have any trace of painted color. The roughly worked back of the head indicates that this part was initially scarcely visible.

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<sup>8</sup> Johansen 1967, 43.

<sup>9</sup> Johansen 1987.



*Fig. 1.* 'Pseudo-Caesar', front view, height 35.5 cm. Thasian marble. Found near the agora. Thasos, Archaeological museum, inv. no. 101. Photograph: Eirini Miari © EFA.



*Fig. 2.* 'Pseudo-Caesar', left profile of the portrait in *Fig. 1*. Photograph: Eirini Miari © EFA.



*Fig. 3. 'Pseudo-Caesar', right profile of the portrait in Fig. 1. Photograph: Eirini Miari © EFA.*



*Fig. 4.* 'Pseudo-Caesar', back side of the portrait in *Fig. 1*. Photograph: Eirini Miari © EFA.

François Chamoux noticed that the head had been partially reworked.<sup>10</sup> Traces of this intervention are visible on the crown, where drill holes have been encroached upon by the removal of the upper part of this ornament. Indeed, as the back of the head attests to, there were initially two rows of oak leaves. Vertical channels were drilled across the leaves during this reworking, the function of which remains unclear, since they appear to be too shallow to fix a metal ornament. Whether or not this reworking modified the hair is difficult to determine. The inconsistency of the hairdo implies a realization in two distinct phases, and an incongruous bulging zone on the left temple is also indicative of reworking. The remains of a fourth curl above the right ear could provide yet another clue of such a reworking.

### *Typology*

Comparing the head of the ‘Pseudo-Caesar’ to Thasian portraits with similar crowns, Anne-Kathrein Massner rightly remarked that, in this particular context, the oak-leaf crown adorned with a medallion cannot be interpreted as a *corona civica*.<sup>11</sup> None of the Julio-Claudian emperors’ portraits bears a wreath identical to the Thasian one, since the single vertical ribbon on the nape of the neck differs from the typical two diverging ribbons of the *corona civica*. Nor does this ornament correspond to a Thasian Hellenistic tradition, since no example predates the Principate. Accordingly, Anne-Kathrein Massner’s interpretation of the crown as an insignia of high-ranked magistrates and, more specifically, of the *Theoroi* seems rather unlikely.<sup>12</sup> Indeed, one would expect the representation of the *Theoroi* to follow a well-established, traditional type. Rather more convincing is Massner’s alternative hypothesis, which considers the Thasian wreathed heads as representations of priests of Zeus and Augustus. Indeed, the cult of Zeus Sebastos is attested by a private honorific inscription of the early 1st century AD, and the association of the Olympian god with the *princeps* would explain the choice of the oak for the wreath.<sup>13</sup> Beyond their similarities, the Thasian heads bearing oak-leaf crowns differ with regard to the details. The shape of the medallion differs from head to head: either round with a carved

<sup>10</sup> Chamoux 1953, 133.

<sup>11</sup> Massner 1988. On the different functions of the oak-leaf crown in Roman context, cf. Bergmann 2010, 146-152.

<sup>12</sup> Massner 1988, 248-250.

<sup>13</sup> *IG* 12 Suppl. 387, l. 1-2; Dunant and Pouilloux 1958, 61, 160; Massner 1988, 248.

rim,<sup>14</sup> or entirely smooth and elongated.<sup>15</sup> Moreover, an unpublished head shows an oak-leaf wreath without a medallion.<sup>16</sup> It is hardly possible to interpret these small differences in religious or political terms. They most probably reflect the development of the same attribute during the course of the 1st century AD.

Finally, the garment could be interpreted either as a *himation* or a *toga exigua*; although the latter hypothesis seems unlikely, since representations of the Late Republican *toga* type are very rare in Thasos. Furthermore, the *toga exigua* is normally associated with the *calcei*. This footwear (the *calcei*) is very scarcely represented in Thasos, with the exception of in large-scale statues representing the emperors.<sup>17</sup> In all likelihood, the statue originally wore a *himation* of the *pallium* type associated with the traditional Greek *crepides*.

### *Identification*

The interpretation of the oak-leaf wreath apparently precludes any identification to Julius Caesar. However, since this argument was not universally accepted, it seems useful to more accurately define the connection between the Thasian head and Julius Caesar's iconography. As mentioned earlier, in 1967 Johansen included the Thasian head in his review of the Campo Santo type's variations.<sup>18</sup> He subsequently altered his opinion in the 1987 revision and curiously proposed to identify the head of Thasos as Emperor Claudius. This rather unacceptable identification should not overshadow the weaknesses of the hypothesis of a portrait of Caesar though.

Elizabeth J. Walters accepted the identification to Caesar without discussion.<sup>19</sup> In fact, the only irrefutably identified portrait of Caesar is the so-called Tusculum type.<sup>20</sup> In addition to its general correspondence to Caesar's portraits on coins, this type reveals a deformation on the upper part of the skull, consisting of a flat surface that corresponds precisely to the physical appearance of the dictator, as one can also infer from the representations on coins. The Chiaramonti-Campo Santo type preserves, in its best versions and with less emphasis,

<sup>14</sup> Thasos, Archaeological Museum, inv. no. 46.

<sup>15</sup> Thasos, Archaeological Museum, inv. no. 101.

<sup>16</sup> Thasos, Archaeological Museum, inv. no. 174.

<sup>17</sup> cf. the breast-plated statue of emperor Hadrian; see Rolley and Salviat 1963.

<sup>18</sup> Johansen 1967, 43, pl. 27.

<sup>19</sup> Walters 2009.

<sup>20</sup> Rosso 2010, 282-286.



this particular feature,<sup>21</sup> which then justifies the identification of this somewhat later type. Since the Thasian head does not show this singularity and features a small mouth that is hardly compatible with the thin, flexible, elongated lips of all other conjectured representations of Caesar, and since the arrangement of the fringe does not correspond to the Chiaramonti-Campo Santo type, it seems better to rule out this piece as a reflection of Caesar's portraits. Moreover, the reconstructed typology of the statue hardly fits the identification to the dictator. It seems more prudent to suppose that the Thasian head mirrors the phenomenon termed *Zeitgesicht* by Paul Zanker.<sup>22</sup> Thasos' social upper class showed their proximity to the Roman rulers through the adoption of their iconography.

### *Style and chronology*

Strictly speaking, the head is isolated in Thasos, though there could be no doubt that it was carved by a Thasian workshop. No other portrait in Thasos shows such emphasis on the structure of the skull, such elongation of the face. The only piece that is related somehow is a portrait of a male made from local marble retrieved from the ancient harbor in 1968.<sup>23</sup> Admittedly, the connection between the two pieces is not evident. The poorer quality of the head from the harbor precludes any direct comparison: the rough carving of the ears and the back of the head, and the simplified representation of the cheeks and the eyelids, distinguish the head found in the harbor from the higher-quality head from the Agora. Nonetheless, the small, closely-set, eyes, thick eyelids, three sharply delineated vertical wrinkles at the root of the nose, and the loose skin in the area around the mouth are similar on both heads. A closer look at the hair reveals further similarities: the sickle-shaped locks frame the forehead in the same manner; on the neck, the short hair is in both cases combed towards the front; even the bunches of hair on the temples, with their accurately-chiseled details, bring the two pieces closer together. Despite their undeniable differences, the 'Pseudo-Caesar' and the head from the harbor could therefore be products of the same workshop, or at least of two closely related local workshops, albeit with a slight chronological gap perhaps and evidently without the same investment of time or money. I have not thus far been able to find other works, in either Thasos

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<sup>21</sup> See, e.g. the replica of the Camposanto type in Leiden; Johansen 1967, 30, pl. 8; Rijksmuseum van Oudheden, inv. nos. 1931/1932, 46.

<sup>22</sup> Zanker 1982.

<sup>23</sup> Thasos, Archaeological museum, inv. no. 2657 (unpublished).

or Macedonia, which date from the same period and could be attributed to the same workshop as the ‘Pseudo-Caesar’. It remains therefore precarious to establish a secure chronology for these two heads, although a pre-Augustan date is rather unlikely considering the arrangement of the hair on the forehead and the neck. Earlier in the 1st century BC, portrait heads of elderly men show a more accentuated baldness and even more marked decrepitude. The first quarter of the 1st century AD is, in this regard, the most reasonable hypothesis for dating the head of the ‘Pseudo-Caesar’. The rendering of the hair on the head from the harbor supports a Tiberian date.

From what precedes, one can conclude that the identification of the origin of this style in Thasos is far from easy. The head from the agora pertained to a particular stylistic series, characterized by its closeness to Julius Caesar’s portraits. However, this general assertion does not explain how this style made its way to Thasos. The most obvious hypothesis would be to consider that portraits from Rome directly inspired this style. Parallels to the Thasian head can easily be found in the Late Republican grave reliefs in Rome. The general shape of the face and the rendering of the wrinkles on the forehead can be compared, for example, to a bust on a funerary relief (now lost)<sup>24</sup> dating to the Early Augustan period. A Thasian embassy most probably went to Rome during the Early Principate to plead for the restoration of the privileges lost in the aftermath of the battle of Philippi. Augustus consented to the request.<sup>25</sup> Undoubtedly, members of the most prominent Thasian families became acquainted on that occasion with portraits of the *princeps* and his relatives, and their taste for realistic representation developed.

However, this cultural influence does not explain how a Thasian workshop came to be trained in this new style. Although the Thasian citizens were undoubtedly well disposed towards the Romans in the last quarter of the 1st century BC, no material evidence of any direct influence of Roman workshops on Thasian sculpture predates the second quarter of the 1st century AD. A noteworthy fact in this regard is the way Thasian sculptors freely adapted Caius Caesar’s portrait type,<sup>26</sup> following earlier Hellenistic patterns, whereas the neighboring colony of Philippi were consistent to a faithful reproduction of Lucius Caesar’s

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<sup>24</sup> Kockel 1993, 144, pl. 54d, 55d.

<sup>25</sup> Dunant and Pouilloux 1958, 65-69, n. 179, l. 7-8; Oliver 1989, 91-94, n. 23 (letter by the Emperor Claudius).

<sup>26</sup> Biard et al. 2018; Chamoux 1950.

Roman type.<sup>27</sup> There is therefore absolutely no reason to think that plaster casts or clay models travelled from Rome to Thasos during the Principate. In Augustan times, sketches must have been the only iconographical source for the representation of the imperial family in Thasos.

The particular workmanship that characterizes the head in question could rather be inspired from works of the capital city of the province of Macedonia, Thessaloniki. The fact that Thasian sculptors of the 1st century AD found their inspiration in statues on display in Thessaloniki can be inferred from a specific case study: a female statue of Parian marble, found near the sanctuary of Asclepios in Thessaloniki,<sup>28</sup> which was reproduced three times in local marble by a Thasian workshop.<sup>29</sup> The accurate reproduction implies a casting of the original work, which in this case is probably the statue in Thessaloniki.<sup>30</sup> Unfortunately, no statues from Thessaloniki that could have been used as models for the Thasian head (inv. no. 101) are preserved, but a famous relief from Thessaloniki, slightly older than the head from Thasos, may support this assumption.<sup>31</sup> The relief, carved in Pentelic marble, attests to the activity of an Attic workshop in Thessaloniki in the third quarter of the 1st century BC. According to Emmanuel Voutiras,<sup>32</sup> this head is closely related to an Attic portrait head in Copenhagen.<sup>33</sup> Andrew Stewart, in his study of Athenian sculpture in Hellenistic times, classifies this last head as belonging to a group dating to the 50s to 30s BC. The main characteristics of this group, according to Stewart, are as follows:

These heads have in common their elongated facial proportions and firm bone-structure; the tight-lipped, low-set mouth, long nose, high cheekbones, flat cheeks, straight eyebrows and rectangular, multiply furrowed forehead are particularly distinctive, as is the grim, uncompromising mood.<sup>34</sup>

<sup>27</sup> Collart 1937, pl. 83, 4.

<sup>28</sup> Despintis et al. 2003, 22-23, n. 159, fig. 405-408.

<sup>29</sup> Thasos, Archaeological museum, inv. nos. 39, 1388 and 3680. This last head is published in Holtzmann and Jacob 2010, 279-281, n. 50.

<sup>30</sup> Beside this example, the accurate reproduction of statues in the Late Hellenistic and Early Imperial period is attested in Thasos by at least two copies of the same portrait head, one of which is in the Thasos Archaeological museum (inv. no. 3615); Holtzmann and Jacob 2010, 262-263, n. 32; and, one from the art market, see Hermann et al. 2015, 156, fig. 2.

<sup>31</sup> Despintis et al. 1997, 89-91, n. 66, fig. 146-149; Voutiras 2017.

<sup>32</sup> Despintis et al. 1997, 90-91, n. 13.

<sup>33</sup> Copenhagen, Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek, inv. no. 2814; Stewart 1979, pl. 26d.

<sup>34</sup> Stewart 1979, 82-83.

This description precisely fits the Thasian head. This stylistic resemblance, associated with what is known of the contacts between Athens and Thessaloniki on the one hand, and Thessaloniki and Thasos in the late 1st century BC on the other hand, allows for the reconstruction of a plausible scenario: the workshop of the head in question found inspiration in imported Attic portraits on public display in Thessaloniki, of which it may have possessed clay or plaster copies. This hypothesis remains a tentative one, since no recent comprehensive study of the portraits in Macedonia during the Early Imperial period is available, although it seems more likely than any direct influence from Roman workshops.

The fact that the Thasians perceived this portrait as Roman-styled is beyond question. The break with former representation forms seems too radical to assume a progressive alteration of older Hellenistic styles. In Thasos, it must have been viewed as an exogenous style. Thus, the adoption of a Roman-styled portrait type is clearly a sign of benevolence toward the Roman authorities; although the political interpretation should be disconnected, in this case, from the stylistic one. As I have endeavored to show, one has to look for the models on which the Thasian sculptors based their works more in the Eastern Mediterranean than in Rome: most probably, the influence of Roman iconography reached Thasos through Athens and Thessaloniki.

### *A portrait of Claudius and related works*

Portraits of the first half of the 1st century AD suggest that the realistic style remained important in Thasian sculpture throughout the Julio-Claudian period. The life-size portrait of Claudius, found in a late-Roman wall northeast of the passageway of the *Theoroi*, is a noteworthy example of this trend (Figs. 5-7).<sup>35</sup>

#### *Description*

The head, broken irregularly under the chin, is weathered overall, especially on its right side. The nose has sheared off. On a large, strong neck, the square-built face of a man, just passed the prime of age, looks straight ahead with a stern expression. The protruding cheekbones and eyebrows reveal a robust skull structure underneath taut skin, furrowed with deep wrinkles, notably on the cheeks and the forehead. Age has deprived the wide lips, framed by two short creases,

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<sup>35</sup> Thasos, Archaeological Museum, inv. no. 2434; Holtzmann and Salviati 1981.



*Fig. 5. 'Pseudo-Mark Anthony', front view, height 27 cm. Thasian marble. Found in a wall near the Passageway of the Theoroi. Thasos, Archaeological museum, inv. no. 2434. Photograph: Eirini Miari © EFA.*



*Fig. 6. 'Pseudo-Mark Anthony', left profile of the portrait in Fig. 5. Photograph: Eirini Miari © EFA.*



*Fig. 7.* 'Pseudo-Mark Anthony', right profile of the portrait in *Fig. 5*. Photograph: Eirini Miari © EFA.

of their volume, while the oblong eyes retain their firm contours and expressivity in the shadow of protruding eyebrows. The compact and voluminous mass of short hair, with chiseled details, forms a regular fringe of very short sickle-shaped locks upon a large forehead. The hair skirts around rather small ears with pointed lobes. On the nape of the neck, the hair is combed forwards.

### *Identification*

Since this head was first identified with Mark Anthony, a discussion of this point is required before analyzing its style. The Thasian portrait pertains to Claudius' main type, characterized by the organization of the hair on the forehead and the general features of the face.<sup>36</sup> In this type, a high-set horizontal fringe of short sickle-shaped locks frames the forehead. The arrangement of the locks differs slightly throughout the various examples of the type but the pattern remains the same: the hair is parted above the inner angle of the left eye and forms two roughly symmetrical claw-like shapes above the eyes. In this respect, the Thasian portrait, though the weathered surface of the marble precludes a precise description of the fringe, seems to closely resemble portraits of Claudius displayed in Copenhagen.<sup>37</sup> The features of the Thasian head also correspond to those of the emperor: the rather plump chin<sup>38</sup>, the broad, thin mouth,<sup>39</sup> the heavily lined sunken cheeks, the heavy jaw, the elongated eyes and the large forehead crossed by superficial wrinkles. Nevertheless, the Thasian head also has singular features that are less coherent with Claudius' main type: neither the square face with visible bone structure corresponds to the triangular shape of other portraits,<sup>40</sup> nor does the compact regular mass of the hair on top of the skull resemble the wavy animation of the hairdo on most of the portraits of the

<sup>36</sup> Massner 1982, 126-131. On the portraits of Claudius, see also Boschung 1993, 70-71; Salzmann 1976.

<sup>37</sup> Copenhagen, Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek, inv. no. 1948; Johansen 1994, 146-147, n. 61; Massner 1994, 168, fig. 16; Copenhagen, Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek, inv. no. 1277; Johansen 1994, 142-143, n. 59; Massner 1994, 168, fig. 17.

<sup>38</sup> Compare Holtzmann and Salviat 1981, 266 ('*Le menton reste protubérant, malgré l'usure du modelé et la chair qui l'enrobe*' ['The chin is still protruding, despite its worn out shape and the flesh surrounding it']) to Massner 1982, 128 ('*das feiste Doppelkinn*' ['the fat double chin']) (translation mine).

<sup>39</sup> In this respect, the closest parallel to the Thasian head is a portrait crowned with the *corona civica* in Copenhagen, Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek, inv. no. 1423; Johansen 1994, 144-145, n. 60.

<sup>40</sup> Cf. the narrow-pointed chin of Copenhagen, Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek, inv. nos. 1277 and 1423.



type. Notwithstanding these discrepancies, an identification of the Thasian head to Claudius remains the most likely hypothesis.<sup>41</sup> The alternative identification, to Mark Anthony, seems rather tenuous: the *ductus* of the locks is clearly Claudian, differing from the head in Narbonne,<sup>42</sup> which is the principal reference of Bernard Holtzmann and François Salviat in their study to explore this hypothesis.<sup>43</sup> While a retrospective portrait of Claudius' grandfather is possible,<sup>44</sup> it is nevertheless far less plausible than a representation of the emperor himself, to whom the Thasians wanted to dedicate a temple, an honor Claudius rejected as unsuitable for a living ruler.<sup>45</sup> Notably, this head differs radically in style and iconography from the other Thasian portraits that were formerly identified with the emperor: namely the head in the museum of Thasos (inv. no. 46)<sup>46</sup> and a head in the Louvre (inv. no. Ma 1226).<sup>47</sup>

### *Style and workshop*

Unlike the head of the 'Pseudo-Caesar', which remains isolated, Claudius' portrait pertains to a group of stylistically related portraits found in Thasos and in Macedonia. The aforementioned head from the harbor shares certain features with the later portrait of Claudius: the general shape of the lower part of the face, the peculiar carving of the mouth, the slightly protruding lower part of the forehead and the receding hair at the temples. Both heads could therefore come from the same workshop, whose activity would thus continue throughout the first half of the 1st century BC.

<sup>41</sup> The identification to Claudius was first proposed by Dohna 1998, 303, n. 59 (where Thasos is mistakenly spelled Tarsos); cf. Mlazowski 2005, 250, n. 23; Rosso 2010, 274, does not identify explicitly the Thasian portrait to Claudius, but assigns it to the Claudian period.

<sup>42</sup> Narbonne, Musée Archéologique Municipal, inv. no. 879-1-170; Holtzmann and Salviat 1981, 271-272, fig. 5; 6b. Rosso 2010, 274-275, considers that the head in Narbonne is Neronian or Flavian.

<sup>43</sup> This difference is stressed in his commentary, by Megow 1985, 492.

<sup>44</sup> This hypothesis was suggested to me by B. Holtzmann, while discussing anew the identification of the head. Suet. *Claud.* 11 alludes to the tribute paid to Mark Anthony by Claudius; cf. also Dohna 1998, 300-301.

<sup>45</sup> Dunant and Pouilloux 1958, 65-69, n. 179, l. 5-7; portrait statues were certainly among the other honors accepted by the emperor.

<sup>46</sup> Hildebrandt 2018, 226, n. 21; Massner 1988, 242-245, 249-250, pl. 31,2, 33,2, 34,1; Picard 1921, 138-139; Vermeule 1968, 387, n. 3.

<sup>47</sup> Thasos Archaeological Museum, inv. no. 46; Louvre, inv. no. Ma 1226; De Kersauson 1986, 192-3, n. 90; Hafner 1954, 54, NK 13; Vermeule 1968, 387, n. 2.

A head of lesser quality from Drama<sup>48</sup> in Thasian dolomitic marble<sup>49</sup> provides a close stylistic parallel to the Claudius head in Thasos. The shape and general proportions of the face, as well the organization of the facial features, are similar, although the hairdo is quite different. Theodosia Stefanidou-Tiveriou rightly considers that the head from Drama could have been carved in the Claudian era by a Thasian workshop.<sup>50</sup> The attribution of this head to the workshop of Claudius' portrait seems possible.

Finally, a tentative parallel can be drawn between Claudius' head and the somewhat later, unpublished head.<sup>51</sup> This last portrait may date from the Flavian period: the semi-circular locks falling upon the forehead are comparable to those of Domitian in his first portrait type.<sup>52</sup> A parallel with Nero's fourth portrait type seems less convincing,<sup>53</sup> since the hair of the Thasian head, unlike the emperor's, does not fall very low on the forehead and lacks the characteristic waves of this period.<sup>54</sup> Despite the gap of thirty years between Claudius' portrait and the later head (inv. no. 174), similarities can be observed in the general pattern of the wrinkles around the nose and the slightly pouting mouth. The overall rendering of the unpublished head is poorer, the animation of the flesh is schematized, but this head nevertheless belongs to the same iconographical and stylistic tradition as Claudius' portrait. A definitive attribution to the same workshop remains impossible since transitional works are missing, but the carver of the unpublished head most probably drew inspiration from portraits similar to Claudius' one. This closeness expresses both the allegiance to the Empire and pays respect to a nearly secular stylistic tradition.

<sup>48</sup> Drama, Archaeological Museum, inv. no. 184 (formerly in the Archaeological Museum of Thessaloniki); Despintis et al. 2003, 121-122, n. 249, fig. 725-728.

<sup>49</sup> Herrmann Jr. and Newman 1995, 82, 84.

<sup>50</sup> Despintis et al. 2003, 122.

<sup>51</sup> Thasos, Archaeological Museum, inv. no. 174.

<sup>52</sup> For this type, cf. Bergmann and Zanker 1981, 349-360.

<sup>53</sup> For this type, cf. Bergmann and Zanker 1981, 326-332.

<sup>54</sup> Confirmation of the Flavian date of the head can be attained through comparison, notably regarding the shape of the eye, with an unpublished female head in Thasos, Archaeological Museum, inv. no. 2655.

### ***Conclusion***

When compared to more complex historical contexts, the social and political background of the introduction and development of realistic portrait sculpture in Thasos is relatively clear. Some of the city magistrates proudly displayed their political allegiance to the Principate through the adoption of an artistic style favored by the new ruling class. The material and technical aspects of this introduction present a trickier problem. The lack of evidence does not allow for determination of whether the realistic style was adopted by one or several workshops. What we do know is that it was not adopted by all Thasian workshops: the Hellenistic styles linger in Thasos for the majority of the 1st century AD. As for the way in which it was introduced, the most firmly grounded hypothesis is that Attic or 'Atticizing' works on display in Thessaloniki inspired some Thasian sculptors. This activity continued through the 1st century AD, and their production seems, in certain cases, to have been exported to Macedonian cities.

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# **‘Realism’ in Roman Female Portraiture**

Siri Sande

## ***Abstract***

Roman Republican portraits were to a great extent influenced by the ‘veristic’ style of the Late Hellenistic period with regard to the representations of males. Their furrowed faces are evidence not only of age, but also of mental and spiritual exertion, which gave the sitters a certain status. The female Greek portraits, which were characterized by a bland, non-descript beauty, did not satisfy the female Roman patrons in the same way. Some Roman women wanted their portraits to be more individualized, even showing signs of age, as with their male counterparts, and like them, thus embodying *pondus* and *auctoritas*. Roman female portraits never became ‘veristic’, but they gradually became more ‘naturalistic’. In my opinion, the development was to some extent influenced by contemporary genre sculptures and ‘pseudo portraits’, whose authors were more free to show signs of age. Some women even went so far as to appropriate ‘thinkers’ wrinkles’ above the root of the nose, normally a male prerogative.

Roman portraiture from the 1st century BC is dominated by male images executed in the so-called realistic vein, which does not necessarily mean faithful. Their faces, inspired by Late Hellenistic portraiture, are characterized by furrows and wrinkles. Portraits of older men often have sagging skin, and blemishes (such as warts) also appear. These individuals are the men whose faces may be prematurely aged through selfless service in the army or the bureaucracy, or men who could finally enjoy the *pondus* and *gravitas* which a well-earned *senectia* conferred on them.

But what about the females? The written sources suggest the existence of statues of women in Rome already towards the end of the 1st century BC, such as that of Cloelia (a mythical figure rather than a real woman), and Cornelia, mother of the Gracchi. Pliny the Elder mentions a Vestal virgin by the name of Gaia Taracia or Furfeitia, who was allowed to choose the spot for her honorary statue Pliny (*NH* 34.25). This evidently happened during the Republic, but Pliny gives no date. One may suppose that such statues represented the women



according to the Hellenistic Greek ideal: a bland, youthful beauty devoid of individual features.<sup>1</sup>

This ideal, which probably derives from Classical Attic gravestones,<sup>2</sup> continued throughout the Hellenistic and Roman periods. The female faces represent a bland beauty, occasionally with discreet signs of age. This presentation of women became normative.<sup>3</sup> By commissioning portraits, the women honoured themselves and were honoured by others as family members, priestesses, and benefactresses. Through their statues, they enjoyed great visibility in the public realm, but their images lack individuality (their confidence in having themselves represented perhaps stems from this very fact). One rarely sees portraits of women that venture into the male realm with its differentiated faces, showing, as in their subjects, clear signs of age.<sup>4</sup>

In Republican Rome, women had restricted visibility. The ideal was a person occupied with the bearing and rearing of children, and domestic tasks such as spinning. Some Roman Republican women, such as Clodia and Fulvia, tried to enter the public limelight, but at the cost of their reputations. The traditional Roman marriage *cum manu* restricted the women's possibilities of inheritance, giving them few personal resources. At the end of the Republic this old-fashioned type of marriage was gradually supplanted by *sine manu* marriages, but it was only with the introduction of the *Lex Papia Poppaea*, and especially the *ius trium liberorum* under Augustus that women gained some measure of freedom. The various priesthoods in the Imperial period, notably the Imperial cult, granted women greater possibilities in the public realm, and gradually female portrait statues entered the fora, streets, and sanctuaries in the Western part of the Empire.<sup>5</sup>

Despite women's restricted visibility in the Republican period, more realistic representations of females (or rather 'naturalistic', in the sense that they show signs of age) appeared already around the middle of the 1st century BC. In these early versions of portraits of ageing women, the emphasis is not placed

<sup>1</sup> For a list of early statues of women in Rome, see Fantham et al. 1994, 220. I am grateful to my two anonymous readers for their many useful suggestions. Special thanks to Marina Prusac-Lindhagen and Astri Karine Lundgren, who helped me to get many of the photographs for my illustrations.

<sup>2</sup> Dillon 2010, 104.

<sup>3</sup> For Greek female portrait statues, see Dillon 2010.

<sup>4</sup> For an example, see the statue of Nikokleia from Knidos.

<sup>5</sup> For this development see especially Hemelrijk 2015.



*Fig. 1a.* Female portrait head from Delos, 1st century BC. Marble. Delos, Archaeological Museum, inv. 4196. Photograph: © DAI Athens 1970-0987.



*Fig. 1b.* Detail of portrait head in *Fig. 1a*. Photograph: © DAI Athens 1970-0989.

on wrinkles. On the contrary, the skin is drawn across the face so tight that the sitter looks like a recipient of repeated facelifts. An extreme case is represented by a portrait from Delos.<sup>6</sup> The drawn, mask-like face indicates that the woman is no longer young, but her exact age is difficult to assess (Figs 1a-b). Her neck shows a series of furrows. They are horizontal and resemble the so-called Venus rings, but in this case there are so many and they are so deep that it is likely that they represent wrinkles. Why would a woman choose to have herself presented in this manner? The most likely answer is that female portraits showing signs of age were influenced by contemporary male portraiture. Like the males, the women who commissioned such portraits may have wanted to embody *pondus* and *gravitas*.

Nothing similar to the Delos head has turned up in Asia Minor, although in 1991 I suggested that a female portrait in the National Museum of Art, Architecture and Design in Oslo was an Eastern work (Figs 2a-b).<sup>7</sup> Though the skin is drawn tight, the face is finely modelled. Together with the sunken eyes, furrows from the nose to the corners of the mouth testify advanced age. Two discreet furrows across the neck may be regarded as wrinkles, but they could also be Venus rings reminiscent of the youth and femininity that the sitter once possessed. The woman's hair is thin, another sign of age.<sup>8</sup> It lays flat against her skull and is barely set off from the skin of the face. The sculptor must have relied on paint to demarcate a contrast. It would be interesting to know whether her hair was painted grey or white, as can sometimes be seen in portrait paintings of elderly persons. Among the so-called mummy portraits, there are a certain number of elderly men with grey or white hair and beard, although grey-haired women are rarely encountered (Fig. 3).<sup>9</sup>

I no longer believe that the female portrait in the National Museum of Oslo is an Eastern work. My supposition was mainly based on the fact that it formed part of a donation given to the Museum in 1868 by the Swedish consul Fried-

<sup>6</sup> Inv. no. 4196; Higgs 2003, 58-61, pl. 1; Kreeb 1998, 159, S 7.5; La Rocca et al. 2011, 162-163, n. 2.25; Lundgren 1992; Michalowski 1932, 46-49, pls. 33-35, fig. 32; Smith 1991, 257, Fig. 318; Traversari 1997, 45, figs. 11-12; Walker and Higgs 2001, 143-144, fig. 42.

<sup>7</sup> Inv. no. Sk 461: Ahrens and Sande 2014, 126-127, n. 81; Sande 1991, 36, n. 22, pl. 22.

<sup>8</sup> Matheson 2000, 128 remarks that 'a hint of aging may be indicated by what appears to be thinning hair'.

<sup>9</sup> Fig. 4 shows a mummy portrait in the British Museum, inv. no. P. 87 (1890.9-21.1). See Parlasca 1980, 27, cat. no. 517, pl. 126,1, 38. For other examples, see Parlasca 1969, 51, n. 93, tav. 22,1; 1977, 44, n. 310, pl. 73,3, 47, n. 318, pl. 76,1.



*Fig. 2a.* Female portrait, 1st century BC. Marble. Unknown provenance. Oslo, National Museum of Art, Architecture and Design in Oslo, inv. no. Sk 461. Photograph: Jacques Lathion.



*Fig. 2b.* Profile of portrait head in *Fig. 2a*. Photograph: Jacques Lathion.

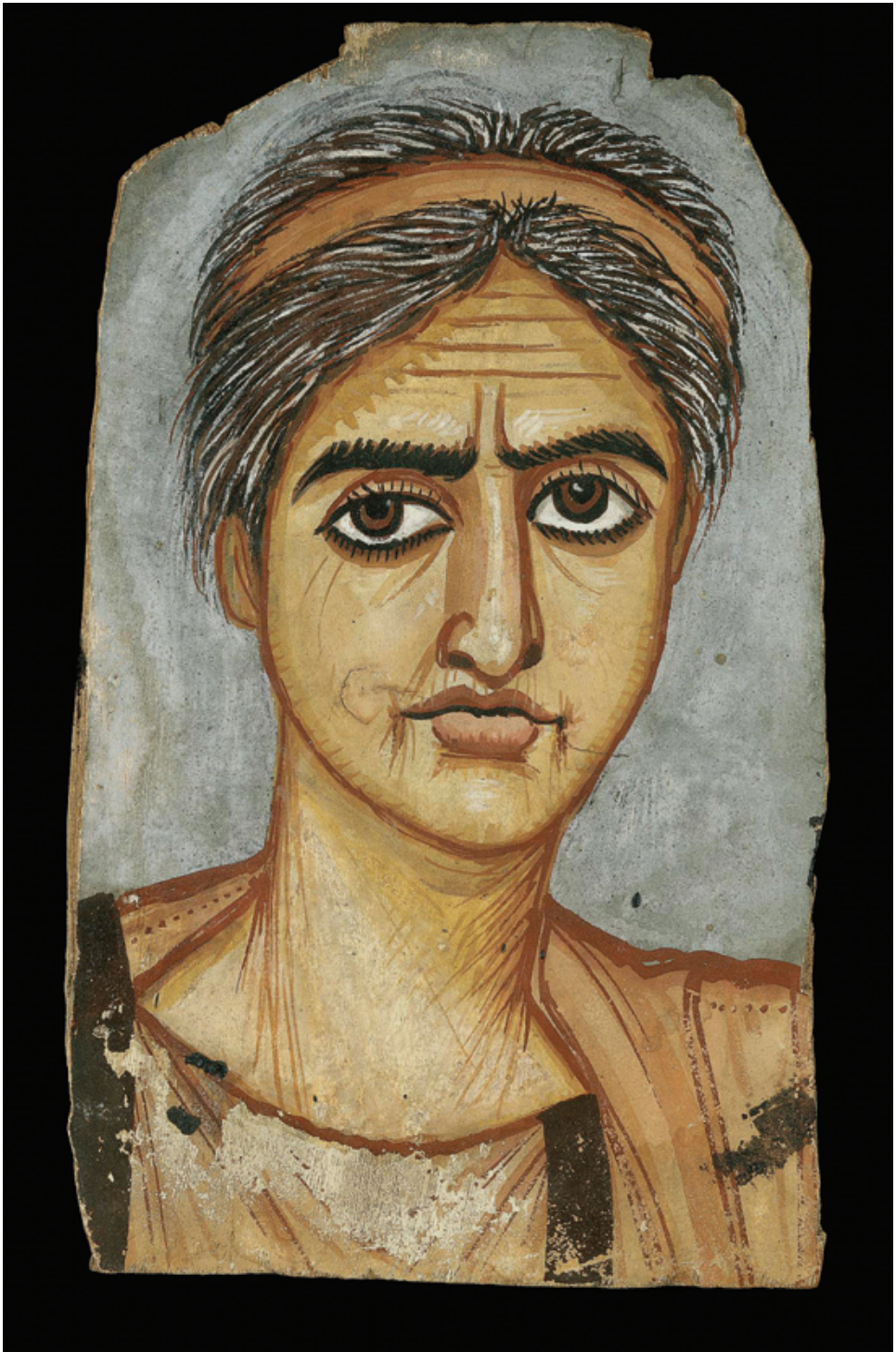
rich Wilhelm Spiegelthal. The donation contained pieces from the collection of his brother, Ludwig P. Spiegelthal, who was Prussian consul in Smyrna (Izmir) from 1851 to 1859. This gave rise to a tendency among Norwegian scholars to assign an Eastern provenance to items from the Spiegelthal collection. The woman is more akin to portraits from Italy, such as a head in Ostia and a funerary statue from Pompeii.<sup>10</sup> The latter has a drawn look to denote age, although appears younger than the portrait in Oslo.

A female statue in the Villa Albani in Rome is also of funerary character, and must have stood in a niche or *aedicula*.<sup>11</sup> The turn of her head indicates that she had a (male) partner by her side. Like the statue in Pompeii, the one in the Villa Albani is of the Pudicitia type. The better-preserved parts of her draperies denote a very high quality, as can be seen when she is compared to her Pompeian counterpart. The woman in the Villa Albani is definitively old. Her skin is drawn so tight over her cheekbones that it gives the face a skeletal appearance. The hair is not visible, which led its publisher, Andreas Linfert, to suggest that she was bald. I think it is unlikely that a woman should want to show herself without hair. She probably had thin, straggling strands of hair lying close to the skull, as they do in the Oslo portrait. In light of the high quality of her dress, her head (which is made in one piece with her body) must have originally been rendered with rather more care, although time and neglect have literally worn the features down to the bone (the same can be said of the fingers of her raised hand). Nevertheless, the woman must have always appeared gaunt, with protruding cheekbones and sunken cheeks.

Besides the 'facelift'-versions of elderly women, there was, in the Late Republic, another tradition of representing age which gave a more naturalistic result: the subjects are shown with wrinkles and furrows, as is natural in ageing skin. The products of this tradition were not portraits, but genre figures. Here, I am referring to a particular group of old women, the most famous representative of which is 'Myron's *anus ebria*', named after a passage in Pliny (Plin. *NH* 36.32). This statue type is known from two replicas, one of which is in the Glyptothek in Munich and the other is in the *Musei Capitolini* in Rome

<sup>10</sup> Ostia, Museo Ostiense, inv. no. 63. Calza 1964, 26, n. 20, pl. 13. Pompeii: Bonifacio 1997, 62-64, n. 14, pl. XV; De Franciscis 1951, 21, fig. 6; Fejfer 2008, 342, fig. 262; Kockel 1983, 172, pls. 62, a,b,d.

<sup>11</sup> Inv. no. 792: Bol 1989-1998, V (1998), 505-507, cat. no. 968, pls. 256-257 (text: A. Linfert).



*Fig. 3.* Mummy-portrait of an elderly woman, 300-325 AD. Tempera on wood, perhaps sycamore. From Egypt, Rubaiyat. London, British Museum, inv. no. 1890,0921.1. Photograph: © The Trustees of the British Museum.





Fig. 4. Aged female. Replica of 'Myron's *anus ebria*'. Roman copy of a Greek original from 1st century BC. Probably from Rome, near the Via Nomentana. Rome, Capitoline Museums, inv. no. 299. Photograph: © Lill-Ann Chepstow-Lusty.

(Fig. 4).<sup>12</sup> Because of its pyramidal shape, which is typical of the 3rd century BC, it has generally been dated to that century, but it has also been regarded as a 5th century work on the supposition that Pliny must have referred to a statue by the famous Myron of the early Classical period. The woman's draperies in fact give associations to the fifth century (late rather than mid-fifth century).

The fact that certain details, such as the draperies, are Classical in style while the general shape is Hellenistic suggests to me that Myron's old woman is an eclectic creation. There is no reason to date every pyramidal statue to the 3rd century as, once introduced, the shape could be used by later artists. Certain features—the head and neck—point to a later period. The lower part of the face is set with deep wrinkles that continue down the neck, recalling the so-called Marius in the Glyptothek in Munich (Fig. 5), while the thrown-back head on a muscular neck is reminiscent of works such as the 'Borghese general' in Naples (Figs 6a-b).<sup>13</sup> The neck itself, with strong tendons and even an Adam's apple, is clearly inspired from representations of men.

The upper part of the old woman's head is completely different. Ludger Alscher, who wanted to date the type to the 2nd century BC, pointed out resemblances to Aphrodite from Melos and '*der schöne Kopf*' from Pergamum.<sup>14</sup> Indeed, the regular eyebrows and the completely smooth forehead of the old woman give associations to such works, as does the vigorous growth of hair

<sup>12</sup> Munich, Glyptothek, inv. no. 434; Rome, Capitoline Museums: inv. no. 299. This replica was found near the Via Nomentana, perhaps in the neighborhood of S. Agnese. The findspot suggests that it may have come from a *villa suburbana*. See Alscher 1957, 100-104, figs. 44 a-d (with bibliography); Bieber 1961, 81-82, fig. 284; Helbig 4 II, 1253; Himmelmann 1980, 90; Kunze 1999, 43-82; 2002, 100; Laubscher 1982, 4-5, 8-9, 118-120, A 1 (with bibliography); Mandel 2007, 177-180; Massegli 2012; 2015, 245-253, fig. 4.47; Pollitt 1986, 141-146, fig. 154; Queyrel 2016, 311-314; Richter 1970, 37, 54, fig. 79; Ridgway 1990, 338; Robertson 1975, 561-562, pl. 178b; Smith 1991, 137-138, fig. 174; Webster 1966, 43, pl. 12; Wrede 1991, 168-174, pl. 40, 1-4; Zanker 1989.

<sup>13</sup> 'Marius': Inv. No. 319: ABr, *Porträts*, 109/110; Andreae 1998, 229-231; Coarelli 2002; Fittschen 1991, 256-260, fig. 1; Giuliani 1986, 175-180, 201-203, 236, figs. 48-50; Hekler 1912, 126; La Rocca et al. 2011, 170, n. 2.3; Moreno 1994, I, 408-409, fig. 512; Schweitzer 1948, 91, 98-99, fig. 170; Vessberg 1941, 215-219, pl. LV, 1-2 with a discussion of the various dates suggested for this portrait. I believe, in line with Vessberg, that 'Marius' is an Augustan copy of an original from the beginning or the 1st century BC. 'Borghese General': Inv. no. 6141: ABr, *Porträts*, 109/110; Cantilena et al. 1989, 166, n. 82; Hafner 1954, 31-32, MK 4; Hekler 1912, 73b; Schweitzer 1948, 63.

<sup>14</sup> Alscher 1957, 102.

without a strand out of place. Based on the most recent features I could find—in representations of males from the end of the second century and the beginning of the 1st century BC—I have dated ‘Myron’s old woman’ to around 100 BC.<sup>15</sup> If Paul Zanker’s dating of the Munich version to the early 1st century BC is correct, it would be a very early version of the type.<sup>16</sup>

My late dating (contrary to that of most scholars)<sup>17</sup> of the *anus ebria* implies that I do not see her as an early (that is, 3rd century BC) source of inspiration for a more naturalistic way of representing the aging woman, such as we later find in certain Republican female portraits. Rather, I think that the development of female portraiture and ‘realistic’ female genre figures took place simultaneously, in the 1st century BC. My late dating also means that I do not see the *anus ebria* as a product strongly influenced by Hellenistic literature, with its misogynist connotations.<sup>18</sup> More probably, the sight of her may have evoked a quotation or two from Herondas<sup>19</sup> in the erudite spectator. Certainly, the Romans were misogynistic, as were the Greeks, and to both, the aged female body was seen as uglier than the male one.<sup>20</sup> However, there was also a certain dignity in a body that had grown old and unattractive while fulfilling a woman’s main duty, the bearing and rearing of children.

The most striking feature of Myron’s old woman is her drunkenness.<sup>21</sup> She clutches a bottle decorated with ivy, a so-called *lagynos*, which was associated with a Dionysiac feast in Alexandria. Presumably she has consumed a great deal of the contents already, as she is oblivious of the spectacle she is making of herself. She is squatting on the ground with the folds of her cloak around her; her dress, which is fastened with clasps on her shoulders, has fallen down on her right side, exposing a sagging breast. Her partially toothless mouth is open, and she appears to be shouting or singing.

The unseemly behaviour of the old woman has resulted in scholars interpreting her as an ageing prostitute. Zanker’s book, *Die trunkene Alte. Das Lachen der verhöhnten* is a typical example of this. The reader cannot help

<sup>15</sup> Sande 1995, 42.

<sup>16</sup> Zanker 1989, 13.

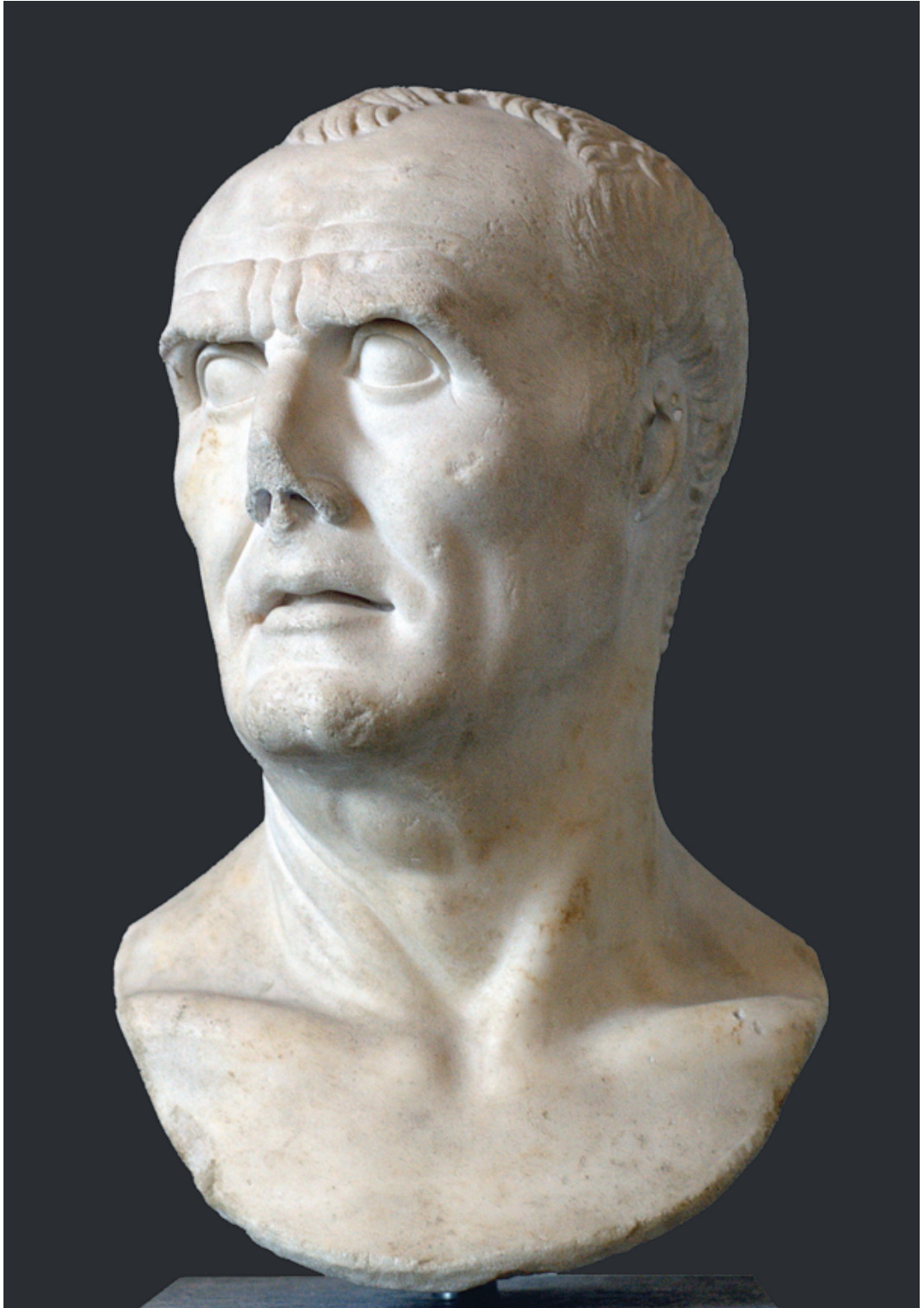
<sup>17</sup> For instance Alscher 1957; Amedick 1995; Kunze 1999, 2002; Mandel 2007; Queyrel 2016; Zanker 1989.

<sup>18</sup> For this view, see Amedick 1995, especially 149-159, 168-170.

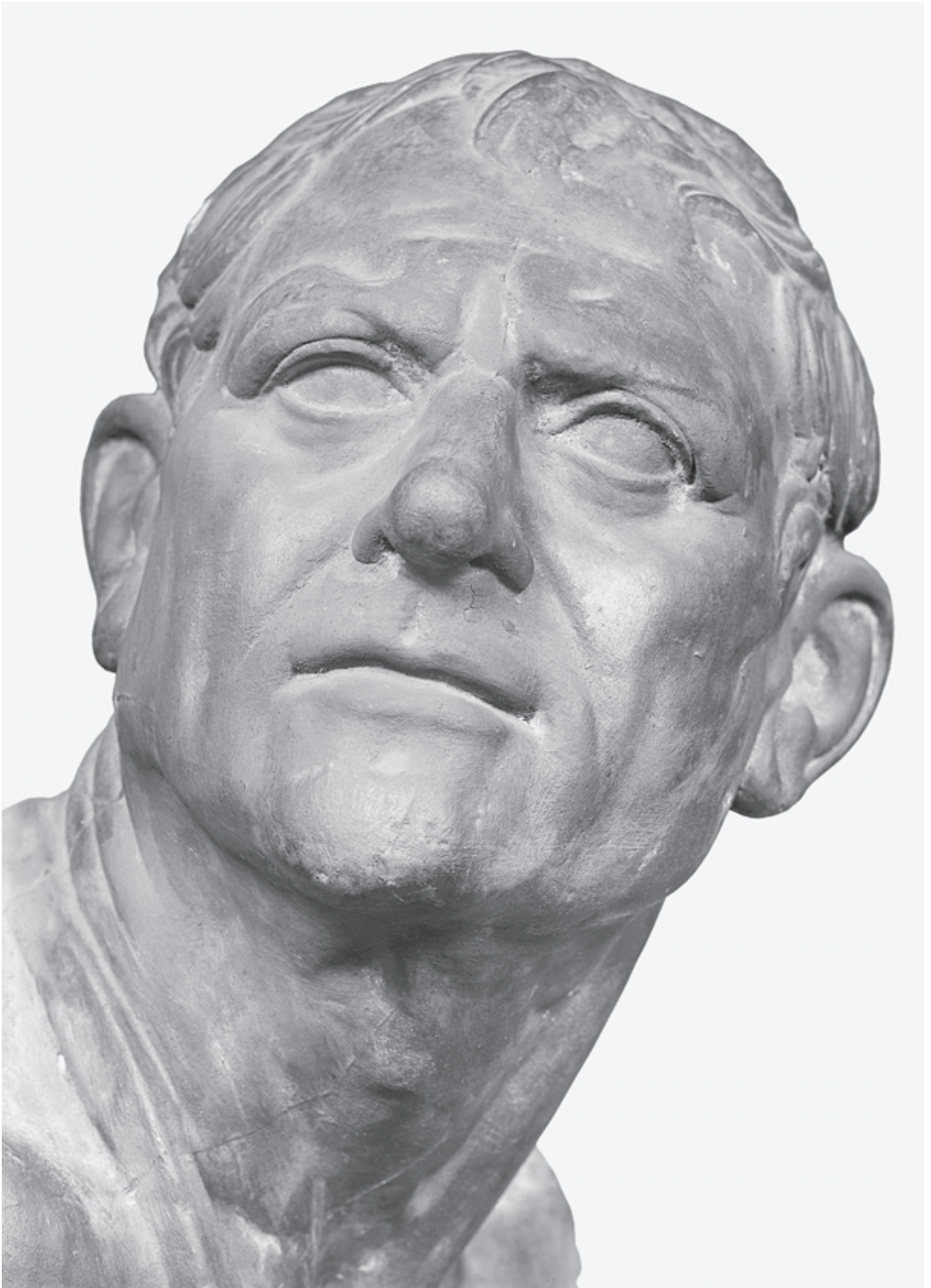
<sup>19</sup> Cf. Queyrel 2016, 312.

<sup>20</sup> For the aged female body see Mancisidor 2019, 85-129, 206-216.

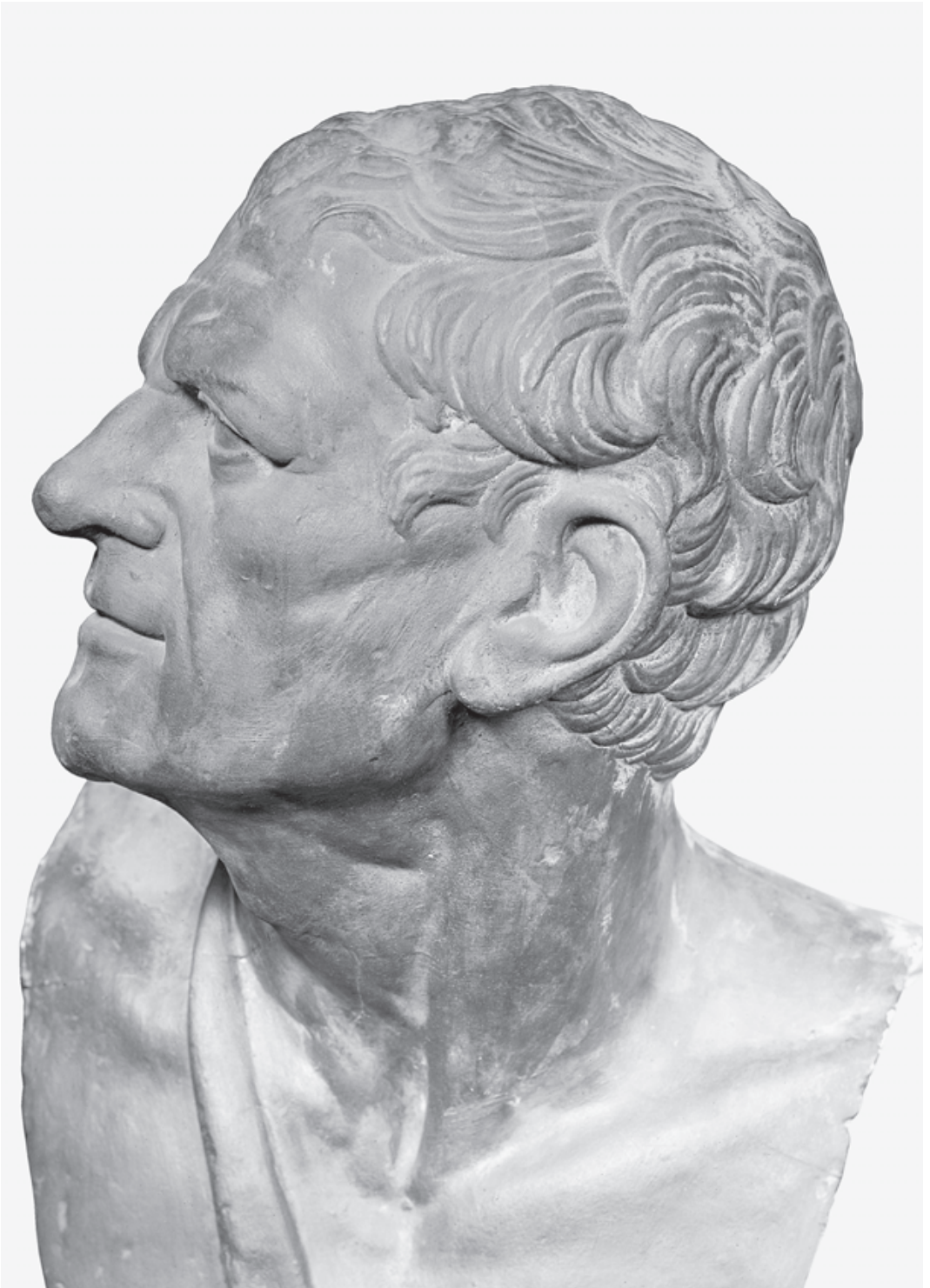
<sup>21</sup> For the topic of the *anus ebria* see most recently Mancisidor 2019, 216-225.



*Fig. 5. Male portrait, so-called Marius, Early Imperial period. Marble. From Rome or environs. Munich, Glyptothek, inv. no. 319. Photograph: Anonymous for Wikimedia Commons (CC BY-SA 3.0).*



*Fig. 6a.* The so-called 'Borghese general'. Augustan copy of an original from the beginning of the first century BC. Marble. Purchased from the Barberini Palace, Naples, Museo Archaeologico, inv. no. 6141. Photograph: © DAI Roma 31-749.



*Fig. 6b.* Profile of the portrait head in *Fig. 6a*. Photograph: © DAI Roma 31-750.

noticing that the author, in describing the woman's body, repeatedly uses words such as 'gräusig', 'den gräusigen Anblick', 'ausgemergelte Körper', 'entsetzlich abgemergelt', 'alt und hässlich', 'das skelettartig dargestellte Rückgrät, die hängenden Hautsäcke und die tiefen Schrunden'.<sup>22</sup> In Zanker's opinion, the woman is not merely somebody who has had too much to drink, but an alcoholic.<sup>23</sup>

It is interesting to note the different judgement of the ageing female body and the male one; the latter exemplified by a statuette in the Villa Albani, believed to represent the philosopher Diogenes.<sup>24</sup> In describing him, Zanker also mentions 'der hässliche alte Körper mit seinem hängenden Fleisch', but he explains it as 'Körperverachtung als eine geistige Haltung'.<sup>25</sup>

This view is typical of our times, when people usually try to conceal the signs of old age. Such signs were also unwelcome in antiquity, but there were fewer means available to counteract them; the most common intervention was various dyes to cover grey hair. Still, would a nude body such as that of the so-called Diogenes be regarded as a sign of 'Körperverachtung' by a contemporary viewer? This man does not seem to have despised his body, which is quite smooth and well-fed. His female pendant among representations of old people is the statue of the so-called market woman in New York (see below), whose body is smooth, compared to her wrinkled face.

The negative view of Myron's old woman expressed in Zanker's book is conditioned by his opinion of her as an old *hetaera* and an alcoholic. This entirely negative hostile attitude to old women is typical of the German school, and is found in other authors also.<sup>26</sup> Not only old women, but old 'worthies' from the bucolic realm, such as fishermen and farmers, were seen in a negative light by German scholars.<sup>27</sup> The purpose of making such statues was, in the

<sup>22</sup> Zanker 1989, 27, 39, 40, 43, 44. Amedick 1995, 142, speaks about 'erschreckende Anblicke körperlichen Verfalls'. See also Kunze 1999, 53-54; 2002, 103, 106). According to Mandel 2007, 179: 'Die packende Drastik der grossplastischen Figur bewegt sich zwischen Erschreckendem und Komischem...'

<sup>23</sup> Zanker 1989, 43-50.

<sup>24</sup> Inv. no 942: Bayer 1983, 38-46, fig. 4; Bol 1989-1998, I, 180-184, cat. no. 55, pls. 100-102; Richter 1965, I, 182-183, n. 2, fig. 1057; 1965, II, 182-183, n. 2, fig. 1057; Richter and Smith 1984, 113-115, fig. 75a.

<sup>25</sup> Zanker 1989, 70.

<sup>26</sup> Notably Amedick 1995, but see also Laubscher 1982, 39. Mandel 2007, 178, describes the *anus* as '...die hoffnungslos unattraktiv gewordenen "Dienerin der Aphrodite"....'

<sup>27</sup> Bayer 1983, 44-47, 192; Himmelmann 1980, 98; Laubscher 1982, 69-84, 92.

opinion of these scholars, to express ridicule and contempt towards people from the lower strata of society. Arguments are often bolstered by quotations from ancient works on physiognomy, which are often ambiguous, and, in my opinion, best avoided.<sup>28</sup> R.R.R. Smith rightly warns against seeing such figures from an elitist perspective. As he remarks, '[t]he statues are to be seen rather as objective, neutral portrayals of poverty and old age'.<sup>29</sup> Certainly, many terracottas and other small scale representations of old age and poverty are caricatures, but not every old or bucolic person has to be seen in that light.

Hemming Wrede seems to have been the first to remark that the *anus ebria* is not an old derelict, but a matron who is an adherent of Dionysos and who is taking part in a feast in his honour.<sup>30</sup> His view has been reinforced by Christian Kunze, and, more recently, by Jane Masségliia and François Queyrel.<sup>31</sup> The woman wears an ample dress with rich draperies, a sign that she did not need to skimp on fabric, and she has rings on her fingers and once bore (since missing) earrings of metal. Clearly, she is rendered as a person of some status.<sup>32</sup> Wrede has pointed out that her dress is held up with straps which would give the Roman spectator associations to the stola. This garment, which developed from Hellenistic models, was promoted by Augustus as the hallmark of the legally married matron.<sup>33</sup> Other statuettes and torsos of old women show similar shoulder straps.<sup>34</sup>

<sup>28</sup> For works on ancient physiognomy as a means to 'read' sculptural representations of people, see for instance Laubscher 1982, 51-59. Since the characteristics provided in works on physiognomy are sometimes conflicting, it is relatively easy to choose the alternatives which correspond to one's own prejudices, this also applies to racism.

<sup>29</sup> Smith 1991, 139.

<sup>30</sup> Wrede 1991, 174-175.

<sup>31</sup> Kunze 1999, 80; Masségliia 2015, 246-251; Queyrel 2016, 212.

<sup>32</sup> As remarked by Masségliia, though the woman is sitting on the ground, she crosses her feet at the ankles, a vestige of her normal status as a decent woman (Masségliia 2015, 250).

<sup>33</sup> Wrede 1971, 174-175.

<sup>34</sup> 'Old market woman' in New York (see n. 26), Fragment of a statuette in Frankfurt (Bol 1980, 195-198, cat. no. 163, fig. 274; Laubscher 1982, n. 11, 8, 22, 33, 43, 57, 116, pl. 26,1); Statuette formerly on the London art market (Amedick 1995, 153; Wrede 1991, 176, pl. 44,1); statuette formerly in the Woodyat collection (Amedick 1995, 153, pl. 30, 3-4; *E.A.* 1994; Wrede 1991, 175-176, pl. 44, 3). Rather than an erotic signal, as suggested by Kunze 2002, 103 and Queyrel 2016, 312, the bare shoulder is a cultic feature (cf. Wrede 1991, 174-188; Sande 1995, 44-45, n. 60; Schörner 2002, 171-174).



Myron's old woman has several 'sisters'. An under life-sized statue displayed in New York, formerly called 'Old market woman', in actuality shows a matron on her way to a religious feast, as indicated by her ivy wreath.<sup>35</sup> She carries two hens and a basket of fruit (or roses) as offerings to the god. The findspot of this statue, on the corner of Via della Consolazione and Via di Montecaprino in Rome, has suggested to certain scholars that it originally stood in the precinct of the Temple of Fides or Ops,<sup>36</sup> although evidence for the connection with these temples is rather thin, and it is better to regard this woman as a visitor to a nameless sanctuary.<sup>37</sup> The woman's ivy wreath implies that wine will be served, and her open mouth is an indication of talking or singing, she may already be slightly tipsy. The 'Market Woman' is shown walking, while a number of other statues and statuettes of old women are represented standing. Unfortunately, in none of the latter cases is the head preserved, apart from a small bronze statuette exhibited in the Kunsthistorisches Museum of Vienna. She belongs to the cult personnel, her *palla* is laid about her waist apron-fashion and knotted at the front. Another typical feature of her dress is her separately made sleeves. Her right shoulder is bare and her head is covered by a scarf of the sort worn by elderly nurses and other female genre figures.<sup>38</sup>

<sup>35</sup> Accession no. 09.39: Amedick 1995, 143, 153-156, pl. 31, 1-4; Bieber 1961, 141-142, fig. 590; Bol 1980, 195, fig. 275; Himmelmann 1980, 89-91, pls. 30-31; Kunze 1999, 58-62, fig. 7; 2002; Laubscher 1982, 8, 10, 32-35, 43, 86, 93-94, 116-117, 121, n. 38, pls. 26, 2, 27; Mancisidor 2019, 111-112, fig. 4; Masségli 2012; 2015, 253-255, fig. 4.51; Pollitt 1986, 142-146, fig. 152; Ridgway 1981, 230-234, fig. 145; 1990, 338; Richter 1954, 111, n. 221, pl. 154; Reusser 1993; Smith 1991, 38, fig. 175 and frontispiece; Sande 1995, 34-37; Vermeule 1980, 134, fig. 121; Wrede 1991, 174, 176-177, 187, pl. 43, 1-2; Zanker 1989, 15-16, fig. 6.

<sup>36</sup> Kunze 1999, 62; 2002, 96; Reusser 1993, 185.

<sup>37</sup> Masségli 2015, 253-254.

<sup>38</sup> Himmelmann 1980, 89-90, pl. 25; Laubscher 1982, 123, A5 (with bibliography); Robertson 1975, 506, pl. 158a; Sande 1995, 34, 37; Strong 1969, 545-546, pl. 196, fig. 6. For the costume worn by the bronze statuette see Wrede 1991, 174-186, pls. 44-48, fig. 2. It is chiefly connected with the cult of Dionysos, but as Wrede has remarked (185), the separately made sleeves are also found in connection with other cults. In addition to the examples given by Wrede, other noteworthy mentions are: Painting from the House of the Tragic Poet, Pompeii, where the priest about to sacrifice Iphigenia wears green sleeves in contrast to his red costume (*PPM* IV, 552, fig. 47; Braganti and Sampaolo 2009, 332-333, n. 149; Ling 1991, 134, fig. 139); painting in the House of the Vettii, Pompeii, showing Auge, the priestess of Athena Alea, assaulted by Herakles. By her side stands a woman with red dress and white sleeves. Like Auge, she must be attached to the cult of Athena Alea (*LIMC* III (1986), 47, n. 12; Cerulli Irelli et al. 1990, pl. 70); painting from the Villa of Ariadne, Stabia—'Vendor of erotes'—the 'vendor', more likely

As there are bodies of old women without heads, so too are there are heads of old women without bodies. Since the heads are of interest to my argument, I provide a list here of some examples:

- 1) Dresden, Staatliche Kunstsammlungen (Fig. 7).<sup>39</sup>
- 2) Rome, Villa Albani (Fig. 8).<sup>40</sup>
- 3) Norway, private collection (Fig. 9).<sup>41</sup>
- 4) New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art.<sup>42</sup>
- 5) Copenhagen, Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek.<sup>43</sup>
- 6) London, British Museum.<sup>44</sup>
- 7) New York, Vollmer Collection.<sup>45</sup>

None of these heads are replicas of known types. They are, in all probability, originals made for a Roman public. Numbers 1-3 (from the Dresden, Staatliche Kunstsammlungen, Rome, Villa Albani and a private collection in Norway, respectively) have all been dated to the 1st century BC (numbers 1 and 3 are dated more specifically to the Augustan period). Compared to numbers 2 and 3 (from Villa Albani in Rome and a private collection in Norway), the draperies of number 4 (from the New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art) are more summarily rendered and relatively lacking in elegance. There is more *chiaroscuro* in

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a priestess of Aphrodite, wears a yellow dress and very short, green sleeves, more like cuffs (Amedick 1995, 152, pl. 29, 1; Braganti and Sampaolo 2009, 146-147, n. 31). Both the 'vendor' and the attendant of Athena Alea have a bared shoulder on display, a cultic feature (see Sande 1995, 44-45, n. 60; Schörner 2002, 171-174; Wrede 1991, 174-188).

<sup>39</sup> Inv. no. Hm 176: Alscher 1957, 133-140, 156, 234, n. 34, fig. 61; Havelock 1971, 129, fig. 105; Himmelmann 1980, 91, pl. 27; Kenner 1960, 84-85; Knoll et al. 2011, 966-970, cat. no. 231; Laubscher 1982, 8, 39, 93, n. 397, 118-120, A 3 (with bibliography); Protzmann 1989, 74-76, n. 33; Smith 1991, 138, fig. 176; Sande 1995, 32, 35, 43; Wrede 1991, 175, pl. 41, 1-2; Zanker 1989, 75-76, fig. 46.

<sup>40</sup> Inv. no. 944: Bol 1989-1998, I (1989), 214-216, n. 69, pls. 118-119 (text: P.C. Bol); *E.A.* 4562-4564; Laubscher 1982, 124, A 14; Sande 1995, 42, 36, 43.

<sup>41</sup> Ridgway 2000, 282; Sande 1995.

<sup>42</sup> Accession no. 12.229.3: Laubscher 1982, 124, A 11; Mancisidor 2019, 111-113, fig. 5; Richter 1954, 222, n. 224, pl. 56, c-d; Sande 1994, 32, 36.

<sup>43</sup> Inv. no. 1848: Laubscher 1982, 124, A 12; Moltesen et al. 2005, 350-351, n. 186; Poulsen 1951, 234, n. 331, *Billedtavler*, pl. 23; *E.A.* 4462-4463; Sande 1995, 32-33, 36.

<sup>44</sup> Bol 1989-1998, I (1989), 215; Himmelmann 1980, 91-92, pl. 24; Laubscher 1982, 122, 124, A 10; Sande 1995, 32, 36; Strong 1969.

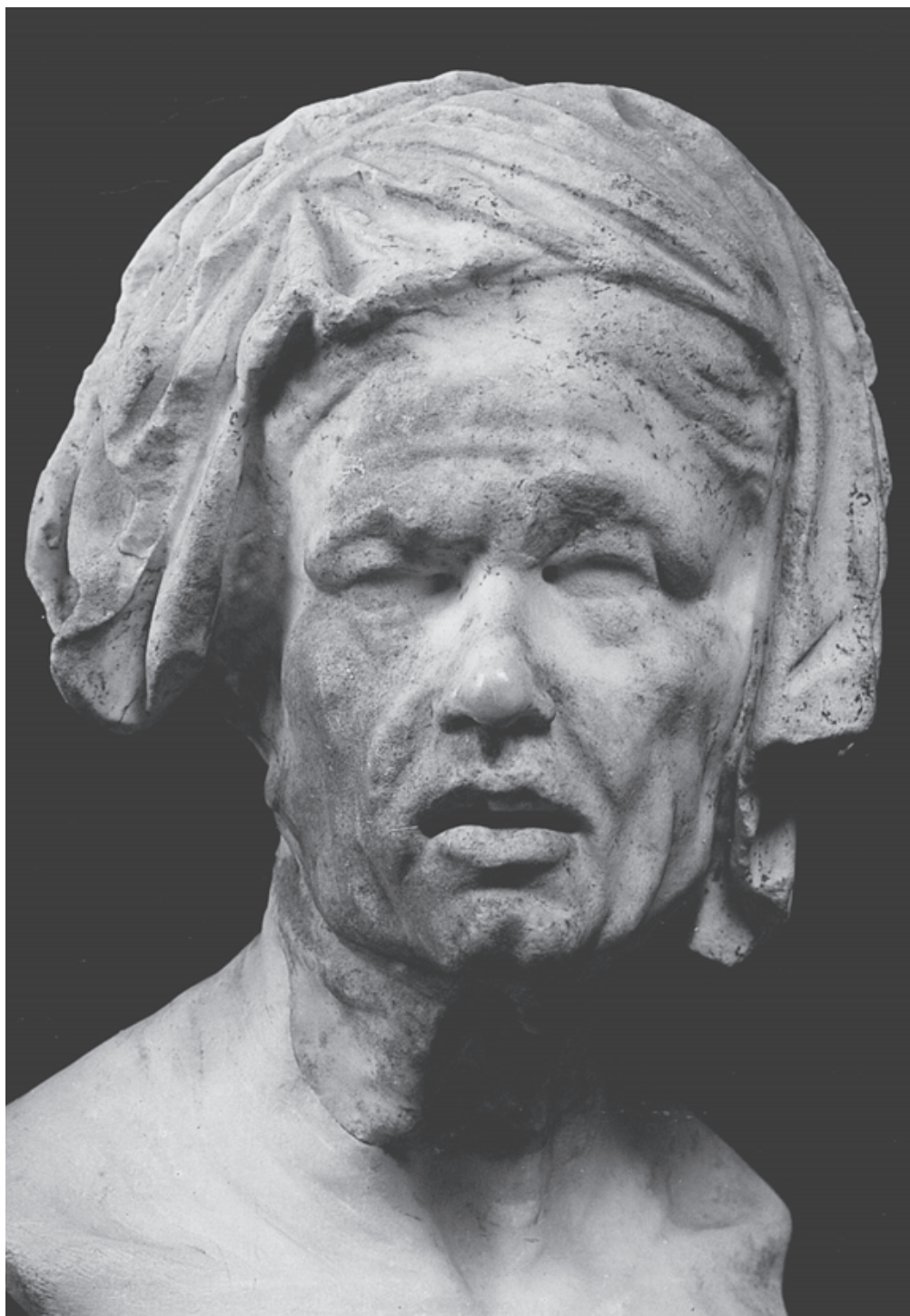
<sup>45</sup> Bieber 1961, 141, fig. 585; *E.A.* 4738-4739; Laubscher 1982, 124, A 11; Sande 1995, 32, 36; Strong 1969, 546-547.



*Fig. 7.* Female head, 1st century BC. Marble. Unknown provenance. Dresden, Staatliche Kunstsammlungen, inv. Hm 176. Photograph: © Skulpturensammlung, Staatliche Kunstsammlungen Dresden/H.-P. Klut and E. Estel.

the hair of number 4, so this head is probably a little later, from the 1st century AD (perhaps Claudian). Numbers 5 and 6 (from the Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek in Copenhagen, and the British Museum, London) have been dated to the 2nd century AD. Number 7 (from the New York, Vollmer Collection) appears to be a late work, from the 3rd century AD.

Nikolaus Himmelmann has drawn attention to a certain resemblance between the head of number 6, displayed at the British Museum, London, and plaster casts of the head of an old woman, as seen in paintings by the Flemish



*Fig. 8.* Female portrait, 1st century BC. Marble. Unknown provenance. Rome, Villa Albani, inv. no. 944. Photograph: © DAI Roma 247-1-A10.



*Fig. 9.* Female head, 1st century BC. Marble. Unknown provenance. Private collection. Photograph: Permission granted by the owner. Photograph: © Tore Holter.

artist Michael Sweerts, who lived in Rome between 1646 and 1655.<sup>46</sup> These casts reproduce the (modern) head on a statue of an old woman in the Capitoline Museums.<sup>47</sup> Its author had evidently seen ancient heads of old women. Although, he omitted an important detail, the presence of a few teeth. The head in the Capitoline Museums is completely toothless. It is not known when this head was made, although it was obviously before the 1640s when plaster casts of it circulated. They are an indication of its popularity, which is corroborated by the existence of a copy in porphyry in the Galleria Doria Pamphili.<sup>48</sup>

<sup>46</sup> Himmelmann 1980, 92; La Rocca and Parisi Presicce 2017, 506.

<sup>47</sup> Dodero and Parisi Presicce 2017, 347-348, cat. W 19; Himmelmann 1980, 91-92; La Rocca and Parisi Presicce 2017, 506-511, n. 56; Laubscher 1982, 123, A 6; Stuart Jones 1912, 288-289, n. 22, pl. 70.

<sup>48</sup> Delbrück 1932, 75, pl. 26; Del Bufalo 2012, 102, H 9. *E.A.* 2326-2327.

The heads listed above do not wear the skimpy headscarves worn by old women performing Dionysiac sacrifices, as represented in reliefs and on a number of sarcophagi. The bronze statuette in Vienna wears a similar headscarf. Her characteristic attributes suggest that she is performing or is about to perform a sacred rite, and consequently her mouth is shut, as is usual on such occasions. She presumably belongs to the personnel of a Dionysiac sanctuary.

The sacrificing old woman is a figure which can be followed throughout antiquity: on sarcophagi, in reliefs and in painting.<sup>49</sup> They are always seen as servants, either of a sanctuary or of a family, and are therefore represented as respectfully doing their duties.

'Myron's *anus ebria*', the New York 'market women' and the heads listed above differ from the majority of old women in Dionysiac contexts in two respects. First of all, their open mouths and slack facial musculature indicate that they are drunk. Old women and drunkenness were something of a topos, but the women generally imbibed while secluded in their own homes. The drunken old women we are dealing with here are evidently taking part in a Dionysiac festival: they are in the public realm. Secondly, they seem to be talking, shouting and singing, despite the custom of *favete linguis* and the general rule of women keeping silent in the public space.

Despite their unseemly behavior, the women are neither 'old derelicts' nor 'outcasts', as they have often been described. Their sculptors have depicted them as persons of economic means, giving them finger rings, earrings and voluminous cloaks, sometimes amassed in draperies on the top of their heads. As already remarked, they wear a garment reminiscent of the Roman stola, the hallmark of the married woman. Their advanced age would normally give them an aura of dignity. These are women who should command respect, but have made themselves ludicrous.

The comical effect given by the drunken old women is, to some extent, mitigated by the fact that they are represented in a Dionysiac context. As Wrede has pointed out, ridiculousness has long traditions in the Dionysiac realm, going back to Archaic representations of satyrs and silens shown in various stages of drunkenness.<sup>50</sup> Such boisterous behavior is unbecoming in elderly matrons, although the carnivalesque atmosphere of the Dionysiac feast makes it possible for them to turn this world upside down.

<sup>49</sup> See Amedick 1995, 156-169, pls 32-36.

<sup>50</sup> Wrede 1991, 175-176. See also Kunze 1999, 77-79; 2002, 106. Smith 1991, 137-138.

I believe that the popularity of the statues of drunken old women lies in their paradoxical character. They are not old derelicts, alcoholics or former prostitutes, but matrons who have had too much to drink. Their dress, jewelry and coiffures indicate that they are women of economic means and social status, just like the women represented in the funerary monuments of the Late Republican period. Myron's old woman is a matron seen through a distorted mirror. If one compares her to the statue from the Villa Albani, for instance, one sees that she does exactly the opposite of what she ought to do. Instead of standing with a dignified posture, she squats on the ground. Instead of enveloping her palla around her in *pudicitia* fashion, she exposes her body. Instead of keeping her arms and hands tightly enveloped in her garment, she bares them in order to embrace a bottle. Instead of keeping her mouth taciturnly closed, she opens it to sing and shout. She has liberated herself from social bonds.<sup>51</sup>

The drunken old woman and the dignified matron are two faces of the same coin. It would therefore not be unnatural if the two ways of expressing womanhood should have influenced each other, and I think that this is what happened. In the end (that is, in the Early Augustan period), the drunken old women lose some of their grotesque aspect, becoming more feminine, while the portraits of elderly women lose their 'face lift' character and show a more naturally wrinkled face.

Male genre figures and male portraiture also appear to converge in the 1st century BC, Hans Peter Laubscher has discussed figures of farmers and fishermen in relation to genre, realism and caricature. According to Laubscher, while small scale figures in terracotta and bronze are often caricatures, larger scale works do not cross the border of caricature.<sup>52</sup> The earliest versions, such as the old fisherman of the 'Seneca' type,<sup>53</sup> however, display several features designed to stress the low status of such persons: they are endowed with snub noses, pendulous lips and over-sized ears, for instance. Later representatives (from the 1st century BC) lack these features, though they still show signs of a life of toil, notably in the weather-beaten skin. Their furrowed faces have

<sup>51</sup> See Masségliia 2012; 2016; Sande 1995, 44-45; Smith 1991, 137. Amedick 1995, 169-170, comes to the same conclusion, but, while Masségliia, Sande, and Smith stress the humorous, Dionysiac aspect of the women, she sees them in an entirely negative light, worthy only of the spectators' contempt.

<sup>52</sup> Laubscher 1982, 69.

<sup>53</sup> For the fisherman see, n. 58.

much in common with contemporary portraiture, giving them the appearance of 'pseudo-portraits'.<sup>54</sup>

The drunken old women lack the dignity which is normal in portraits of adults. However, there exists at least one 'pseudo-portrait' from the formative period of the drunken old woman genre (from 1st century BC): the so-called *Lysimache*. It is known through two replicas, one housed in the British Museum (Figs 10a-b) and the other in the Museo Nazionale Romano (the National Roman Museum).<sup>55</sup>

Like Myron's old woman, this female was initially regarded as a work of the 5th century BC. The dating, supported by Gisela Richter, is still apparently widely accepted, even though it is evident that '*Lysimache*' is an eclectic creation of the 1st century BC. A face reminiscent of male portraits from the third quarter of that century, has been combined with a coiffure typical of Classicist sculpture.<sup>56</sup> The result has, in its turn, been combined with another eclectic creation represented by a statue in the Archaeological Museum in Basel, Switzerland: a stooping female body with bent knees, probably inspired by the third century fisherman of the '*Seneca*' type, clothed in garments reminiscent of Classical (5th century BC) draperies.<sup>57</sup>

Although the head and the body are of roughly the same size (two-thirds life size), their union is not altogether felicitous since the head appears to be a fraction too small. The reconstruction, made by Ernst Berger in 1968, has been partly endorsed by Richter and R.R.R. Smith, among others.<sup>58</sup> Although, Hans Georg Hiller has contested it; Hiller drew attention to the similarity between the Basel body and an old woman on Campana reliefs, probably *Penelope's*

<sup>54</sup> Laubscher 1982, 85-97, especially 94-95.

<sup>55</sup> British Museum: inv. no. 1887, 0725.31. Museo Nazionale: inv. no. 121505: Berger 1968, 4-5, 67-70, pls. 31.1, 33; Felletti Maj 1953, 11, cat. no. 1; Ghisellini et al. 1987, 1-3, R 1; Hiller 1972-1973, 47-67, figs. 2, 7, 8, 16, 17; Richter 1965, I, 155-156, figs. 878-881; 1970, 66, figs. 309-310; Richter and Smith 1984, 158-159, fig. 120; Ridgway 1981, 231-234, fig. 146; Robertson 1975, 504-506, pls. 157a, 158d.

<sup>56</sup> Sande 1995, 38-39, n. 40-41.

<sup>57</sup> Sande 1995, 38. For the female body see especially Berger 1968; Hiller 1972-1973. For the fisherman, see: Bayer 1983, 17-47, 248-255, fig. 1 (with bibliography and a list of replicas); Himmelmann 1980, 84-89, pls. 20, 22a; Kunze 1999, 53-69, fig. 4; Laubscher 1982, 12-16, 38-45, 98-103, pls. 1-7; Masségli 2015, 225-226, fig. 4.36; Queyrel 2016, 315-319; Ridgway 1981, 333-337, pl. 173.

<sup>58</sup> It is considered 'an attractive proposal' (159).





*Fig. 10a.* Portrait head of an old woman, sometimes identified as Lysimache, a priestess of Athena. Roman marble copy of a lost Greek bronze original of the early fourth century BC. Marble. From Tarquinia. London, British Museum, inv. no. 1887,0725.31. Photograph: © The Trustees of the British Museum.

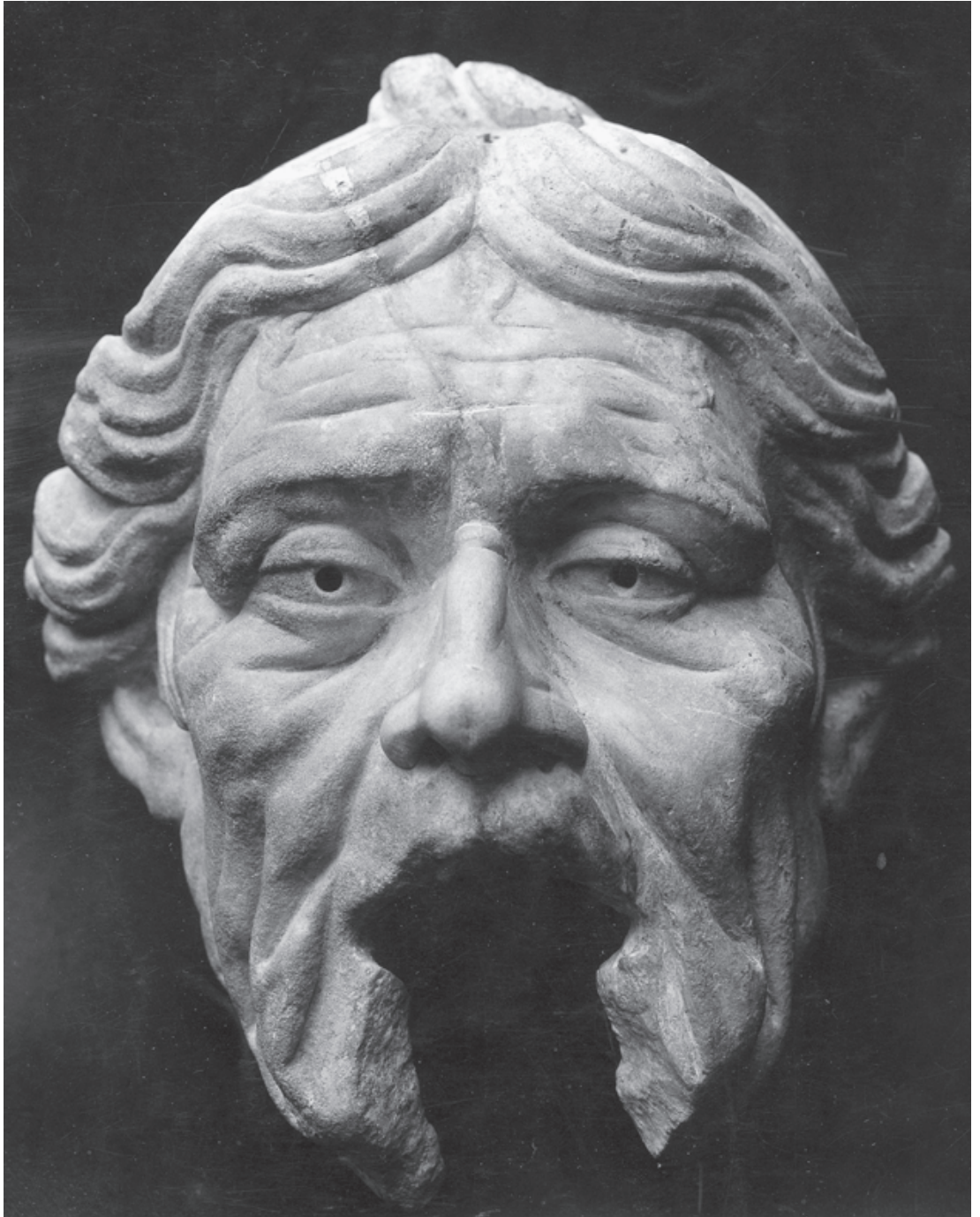


*Fig. 10b.* Front of the portrait in *Fig. 10a*. Photograph: © The Trustees of the British Museum.

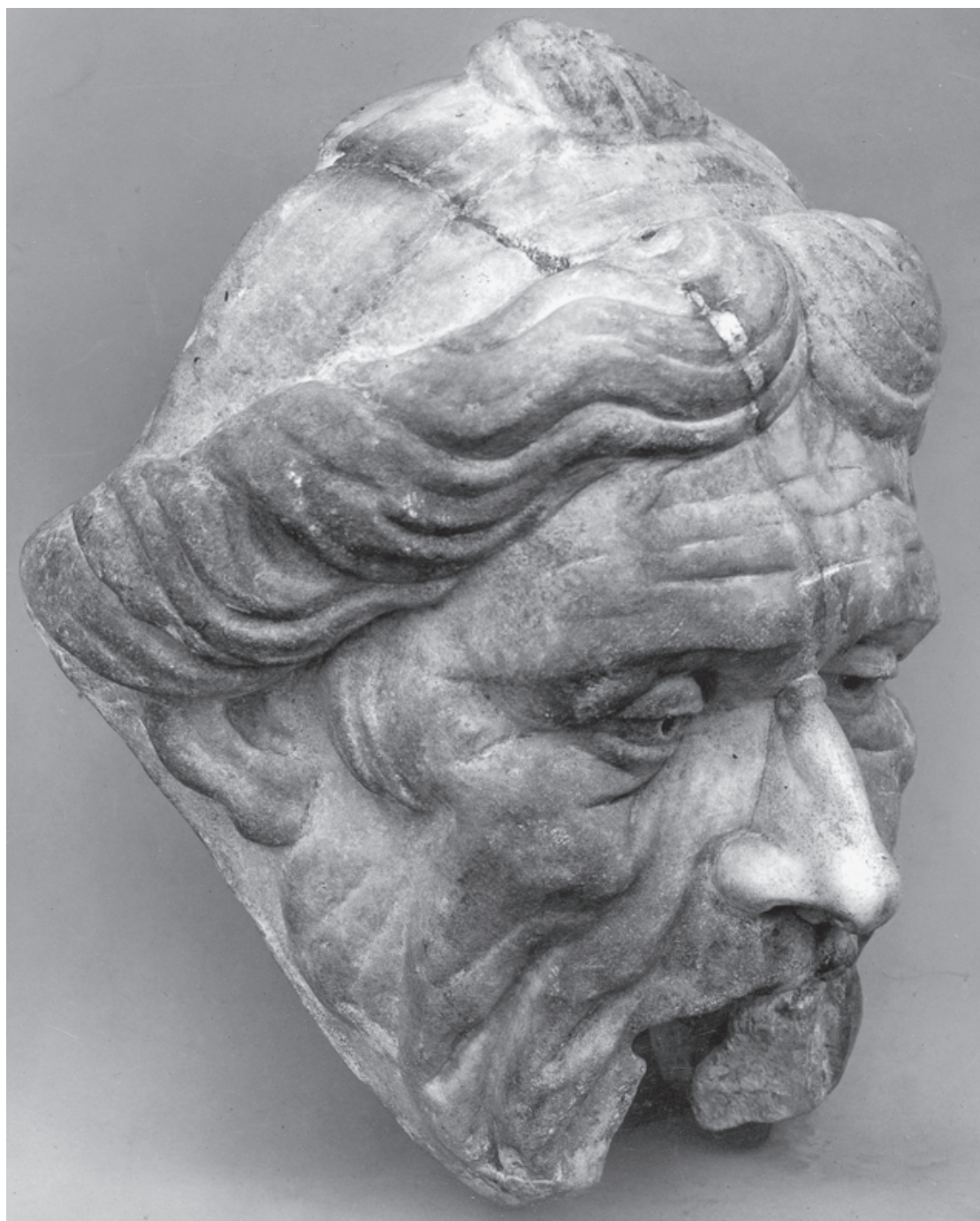
maid Eurynome, and suggested that the Basel body and the famous seated 'Penelope' were parts of the same group originally.<sup>59</sup> According to Uta Kron, the Basle body may possibly be part of another group, showing Aithra, mother of Theseus, liberated from her position as Helen's maid by her grandsons Akamos and Damophon.<sup>60</sup>

<sup>59</sup> Hiller 1972-1973, especially 53-67.

<sup>60</sup> *LIMC* I, 427, n. 76 (under 'Aithra').



*Fig. 11a.* Mask of an aged woman, the 'Tragic Old Housekeeper', AD 100-200. Unknown provenance. Marble. London, British Museum, inv. 1950,0707.1. Photograph: © The Trustees of the British Museum.



*Fig. 11b.* Right profile of the portrait in *Fig. 11a.*

Although Kron is sceptic about the appurtenance of the 'Lysimache' head to the Basel body, her suggestion of Aithra may not be far off the mark. Whatever her body may have looked like, 'Lysimache' is clearly not a servant. Her elegant coiffure, earrings (present in the British Museum replica), and the fillet in her hair, reminiscent of a diadem, show her to be a woman of rank. She may well be an old, sad, mythical heroine, if not Aithra, then perhaps Hecuba. Such figures were known to the Romans through Greek tragedy and other literary sources.

Ancient literature has, of course, been used as a means to understand works such as 'Myron's *anus ebria*'. Zanker, who believed the woman to be a *hetaera*, saw this sculpture in relation to the Middle Comedy, where old *hetaerae* are seen in a negative light.<sup>61</sup> Rita Amedick contested this view and opted instead for the works of Hellenistic poets such as Theocritus and Herondas as sources of inspiration.<sup>62</sup> Apart from representations illustrating specific scenes in Greek tragedies and comedies, it is difficult to pinpoint direct influence from the theatre on the pictorial arts, and that also holds true for the masks. The New Comedy had three types of masks for old women, although it is not easy to discern the single types.<sup>63</sup> They all have one feature in common with the drunken old women: they are shown partially toothless.

Axel Seeberg has pointed out the resemblance between Roman representations of old nurses in a tragic context (for instance, in the myths of Phaedra, the Niobids and Creusa) and the tragic mask of the Old Housekeeper.<sup>64</sup> Like the Old Servant in Tragedy this mask lacks the *onkos*, and it therefore easy to ascribe such masks to Comedy. A decorative marble mask in the British Museum probably shows the Tragic Old Housekeeper (Figs. 11a-b).<sup>65</sup> Its open mouth indicates that it was meant to resemble a theatre mask, but it is much more realistically modelled than ordinary masks. Reynold Higgins has dated it to the late 1st century BC,<sup>66</sup> and it is tempting to see it in relation to contemporary representations of old women, such as the heads displayed in Dresden and Oslo, for instance. We would then have an example of a theatre mask inspired from realistic representations of old women.

<sup>61</sup> Zanker 1989, 22-42.

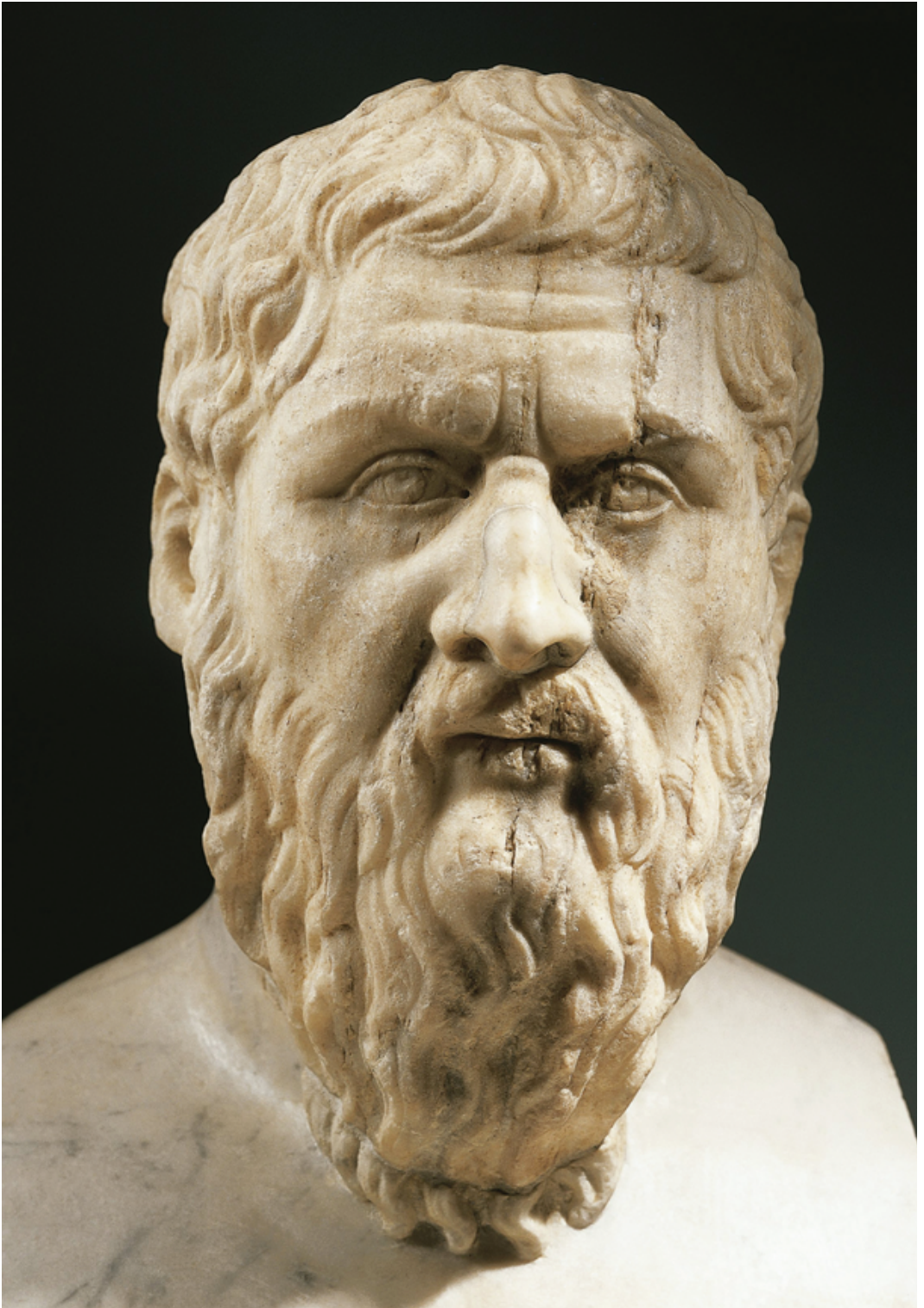
<sup>62</sup> Amedick 1995, 142-143, 150-152.

<sup>63</sup> Webster et al. 1995, 35-39, n. 28-30, pl. 8.

<sup>64</sup> Seeberg 2002-2003, 72.

<sup>65</sup> Inv. no. 1950.0707.1; Higgins 1952; Seeberg 2002-2003, 72, fig. 24 a-b.

<sup>66</sup> Higgins 1952, 103.



*Fig. 12.* Portrait of philosopher, 'Plato-type', with 'thinker's brow'. Roman copy of an original from the 4th century BC. Marble. Unknown provenance. Rome, Musei Capitolini, inv. 571. Photograph: © The Granger Collection Ltd.



*Fig. 13.* Portrait of Gordian III, c. 240 AD. Marble. Unknown provenance. Oslo, National Museum, inv. no. Sk 1435. Photograph: O. Væring.

Owing to influence from male portrait sculpture, gender sculpture and 'pseudo portraits', portraits of elderly females gradually became more naturalistic. This development took place during the 1st century BC, mainly on Italian soil. In Greece and Asia Minor, the ageless, idealized female continued to be preferred.<sup>67</sup> In the pattern of their wrinkles, old women continued to differ from old men, however. The wrinkles of the female face tend to concentrate in the lower part of the face, while the brow is often more or less unclouded.<sup>68</sup> A furrowed brow is the prerogative of the thinker. Zanker speaks of a 'thinker's brow', which denotes mental effort (Fig. 12).<sup>69</sup> Women's brows may show horizontal wrinkles, but the one or two vertical furrows above the root of the nose are often missing, which I like to call 'thinkers' wrinkles'. They are a sign of mental exertion, and characterize the portraits of many philosophers, poets, and orators. These wrinkles can also denote 'care', and are therefore found in portraits of generals, public servants and rulers, who care for the army, the society, or the people. Very young rulers, such as Gordian III, may have quite pronounced furrows above the root of the nose (Fig. 13).

Women, on the other hand, were evidently expected to neither think nor care too much. Although there are some notable exceptions.<sup>70</sup> The portrait statue of Viciria, wife of Marcus Nonius Balbus Pater and mother of Marcus Nonius Balbus (the benefactor of Herculaneum), has been found in the theatre of Herculaneum, together with those of her son and husband (Fig. 14).<sup>71</sup> Viciria shows her age: in addition to furrows (including 'thinkers' wrinkles') and the onset of a double chin, she has strong tendons in her neck, despite the fact that her head is not turned. This is a somewhat unusual feature in female portraits, where 'Venus rings' are more common. Viciria clearly wanted to present herself as a matriarch, combining will-power and *pondus* with modesty (her dress) and *cultus* (her hair).

<sup>67</sup> Dillon 2010, 135-163.

<sup>68</sup> As Matheson 2000, 128 remarks, '[w]hat we do *not* generally see is the furrowed brow so characteristic of portraits of old men'.

<sup>69</sup> Zanker 1995, 73 (Plato), 85 (Demosthenes), 100 (Chrysippos).

<sup>70</sup> Zanker 1989, 42, fig. 28, shows an example from the Late Classical period.

<sup>71</sup> Inv. no. 6168: Fejfer 2008, 222-223, figs. 142-143; Guidobaldi 2008, 262, n. 49, ill. 160-161.





*Fig. 14a.* Portrait statue of Viciria, wife of Marcus Nonius Balbus Pater and mother of Marcus Nonius Balbus (the benefactor of Herculaneum). First century AD. Found in the theatre of Herculaneum together with the portrait statues of her husband and son. Naples, Museo Archaeologico, inv. no. 6168. Photograph: © Ministero per i Beni e le Attività Culturali e per il Turismo, Museo Archeologico Nazionale di Napoli, Luigi Spina.



*Fig. 14b.* Upper part of the same portrait statue as in *Fig. 14a*. Photograph: © Ministero per i Beni e le Attività Culturali e per il Turismo, Museo Archeologico Nazionale di Napoli, Luigi Spina.

Other examples of ‘thinkers’ wrinkles’ may be mentioned: Vibia from a late Flavian funerary monument (formerly in Oslo),<sup>72</sup> and two anonymous portraits in the Museo Nazionale Romano, one Late Trajanic or Early Hadrianic<sup>73</sup> and the other Antonine.<sup>74</sup> ‘Thinkers’ wrinkles’ are also occasionally to be found on funerary reliefs and sarcophagi.<sup>75</sup>

Only in the 3rd century AD does one find female portraits with ‘thinkers’ wrinkles’ in a certain number.<sup>76</sup> Perhaps the effect of the many furrowed male faces in portraits of this period has spilled over to the depictions of females. However, the smooth, ageless version is still present, if not more so. It continues into the 4th century, and is especially striking when the female portrait is accompanied by a male partner.<sup>77</sup>

To sum up: I believe that the ‘realistic’ female portrait (showing signs of age) at the end of the Republic is a synthesis of a portrait version showing the skin drawn tightly across the face and a more natural-looking aging version used for genre figures and ‘pseudo-portraits’ like ‘Lysimache’. The genre figures do not necessarily represent old derelicts or alcoholics, but matrons like the portrait statues. Even when a more harmonious version of female old age had been reached, most women preferred representation by a smoother, blander version of themselves. Those who opted for the ageing version were probably women who were sure of themselves, and who wanted to be presented as persons of authority. In borrowing elements that were generally associated with male portraiture, such as ‘thinkers’ wrinkles’ and a strong neck, they increased their *pondus* and thereby confirmed their status as matriarchs.

<sup>72</sup> Sande 1991, 54-56, n. 40-42, pl. XLI.

<sup>73</sup> Inv. no. 311: Ghisellini et al. 1987, 210-212, R 163.

<sup>74</sup> Inv. no. 33: Ghisellini et al. 1988, 289-291, R 215.

<sup>75</sup> Calza 1963, 100, n. 163, pl. XCVII; 1978, 27-29, n. 31, pl. XXIII.

<sup>76</sup> See Bergmann 1977, pl. 26, 3, pl. 28, 1, pl. 31, 6, pl. 53, 5, pl. 55, 3, pl. 58, 5.

<sup>77</sup> See for instance a couple from Thessaloniki: inv. no. 1060-1061: Kiilerich 1993, 113, 120-121, figs. 61-62; Schade 2003, 206-207, pl. 55, 1-2; LSA 90-91.

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# Faces in Living Color: Marble Portraits, Portrait Painting, and Individualization, c. 330-30 BC

Mark Abbe

## *Abstract*

Today the ‘realism’ of the blached white marble portraits that survive from antiquity is frequently associated with their highly detailed physiognomy and apparent specificity that suggest a relationship to an individual subject. In antiquity, of course, the engaging and often arresting visual appearance of these sculpted images was defined in no small part by their nuanced life-like painting and rich polychrome detailing. Such coloration aided legibility, enhanced differentiation, and both aligned and distinguished their subjects from their immediate visual competitors in their display contexts. This article is composed of three chronologically arranged sections. First, the emergence of marble portrait statuary in the Greek world beginning in the 4th century BC is reexamined, and the materiality of such images and their relationship to contemporary painting are explored. The evidence for the polychrome definition of faces on marble portraits in the Hellenistic period is then assessed. It is argued that the little acknowledged tradition of painted wooden-panel portraits was of central importance to the heightened individualization, characterization, and increased face value of Greek portraiture in the mid- 3rd to 1st centuries BC. Such chromatically painted portraits were also undoubtedly related to the increasing role of marble (rather than bronze) as a medium for three-dimensional portrait statues. Finally, the new cultural importance and patronage of portrait faces in the private sphere, painted and across media, are examined in the Greco-Roman world in the late 2nd and 1st centuries BC.

## *Early Greek portrait statues—why not marble?*

The emergence of the portrait statue in the Greek world in the later 5th century BC is increasingly best understood alongside historical writing and the epigraphic habit as part of larger public documentary culture.<sup>1</sup> In this new his-

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<sup>1</sup> Keesling, 2017a, esp. 33-43; Meyer 2017.

Parts of the present chapter were improved by comments from colleagues and audiences at Amherst University and the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, whom I thank.

torical environment in which numerous honorific degrees and records were permanently inscribed in stone, preferably marble, is it not striking that early Greek portrait statues, almost invariably erected upon an inscribed stone base, were an honor so intimately and overwhelmingly associated with the different material of bronze that the laconic formula *eikon chalkes* designated in decrees ‘to set up a portrait in bronze’? If the medium of so many permanent historical monuments and nearly all contemporary funerary monuments was marble, why were portrait statues nearly uniformly in bronze?

Bronze as a material, of course, had much to offer. When properly highly-polished, early bronze portraits were arrestingly defined by a bright shining and gleaming radiance and a luminous surface sheen that captured and reflected the glorious Pindarian *kleos*-like honor and renown of their subjects. These bronze portraits also displayed their own kind of surface *poikilia* through nuanced tooling, contrasting textures and finish, artificial patination, and colorful inlaid materials in an increasingly wide array of materials.<sup>2</sup> The exceptionally well-preserved head of the Odrysian king Seuthus III created by a Greek artist in the late 4th century BC is an excellent index of such variegation.<sup>3</sup> Ultimately, bronzes did have a more limited luminous and lustrous chromatic range than the expansive coloration of Archaic stone sculpture and the nuanced possibilities of painted marble. Materials also mattered in ways far beyond immediate visuality: they had multiple complex and deep associations to which we probably have become far too desensitized. Ancient notions of materiality and their substances were central and often defining in the perception of works of art. Bronze was a human invention and product. An artificial, highly crafted and refined alloy, it was a material of human currency and considered generally appropriate for human prestige.<sup>4</sup> *Marmoros* also shined and sparkled, partaking in the luminous aesthetics of Greek culture, but it was a natural and pure, incorruptible material.<sup>5</sup> Primordial and eternal, it was taken straight from the earth without alteration. An elevated material for architectural and funerary statuary, in the Classical and Early Hellenistic periods, it was largely the preserve of deities, the deified, and memorials of the heroized dead.

<sup>2</sup> Descamps-Lequime 2015; Giunlia-Mair 2018.

<sup>3</sup> Sofia, Bulgarian Academy of Sciences, National Museum of Archaeology, inv. no. 8594: Daehner and Lapatin 2015, 202-203, cat. no. 9; Formigli 2012-2013; Saladino 2012-2013.

<sup>4</sup> Stewart 2015.

<sup>5</sup> See esp. Grand-Clément 2016, 16-18.

While the chromatic range of painted marble no doubt allowed for a greater life-like appearance and naturalistic immediacy than the more materially-mediated aesthetics of bronze statuary in the early 5th century, marble also posed immediate, practical problems. Some of which are captured well in Euripides' tragedy *Helen* performed in 412 BC at the Dionysia in Athens when honorific portrait sculpture was emerging in the city. In a passage recently examined in detail by Oliver Primavesi and Mary Stieber, Helen regrets that her beauty has caused the Trojan War and wishes her distinctive beauty could be rubbed out as one rubs paint off (*exaleipho*) a statue so she could continue to exist in a plainer form (Eur. *Hel.* 262-263).<sup>6</sup> While these lines confirm that painted marble sculpture was a regular practice in 5th century Greece, as has often been noted, they also reflect and underscore an acute awareness by contemporaries of the vulnerability of both the painting and thereby the identity of painted marble sculpture. Wiping off the coat of paint of a likeness like that of Helen may remove the very individuality and essence of what was represented, leaving an image behind that is neither intact nor fully characterized. Both Euripides and his intended audience were, of course, well familiar with marble sculptures in various states of deterioration and already devoid of their characterizing polychromy (Fig. 1).<sup>7</sup>

Immediate proximate examples existed on the Acropolis, such as the Archaic seated Athena attributed to Endoios, damaged by the Persians and no doubt already well worn by the elements, which Pausanias reported as still on display in the 2nd century AD.<sup>8</sup> In the 5th century painted marble portraits may have been viewed as so fragile and vulnerable, if not susceptible to visual distortion, that they were viewed as not appropriate for the stable documentary aims and values of honorific portraits. Long term preservation and legibility for both present and future human audiences were defining virtues in early honorific portrait statuary. Bronze, even when patinated and heavily corroded from

<sup>6</sup> The verb 'to rub off paint', *exaleipho*, is the opposite of the contemporary verb 'to apply paint', *enaleipho*, in Plato, R. 420c. Recent commentaries: Primavesi 2007, 194-195; Steiner 2002, 54-56, n. 155; Stieber 2011, 172-178.

<sup>7</sup> See the excellent discussions of condition and *therapeia* of statuary in Bourgeois 2014.

<sup>8</sup> Athens, Acropolis Museum, inv. no. 625. Damaged statues on the Acropolis: Hurwit 1999, 141-142. Athena: Marx 2001. The statue stood on the Acropolis until at least the late 3rd century AD. Although Marx attributes all of the statue's damages to late antiquity, the statue's extensive wear and complex range of damages indicate a more complex ancient biography.



*Fig. 1.* Statue of Athena attributed to Endoios, c. 525 BC, continuously displayed on the Athenian Acropolis until late antiquity. Athens, The Acropolis Museum, inv. no. 625. Photograph: © Acropolis Museum.

exposure, may have promised to contemporaries a firmer, more fixed image of historical value than a readily deterioratable painted likeness could ever offer.<sup>9</sup>

### *Early marble portraits: the later 4th century*

The evidence for the emergence of a marble portrait statuary in the 4th century is limited and not without problems. The use and visual appeal of the medium in part no doubt stemmed from the application of the contemporary revolutionary developments of ‘naturalistic’ Greek painting, now almost invariably lost, on luminous marble but discernable indirectly in the new sculpting and finishes techniques on the best-preserved marble statuary. Two interesting trends are evident in early male and female marble portraits in the period.

First, predictably, early marble portrait statues were displayed in protected areas within buildings, especially within the porticoes of temples and sanctuaries, in order to protect their painted surfaces and thereby avoid the fate Helen pondered. Two famous contexts from the 330s BC—the rectangular hall of the Daochus monument and the marble tholos of the Philippeion—both powerfully demonstrate the importance how specifically designed architecture framed the protected viewing and larger material and lighting effects of marble images and their nuanced polychromy.<sup>10</sup> Bronze portrait statues, in contrast, were seemingly more flexible; they were suitable for both outdoor and to some degree indoor environments, though one imagines their radiant aesthetics shone best outdoors. An interesting honorific decree from Erythrai in Asia Minor concisely juxtaposes sculptural media and location. It records the dedication of a bronze *eikon* of Mausolus in the agora and a stone, undoubtedly marble, statue to Artemisia, inside the temple to Athena c. 357-55 BC.<sup>11</sup> This appears highly suggestive about broader trends in the appropriate use of the materials in portrait statuary: bronze as the default in civic contexts and the selective use of marble with elevated associations in temple and sanctuary environments.<sup>12</sup> The gendered locations

<sup>9</sup> See, for comparison, Plut. *De Pyth. or.* 395b-396c. Falaschi 2017.

<sup>10</sup> Daochus monument: Geominy 2007, 84-88. Philippeion building: Townsend 2003. Contrary to Pausanias’ reference to the Philippeion portrait statues as chryselephantine (5.20.10), the extant portrait statue bases and clamp cuttings appear to suggest marble, as explored in Schultz 2007; 2009; see also the interesting alternative reading by Saatsoglou-Paliadeli 2011, 279-282.

<sup>11</sup> Engelmann and Merkelbach 1972-1973, I.8; Keesling, 2017a, 63-64; Ma 2013, 85; Rhodes and Osborne 2007, 56.

<sup>12</sup> Dillon 2010, 22-26.



Fig. 2a (above). Reconstruction of the marble portrait group of the Daochos Monument, Delphi, c. 336 BC. Drawing: Courtesy of A. Stewart and C. Smith.

Fig. 2b (below). Macedonian court portrait paintings, c. late 4th century BC, excerpted from wall paintings at Boscoreale, Villa of P. Fannius Synistor, c. mid 1st century BC. New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art and Naples, National Archaeological Museum. Photograph: © MMA for Wikimedia Commons. Public domain.

and materialities of these images are no doubt also suggestive of the differing gendered male and female skin coloration of these portraits.

A second interesting trend has already been suggested, namely that marble portrait statues often appear to have been a favored form for family group portraits. Did the naturalistic coloration of such painted marble statues (now lost) bring the visual language of contemporary monumental panel painting forcefully into the round? Remove the Roman-period architectural frame and the suspiciously statuesque figures of the Macedonian paintings excerpted at Boscoreale look and act very much like contemporary marble statue groups in their juxtaposition of contrasting figures, stances, gestures and relatively limited range of emotion visages (Fig. 2).<sup>13</sup> Were the compositions and coloration

<sup>13</sup> Barbet and Verbanck-Piérard 2013; Smith 1994; Zanker 2019, 193-197.



Fig. 3. Fragmentary portrait statue group, including Alexander and Hephaestion. c. 320 BC. Marble. Said to be from Megara. Malibu, J. Paul Getty Museum, inv. nos. 73.AA.27-31, 76.AA.28,35, 77.AA.2.1, 3-5, 6-21, 78.AA.301,309, 79.AA.2.2, 88.AA.145. Photographs: © J. Paul Getty Museum.

of marble family group portraits an example of transmediality? The sequential, directional reading of the Boscoreale paintings is not unlike the framed viewing of such statue groups, such as the Daochus monument.<sup>14</sup>

### *Marble technique and painting/color*

It is in the same period at the end of the 4th century that the carving techniques and finishes on Greek marble sculpture and the media of painting become increasingly more interrelated in creating new subtle and nuanced optical effects. Both media—sculpture and painting—explore new techniques and finishes in wax-based encaustic painting, displaying a new range of contrasting surface textures, grounds, incision, highly modulated forms and nuances of polish and varnish. One of the best extant examples of the range of such marble technique and surface finishes is the fragmentary and often overlooked group of upwards of nine over life-size figures said to be from Megara that depicts in a sacrifice

<sup>14</sup> Cf. contextualized reading: Day 2018.





*Fig. 4.* Marble head of Alexander from portrait statue group, c. 320 BC. Said to be from Megara. Malibu, The J. Paul Getty Museum. Photograph: © The J. Paul Getty Museum.

scene including Alexander, Hephaestion, a flute-player and a woman making a libation (Figs. 3-4).<sup>15</sup> Their surfaces display little weathering, indicating the group was clearly displayed indoors, and preserve top quality contemporary marble technique, such as contrasting chiaroscuro drill work, matte surface finishes on the hair, and nuanced flesh polishes, along with cuttings for a whole range of metal attachments (Fig. 5).

None of the marble portraits appear to preserve color and our evidence for polychromy of freestanding marble sculpture in the 4th century BC remains very limited. An under life-size statue of a youth reported to be from the Greek

<sup>15</sup> Malibu, The J. Paul Getty Museum, inv. nos. 73.AA.27-31; 76.AA.28, 35; 77.AA.2.1-21; 78.AA.301, 309; 88.AA.145. Stewart 1993, 116-121, 209-214, 438-439.



*Fig. 5.* Details of different surface finishes on the head of Alexander the Great, c. 320 BC. Malibu, The J. Paul Getty Museum. Photograph: © The J. Paul Getty Museum.

city of Knidos and probably dating to the 3rd century preserves a rare example of secure and analyzed remains of ancient flesh coloration (Fig. 6).<sup>16</sup> It retains, like many other marble statues, a red ochre underpaint for subsequent dark, presumably brown or black, painting in the hair and eyes. Most unusually, on the flesh areas it preserves an applied yellow goethite pigment, carefully cleaned of impurities and unmixed, that was the preliminary base coloration for the flesh tones (Fig. 7). Admittedly much is missing: the subtle, masterful building up of color, the artful definition of the eyes, eyebrows and other features, and the subtle painterly delineation of highlights and shadows, which would have combined to create a highly ‘naturalistic’ representation. It is noteworthy that

<sup>16</sup> Providence, Rhode Island School of Design, inv. no. 23.342: Abbe et al. 2012; Arndt 1912; Ridgway 1972, 54-56, n. 19. *Pace* Blume (2015, 218-219) there is no indication or material evidence that the statue was gilded. Historical context at Knidos and close parallels: Abbe et al. 2012, 769.



*Fig. 6.* Under-life size marble statue of a youth (Bebenburg Youth) with ancient painting, detail of yellow flesh painting, c. 325-250 BC. Said to be from Knidos. Providence, The Rhode Island School of Design Museum, inv. no. 23.342. Photograph: © Rhode Island School of Design Museum.

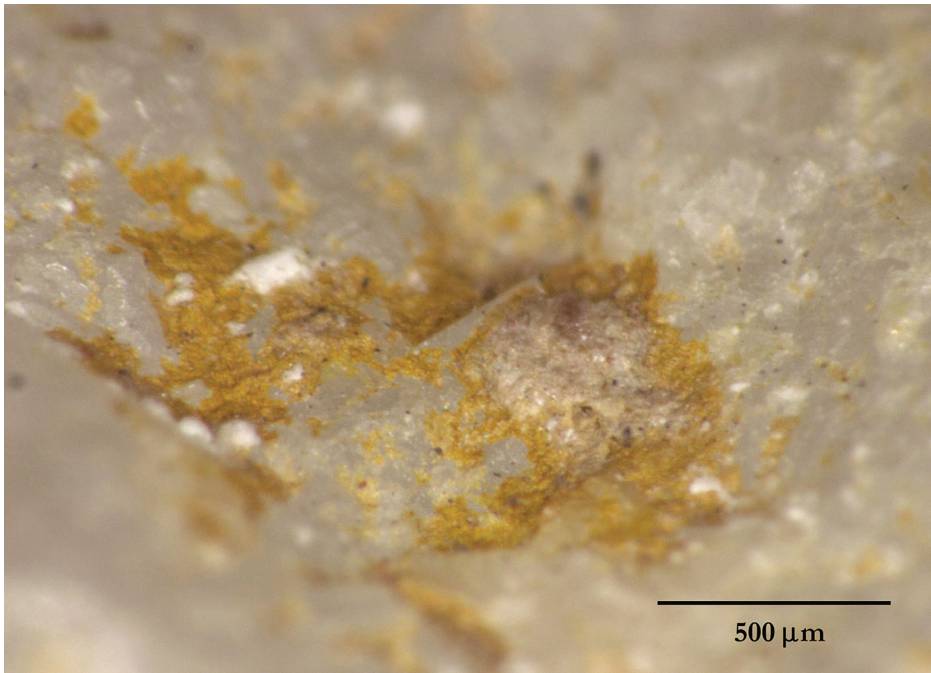


Fig. 7. Microscopic view of yellow pigmentation on the flesh areas of the statue of a youth (Bebenburg Youth). Providence, Rhode Island School of Design Museum, inv. no. 23.342. Photograph: © Mark Abbe.

the once delicate, flesh color began with the yellow ochre pigment goethite. Theophrastus records that painters rendered flesh color with ochre pigments identified as *andreikelon*, a term that was suggestively used interchangeably by contemporaries to mean both the color of skin and a statue of a man. Interestingly this paint is applied directly on the marble substrate without a ground or preparation in this era after wax-based encaustic painting was said to be brought to perfection by Praxiteles (Plin. *HN* 35.122). The luminous marble surface with its sparkling texture, in effect, created a sculpted marble canvas for painting in a period when details—anatomical and otherwise, such as a possible fillet on this statue—were increasingly defined through painting rather than sculpted form.

### ***Extant polychromy on marble portraits, 3rd-1st centuries BC***

The evidence for painting and gilding that survives on Hellenistic marble portraits is more extensive, but the coloration and visual impact of these individu-



*Fig. 8.* Portrait of Berenice II. Late 3rd century BC. Marble with remains of painting and gilding. Height 33 cm. From Hermopolis Magna, Egypt. Morlanwelz, Royal Museum of Mariemont, inv. no. B 264. Photograph: © Royal Museum of Mariemont/Fédération Wallonie-Bruxelles.

alized and differentiated faces most often remains ambiguous.<sup>17</sup> Many of these portraits await future in-depth, interdisciplinary study. For the present purposes, two superb-quality portrait heads—one royal and one private—well illustrate the chronological and cultural range and nuances of polychromy in marble portrait heads from the 3rd to 1st centuries BC. The single best example of the contextualized coloration on Hellenistic royal portraiture is an exceptionally well-preserved head of the Ptolemaic queen Berenice II, from a larger group of now widely dispersed marble portraits from the 3rd century BC dynastic temple at Hermopolis Magna in Egypt (Fig. 8).<sup>18</sup> As Brigitte Bourgeois has expertly demonstrated, this head preserves complex evidence of multiple phases of coloration with attention focused on the portrait face. This includes an original painting and unpigmented wax layer on the flesh areas, a subsequent gilding on the hair and details and repainting, later alterations in which much of the earlier polychromy was removed, and a subsequent final repainting. Like other Hellenistic ruler portrait statues, this portrait head appears to have moved between ancient categories during its long life: from being an *eikon*, an honor likened to portraits (perhaps when the queen was alive), to a temple *agalma*, whose function was primarily religious (presumably after the queen's death). New terms like *agalma eikonikon*, however, also deliberately blurred such lines for divine ruler portraits that increasingly came to function like traditional temple images, such as the similar Ptolemaic royal portraits from the Sarapeion of Alexandria and the royal Attalid portraits from Gymnasium H at Pergamon.<sup>19</sup> The Berenice II head uniquely suggests how changes in polychrome definition may have coincided with such distinctions while also powerfully demonstrating the long complex statue life and continuous care of such portrait statues.

Similar evidence for polychromy on Hellenistic private (non-royal) marble portraits remains more limited, especially in regards to the corpus of the more than 250 'veristic' portraits. Numerous examples merit closer study and could be productively compared with the portraits in terracotta and stone from central Italy, as well as the large range of contemporary smaller polychromed terracottas, both female and male.<sup>20</sup> An important example with unforgettable

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<sup>17</sup> Blume 2015 provides a very useful illustrated survey of Greek material effectively supplanting Yfantidis 1984.

<sup>18</sup> Morlanwelz, Royal Museum of Mariemont, inv. no. B.264: Bourgeois 2016a; 2016b.

<sup>19</sup> Sarapeion: Queyrel 2019, 196, 211-212; Pergamon: Smith 2019, 81, von den Hoff 2015; 2018.

<sup>20</sup> Collected material in general: Croz 2002. Terracotta and other stone from Italy: Papini 2004.



*Fig. 9.* Portrait head of a man. 1st century BC. Marble. Height 23 cm. Details (top to bottom) of red painting on hair, black painted eyelashes, and pinkish red painting in the corners of the mouth. From Osimo, Osimo, Museo Civico. Photograph (*left*): © Salko for Wikimedia Commons/Public domain; (*right*): Details of the same portrait: © Mark Abbe.

heightened visual distinction and individual variation that preserves significant (but heretofore uncommented upon) vestiges of polychromy is the textbook ‘veristic’ head of a Roman elder discovered at Osimo in 1890 (Fig. 9).<sup>21</sup> Extensive red underpainting remains on the areas of the hair, worn but still legible long black painted eyelashes frame the eyes, and thick pinkish-red pigment and remains of lip color remains on the recesses of the mouth. Although the head has

<sup>21</sup> Osimo, Museo Civico: Croz 2002, 45, 355, n. C42; Gentili 1990, 172 pl. 100-103; La Rocca et al. 2010, 317-318, n. IV.6.

not received technical study, it appears that the deep folds of the flesh coloration may possibly preserve vestiges of flesh coloration. The techniques of coloration appear closely akin to Hellenistic Greek and later Roman marble portraits and suggest significant continuity in the painting of marble portraits across these two cultural realms of the Greco-Roman world.<sup>22</sup> The head's evidently naturalistic painting no doubt imparted this now zombie-esque image an even more striking, life-like, immediate presence.

### ***'Realism' and 'versism' in Hellenistic portrait statuary***

A central question in the study of Hellenistic Greek portraiture remains how and why highly individualized and physically differentiated 'true to life' portrait statues emerged to such prominence in the middle to late Hellenistic period? Should we emphasize what Ralf von den Hoff has termed a 'crisis of images', the acute crowded visual competition amidst the boom of the statue honors as noted by Sheila Dillon, or the increased emphasis on the specific honoree and the use of the 'big man' nominative (rather than accusative) in contemporary inscriptions by which the subject's designation and representation are emphatically linked, as highlighted by John Ma?<sup>23</sup> It should be emphasized that heightened specificity and physical definition had long been an option, often for enhanced immediacy and emotive effect, as recent finds underscore. For example, the remarkable over life-size terracotta heads of the male *xoana* from the 'Lady of Aigae' tumulus at Aigae display a powerful surface naturalism of wrinkled and sagging flesh already in the early 5th century BC.<sup>24</sup> The aforementioned bronze head of Seuthus III from the late 4th century BC already features a highly individualized physiognomy including (in addition to a highly-furrowed emotive forehead and distinctly broad facial anatomy) a hooked nose, crow's feet, prominent veins, and even a prominent mole.

<sup>22</sup> Compare, for example, details of the 1st century BC Greek head in Copenhagen (Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek, inv. no. 1583; Blume 2015, 316; Gans 2006, 96 cat. no. 34); Sargent and Hoberg Therkildsen 2010, 14 and the early 1st century AD *togatus* head from Formiae; Conticello 1978, n. 17. Liverani 2014, 22, fig. 25.

<sup>23</sup> Dillon and Baltes 2013; Ma 2013, esp. 21-23, 167-168, n. 21, where this grammar is described as 'the workings of naturalism, which make the image and its caption tend toward calligrammatic agreement'; von den Hoff 2007, esp. 59-60.

<sup>24</sup> Kottaridi 2011, 158, 161, fig. 173.



The evidence for so-called ‘veristic’ portraiture in the later Hellenistic portraits is, of course, notoriously piecemeal and contested in interpretation. The physiognomically detailed, seemingly individualized portraits on the excavated Kadesh sealings are securely-dated to c. 200-150 BC.<sup>25</sup> Similar material from less well-dated sites, including Delos and Kallipolis, appear to also exhibit a fully developed, pre-existing style and tradition.<sup>26</sup> It thus appears likely that such heightened physical representation was already widespread by at least the second half of the 3rd century, if not earlier. This heightened anatomical mode should be understood as a universal option, not viewed binarily or ethnically as ‘Greek’ or ‘Roman’. (The earlier Seuthes III portrait is suggestive in this regard.) But, given how limited and problematic the securely dated extant sculptural evidence is, it should not be assumed to be representative, nor should it be assumed that the style was born in the gleamingly radiant bronze statuary. Indeed, standard sculpture-based narratives may put the cart before the horse in terms of artistic media.

### *The overlooked importance of portrait paintings*

The epigraphic record of honorific decrees and temple inventories tell quite a different story: the two most important, if not transformative, changes in portraits beginning in the 3rd century BC were the rise of a new tradition of portrait paintings, generally on wooden panel (*pinakes*), and new compositionally abridged portrait formats, both in paintings and in sculpture. It was in this general period that portraiture increasingly depicted subjects in shoulder length images and with an increased visual definition and increased prominence on the portrait face.

Although wooden panel paintings featuring portraits are reported to have been dedicated in Greek sanctuaries as early as the 5th century BC, painted portraits are first recorded as civic honors in the 3rd century BC.<sup>27</sup> The two principal forms were the more common panel portraits (*eikon graphte*), and the less common shield portraits (*eikon en hoplon*), painted on wooden panels but also made in three-dimensional sculpture format in a variety of materials including wood, bronze and stone (first documented archaeologically in the 2nd

<sup>25</sup> Kadesh: Herbert and Berlin 2003 with comprehensive publication forthcoming by Herbert.

<sup>26</sup> Delos: Boussac 1993; Marcadé 1990. Kallipolis: Pantos 1996.

<sup>27</sup> Blank 1968; Nowicka 1993, esp. 63-75; Krumeich 1997, 84; see also Jones 2014.

century BC).<sup>28</sup> Civic decrees, principally from the *poleis* of the Aegean Greek world and Asia Minor, indicate that such painted portraits became increasingly widespread in the later 3rd century and were routine in the 2nd century. Catherine Keesling has thought-provokingly argued that the increasing prevalence of honorific portrait paintings in the period is reflected in the heretofore unexplained change in the terminology of portrait statuary in decrees from *eikon* to *andrias* around the end of the 3rd century. This change in language sought to make clear the distinction between the civic honor of a portrait statue (*andrias*) and a portrait painting (*eikon*).<sup>29</sup> By the 1st century BC, inscriptions frequently pair *andrias* and *eikon* as complementary honors: the former generally being the more prestigious bronze statue for outdoor display and the latter a generally less prized portrait painting hung indoors in the bouleuterion or other civic space. A less costly option than a statue, portrait paintings clearly proliferated in civic life, and no doubt also in the private sphere.

No painted wooden panel or shield portraits are extant from the Greek world from the 3rd to 1st century BC. Their highly successful conventions of portraiture and formats, however, were highly influential and continued into later Greco-Roman portraits in various media. An informative (if simple) painting on the interior of a sarcophagus depicting an encaustic painter from Pantikapaion from the 1st century BC juxtaposes the two types of painted portraits—panel (*eikon graphte*) and shield portraits (*eikon en hoplon*)—hanging in the portrait painter's workshop (Fig. 10).<sup>30</sup> Such portrait paintings varied considerably in size, display context, and function. In general, the more formally framed shield portraits appear to have been often larger and were displayed high above viewers, generally in civic buildings and sanctuaries. Square or rectangular wooden panel portraits (*pinakes*) were, in contrast, more readily portable and suitable for a wide variety of display environments, from civic honors within buildings, to civic and private sanctuary dedications, to more intimate portable forms of domestic use. It was in this era that 'private' portraiture increasingly became part of the Greek house.<sup>31</sup>

<sup>28</sup> Ma 2013, esp. 255.

<sup>29</sup> Keesling, 2017b, 853-854.

<sup>30</sup> St. Petersburg, State Hermitage, inv. no. P.1899.81: Fejfer 2008, 156; Goldman 1999; Ma 2013, 255-256; Nowicka 1993, 139.

<sup>31</sup> Blanck 1968.

The visual conventions and aesthetic impact of this tradition of Hellenistic Greek portrait painting are powerfully captured in rare survivals such as painted gravestones, including, most notably, the newly discovered funerary stele with the painted portrait of a young Theodoros from Thebes dated to the later 2nd to 1st centuries BC,<sup>32</sup> and the large corpus of painted 'Fayum' portraits from Egypt that developed locally as a cultural response to this Hellenistic tradition of portrait painting, the evidence for which begins in the early 1st century AD (see also Figs. 14-15, discussed below).

The conventions of this tradition of portraiture merit description, even though they are now so familiar as to be assumed (in large part because they informed the visual languages of sculpted portrait busts from the late 1st century BC onward). To summarize: the portrait subject is generally presented closeup, in shoulder or bust length, and is seen at eye level against a neutral, uniform background. The face is normally depicted full frontal, slightly off frontal, or three-quarter view. A turn in the neck suggests active or incipient movement and often the body is at a more pronounced angle to heighten the sense of movement, as if the body is following the turn of the head. In the best of the 'Fayum' portraits one has the impression that the subject has turned to engage with the viewer. The visual definition of such painting is concentrated on the details of the face, its anatomical form and detailed features. Highlights and shadows create the impression of an immediate physical presence. A sense of movement is expertly captured in the 'Fayum' portraits painted in encaustic in which the textured topographic surface of the wax painting creates pronounced highlights and shadows that seemingly animate the portrait image so that it appears on the brink of responsive movement to the viewer. The portrait face is defined by an anticipatory responsive facial expression and, above all, the attentive stare of the open eyes, which look either at the viewer or at an adjacent point or region in his or her plane.

This tradition of portraiture seeks and rewards increased engagement and scrutiny from the viewer. Abridged portrait formats like painted *eikones* and portraits busts occupy the viewer's world and most often make eye contact: they look *at* you, not *over* you like most, more removed, honorific full-length statuary. Indeed, to many contemporaries these new abridged forms of portraiture must have been powerfully positive developments: more proximate, immediate,

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<sup>32</sup> Plantzos 2018, 260, figs. 218, 254.



*Fig. 10.* Painted depiction of painter's workshop with details of panel and shield portrait paintings from limestone sarcophagus. c. 1st century AD. From Pantikapaion. St. Petersburg, State Hermitage Museum, inv. no. 1899-81. Photograph: © State Hermitage Museum.

closely legible, intimate, and intense. Although often described as 'abridged', 'abbreviated', or even 'truncated' statues, these new portrait formats, were far from matters of convenience, lesser things, compromises, or inadequate. Rather, they were dramatic, individualized enhancements of the existing vocabulary, that reframed the more common 'type' face to contemporaries in fresh, exciting, and arresting ways.<sup>33</sup> Private patrons and honorees may have played an increased role in the self-definition of these images in ways that other committee determined civic honors may have been impeded.<sup>34</sup>

<sup>33</sup> Fejfer 2008, 228-261 and, most stimulating, Fejfer and Johannsen 2020 (ancient/early modern/contemporary).

<sup>34</sup> Ma 2013, 233-255; Smith 2015, 96-97.

Painted portraits worked by focusing the gaze of the viewer on the head and face of the depicted subject in isolation. The depicted subject, in turn, most often appeared to look directly back at the viewer, creating an intense connection between viewer and subject, such that many portraits became to a greater degree participatory, with the result that people looked at faces in new ways and with greater psychological interest and expectations. Portraits became, in short, more ‘personal’: more detailed, more specific, and more narrative and biographical in their visual definition and in their contextual display. While previous portrait images had, at a minimum, made a recognizable reference to a specific individual in context (now most often obscure today), the visual languages and contextual uses of portraits and their intimately studied faces were significantly enhanced and expanded in this period. Something of this is evident in the changing Greek word for the face: *prosopon*. Literally *pros* ‘in front of’ + *ops* ‘eye’, or ‘that which is seen or is in front of the eyes’, the highly visually-oriented term had long been intimately linked to Greek notions of visual exchange. While generally designating a ‘face’ or ‘mask’ in Classical Greece, *prosopon* increasingly became used as a metonym for an individual’s ‘character’ and ‘personality’ in the later Hellenistic period.<sup>35</sup> It was in the face that one’s individually distinct and defining emotions were increasingly thought to be visibly manifest to Greek contemporaries. Similar trends are evident in contemporary Roman culture.<sup>36</sup>

In our own era of social media (Facebook, Facetime, selfies, etc.), we may need to pinch ourselves all the harder to recognize what a pronounced and profound development this new ‘face value’ was in offering a new way of viewing as an immersive experience of the human visage, and a new way of thinking about likeness and individuality more broadly. It was in this era, from the 3rd to 1st centuries BC, that our familiar and now-assumed tradition of portraits was born. The highly differentiated, often exaggerated living anatomy of increasingly visually distinct portraits attest to powerful new notions and roles of the individual and the particularism of the commemoration, not simple ‘realism’ per se. Such portraits had powerful social, political, emotional, and moral implications. In a maximum interpretation, they arguably lie near the core of familiar notions of the mentally and physically distinct, unique and psycholog-

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<sup>35</sup> *Frontisi-Ducroux 1995*.

<sup>36</sup> *Bettini 2000; Hallett 2005, 281-289*.

ically complex individual, that heretofore had previously been the domain of the select ‘heroic’ few.

### *Marble portraits, 3rd-1st centuries BC*

It should be emphasized that painted wooden panel and painted marble were not strictly required for such effects. These aspects could also be powerfully captured in bronze, as demonstrated by the remarkably well-preserved portrait head of a man from the Granite Palaistra on Delos—highly emotive and powerfully characterized in a dramatic, defining moment—dating to the late 2nd to early 1st century BC.<sup>37</sup> However, the life-like color of painted portrait faces, on both wooden panel and in painted marble, allowed for a less materially-mediated kind of direct *here-ness* with the potential for the naturalistic chromatic ‘realism’ of a seemingly immediately present living visage. Painted marble portraits afforded the nuanced painterly conventions of panel portraits in three dimensions, bridging the spatial divide and affording an increased physical presence that occupied the same space (and environmental lighting) as the viewer to create the impression of a living, breathing physical presence. The appeal of such coloristic effects is broadly manifest in the material sculptural record: in the 2nd and 1st centuries BC bronze increasingly no longer remained the assumed default media of portrait statue honors, especially in the central Greek world where marble was plentiful. Full-length portrait statues in marble gradually increased in number and by the 2nd century such statues frequently displayed piece-added heads and other flesh areas in high quality marble (such as Parian) in order to achieve both increased chromatic nuance through greater marble translucency and more finely carved surface detailing and definition through small-to-fine grained marbles. By the late 1st century BC painted marble had emerged as an increasingly important material for portraits, and by the early 1st century AD it had emerged as central to portraiture, a position it would retain for the rest of antiquity.

Our evidence for the use of marble in the more abridged portrait formats merits distillation in this context. The *eikon in hoplon* format is evidenced in the 2nd century BC royal Attalid shield portraits from the Gymnasion H at Pergamon, the remarkable programmatic collection of thirteen shield portraits from the

<sup>37</sup> Athens, National Archaeological Museum, inv. no. 10.14612; Daehner and Lapatin 2015, 248-249, cat. no. 24; Giuliani 1986, 69, 102-104, 160-161, figs. 5, 45; Smith 2015, 106.



Fig. 11. Shoulder portrait busts. c. early 1st century BC, before 69 BC. Marble. Height 70.66 cm. From Delos. Delos, Archaeological Museum, inv. nos. A7258, A7259. Photograph: © Mark Abbe.

Monument of Mithradates on Delos c. 102/101 BC, and other less securely dated material generally placed in late 2nd-1st century BC.<sup>38</sup> The well-known pair of male shoulder bust portraits from the ‘House of the Seals’, actually a luxurious business clubhouse, on Delos from the early 1st century BC are interestingly different (Fig. 11).<sup>39</sup> They are not early examples of herm busts, nor should they be linked with later freestanding portrait busts; they also have no bronze counterparts.<sup>40</sup> The unique and distinctive flat ridged bottom-edge on both busts has received relatively little comment. This form may be inspired by the similar rectangular frame of contemporary portrait *pinakes*. The overall format of the pair was also likely inspired by the contemporary honorific portrait painting (and the convention of paired portraits), and suggests how portrait painting and

<sup>38</sup> Pergamon: von den Hoff 2015; 2018. Delos: Chapoutier 1935; Kreuz 2009. Additional material summarized: Palagia 2019, esp. 88-89.

<sup>39</sup> Delos, Delos Museum, inv. nos. A7258, A7259: Griesbach 2014, esp. 108-109; Hallett 2005, 106-107; Marcadé et al. 1996, 218-219.

<sup>40</sup> The extensive modern debate about the origins of the bust formats, including the later Roman freestanding bust, remains largely internal to the medium of sculpture and removed from contemporary developments in painting: Fejfer 2008, 228-240; Motz 1993, a useful survey.

marble portraits could be closely linked.<sup>41</sup> The pair's 'heroic' characterization and over life-size scale speak the language of civic honors appropriate for their clubhouse display context. Their painted definition no doubt made more immediately evident the pair's juxtaposed age difference. The parallel inward turn of both heads created a preferred central viewing position for viewing them as a pair and for comparing the contrasts of their once naturalistically painted 'heroic' physiques and arrestingly life-like faces.

### ***Portrait face culture: late 2nd-1st centuries BC***

The increased importance of portraiture in the 2nd and 1st centuries BC is evident across multiple other media: gems, coins, etc. Although ancient artists' signatures follow no clear set rules,<sup>42</sup> the broad uptick of artists' signatures on portraits is notable. This is evident not only on more-often-discussed epigraphic records of sculptors' signatures on portrait statue bases, but also on portrait gems in this period<sup>43</sup> and, on occasion, even directly on marble portraits, such as an important herm bust in Parian marble from the 1st century BC signed '... son of Tharsinon made it' (Figs. 12-13).<sup>44</sup>

Pliny, writing about the strong passion for portraits in various media in the late 2nd and 1st centuries BC, provides important details about contemporary painters specializing in portraiture. He identifies Sopolis and Dionysos as the most famous painters of portraits (*imaginum pictores*) of the late 2nd and first half of the 1st century BC, whose works reportedly filled painting galleries (*quorum tabulae pinacothecas implent*) (Plin. *HN* 35.148). These were not minor artists: Cicero refers to Sopolis' works in his letters to Atticus, and Pliny identified Dionysos elsewhere as having painted nothing but portraits, such that he acquired the Greek nickname *anthropographos* (Cic. *Att.* 4.18.4; Plin. *HN* 35.113). The most complete description of a portrait painter in this period is

<sup>41</sup> See Fejfer 2015, 78, n. 3 for a differing 'Italic' interpretation.

<sup>42</sup> Hurwit 2015, esp. 140-143.

<sup>43</sup> Hellenistic signed portrait gems: Plantzos 1999, 146; Zwierlein-Diehl 2007, 109-132, 549-550. Walters Art Museum, Baltimore, inv. no. 57.1698: Plantzos 1999, 58, 116, n. 102; Spier 2019, 36-37, fig. 7. Oriental Institute, University of Chicago, Chicago, inv. no. OIA29789: Lapatin 2015, 245-246, pl. 90; Plantzos 1999, 9, 133, n. 621.

<sup>44</sup> Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, inv. no. 1992.196: Vermeule 1995, 17, fig. 1; Vermeule and van den Hoek 1993, 27, ill. (Not included in *DNO* 2014 and Vollkommer 2001-2004.)





Fig. 12a (left). Garnet signet ring with portrait signed by Apollonios, c. 200 BC. Height 2.8 cm. Said to be from Pantikapaion. Walters Art Museum, Baltimore, inv. no. 57.1698. Photograph: © Walters Art Museum.

Fig. 12b (right). Garnet signet ring with portrait signed by Menophilios, c. 150 BC. Height (gem) 2.3 cm. Said to be from Syria. Oriental Institute, University of Chicago, Chicago, inv. OIA29789. Photograph: © Walters Art Museum.

Pliny's discussion of a female artist, Iaia of Cyzicus (Plin. *HN* 35.147-48).<sup>45</sup> She migrated to Rome and Naples to paint portraits in the early 1st century BC when Varro was a young man. She painted both with a brush (read: tempera) and with the *cestrum*, the graver tool used in encaustic painting. Pliny reports she was known chiefly for portraits of women, and also a portrait of herself, done with a looking glass. She had a reputation for having the quickest hand in painting, according to Pliny, and her artistic skill was such that in the prices she obtained she far outdid other celebrated contemporary portrait painters of the period. Her successor, according to Pliny, in the second half of the 1st century BC was the male painter Arrelius, who also appears to have specialized in female portraits, though not without scandal (Plin. *HN* 35.119).

<sup>45</sup> *DNO* 2014, 5.445-446 n. 4054.



*Fig. 13a.* Portrait herm bust with inscription "...son of Tharsinon made it" on *tenon* (detail). c. 1st century BC. Marble. Height 40.6 cm. Unprovenanced. Boston, Museum of Fine Arts, inv. no. 1992.196. Photograph: © Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.

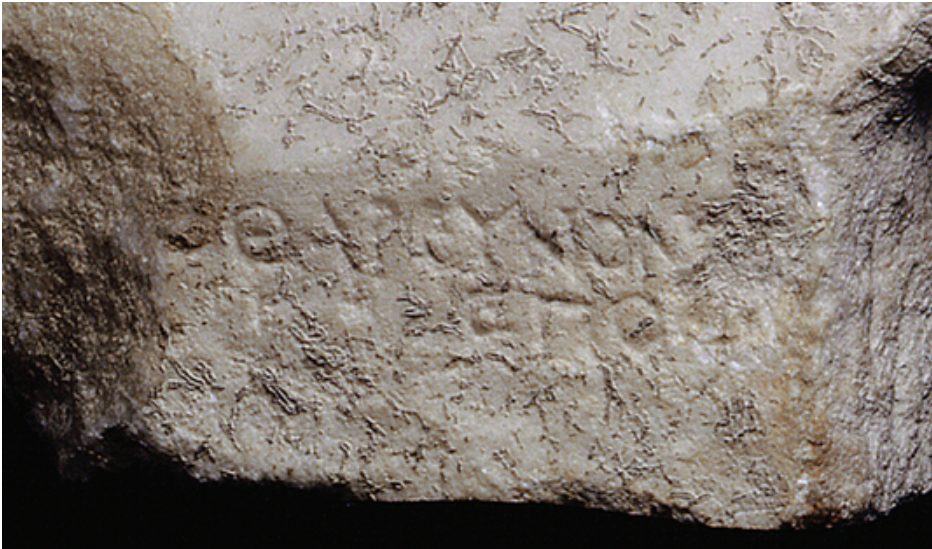


Fig. 13b. Detail of Fig. 13a.

Something of Iaia's art of female portraiture may be captured in the contemporaneous small *opus vermiculatum* portrait mosaic from Pompeii that is the size of small wooden panel portraits (Fig. 14).<sup>46</sup> The exceptional quality of contemporary portrait painting is evident in what is arguably the finest extant painted portrait from antiquity: a damaged but exquisite miniature portrait of a man executed on translucent clear glass from Pompeii. A virtuoso masterpiece all of 2.3 centimeters in height, this gem-scaled painted portrait was animated with changing degrees of visibility as light passed through its clear substrate to create an intimate microcosm of a visage that rewarded only the most attentive close viewer (Fig. 15).<sup>47</sup>

The contemporary interest in portraiture is also manifest in new forms of cultural and intellectual life in this period. Pliny and other writers refer to what was almost certainly the greatest single compendium of portraiture in antiquity:

<sup>46</sup> National Archaeological Museum, Naples, inv. no. 124666: from Pompeii 6.15,14 (*PPM* 5.696-98 [V. Sampaolo]) in reused mid-1st century AD context. La Rocca et al. 2009, 302, n. 6.1; Nowicka 1993, 129; well-described by Bergmann 2018, 145-146.

<sup>47</sup> National Archaeological Museum, Naples, inv. no. 132424; see also inv. no. 132423: Faedo 1976; La Rocca et al. 2009, 303, n. 6.3.



Fig. 14. *Opus vermiculatum* portrait mosaic, c. mid 1st century BC. H. 25.5 cm. From Pompeii. Naples, National Archaeological Museum, inv. no. 124666. Photograph: © Alamy.



*Fig. 15.* Miniature painted portrait on translucent glass. c. mid-1st century AD. Height 3 cm. From Pompeii. Naples, National Archaeological Museum, inv. no. 132424. Photograph: © Naples, National Archaeological Museum.

Varro's lost, but by all ancient accounts, exceptional and massive corpus titled *De Imaginibus*, known as *Hebdomades* in Greek. Begun by at least 44 BC (when Cicero refers to it) and completed in 39 BC, it featured some 700 illustrated portrait drawings of famous individuals (Plin. *HN* 35.11, Cic. *Att.* 16.11; Auson. *Mos.* 307, Symm. *Ep.* 1.2).<sup>48</sup> A passage of Gellius quoting from the first book refers to portraits of Homer and Hesiod and suggests that each individual portrait was composed of three parts: an illustration, a brief biographical note, and a famous epigram in verse or prose (Gell. *NA* 3.10-11). Interestingly,

<sup>48</sup> The fragments are collected in Salvatore 1999, 86-95, frag. 106-124. On portraiture, see the note by Skydsgaard 1992. Hypotheses on later influence: Geiger 1998, 2008 44-48, 99-115; Norden and Kytzler 1990.



*Fig. 16.* Portrait herm of Bias with detail of inscription, c. 1st-2nd century AD. Height 1.74 cm. From Tibur, Villa des Cassius. Rome, Vatican Museum, inv. no. 279. Photo: © DAI Rome.

this same kind of distilled portrait reading—combining image, biography, and text—appears on herm portraits of illustrious figures from the Greek past. On portraits of the Seven Sages from the Villa of Cassius at Tibur, for example, the ‘talking head’ of Bias is inscribed: Bias, from Priene, ‘Most men are bad’, his apothegm according to Diogenes Laertius (Fig. 16).<sup>49</sup> Clearly, this was a new culture that was looking at both new and old portraits in new ways and with new expectations.

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<sup>49</sup> Sculpture from the site and portraits: Dillon 2006, 49-57; Neudecker 1988, 229-234. Bias, Vatican Museums, Sala delle Muse, Rome, inv. no. 279: Dillon 2006, 51-57, n. 103 (alignment with imperial models of *paideia*); Neudecker 1988, 230-231, n. 66.14; Richter 1965, 87, n. 1. Diog. Laert: 1.5.88: *οί πλεῖστοι κακοί*.

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# The Significance of Emotions in Realistic Portraiture

Marina Prusac-Lindhagen

## *Abstract*

This chapter addresses the emotional aspect of realistic portraiture in the Greek and Roman world. The function of portraits as media for propaganda, social status and commemoration is well attested in the scholarly literature. However, propaganda, status and memory depend on the emotions that these functions respond to or enthrall. Cultural and social status can be communicated visually, and in antiquity, honorific portrait statues were testaments to gratitude and pride. In the private sphere, portraits represented emotional relations, such as belonging and affection (or disgust), and they could provide assurance of one's social status. I argue that the function of portraits was at its strongest when they resembled the individuals they represented as closely as possible, due to the emotional experience of the viewer. The individuality of a portrait, the rendering of specific facial features, strengthened the viewer's memory of the sitter, not just events and actions that involved him or her, but also the emotional experience of being with that person. Visual commemoration was important because of emotions, and the more realistic, the larger effect on the emotions of the viewer.

The transformation from idealised images to the likenesses of individuals was neither rapid nor random, but the result of a cultural and social development.<sup>1</sup> It can be seen as a case of supply and demand. Economic growth resulting from victories in wars made it possible to commission innovative and experimental art. The infrastructure was duly developed, facilitating the transport of large blocks of marble, enabling a surge of portrait statue. Commissioners sought to express their social status through expensive and elaborate pieces of art. To meet the demand for portrait statues, the artists of the Hellenistic world drew on the rapid development of methods, techniques and already established iconographic registers that made it possible to experiment, challenge and explore anatomic

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<sup>1</sup> I am indebted to Kristin Bornholdt Collins and Chantal Jackson for their work on the language of the present chapter, and Bornholdt Collins' helpful comments on the arguments.

possibilities and impossibilities. They could please and provoke, evoke laughter and compassion, as in the opposing modes of comedies and tragedies. They experimented with style and form, elevating postures and emotional expressions to an extreme. The artistic climate of the last centuries BC was characterised by innovation, creativity and attempts at bringing more life to the arts. In portrait sculpture, a convincingly lifelike presence was achieved through realism. But why was there a demand for realistic portraits?

Honorific and commemorative portrait statues expressed social and cultural status, but the desire for such manifestations of status was an emotional one. Memory and emotions merge, overlap and express different aspects of the collective psychology of cultural and social groups.<sup>2</sup> The relationship between memory and emotions is complex and in constant change. A portrait statue was commissioned out of social pride or a need for social confirmation, or from affection or mourning (or the opposite). I am not arguing that it is possible to read emotions in an ancient portrait. What I will be arguing, is that the communication of emotions in the Graeco-Roman visual code language created a demand for realistic portraits.

In order to understand the significance of emotions to the increased interest in realistic portraiture in the Hellenistic and Republican periods, *arete* and the Roman *consecratio memoriae* are discussed. The significance of emotions is approached through *pathos*, *virtus*, *mimesis* and *presence*. Each of these terms are the subject of unlimited discourses, and I invoke them solely as useful labels for certain aspects of ancient art that deal with emotions, or the visual expressions of emotions through honorary and commemorative art.

### ***'Portrait' statuary as tools for manipulation of feelings***

Honorific statuary served as memory markers and role models, and could therefore be used indirectly by the state or commissioners to manipulate emotions.<sup>3</sup> The memories evoked in the viewers were rooted in a sense of pride of social

<sup>2</sup> Masséglià 2012 presents a ground-breaking study of the methodology of interpreting emotions in archaeological material. For a general overview of the history of emotions, see Matt 2011.

<sup>3</sup> A useful anthology regarding role models is to be found in Bell and Hansen 2008; in particular, the Introduction to the volume, Bell, 1-39; and the chapters by C.B. Rose, 97-131; R Alston, 147-159; G. Davies, 207-220.

and cultural belonging. Images of role models could have an educative effect, but could also encourage aspirations and hope. The use of images and things as mnemonic *loci* was described by Plato, Aristotle and later writers, Simonides in particular.<sup>4</sup> The method was founded on a simple principle: The things that one wanted to remember were symbolised by images that furnished imagined buildings. The images were organised in specific places that made them easy to retrieve when needed. Memories are, however, not fixed.<sup>5</sup>

In ancient Greek, the terms *mnēmeia* and *hyponēmata* were used to express the notion that statues of mortals were hosts of memory.<sup>6</sup> In private contexts, the mnemonic quality of portraits can be individual, as well as personal. Publicly displayed portrait statues can serve as fixed points in the collective remembrance of a society and also tools for continuous reproduction of values. They can be manipulated by authorities for ideological, religious and various other purposes. The promotion of certain role models, visualised through portrait statues, is a way of directing the society in an ideological direction.

The *heros* cult denotes the social value of being commemorated, but was also a part of the cultural, social and religious identity of the city state. Statues could maintain social, cultural and religious values, and they could be manipulated by authorities to suit their agendas.<sup>7</sup> Portrait statues of prominent individuals functioned as role models and were put on display in central areas. The funerary iconography of individuals also shows the importance of being remembered. The social status of the family name was enhanced through the erection of expensive grave monuments.<sup>8</sup> The deceased were individuals that would be remembered by the living as those who deserved to be honoured, in particular those who were known for their excellence, *arete*. The *arete* of prominent individuals, both living and deceased, was important to the maintenance of social and cultural values. The moral ideals of younger generations were shaped by the collective memory of honoured ancestors, past leaders who had been successful, prominent and semi-divine characters, such as *heros*. It

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<sup>4</sup> See e.g. Sande 2012.

<sup>5</sup> 'Memory remains in permanent evolution, open to the dialectic of remembering and forgetting, unconscious of its successive deformations, vulnerable to manipulation and appropriation, susceptible to being long dormant and periodically revived'. *Op. cit.* Nora 1989, 8-9.

<sup>6</sup> Chaniotis 2017, 149.

<sup>7</sup> See e.g. Zanker 1987 for a pioneering work on Augustan propaganda.

<sup>8</sup> See Masséglià 2014 for examples of from the Hellenistic period.



is no coincidence that the earliest tendencies of individualisation were closely connected with *arete*.<sup>9</sup>

Model members of a society, such as athletic victors, generals, kings and warriors, who achieved the title of *heros*, were bestowed with portrait statues. The majority of such portrait statues have since been lost, although some examples of Roman copies are known. However, it is difficult, perhaps even impossible, to prove that the Classical images were individualised. The idealising images of prominent individuals from Classical Greece indicated what the viewers were seeking, although there are some exceptions.<sup>10</sup> The Roman copy of a Greek original herm from the 5th century BC with the name ‘Themistocles’ carved into the bottom, at the front, is an interesting example with regard to individualising features (Fig. 1).<sup>11</sup> The asymmetrical shape of the eyes and eyebrows, the large lips with punctuated corners and the broad frame of the skull deviate from the ideal Classical proportions and may reveal some of the features of the prominent leader depicted in the portrait, yet such details may also have been added by the Roman copyists as minor tweaks. That artists employed the same kind of adjustments are known from the written sources: Some details were exaggerated and some downplayed. When the events of the past were written down with the aim of documenting historical facts, an interest in realising portraits of instrumental individuals seems to have emerged.

The effort that was put into the rendering of the individuals demonstrates the importance of their commemoration, as is often evident in elaborately executed grave sculpture. Portrait images on stelae and sarcophagi were only vaguely individualised, but, together with the inscriptions, there was no doubt about the identity of the deceased. The individualisation of an individual’s portrait was crucial to the maintenance of his or her memory.

Early examples of virtuous representations of prominent individuals emerged in Rome at the same time as in the Hellenistic world. The so-called ‘Brutus’ in the Musei Capitolini is a magnificent bronze portrait of a Republican male from the late 4th or early 3rd century BC (Fig. 2). It was made short-

<sup>9</sup> Keesling 2017, 14.

<sup>10</sup> See e.g. the idealising images of Themistocles in the *strategus* type as they appear in the Roman copies of Greek original from c. 400 BC the Musei Vaticani (Museo Pio-Clementino, Sala delle muse 13) inv. no. 306; see Helbig 1891, 273; and, Staatliche Museen, Antikensammlung Berlin, inv.no. Sk 311a; see Dostert, Hüneke and Detlev Kreikenbom 2009, 266 no. 147 (Astrid Dostert).

<sup>11</sup> Inscriptions could, of course, be added later. See e.g. Blanck 1969.



*Fig. 1.* 'Themistokles'. Roman copy of an early Classical herm. Marble. From Ostia. Museo Archaeologico Ostiense, inv. 85. Photograph: © Marina Prusac-Lindhagen.

ly after the original version of the ‘Azara Herm’ with the famous portrait of Alexander the great, and a couple of centuries after the lifetime of the legendary Roman consul whose name it is associated with. The expression is austere and composed, and the bone structure solid and proportionate, corresponding to the Republican ideals of a moderate lifestyle. The strands of hair part above the right temple, with soft curves around the skull and on top of it, which float uninterruptedly into the smaller waves and lines of a short and rather close-cropped beard. The wrinkles above the nose turn slightly upwards where they meet the eyebrows, and the nasolabial lines end above the corners of mouth. The lips are thin and levelled, and emphasise the expression of the inlaid eyes. The slightly upwards gazing eyes are deep set beneath heavy eyebrows shaped by clearly defined strands of hair. The black pupils are surrounded by brown irises in white enamel eyeballs that contrast with the now brownish bronze surface. The inner corners of the eyes are overshadowed by the eyebrows, while the outermost corners point downwards. ‘Brutus’ seems to express sobriety and strength, qualities that correspond to *virtus*, and the Roman Republican ruler ideal. An individual that represented culturally and socially defined ideals would evoke admiration and respect. When such individuals were elected for public office, their success contributed to cultural pride and social cohesion. In the arts, they represent both the ideal and the individualised reality, as in ‘Brutus’.

The portrait head of Caesar from Tusculum has decidedly more in common with the early Republican and Etruscan portrait style than the Hellenistic tradition (Fig. 3).<sup>12</sup> It is considered the most ‘veristic’ image of the dictator and differs considerably from the more idealising images of him.<sup>13</sup> It is identified on the basis of comparison to coin images and the description of his looks by Suetonius, and is believed to have been made during his lifetime. It shows an aging, almost bald male with an oval, narrow skull structure. The folds encircling the neck are pronounced, the bare forehead is high and the hair recedes at the temples. The nose is semi-aquiline and the corners of the mouth are twisted in a way that creates an expression that may seem ironic to a present-day viewer. The portrait has a sketchy quality and, devoid of painted irises and pupils, the gaze appears distant.

<sup>12</sup> See e.g. Zanker 2009, 302. The Tusculum head was found in 1825 and is in Turin, Museo d’Antichità. See also, Griffin 2009, 302.

<sup>13</sup> See e.g. the green slate portrait of Caesar, Berlin, Antikensammlung, inv. no. Sk342. Gassing-er 2007. The eyes were added in modern times.



*Fig. 2.* 'Capitoline Brutus'. Late 4th or early 3rd century BC. Bronze. From Rome. Musei Capitolini, Palazzo dei Conservatori, inv. S 1183. Photograph: Matthias Kabel for Wikimedia Commons (CC BY-SA 3.0).

The reasons for the large-scale production of portraits of Caesar and succeeding rulers were manifold. The portraits reminded the observers of the reward that followed exceptional virtues. They were monuments of the self-proclaimed superiority of Rome, and nurtured a shared cultural pride. They symbolised educational moral models (*virtus* and *pietas*, similar to the Greek *arete*). They represented the protective presence of the ruler that guaranteed justice in courts and conferred value on coins. Refugees could even claim the right to asylum by touching them.<sup>14</sup> It was prohibited to act unsuitably in front of an imperial statue, and when a ruler was deified, the portrait statues gained an additional, religious role, as objects of worship. For each one of these reasons, the agency of the portraits mattered.<sup>15</sup> Irrespective of the degree to which the portrait accurately depicted the true features of the sitter, images of rulers as presence by proxy contributed to their popularity and extensive protection.

### *Facial expressions as a part of the visual code language of emotions*

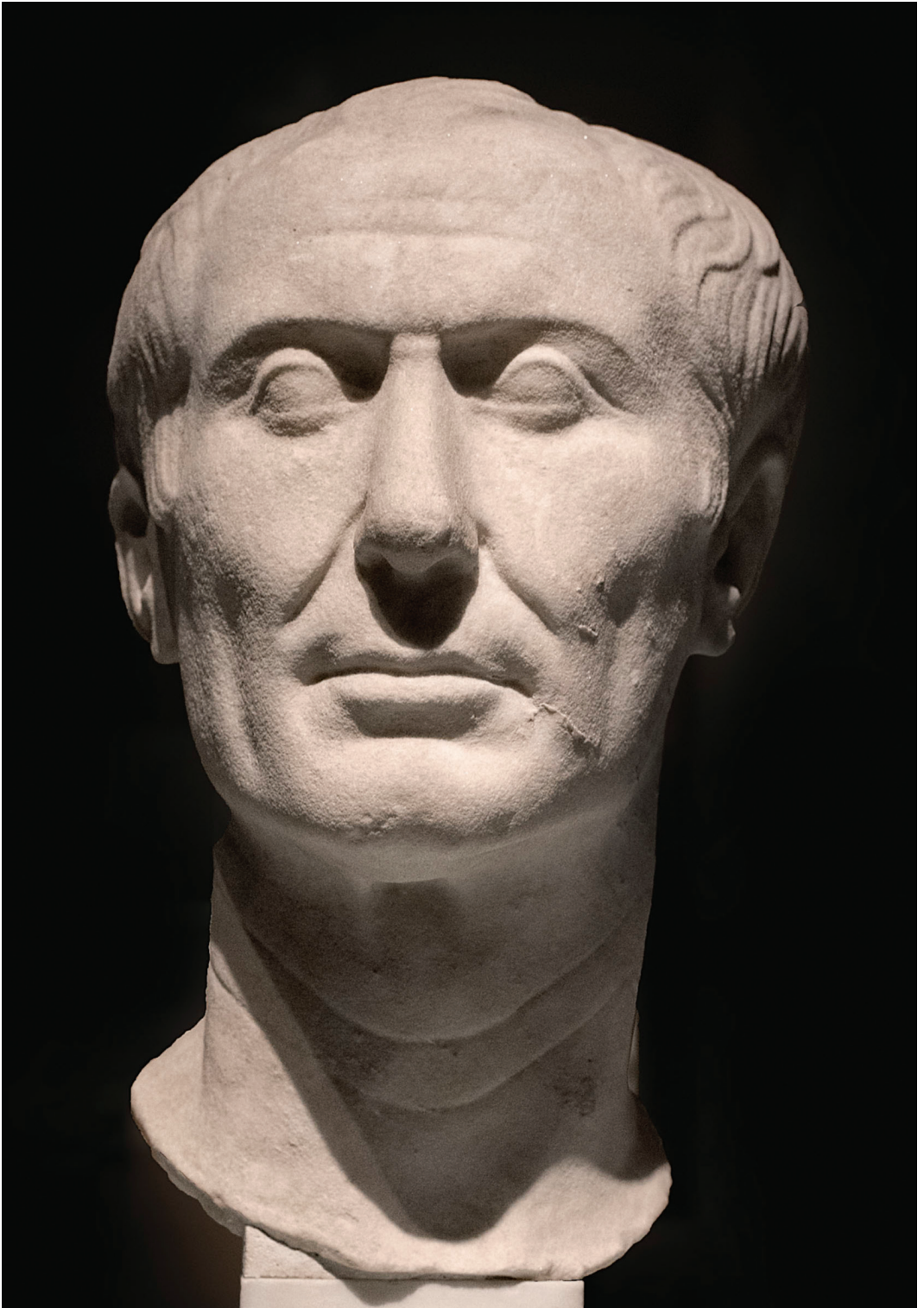
Context is key to the interpretations of portraits. Not only the physical context of the location where they were exhibited, but also the cultural and social context with established modes of communicating with body language, gestures, postures, facial expressions, mimics and, of course, words, terms, dialects and varying degrees of eloquence.<sup>16</sup> Present-day reception to ancient art and literature suggests that there is a shared emotional language between expressions of emotions in antiquity and the western world of today.<sup>17</sup> Ancient sources have provided myths and legends that have been reproduced in numerous versions

<sup>14</sup> For examples, see Prusac 2011, 23-27.

<sup>15</sup> For discussions on the agency of art object and its reception, see the various contributions in Osborn and Tanner 2006.

<sup>16</sup> For body language as a cultural construct, see Bremmer and Roodenburg 1992; Masségliia 2015.

<sup>17</sup> See in particular Konstan 2006. Also, Chaniotis 2011; 2012; Chaniotis and Ducrey 2014; Cairns and Nelis 2017. The project also resulted in a pioneering exhibition in New York, and later in Athens, on the topic of emotions in antiquity. The exhibition was accompanied by an important publication edited by Chaniotis together with Kaltsas and Mylonopoulos (2017). The chapter by Mylonopoulos, 72-85, is particularly relevant to the present text and serves as a brief, yet particularly enlightening, introduction to how emotions can be approached in art. See also, Kiilerich 2017; Ehrenheim and Prusac-Lindhagen 2020; Prusac-Lindhagen et al. 2020.



*Fig. 3.* Caesar. Probably 50-40 BC. Marble. From Tusculum, Turin, Museo di Antichità, inv. 2098. Photograph: Ángel M. Felicísimo for Wikimedia Commons (CC BY 2.0).

and media. Also, art awakens emotions.<sup>18</sup> In some cases, biographical information about famous individuals has survived and led to established ‘truths’ about moral superiority, ridicule and despair. Biographies were, then as now, often biased when written, and then again, when interpreted. Nevertheless, they offer a glimpse into Greek and Roman ways of expressing likes and dislikes, joy and despair – in sum: emotions.

Facial language was shaped by visual codes that were known within a group. Attempts at understanding expressions of emotions as a part of a visual code-language within a society can lead to new knowledge about the interaction between individuals. For example, the significance of the enigmatic smile of Archaic Greek statues is a conundrum. But, within the context of the time period when the statues were made, the smile probably implied certain emotions.<sup>19</sup> Another example of a visual code that may be difficult to retrieve from the objects is found on the Classical Greek grave *stelae*; they have often been compared to the paintings on white *lekythoi*, which express mourning with gestures and postures that still make sense to a modern viewer. However, among the Greeks of the Classical world, they would have played on a register of emotions.<sup>20</sup>

Studies of Hellenistic grave *stelae* have shown that grief was expressed in iconography as well as in epigraphy. Sorrow in the event of the untimely death of a child could, for example, be expressed through a presentation of toys separate from the mourning figures.<sup>21</sup> Affectionate gestures, averted gazes and figures seated on the ground or on a rock in overt lamentation appear in various versions that formed a part of the emotional semiotics.

In the same period, the human mind attracted more attention. It was no longer sufficient to visualise the emotions of human beings through iconography alone. The post-Alexander period has been referred to as a time undergoing a predominant identity crisis that led to a greater focus on individual needs and

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<sup>18</sup> The ancient Greeks used the word *agalma* for image, which means ‘the object that offers pleasure’. See Chaniotis 2017, 145. The use of the term is, however, rather complicated. See Stewart 2003, 67. In most cases, it seems to refer to images in general, but Maximus (8.3) uses *agalmata* when he notes that the Greeks made accurate copies of the human form. He may have been referring to portrait statues, but it is equally possible that he meant statues in general.

<sup>19</sup> Mylonopoulos 2017, 79.

<sup>20</sup> Sojc 2005, *passim*.

<sup>21</sup> Karlsson 2014, 301-302.

personal issues, such as emotions.<sup>22</sup> Experimentation in this realm entailed individualisation and expressions that were no longer generic.

The interest in individual portraits took place in tandem with experimenting with emotional expressions in mythological figures. A frequently used example of an expression of pain and total desperation can be found in the statue group of the Trojan priest Laokoön, who, together with his sons, was killed by giant serpents sent by the goddess Athena.<sup>23</sup> Famously, she punished him with a torturous death sentence that included his sons because he warned the Trojans about letting the legendary horse inside the city walls. It was a famous story of horror and despair concerning a man whose actions were honourable, yet he was not believed and he suffered an agonizing demise. The sculpture illustrated the tragic and utterly unfair destiny of a tormented individual. His expression is the psychological expression of this brought to an extreme (Fig. 4). It is not a portrait, but could rather be referred to as a portrayal of a set of emotions.

The ‘Laokoön Group’ is known to mark a peak in the development of emotional expressions, and it is no coincidence that it was created in the period when individualising art became increasingly popular. The methods and techniques that made it possible to carve sculptures such as that of Laokoön were the same as those employed in the production of individual features. The intense feelings of famous mythological figures allowed for experimentation, and the visualisation of them stimulated the imagination of the viewers. Sometimes the artistic representations could perhaps also seem to express a notion of their own experiences, albeit in a metaphorical and exaggerated guise. To the artists, experimenting with facial expressions was a gate to understanding the facial anatomy of human beings. It was a step towards the know-how of making individualised portraits. A face is not always composed of physical appearance alone, it may also be marked by the biography of the owner.

### ***The two pillars of the Pathosformel***

Among the surviving biographies from the Greek and Roman period, one in particular stands out: that of Alexander the Great (Arr. *Anab.*; Plut. *Alex.*). On the one hand, there is the man as a human being, on the other, a legend and a

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<sup>22</sup> See Bobou 2013 throughout for examples; Mylonopoulos 2017, 78.

<sup>23</sup> Rome, Vatican Museum, inv. nos 1059 and 1064. The literature on the ‘Laokoön Group’ is extensive. See e.g. Settis 1999.





Fig. 4. Detail with the head of Laokoön from the 'Laokoön Group'. Roman copy of a Hellenistic original. Marble. From Rome, the Baths of Trajan. Rome, Musei Vaticani, inv. 1059. Photograph: Jastrow for Wikimedia Commons (CC BY 2.0).

god. The portraits of him show both, but not in the same images. The posthumous images of Alexander inspired awe and nurtured the idea that he belonged to the sphere of the gods. His memory was kept alive and adjusted to suit the legend of a superhuman being. In the numerous art historical descriptions of the idealised images of Alexander, the word *pathos* has often been used to explain the emotional effect on the viewers.

Originally a rhetorical concept, *pathos* has also been used to describe images that were meant to evoke emotions among the viewers.<sup>24</sup> The images were familiar owing to the collective remembrance and shared knowledge of their literary origin. The emotional dynamics were recognised by the viewers. This is the essence of the *Pathosformel*, which has been an important inspiration to the present text.<sup>25</sup> The *Pathosformel* considers the combination of memory and emotion as reciprocal and fundamental to the understanding of art. Images are points of reference to a shared repertoire of myths and stories about events and individuals, and can provoke, seduce and manipulate opinions – as well as memories and emotions.

The portrait of Alexander from Pergamon is known as an ultimate expression of *pathos* (Fig. 5).<sup>26</sup> The head is turning slightly upwards and the lips

<sup>24</sup> See e.g. Kennedy 1991, 119.

<sup>25</sup> The *Pathosformel* was a term introduced by Aby Warburg, who saw memory and emotion as main pillars in the Western art historical tradition. Towards the end of his life, he worked on an opus called *Bilderatlas Mnemosyne*, that was unfinished at the time of his death in 1929. For the most recent editions, see Warnke and Brink 2008; Heil et al. 2020. With the *Bilderatlas*, Warburg sought to explain ‘how images of great symbolic, intellectual, and emotional power emerge in Western antiquity’ (quoted from Johnson 2013–2016). See Johnson also for the long discourse on images and memory that is inspired by Warburg’s work. See also, Mylonopoulos 2017, 73. Warburg wrote at a time with a deep academic interest in memory and was a contemporary of giants within memory studies, such as Maurice Halbwachs, who wrote a seminal work on the topic. See Halbwachs 1925 (1992). See also Becker 2013, 4–9 for a brief comment on the period of Warburg and Halbwach, among others, in the time when ‘cultural studies’ took shape. Warburg’s approach has been of fundamental importance to some of the most influential scholars of cultural and memory studies in recent times, e.g. Assmann 1995 and 2006.

<sup>26</sup> Bieber 1949, 392–393 dates the ‘Pergamene Alexander’ to the reign of Eumenes II (197–159 BC), when the Attalid culture was flourishing in the city-state. She describes it in psychological terms: ‘This grandiose and impressive head may have been based on a portrait made during the last years of Alexander, when hardship and trial—particularly the campaign in India, the retreat through the desert, the revolt of his army, and the loss of his best friends—had worn out his body, ravaged his features, furrowed his brow prematurely, and laid deep shadows around his eyes. Similar signs of premature aging may be seen today in the faces of young veterans of modern warfare. The cheap expedient of achieving idealization by curling the hair is scorned. Alexander is shown with straight hair as in the ‘Azara Herm’ and the mosaic. The expression is full of *pathos* and *pothos*, that is that passionate and ambitious longing which had driven Alexander farther and farther into the unknown East until he had reached what he believed was Oceanus, the boundary of the inhabited world. The “lion’s mane” and the movement of the neck may have been derived from a portrait by Lysippos, but the conception is in the vein of the purely Hellenistic emotion ...’.



Fig. 5. 'Pergamene Alexander'. 200-150 BC. Marble. From Pergam. Istanbul Archaeological Museums, inv. 1138T. Photograph: Bjørn Erik Pedersen for Wikimedia Commons (CC BY-SA 4.0).

are sensually parted. A wrinkle across the forehead emphasises the vertically-shaped *anastole*, which parts in the middle, and the coiffure is reminiscent of the mane of a lion. Loose locks of hair softly frame the strong and youthful face. The eyes are deep-set below the asymmetric eyebrows that underlines the

dynamic tilt of the head.<sup>27</sup> It is a godlike image, which illustrated the legend, as defined by a culturally shaped collective memory. The artist had employed features from a visual codex or normative canon that played on the heartstrings, evoking admiration. A feeling of pride of belonging to the same people as the young warrior hero is conveyed and evoked.

Quite another expression was cultivated in the carving of the 'Azara Herm' in the Louvre, understood as the most authentic portrait of Alexander (Fig. 6). It is purportedly a Roman copy of the bronze that Lysippos cast during the young king's short lifetime. A small bronze figure from Egypt, also displayed in the Louvre, is considered another variation of the same model.<sup>28</sup> The marble head, which is Roman and was found at Tivoli, shares some characteristic features with the Pergamon head, such as slightly parted lips, the *anastole* and soft locks of hair. At the nape of the neck, the locks are longer, and the face, in particular the chin, is fleshy. The 'Azara Herm' has less vigour and a more sober posture. It is more convincing as an authentic image, seen with a present-day knowledge of the difference between idealising and realising features in ancient portraiture. The 'Pergamene Alexander' and the 'Azara Herm' therefore provide a rare opportunity to approach two diverging aspects of the significance of emotions to portraiture. The 'Pergamene Alexander' represents an idea of the emotional ecstasy of a human being who has reached the ranks of the gods at a young age. The 'Azara Herm' is an attempt to show the individual. If the 'Pergamene Alexander' is the legend, the 'Azara Herm' is the biography.

The 'Azara Herm' was made before artists in the Hellenistic period started experimenting with emotional expressions. It belongs to the period that formed the intellectual basis for the artistic trends that are typical for the Hellenistic period. One of the most important thinkers in this period was Aristotle. The development of individualised portraits can be compared to his four modes of persuasion: *ethos*, *pathos*, *logos* and *kairos* (Arist. *Rh.* 2.1-7). Individualised portraits have a convincing authority on behalf of the sitter (*ethos*), and appear as logical imitations (*logos*). The emotional expression appeals to the feelings of the observers (*pathos*), and it happens at the moment when he or she sees the image (*kairos*). The initial visual impression contributes to the viewer's understanding of the represented individual and the stories connected with him or her.

<sup>27</sup> For the eyes of Alexander, see Elsner 2007, 209-214.

<sup>28</sup> Paris, Louvre, inv. no. Br370. See e.g. Rolley 1999, 352-354, fig. 364.



*Fig. 6.* Alexander. Bust known as the 'Azara Herm'. Roman imperial marble copy of a Greek bronze original, possibly by Lysippos. From Italy, Tivoli. Paris, Louvre, inv. Ma 436. Photograph: © Getty Images.

A Hellenistic sculpture that seems to have been designed to rouse emotions in the viewer from the first instance is the 'Terme Boxer' (this volume, Kiilerich, figs. 1-3).<sup>29</sup> Perhaps not a commemoration of a real individual, but rather an example of a genre realism,<sup>30</sup> it is a paradoxical nucleus of physical power and mental resignation. The deep and empty sockets, where eyes made of another material were inserted, may contribute to the expression that is often understood as painful or exhausted among present-day viewers.

But it may also be the opposite way around. The inserted eyes may have saturated an expression of resign, underlined by the almost diagonal eyebrows that slope downwards from the nape of the nose, and the downwards pointing outer corners of the eyes. The face is scarred, the ears are beaten and cauliflower-like, the bone of the nose has been broken, perhaps more than once, and reddish-tinted details in the alloy demarcate bruises and blood. The lips, too, are defined by a reddish alloy, and they are sensually parted, as if preparing to answer someone, towards whom the head is inclined. The contrast between the heroic physique and the realising facial features is striking. The idealising locks of the hair and beard are well tended to and appear to be discrepant to the worn-out body that rests after a fight. We are looking at a sculpture that lingers between the real and the ideal, or between a biographical rendering and a character type image.<sup>31</sup>

Generic faces were, however, made after models that posed in the workshops, that is, real human beings.<sup>32</sup> This fact complicates the categorisation of idealising, genre realising and individualising effigies. Moreover, faces could be modelled after individuals, while the sculpture in general was generic. The model of the 'Terme Boxer' was not necessarily a famous athlete, but we would still be dealing with an individualised face based on an unknown model.

We do not possess sufficient information to distinguish between genre realism and individual portraits, but it seems reasonable to infer that an artist would need models of both head and body in order to produce a convincing image of a human being. There, the boundary between genre types and individualised

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<sup>29</sup> For the 'Terme Boxer', see Kiilerich, this volume.

<sup>30</sup> Smith 1991, 54-55. For other examples of genre realism types in the Hellenistic period, see Sande this volume for the elderly drunk woman. Also, Spivey 2013, 232, which includes other famous examples of Hellenistic genre realism, such as the 'Old Fisherman', 235.

<sup>31</sup> For the term 'genre realism', see Smith 1991, 7.

<sup>32</sup> An example of a famous model in antiquity is Mnesarete, called Phryne; Plut., *De Pyth. or.* 14.

faces may vary and be blurred. The combination of both, perhaps adjusted with the creativity of the artist, made it possible to produce a result that played on the emotions of the viewer. The result would be a sculpture that responded to Aristotle's four modes of persuasion mentioned above. In the 'Terme Boxer', there is a convincing authority in the posture (*ethos*) and a logical imitation of a real face (*logos*). The expression is wounded and worldly, yet full of dignified emotions (*pathos*). When the viewer meets the gaze, even when the eye sockets are empty, there is a momentum (*kairos*) that may lead to a new perception, a new understanding.

The 'Azara Herm', with the downplay of idealising features, has similar qualities, whereas the 'Laokoön' and the 'Pergamene Alexander' seem to lack *logos*. The facial expression of 'Laokoön' is too extreme and the 'Pergamene Alexander' too aestheticized. They encourage emotions of horror and awe, reactions that were emphasised by culturally shaped myths and legends. In comparison, the 'Azara Herm' represents Alexander as an individual with a biography, the man behind the myth, and evokes emotions that are more down to earth and possible to identify with.

The 'Terme Boxer' may be a genre realism sculpture, but the face could be that of a real man, with a complex set of strengths and vulnerability. A complex set of emotions distinguishes a realistic portrait face from an idealising image and the extreme expression of a mythological figure. This is the reason why the rendering of emotions, in my opinion, was important to the development of realistic portraits. Hellenistic art was famous for anatomical experimentation and genre realism, but in order to make an authentic portrait face, the artist had to render the psyche of the sitter. Anatomical experimentation and genre realism were developed first, and served as a stepping stone towards true portraits. But, the head of a genre sculpture needs an individual to become a portrait.

### ***Connecting with the 'being'***

Portrait statues, like images of gods, were not simply physical works of art, but a kind of 'being' that was an important aspect of the Greek and Roman viewers' perception of them.<sup>33</sup> The commemorative function and emotional

<sup>33</sup> Chaniotis 2017, 146-147; Stewart 2003, *passim*. In the present volume, Keesling uses the term 'avatar'; that a portrait was perceived as the depicted individual by proxy.

reception of portraits were strengthened by the idea of an interaction between image and viewer. Individuality mattered. The more realistic a portrait was, the more it represented an active *presence*. The portrait was an imitation, a kind of substitute that represented the individual by way of its *presence*. Idealised portraits were true to an idea of perfection, but individual portraits were true to the sitter.<sup>34</sup> The Graeco-Roman view of images can be perceived as an advanced form of animism.<sup>35</sup> Institutionalised cults, too, and mythology and philosophy, show that the natural and physical realm were fused. Images were perceived as a combination of nature and culture. Nature was represented by the material, such as stone or wood; culture by the physical shape and a visual code language. In realistic portraiture, all possible measures could be taken to make portraits look true to the sitter. The choice of material, workshop and artist mattered. Attire and garments made the statues blend in among the living.<sup>36</sup> The surface of the material was polished with care and an eye to nuances, and the plasticity of the face was formed with close attention to the bone structure and features of the model. Polychrome pigments were painted onto the marble and underlined the individuality. Inlaid eyes or painted irises and pupils made the gaze seem alive, present and ready to interact emotionally with the viewer. Plato informs that painters made the eyes of statues black (Pl. *Resp.* 4.420c-d). Later, in the 2nd century AD, Lucian noted that the gaze of certain images could interlock with that of the viewer, and follow him or her as he or she passed by.<sup>37</sup> When inserted eyes made of materials that copy nature survive, they add a vitality, irrespective of whether the face they belong to is real or ideal. For example,

<sup>34</sup> The abstract faculties of images that can be approached as a kind of *mimesis* can also be compared to the Stoic concept of *phantasia*, which can be explained as the ‘visualisation’ or ‘presentation’ of an object. See e.g. Elsner 1995, 26. *Phantasia* could be understood through the rhetoric theoretical perspective on *ekphraseis*, as an emotionally loaded way of describing art. See Chaniotis 2017, 144.

<sup>35</sup> Examples that give a glimpse into the entanglement of the real and ideal are the myth of Daedalus who made images that copied the human form; see Plin. *HN* 34.52; Stewart 2003, 64; and, Ovid’s story of Pygmalion; Ov. *Met.* 10.

<sup>36</sup> For coloured sculpture, see Abbe, this volume; Brinkmann and Wünsche 2004; Kiilerich, Kolandsrud and Lundgren 2020.

<sup>37</sup> Lucian, *Syr. D.* 32: ‘... if you stand opposite it, it looks you in the face, and as passing by it the gaze still follows you; and if someone else approaching from elsewhere looks at it, they are affected in the same way’. One of the most interesting discussions on the importance of the gaze in ancient art is Elsner 2007b. Gell 1992 and 1998 are important publications regarding the gaze.



the facial expressions of the Hellenistic athletes from Herculaneum seem to be exploding in anticipation, even when looked at separately from the body.<sup>38</sup> The energetic concentration of the gaze connects with the viewer. Still, they are by far more realising than the 'Terme Boxer'. We can only wonder what his face may have expressed with the eyes intact, and what the emotional register of the viewer would have been. Nonetheless, a realistic portrait with eyes that were inlaid and made to interlock gaze with the viewers would have a stronger effect on those who knew the represented individual than those who did not. The point is that genre realism sculpture was made to evoke emotions that corresponded to established registers in the visual code language. Realistic portraits rouse other, sometimes more profound, but also very complex, emotions in the viewers that knew the individual who was represented, as is the case in family photography. One of the main reasons, in my opinion, for the increasing popularity of realistic portraits—at a time when it was a practical possibility to have them made—is that they were desired by family, relatives and fellow citizens that wanted the emotional connection. By a practically possibility, I mean the economic means, state organised infrastructure for communication and transportation, and artistic skill. Although the practical conditions were necessary, the reason for the popularity of realistic portraits in honorific and commemorative art was the emotional connection these items evoked in the viewers.

In a genre realism sculpture, the viewer experienced what the artist wanted the image to express because they belonged to the same culture, and shared a visual code language. In this sense, memory and emotions were two sides of the same coin. They could not be separated. The artists had to address both memory and emotions through the portrait. A realistic portrait would serve the purpose better as it communicated more directly with the individual emotions of the viewer, especially if he or she knew the individual represented in the image.

Eventually, the art of realistic portraiture seemed to fade. Literary sources from the 1st century AD, most notably Pliny the Elder, mention the disappearing art of making true likenesses.<sup>39</sup> In the following centuries, the classicising and realising portrait styles alternated, and were reproduced and adjusted according to trends and social and cultural belonging. Individuality still mattered to the

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<sup>38</sup> Bronze statues of two athletes. Augustean copies of Hellenistic sculptures. From Herculaneum, Villa dei Papiri. In Naples, Museo Archeologico Nazionale di Napoli, inv. nos 5626 and 5627.

<sup>39</sup> Plin. *HN* 35.4-5; Stewart 2003, 80.

extent that reused portraits were altered in order to represent the new subjects, but perhaps more symbolically rather than as a realistic portrait.<sup>40</sup>

### *The emotional aspect of realistic portraiture*

In the Greek and Roman world, there was great demand for portraits because they filled functions that were important to the ways in which the ancient Greeks and Romans related to each other, and to the blurred line between the natural and cultural realm. From their earliest history, images were regarded as animated objects, meaning that they were perceived as a kind of vehicle through which the represented could act, or as the individual by proxy. This chapter has sought to highlight the significance of the emotional aspect of the development of individualising portraits.

The more human-like the form, the more convincing was the image's presumed capability to act, and to make people react. An image of an honoured role model, displayed to inspire and educate, was more successful if it was a close copy of the real individual. It is not surprising that realistic portraits became fashionable in a cultural and social context that promoted individuals with supreme moral qualities. Ideal images could represent formidable individuals, but impersonal features polarised the ideal and the real. Realistic features demonstrated that the honoured person was a real human being, and therefore, other human beings could be rewarded in a similar fashion.

The educative aspect of honorific statues was intertwined with their mnemonic function and emotional motivation. To be granted a portrait statue in a public area was a great reward. Most studies of honorary statues from the Classical world deal with their function as memory-markers sponsored by benefactors. Memories and emotions are closely connected, and ancient portrait statues functioned as tangible hooks onto which memories could be suspended. On a collective level, portrait statues of prominent individuals were the figure-heads of the city-states. They illustrated excellency, cultural values and identity.

Images of role models would only have an educative function if the viewers were encouraged to copy the lifestyle and achievements of the represented individual. The dream of being like someone who was admired, the desire to obtain the same kind of fame, and the hope of being granted a similar goodwill by the

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<sup>40</sup> See e.g. Varner 2004; Prusac 2011.

gods was formative. Themistocles was a legendary general with an exceptional talent for military strategy, who acted and performed with *arete*, and the portrait herm attributed to him at Ostia may be an early example of an image with individualising features. Statues of heroes, such as Themistocles, represented highly praised social values and pride and, as images of a role model, they were not only educating, but could for example also inspire reverence, admiration, aspiration and humility.

Since most Greek and Roman portraits represent unknown, unidentified individuals, examples that can be attributed to famous persons, such as the 'Azara Herm' of Alexander and the 'Tusculum Caesar', are rare. They make it possible to study the relationship between the idealised and individualised portraits of the same individuals. The difference is often striking, and shows a gap between images that were on display for the purpose of honouring state leaders and playing on a certain set of collective emotions, and those that were meant to be more 'veristic' and emotionally connect on an individual level.

On an individual level, the portrait statues could evoke personal memories and emotions, and also boost the esteem and reputation of a family. Portrait statues expressed the social status of the individual represented, in a way that can be compared to the funerary monuments along the main travel arteries leading out of the cities. In the Classical period, when funerary art followed established iconographical memes of loss and grief, emotions were expressed and perceived through the motifs and compositions. In the Hellenistic period, experimenting with psychological expressions made it possible to conjure an emotional relationship between the portrait and the viewer. It is almost as though the possibility of casting the human psyche was 'discovered' in the Hellenistic period. It was materialised through the new methods and style that produced a wide range of emotional expressions, from the suffering of 'Laokoön' to the *pathos* of the 'Pergamene Alexander'. The dramatic expressions that characterise Hellenistic sculpture in general caused a transformation in the concept of portraiture.

In Roman Republican homes, the *imagines* of ancestors with whom the living members of the household had had a close relationship would make it seem as though they were present. Their faces, looking out from the *armaria*, from paintings, togate portrait statues and other *imagines*, would serve as *loci* in the memory of the living. At the same time, the portraits were not mere 'things', but perceived as animated presences with an ability to act and influence the viewers through the memory of authority and affection (or the opposite). They represented specific individuals and had to resemble them as closely as possible, and

inspire the same emotions. A successful portrait would include facial features with psychological suggestion that emphasised the emotional perception of it as the individual by proxy. The physical presence of the depicted individual was necessary for the endurance of the memory and emotional relationship. Dedicative inscriptions were often indispensable to the recognition of the identity, indeed the identity was the whole point. But it is the realistic portrait that talks directly, personally, to the viewer, and maintains the emotional attachments that keep the memory alive. Therefore, we could say that the need to communicate emotions visually is one of the main reasons why the realistic portrait becomes an important phenomenon.

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