

# ROMAN PORTRAITS

SCULPTURES IN  
STONE AND BRONZE

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IN THE COLLECTION OF THE METROPOLITAN MUSEUM OF ART

PAUL ZANKER



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# DIRECTOR'S FOREWORD

DURING THE FIFTH AND FOURTH CENTURIES B.C., Greek sculptors made the first realistic portrait statues, devoting their work to prominent individuals—politicians, poets, and philosophers. After the death of Alexander the Great in 323 B.C., these artists sculpted magnificent portraits of the Hellenistic rulers who controlled the vast territory conquered by Alexander as well as statues of leading members of society. The Romans adopted the art of portraiture from the Greeks, intensifying the lifelike rendering of faces, and sculpted innumerable works honoring their rulers. All Romans who had the means were able to memorialize themselves and their family members at their graves with portrait busts.

Shortly after its founding, The Metropolitan Museum of Art began to acquire Roman portraits. The Museum's first two directors, Luigi Palma di Cesnola (1879–1904) and Edward Robinson (1910–1931), both deeply involved with the art of Mediterranean Antiquity, focused specifically on the Classical and Eastern Mediterranean world. John Marshall, the Museum's purchasing agent in Rome from 1906 to 1927, as well as Gisela M. A. Richter, head of the Department of Greek and Roman Art from 1925 to 1948, applied their considerable knowledge to build up a solid collection for the institution. The first portrait acquired was the bust of Herodotos (cat. 4) in 1891, and many additional portraits entered the collection in the decades that followed, notably outstanding works such as the bust of a Ptolemaic queen (cat. 2) and that of Emperor Severus Alexander (cat. 29).

Today, visitors to the Met can look at representations of Romans of all ages and from all strata of society. *Roman Portraits: Sculptures in Stone and Bronze in the Collection of The Metropolitan Museum of Art* is the first catalogue ever published on this significant part of our collection. As the Dietrich von Bothmer Research Scholar in the Department of Greek and Roman Art, Paul Zanker has written an authoritative text that brings to life the Museum's ancient portraits within the broader context of Roman art and culture. He offers definitive analyses of each work, with particular attention to the practice of recarving a portrait for the representation of a later subject. These observations are accompanied by splendid new photography taken by Oi-Cheong Lee of the Imaging Department.

This publication was generously underwritten by James and Mary Hyde Ottaway, The BIN Charitable Foundation, Inc., and The Prospect Hill Foundation. We are grateful to these donors for their support of Paul Zanker's groundbreaking research, which renews and replenishes our appreciation of portraiture in the ancient world.

Thomas P. Campbell  
DIRECTOR, THE METROPOLITAN MUSEUM OF ART



# PREFACE

The position of Dietrich von Bothmer Distinguished Research Scholar, named after the longtime chairman of the Greek and Roman Department, was established through the generosity of Shelby White and the late Leon Levy together with Barbara Fleischman and the late Lawrence Fleischman to support research on the collections of the Greek and Roman Department. The first incumbent, Professor Paul Zanker, was chosen for his expertise in Roman art, and specifically portraiture, fields in which the department's research and scholarship have lagged behind the wider field. A comprehensive survey of our Roman holdings has never before been published, and the last work devoted exclusively to Roman portraits was a slim picture book written by Gisela M. A. Richter in 1948. In the present volume, Paul Zanker brings his exceptional knowledge of the subject to our holdings. He is responsible not only for the text but also for the choice of illustrations, allowing both the specialist and our wider audience to see all of the detail in these often complex works and to follow the transformations many of them underwent after their initial creation.

I should like to express my thanks to James and Mary Hyde Ottaway, The BIN Charitable Foundation, Inc., and The Prospect Hill Foundation for their generous support of the publication.

Carlos A. Picón

CURATOR IN CHARGE

DEPARTMENT OF GREEK AND ROMAN ART

# ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

Carlos A. Picón, Curator in Charge of the Department of Greek and Roman Art, proposed that I undertake the first publication of the Museum's Roman portraits since Gisela M. A. Richter's short book of 1948. I thank him for the opportunity to publish the collection of portraits and for his continuous support. During the preparation of the catalogue, I held the position of Dietrich von Bothmer Distinguished Research Scholar, endowed by Shelby White and the late Leon Levy as well as by Barbara Fleischman and the late Lawrence Fleischman. I deeply appreciate their generosity and wish to emphasize my particular debt to Shelby White for her friendship and interest in my work over many years.

In the Greek and Roman Department, besides Christopher S. Lightfoot, Seán Hemingway, and Kyriaki Karoglou, I particularly thank Joan R. Mertens for her innumerable comments to the text and her appreciable contribution to the production of the book. Without her constant help the book could not have appeared in its present form. Special mention is due to Debbie Kuo for her unflagging assistance with all practical matters connected with my stays in New York, and Sarah Szeliga, who efficiently obtained all the publications I required. William M. Gagen, Fred A. Caruso, and John F. Morariu Jr. facilitated my examination of the objects as did Jennifer S. Soupios, who also prepared the Concordance. Matthew A. Noiseux, Jacob Spencer Coley, Melissa C. Sheinheit, and Michael Baran always solved my computer issues. Maya Muratov compiled the provenances of the portraits in the book. I thank the Department of Medieval Art and The Cloisters and Michel David-Weill Curator in Charge C. Griffith Mann for consenting to the inclusion of four Late Antique portraits in the catalogue.

I express my appreciation to Barbara J. Bridgers, General Manager of the Imaging Department, and the excellent photographer Oi-Cheong Lee, who sensitively captured the many details essential to the understanding of Roman portraiture.

For the realization of the book by the Publications and Editorial Department, I thank Mark Polizzotti for his generous support of a Romanist's approach to the portraits as well as Michael Sittenfeld, Peter Antony, and Russell Stockman, who accomplished the significant labor of translating my texts into English. Sarah McFadden has been the most meticulous and patient of editors, ably assisted by Philomena Mariani and Jayne Kushna, who painstakingly checked the Bibliography. Steven Schoenfelder superbly integrated my text and many photographs into a highly effective design. Sally VanDevanter spared

no effort with the production; Crystal Dombrow and Elizabeth De Mase obtained the comparative illustrations; and Anandaroop Roy drew the map. I owe special thanks to Antonio Paolucci, Director of the Vatican Museums, Claudia Valeri, Vatican Museums, Claudio Parisi Presicce, Sovrintendente Capitolino ai Beni Culturali, and last but not least Professor Eugenio La Rocca for their additional, most generous help with photographs.

For this effort to familiarize contemporary audiences with the Metropolitan Museum's ancient Roman portraits, I express my warmest appreciation to James and Mary Hyde Ottaway, The BIN Charitable Foundation, Inc., and The Prospect Hill Foundation, who made it possible.

Paul Zanker

DIETRICH VON BOTHMER DISTINGUISHED RESEARCH SCHOLAR

# CHRONOLOGY

EMPERORS AND THEIR FAMILY MEMBERS WHOSE PORTRAITS APPEAR IN THIS BOOK

<b>JULIO-CLAUDIAN DYNASTY</b>	<b>27 B.C.–A.D. 68</b>
Augustus	r. 31 B.C.–A.D. 14
Empress Livia	58 B.C.–A.D. 29
Gaius Caesar, grandson	20 B.C.–A.D. 4
Gaius Germanicus (Caligula)	r. A.D. 37–41
Nero	r. A.D. 54–68
<b>FLAVIAN DYNASTY</b>	<b>A.D. 69–96</b>
Vespasian	r. A.D. 69–79
Domitian	r. A.D. 81–96
Nerva	r. A.D. 96–98
<b>TRAJANIC AND HADRIANIC PERIOD</b>	<b>A.D. 98–138</b>
Trajan	r. A.D. 98–117
Marciana, Trajan's sister	A.D. 48–112/114
Hadrian	r. A.D. 117–38
Empress Sabina(?)	A.D. 83–136/137
Matidia the Younger, half sister of Sabina	A.D. 85–161
<b>ANTONINE DYNASTY</b>	<b>A.D. 138–93</b>
Antoninus Pius	r. A.D. 138–61
Marcus Aurelius	r. A.D. 161–80
with Lucius Verus	r. A.D. 161–69
Empress Faustina the Younger(?), wife of Marcus Aurelius	A.D. 130(?)–75
<b>SEVERAN DYNASTY</b>	<b>A.D. 193–235</b>
Caracalla	r. A.D. 211–17
Severus Alexander	r. A.D. 222–35
<b>SOLDIER EMPERORS</b>	<b>A.D. 235–305</b>
Maximinus I (Thrax)	r. A.D. 235–38
Trebonianus Gallus	r. A.D. 251–53
Probus	r. A.D. 276–82
<b>WESTERN ROMAN EMPIRE</b>	
Constantine	r. A.D. 307–37
<b>CONSTANTINIAN DYNASTY</b>	<b>A.D. 337–63</b>
Constans	r. A.D. 337–50





Map of the Mediterranean World  
Sites mentioned in this book

# INTRODUCTION

PORTRAITS ARE AMONG THE MOST COMPELLING documents of Greek and Roman culture. Those of the Greeks give us some idea of the appearance or self-image of their great politicians, philosophers, and poets; those of the Romans show us emperors, their relatives, ordinary people, even freedmen and slaves. In this book all the portraits from The Metropolitan Museum of Art's Department of Greek and Roman Art and four from its Department of Medieval Art are illustrated in new photographs, described, and placed in their historical and cultural context. For example, the various places where portraits were displayed are suggested, as well as how they were set up. Also, wherever possible and helpful, the lives and achievements of the subjects are presented.

The first essay provides a brief overview of the history of ancient portraiture. It is important to note that during the Archaic and Classical eras, thus between roughly 600 and 300 B.C., the Greeks had a far broader concept of the personal portrait than we do today. Therefore it seems appropriate to include in our consideration statues that do not exhibit individualized features but, based on inscriptions and the locations in which they were found, clearly represented specific people.

The introductions to the separate sections of the catalogue attempt to highlight defining historical and social circumstances and how they influenced the qualities of the respective portraits. The first section presents original Greek portraits and Roman copies of Greek works, with emphasis on the peculiarities of Roman copies and their function in Roman homes and villas. Portraits of Roman emperors are the subject of the second section. (Empresses and princesses are grouped with the female portraits in the fifth chapter, owing to their connection with other portraits of women and the historical significance of hairstyles.) The political self-image of individual rulers was all-important in the creation of emperors' portraits. The emperor himself or his advisor dictated to the sculptor who created the prototype how he wished to be seen by his subjects—as detached, close to the people, energetic, or determined and assertive. The variety of Imperial portraits, ranging from over-lifesize cult images to the tiniest rendering, is part of the discussion here, as are the patrons and the placement of their commissions.

The fourth section presents other male portraits, including a few of boys and children. Rulers' portraits frequently influenced those of their subjects not only in style but also in the rendering of their hair and physiognomies. This influence extended beyond highly placed individuals to all others who could afford a portrait—if only on or in their tombs.

In contrast to male portraits, those of women frequently show faces that are youthful or ageless. Female portraits with extremely realistic features are less common. In this section, hairstyles are the dominant feature. Indeed, in their complexity and variety, they almost lead lives of their own. Like the portraits of emperors, those of empresses and princesses served as models and, often, even as sources of inspiration for further variations and elaborations.

The fifth and last section presents tomb reliefs and tomb altars bearing portraits of the deceased. The Museum owns only a few examples of this typical Roman funerary art, but enough to convey an impression of an extremely popular form of self-presentation. Three portraits whose origins are disputed are included in the final section. The gems and cameos with portraits are not included, as they are treated in the detailed catalogue by Gisela M. A. Richter.<sup>1</sup>

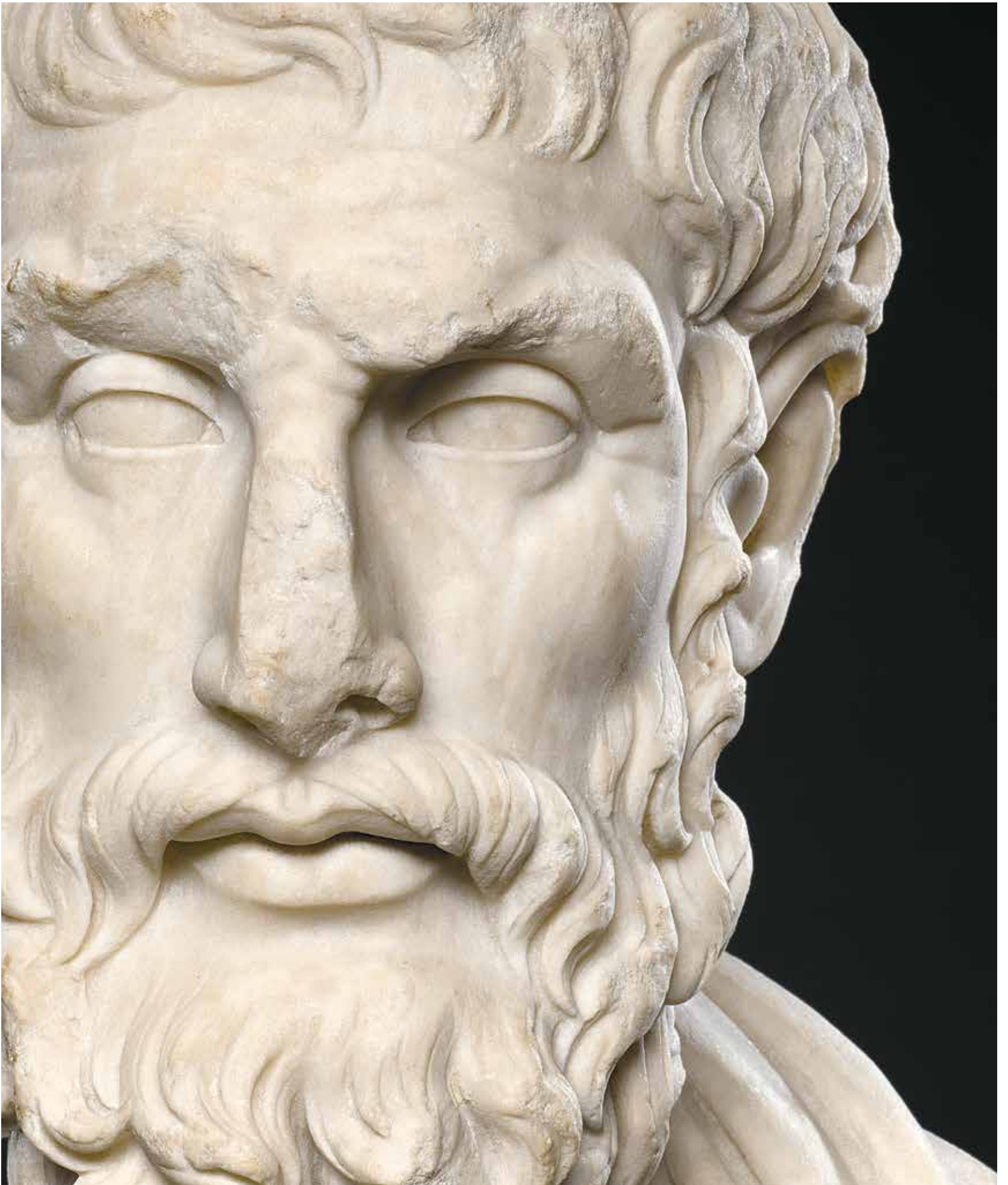
In each chapter, the portraits are presented chronologically in the order in which they were created. The Roman copies of Greek portraits appear according to the dates of the originals on which the copies were based. Exceptions sometimes occur in the sequencing of certain closely related works, such as the six portraits of the emperor Augustus. Translations from the Greek and Latin are provided wherever possible. Greek spellings of proper names are used in the chapter on Greek portraits, and Latin spellings of proper names in the chapters on Roman portraits. However, proper Latin names beginning with *I* are given the first letter *J*, as is customary in English. Likewise, the Latin titles “Minor” and “Major” (or “Maior”), appended to the names of Imperial women, are translated as “the Younger” and “the Elder.”

The emperors and their family members whose portraits appear in the book are listed in the Chronology on page xi. The Chronology gives the years of the emperors’ reigns and the life dates of their relatives. Life dates of all significant figures mentioned in the book are given at the first appearance of their names, which are noted in the Index. Among the Musei Capitolini in Rome, the Museo Capitolino is referred to throughout by its new name, Palazzo Nuovo. Additional views of all the portraits represented in the book can be found on the Museum’s website ([metmuseum.org](http://metmuseum.org)).

NOTE

1. Richter 1956.





# ON THE HISTORY OF ANCIENT PORTRAITURE

IN ANCIENT CITIES AND STATES, portraiture was of extremely great importance, indeed to an extent that we can hardly imagine today. Everyone who belonged to the ruling class in Greece or Rome strove to be honored with a statue in one of his city's public spaces or with a votive statue in a sanctuary. In Greece, the distinction fell to men who had rendered service to the city as well as to athletes who had contributed to its fame with victories in the great Panhellenic Games. In sanctuaries, statues could be donated for the most various reasons: as thanks to beneficent gods or as supplication for protection and support. Needless to say, they were always intended to promulgate the stature and merits of their subjects as effectively as possible.

Honorific statues crowded the fora of Roman cities as well. Beginning in the late Republic, the Senate, following strict rules, authorized such monuments. The largest monuments in the Empire were reserved for emperors. As a rule, local dignitaries and all others had to make do with simple statues, which were placed at the edges of squares or in peristyles so as not to compete with the Imperial monuments.

In Greek and Roman cities, tombs were situated outside the gates, not along peaceful avenues of tombs, but flanking the most heavily trafficked arterial roads. Tombs were meant to be seen by as many passersby as possible. The monuments of the great families claimed the most visible spots, and squeezed between them stood those of the less influential and the poor. Anyone who could not find room close to the road had to erect his tomb farther back; in Rome, especially, tombs stood in dense rows. Those with means immortalized themselves and their families with portraits, whether in the form of statues or reliefs of various sizes. Touching, small funerary altars, mainly from Rome, indicate how important it was to provide an image of the deceased, no matter how crude. They were a matter of memory, of commemoration; as long as someone recalled the deceased and brought them offerings, they were still present, not truly dead.

In ancient Greece, statues were made either of stone—primarily marble—or of bronze. So few bronze statues have survived because the metal could be reused for any number of purposes; since Antiquity the statues have therefore been melted down. But



Fig. 1 Head of Warrior A from Riace, 460–450 B.C. Bronze. Museo Nazionale della Magna Grecia, Reggio Calabria (12801)

Fig. 2 Traces of pigment on a marble portrait of Emperor Caligula, ca. A.D. 40. Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek, Copenhagen (2687)



the material was also distinctly important for the artistic form of a work. For example, specific features, such as hanging locks of hair, could only be executed in bronze. A bronze statue, even in an active pose, could stand by itself, its limbs in virtually any position; marble statues, on the other hand, required supports that compromised their effect.

The surface color was very different in statues of bronze and marble. That of bronzes largely depended on constant, careful cleaning. A well-tended bronze statue gleamed in a light bronze tone, against which colored inlays, on the lips and eyes, for example, clearly stood out, as is beautifully illustrated by one of the warriors from Riace (fig. 1).<sup>1</sup>

Marble statues, on the other hand, were painted from earliest times. Most often, unfortunately, only traces of pigments can be discerned, if at all. From ancient literary sources we know that famous Classical sculptors collaborated with the most important painters. Painting significantly defined the appearance of original Greek marble statues. Roman copies of Greek sculptures and portraits were also painted, but as yet

relatively few well-preserved pieces have been studied carefully. One example is a Caligula portrait in Copenhagen, with traces of pigment on the eye and eyelashes readily apparent (fig. 2).<sup>2</sup>

The development of Roman portraits has a long history whose origins lie in ancient Greece. In the seventh century B.C. the Greeks began making statues, many larger than life, of nude, beardless young men. Although there were Egyptian precedents for these figures, known to archaeologists as kouroi (kouros means “a youth”), they are unique creations, mainly because they stood without benefit of a support and because they emanated an energy that became ever more clearly expressed over the course of the sixth century B.C. These statues were in some instances dedicated as votive gifts to sanctuaries, where they represented deities or even mortals; in other instances they were placed at the tombs of men who had died young. In either case an inscription identified both the subject and the statue’s donor. Even though they do

not bear individualized features, these kouroi can be considered the first Greek portrait statues. The early kouros in the Metropolitan Museum (fig. 3), carved shortly after 600 B.C., represents a man who died young; his name was presumably provided on the statue's base.<sup>3</sup> He is nude, has long hair, holds his arms close to his body, and has placed his left foot forward. He wears a necklace and headband. Traces of the original paint can still be seen on the eyes, nipples, and in the hair. As was the case with other kouroi, his nakedness celebrated the perfectly trained, battle-ready, and handsome young subject. Whether commissioned as tomb monuments or as votive dedications to a sanctuary, such kouroi—and their female counterparts, korai—served the donors as an effective and lasting demonstration of their own prominence and that of their family.

In the fifth century B.C. statues began to appear that attempted to represent specific persons, thanks to a characteristic pose or movement, even though they still do not present individual facial features. Among the earliest portrait statues of this type, though preserved only in Roman copies, are the group of the tyrannicides Harmodios and Aristogeiton, from about 477/76 B.C., and a statue of the poet Anakreon (ca. 575–495 B.C.). The latter (fig. 4) was dedicated about 440 B.C., long after his death, on the Akropolis in Athens, where it stood near the statue of the great statesman Perikles.<sup>4</sup>

The poet is shown singing, with his head tilted slightly back and to the side, and playing a stringed instrument. He is nude, with only a short mantle draped around his shoulders. His seemingly unsteady stance was probably the artist's way of suggesting that the poet had been drinking; Anakreon is performing at a festive banquet, one in which he is also participating. Naturally, he would not have appeared naked. Here, as in the kouroi and other portrait statues of the Classical period, nudity indicated that the poet was an integral member of society who



Fig. 3 Kouros. Attic, ca. 600 B.C. Marble. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Fletcher Fund, 1932 (32.11.1)

Fig. 4 Statue of the poet Anakreon. Roman copy of a Greek original of ca. 440 B.C. Marble. Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek, Copenhagen (491)

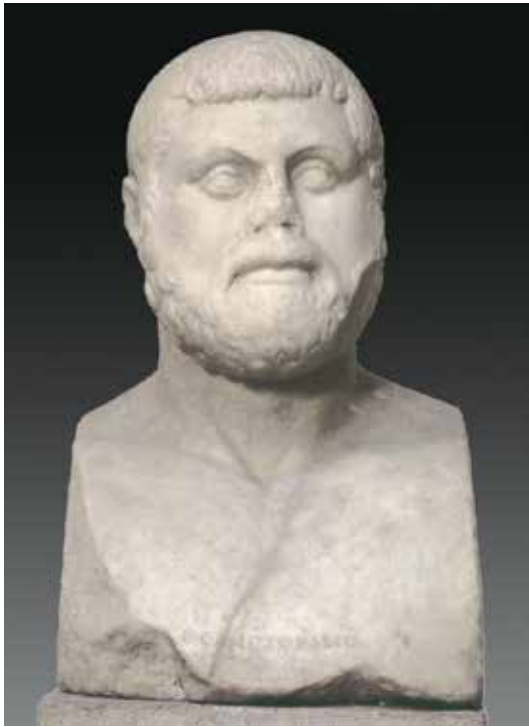


Fig. 5 Herm of Themistokles. Roman copy of a Greek original of ca. 465 B.C. Marble. Museo Ostiense, Ostia Antica (85)

properly exercised his body. Perikles may have had the poet's statue placed next to his own on the Akropolis to show that in Athens under his rule, conviviality and celebration were as much a part of the superior Attic lifestyle as combat and sports.<sup>5</sup>

Such signs of personal abilities and characteristics distinguished other portrait statues of which only Roman copies of the heads exist. The Metropolitan Museum's excellent portrait of a general is a fine example (cat. 5).

There were relatively early instances of personal characterization, especially outside Athens, as seen in the

portrait of Themistokles (ca. 525–459), the victor at the Battle of Salamis (fig. 5).<sup>6</sup> The general was later banished from Athens and entrusted by the Persian king Artaxerxes with the administration of Magnesia in Asia Minor. His portrait, with an unusually broad face, narrow forehead, and small nose may date from this time. The portrait can be identified thanks to a fine early Imperial Roman herm from Ostia, inscribed, luckily enough, with his name. A contemporary portrait, doubtless also from outside Athens, depicts the poet Pindar as an old man with a lined face and an unusually stylized beard.<sup>7</sup>

In Athens, it appears that more individualized depictions were deliberately avoided into the late fourth century B.C. as a way of emphasizing the democratic equality of its citizens. This is especially apparent in Attic tomb reliefs. They began to appear in the 430s B.C. and were highly popular well into the late fourth century B.C. Living and deceased family members were often depicted together, generally identified by name. The dead were rendered as living, and even when only a single deceased person is represented, he or she is not pictured in death but rather as still actively performing his or her role. The men are habitually depicted as exemplary citizens, wearing a mantle with no undergarment and always draped in the manner prescribed for appearance on the Agora. Images of women emphasize their status and beauty. Their tomb reliefs indicate that, in contrast to men, they remain at home, where they adorn themselves or sit on a stool or chair as wives and mothers, often with an infant or small child—all in

accordance with the strict behavioral and representational norms of the fifth and fourth centuries B.C.

These norms are readily apparent on the Attic tomb reliefs in the Metropolitan Museum. On one of the most beautiful, the deceased is probably the seated old man, next to whom stand two women, presumably his daughters (fig. 6).<sup>8</sup> The one behind him holds her small daughter by the hand, the only figure gazing out from the relief, thereby creating a link to the viewer. The daughter on the left gazes down at her father. His great age was indicated to contemporaries by the fact that he is seated. Mature men were normally depicted standing. Otherwise, his age is suggested almost formulaically: like all elderly men on tomb reliefs, he wears his hair long, sits with a curved back, and holds himself upright with his staff. His face reveals neither idiosyncratic features nor indications of advanced age.

As already suggested, such restraint in the depiction of individualized facial features was also applied to portraits of such outstanding personalities as politicians, generals, philosophers, and poets—at least in Athens, the source of most of the originals on which the portraits are based. Even the portrait of the philosopher Plato (428/27–348/47 B.C.), presumably created before the middle of the fourth century B.C., though suggestive of age and great concentration or intellectual power, hardly presents truly personal features. The outstanding copy from the Munich Glyptothek dates from the early Empire and appears to have conformed to contemporary taste, at least in the bangs (fig. 7).<sup>9</sup>

A comparison to other Roman copies of the Plato portrait indicates that they differ greatly, for each copyist worked in the sculptural style of his time and reinterpreted the original in part

Fig. 6 Grave stele with a family group. Attic, ca. 360 B.C. Marble. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Rogers Fund, 1911 (11.100.2)



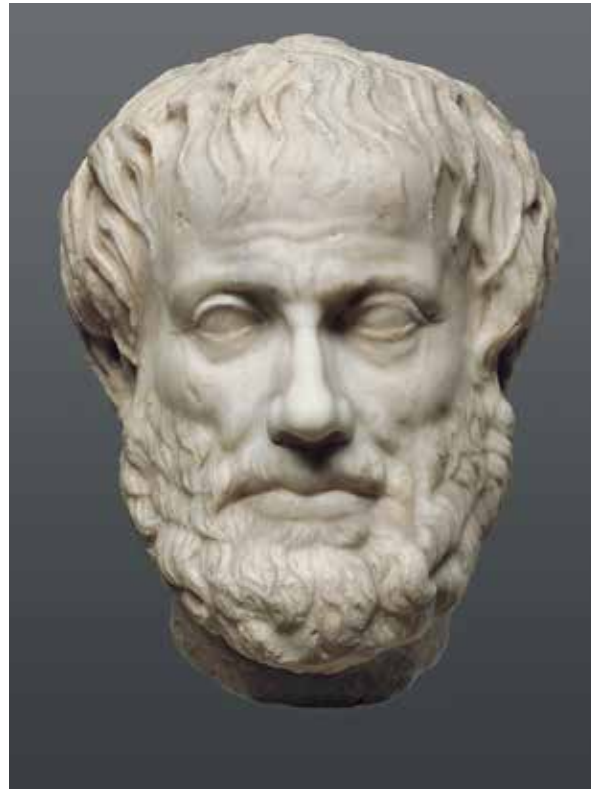
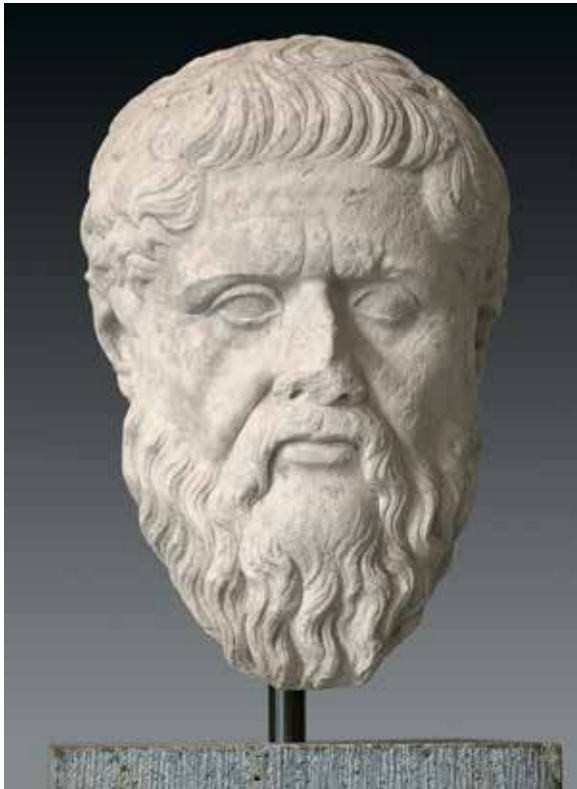


Fig. 7 Portrait of Plato. Early Imperial copy of the head of a Greek portrait statue of the mid-4th century B.C. Marble. Glyptothek, Munich (548)

Fig. 8 Portrait of Aristotle. Roman copy of the mid-1st century A.D. after a Greek original of the later 4th century B.C. Marble. Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna (I 246)

unconsciously, in part deliberately. Moreover, he normally did not have the Greek original before him, but only another copy. The study of copies of Greek portraits requires that each case be compared with other copies of the same portrait.

Only in the later fourth century B.C., at the time of the first realistic portraits of the Hellenistic kings, do indications of more individualized characterization occur among the philosopher portraits that have come down to us. A perfect example is provided by the portrait of the philosopher Aristotle (384–325/24 B.C.) in Vienna (fig. 8).<sup>10</sup> In his youth Aristotle studied in Plato's Academy, and later he served as tutor to the young Alexander. Only a few years before his death, he founded his own school in Athens, known as the Peripatetic School, after the *peripatos* (colonnade) in which he taught. It continued to flourish under his successor Theophrastos. Among several others, the excellent early Imperial copy of this portrait in Vienna depicts the philosopher as an old man with sunken cheeks, bags under his eyes, and a strikingly bony face. His deeply furrowed brow, quite unlike Plato's, may be considered an expression of intense reflection.

Also based on an original of the late fourth century B.C. is the Metropolitan Museum's portrait of an old, unnamed philosopher (cat. 12), of which a number of rep-

licas are known. Stylistically it compares with that of Aristotle, but the expression is entirely different. In contrast to Aristotle, this old philosopher with sunken eyes and thin lips appears tired and strained. The comparison intensifies Aristotle's alertness and energy.

A new era begins with the charismatic appearance of Alexander the Great (356–323 B.C.). He became ruler at the age of twenty and within only a few years conquered a vast empire. Thanks to his until then unimaginable exploits, he appeared to his contemporaries as a young hero or god. His portraits therefore show him beardless and with a vertical shock of hair above his forehead suggesting his lion-like energy. Roman copies of his portraits hardly convey the expression of the originals. Therefore, illustrated here is an impressive bronze statuette in the Musée du Louvre, probably made before the end of the fourth century B.C., showing Alexander striding forward purposefully (fig. 9). Presumably, he raised a spear in his left hand as a sign of victory and in his lowered right hand held a sword.<sup>11</sup>

That Alexander remained beardless even as a ruler and up until his death was altogether new and probably reflected a desire to evoke mythical models like the youthful Achilles. Heretofore, young men and *neoi* (warriors) had been depicted beardless, and *andres* (mature men) with full beards, as is known from both grave-reliefs and the Parthenon frieze. Alexander's father, King Philip II of Macedon (r. 382–386 B.C.), also wore a full beard. Astonishingly, Alexander's generals, some of them far from young, chose to be portrayed without beards after their leader's death, when they staked out their realms in various parts of his immense conquered empire. By means of such representation, they may have wished to emulate Alexander or emphasize with this sign of energetic youth their own exploits as commanders and conquerors.

The new, youthful image established by Alexander and his successors seems to have decisively influenced men in the entire Mediterranean world, for it was not long before beardlessness became established as the universal fashion. Only philosophers retained their beards, a custom which, in the Hellenistic era, thus served as a kind of occupational identification.<sup>12</sup>



Fig. 9 Statuette of Alexander the Great. Probably end of the 4th century B.C. Bronze. Musée du Louvre, Paris (Br 370)





Fig. 10 Bust of Philetairos of Pergamon. Roman copy of a Hellenistic original of ca. 250 B.C. Marble. Museo Archeologico Nazionale, Naples (6148)

Fig. 11 Statue of a Roman commander. 2nd century B.C. Bronze. Museo Nazionale Romano, Rome (1049)

Aside from the above-mentioned portraits of Themistokles and Pindar, portraits with more strongly individualized features only begin to emerge in the late fourth century B.C. The portrait of Aristotle has provided a famous early example. Among the portraits of kings and princes, those of the first two kings of Egypt, Ptolemy I Soter I (r. 304–284 B.C.) and his son Ptolemy II Philadelphus (r. 285–246 B.C.), are representative. The portrait of Philetairos of Pergamon (r. 282–263 B.C.), though only a simplified Roman copy, shows especially well the combination of individual physiognomy and a dramatic expression so characteristic of Hellenistic ruler portraits (fig. 10). The original on which the copy is based was undoubtedly a highly animated and presumably nude statue with only a short mantle around the shoulders.<sup>13</sup>

Unfortunately, only a few portraits of important political figures of the Hellenistic cities have been identified. The best known is the posthumously erected statue of the great orator and politician Demosthenes (384–322 B.C.). Fortunately, in addition to numerous Roman copies of the head, there are also surviving copies of the entire statue. (For Demosthenes and the replicas of his statue, see pp. 37, 38, and cat. 9 with comparison figures.) In his portrait statue, erected on the Agora in Athens about 280 B.C., forty years after his death, the pose and the facial expression are both equally impressive, conveying concentration and self-control as he addresses the people's assembly. The survival of copies of the entire statue highlights the importance of whole figures for understanding the original portraits, and underscores how limited our knowledge of Greek portraits remains, since so often only copies of the heads survive.

With the end of their cities' independence, the Greeks, under the sovereignty of the Hellenistic kings, gradually lost their previously thorough integration into society and politics. One consequence was that they came to be more occupied with themselves. Concern for their own fate and thoughts of death caused them to turn increasingly to philosophers for instruction in how to properly conduct their lives. In the third century B.C. various schools and groups were headed by important thinkers whose teachings exerted a significant influence into the Roman Imperial period. New philosophical schools were established, the most important being the stoa of Zeno of Kition

(ca. 335–262 B.C.) and the school of Epikouros (ca. 341–270/271 B.C.), located in his *kepos* (garden) outside the city (see p. 39). This is not the place to expand on their teachings, but it is important to point out how enormously influential the Stoics and the Epicurians were in Rome, as evidenced by the sheer number of surviving portraits of the two great teachers.

Beginning in the later fourth and third centuries B.C., it appears that members of the Roman ruling class began to feel a great need to see themselves immortalized in portrait statues. Within a short time large numbers of these sculptures had been placed rather arbitrarily in public spaces. In 158 B.C. the censors stepped in and cleared the Forum Romanum of them. At the same time, they ordained that from then on, honorific statues could be erected in the Forum only following a resolution by the Senate and the people.<sup>14</sup>



The models for this newfound desire for self-representation among the Romans were doubtless the Greeks, with whom they were increasingly in contact owing to the rapid expansion of their political hegemony and who in turn began erecting honorary statues in Rome for great Roman generals. The portrait statues and heads filled with pathos and energy of the second century B.C. therefore come as no surprise. For example, the famous bronze statue in the Museo Nazionale Romano, Rome (fig. 11) presumably represents one of Rome's great generals in the manner of a Greek prince but without the ruler's headband.<sup>15</sup> Like statues of Alexander, he holds a spear in his raised left hand and braces his right hand against his hip. Perhaps this was a statue dedicated by Greeks in honor of a Roman general active in Greece. Before long, Roman patrons, too, were apparently able to commission nude warrior statues for Roman generals and officials without objection.

Among Republican portraits from the later second and first centuries B.C., there are also likenesses of politicians whose age is blatantly indicated by deep furrows and wrinkles. One example is the impressive portrait of an old man (fig. 12) who has forcefully turned his head to the side and whose expression bristles with energy and determination. He must be a famous politician, presumably from the second



Fig. 12 Portrait of a Roman senator and commander. Probably 2nd century B.C. Marble. Musée du Louvre, Paris (Ma 919)

century B.C., of whom statues and busts were still being erected under the Empire.<sup>16</sup> One could imagine that this was what Cato the Elder (234–149 B.C.) looked like.

This example demonstrates that, unlike the Greeks, the Romans held age in great respect. Realistic portraits of older men celebrated the fact that they had lived meritorious and successful lives. Elderly senators were honored for their public service as officials and frequently also as generals; ordinary citizens of advanced age were honored for the wealth and standing they had brought to themselves and their families.

Among the latter are the numerous portraits on the tombs of *liberti* (freedmen). These, like the tombs of aristocrats, lined the arterial roads outside Rome and the Roman cities of the West. Generally, the sculptures were reliefs in which the deceased and their families were depicted in half-length portraits or busts (see “Reliefs and Tomb Altars with Portraits of the Deceased,” p. 241).

Under the emperors, the art of portraiture acquires a new aspect. Portraits of members of the Imperial House become prototypes that are largely responsible for the evolution of self-portrayal and taste throughout the Roman Empire. It is not that innovations and changes in fashion always originated in the Imperial House, but rather that portraits of emperors and their families ultimately determined the acceptance of emerging trends in taste and their rapid spread throughout the Empire. Of course there were always fashions and types of portrayals that were not broadly accepted yet found a certain currency. All in all, however, portraits of the Imperial House influenced transformations in the art of portraiture up until Late Antiquity.

Based on the typology of portraits of emperors and their family members, which by now has been thoroughly studied, it can be assumed that the creation of a portrait type originated in an official commission and was approved by the Imperial House. The

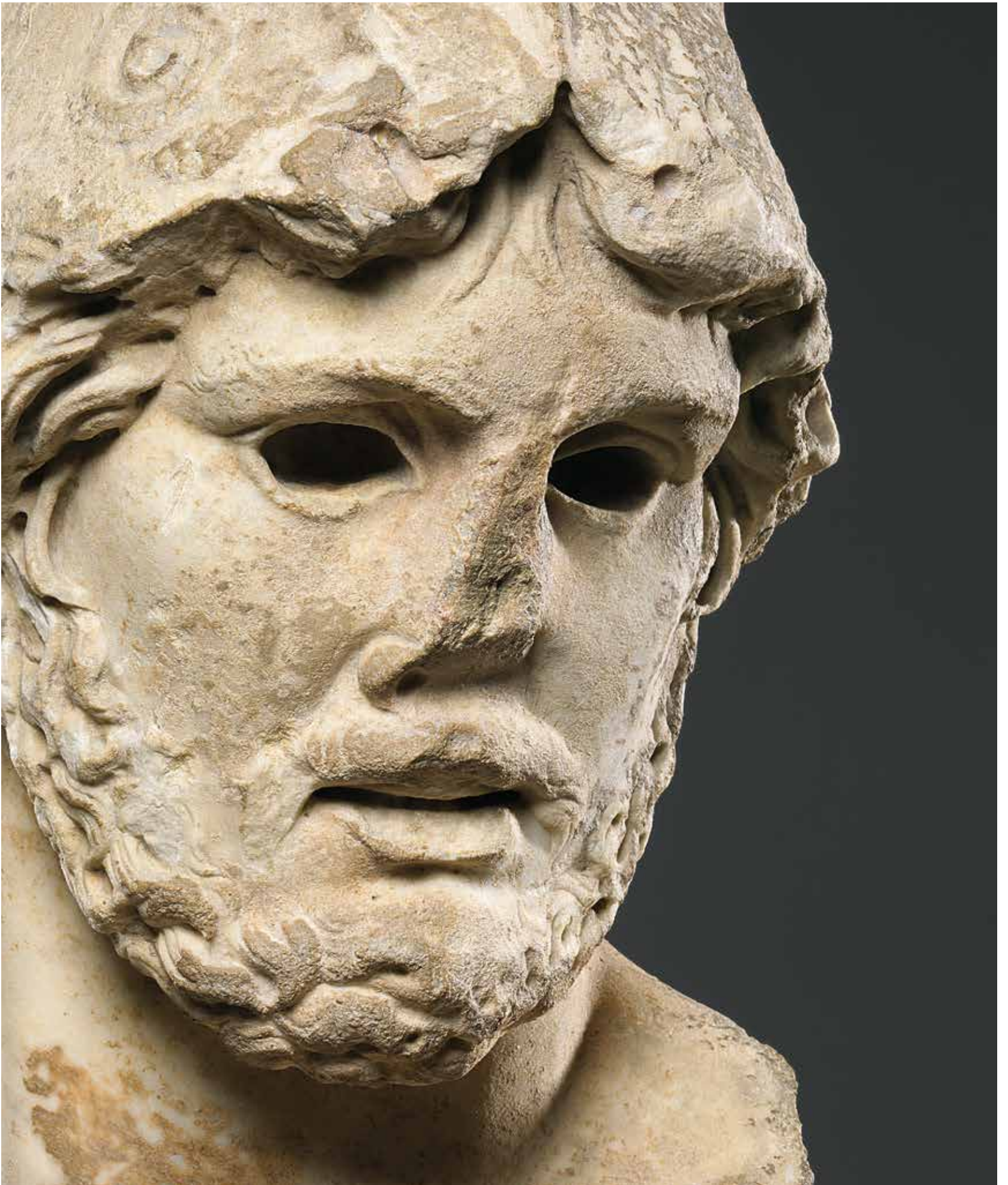
portraits themselves must show how the types were so rapidly disseminated. As is discussed in the presentation of the Imperial portraits, scholarship has determined that the Imperial House left it up to the sculpture workshops to produce and market copies and casts of the originals. However that process actually functioned, the distribution of a new portrait type was in any case very rapid, so that new honorific statues with the most recent official image could be set up throughout the Empire.

In Hellenistic portraits, the body, the position of the head, and the expression were still organically integrated, as especially well illustrated by the statues of Demosthenes and Epikouros (see pp. 37, 39). During the last two centuries B.C., a body uniquely appropriate to the portrait would be replaced by one among an increasing number of standardized types, which certainly allowed for differentiation but hardly individual characterization.

In late Republican Rome, for example, the toga statue identified the subject as a *civis romanus* (Roman citizen); a statue in armor or one with a short robe and mantle portrayed an officer or soldier; and the nude or seminude statue represented a superior being. In addition, there were a few less common types. All of these types were also adopted for statues of emperors. However, depictions using types of the state god Jupiter were reserved for emperors alone in their capacity as deputies of the supreme god who ruled the world (see pp. 56, 67, 68).

#### NOTES

1. Moreno 1998, p. 56, ill.
2. Scholl and Brinkmann 2010, p. 220, fig. 256.
3. Richter 1954, pp. 1–2, no. 1, pls. 1–III; Himmelmann 1989, pp. 69–71.
4. Richter 1965, vol. 1, p. 76, no. 5, figs. 278, 279.
5. Zanker 1995, pp. 27–31.
6. Richter 1965, vol. 1, pp. 97–99, figs. 405–8.
7. Zanker 1995, p. 13, fig. 7; Richter 1965, vol. 1, pp. 99–101 (as “Pausanias”), figs. 413–25.
8. Richter 1954, pp. 56–57, no. 83, pls. LXVII, LXVIII–d.
9. Richter 1965, vol. 2, p. 167, no. 18, figs. 942–44; Richter 1984, pp. 182–83.
10. Richter 1965, vol. 2, p. 173, no. 7, figs. 976–78, 985.
11. Himmelmann 1989, pp. 228–29, no. 16, ill.
12. Hölscher 2009, *passim*.
13. Richter 1965, vol. 3, p. 273, figs. 1910–12; Himmelmann 1989, pp. 207–10, no. 5, ill.
14. Pliny, *Natural History* 34: ch. 14; Lahusen 1983, pp. 18–22.
15. Himmelmann 1989, pp. 205–6, no. 4, ill.
16. Megow 2005, p. 29, pls. 5, 6; for a good illustration, see Zanker 2010, pp. 60–61, fig. 36.



# GREEK PORTRAITS AND THEIR ROMAN COPIES

THIS CHAPTER INCLUDES THE MUSEUM'S few original Greek portraits and its Roman copies of Greek portraits. The Greek originals date from the late fourth century B.C. and the Hellenistic period. Most of the Museum's Roman copies of Greek portraits are heads that were once displayed in the form of herms or busts in Roman houses or villas. In only a few cases is it possible to identify or reconstruct the bodies to which the heads belonged. In two instances, copies of the bodies without the heads are preserved (cats. 13, 14). This discussion seeks to provide a clear account of the history of the works with respect to both the underlying Greek originals and the intended message of the Roman copies or interpretations of them.

Among the original Hellenistic portraits, the head shown in catalogue 1 has been reworked, and its first subject, probably a ruler, can no longer be determined. However, the head in its present form, with a headband and vestiges of bull's horns, unquestionably came from a statue of a ruler from the late fourth or early third century B.C. The figure was presumably nude, wearing at most a short mantle around the neck, as in statuettes of Alexander the Great and the Egyptian king Ptolemy II. We know by its headband that the portrait from the Giustiniani Collection (cat. 7) also represents a Hellenistic ruler, whose identity cannot be established. The work is presumably a Roman copy, not a Hellenistic original. By contrast, the head of a Ptolemaic queen (cat. 2) surely came from an original Greek statue composed of various different materials, owing to the absence of marble in Egypt. Presumably, only the head, hands, and feet were carved of marble. It is possible to imagine what this statue might have looked like, complete with paint on the exposed parts of the body, from a bronze statuette in the British Museum and from the reliefs on Ptolemaic oinochoai (wine jugs) depicting queens wearing chitons and mantles.<sup>1</sup>

The absence of the head on the slightly over-lifesize bronze statue of an orator from the late Hellenistic period (cat. 3) is especially regrettable. It demonstrates very clearly how valuable a knowledge of the lost portrait can be. Was the strain, as the orator presents his argument, reflected in his features, or was he attempting to win over his audience with a friendly expression?

Roman copies of heads from Hellenistic Greek portrait statues were as a rule displayed as herms or busts. The Romans were primarily interested in the faces, where they thought they could read the subjects' personalities and capabilities. Copies of entire portrait statues were rarer. They cost considerably more, required much more space, and were

less meaningful to most Roman viewers, who were unfamiliar with the original Greek body language and the statues' original function.

Among the Roman copies and variants of Hellenistic portraits in the Metropolitan Museum are three whose original, complete statues we can imagine with some certainty. They represent the orator Demosthenes and the philosophers Epikouros and Chrysippos (ca. 281–ca. 208/204 B.C.). All three, preserved or reconstructable as copies from the Roman era, are illustrated and briefly discussed. The intention is to clarify the message and function of the original portraits and show that their Roman copies, diverging greatly from the originals and some from one other, are more accurately understood as interpretations than as copies.

A superb example is the portrait of Demosthenes (cat. 9), whose relaxed features contrast with those of the original bronze statue, where they appear strained to the limit (fig. 14). Thanks to several copies, we have a reliable image of that work. Similar in expression, the portrait of Epikouros (cat. 10), which comes from a bust, differs greatly from the original, which the archaeologist Klaus Fittschen was able to reconstruct with the help of a statue in Athens and a bust in the Palazzo Nuovo of the Musei Capitolini in Rome (fig. 16). As a result, the Hellenistic original can be seen as having an inward-looking, calm, and reflective expression that could show the great teacher's pupils how he had arrived at peace and contentment despite his illness, and how anyone who followed his precepts might conduct his life under even the most difficult circumstances, without worry or fear of death. By contrast, on the Roman bust in the Metropolitan Museum, the expression was so greatly changed that the intended message was lost in favor of one of smug self-assurance. The same is true of most Roman busts and herms of Epikouros, some of which go so far as to exhibit a highly energetic and challenging expression, with a corresponding turn of the head.<sup>2</sup>

Busts and herms in Roman villas and houses had a function wholly different from that of Hellenistic portrait statues. The Romans wished to look directly into the faces of famous Greeks of the past whom they had heard of or whose writings they had read, to get to know them personally, as it were, and communicate with them. The portraits of these Greek luminaries, reduced to their heads, were generally grouped in colonnades and gardens; small busts were displayed indoors. The selection of portraits was probably determined mainly by what the sculpture workshops had to offer, probably a standardized array. For the decoration of villas, purchasers often acquired series of portraits. More highly educated collectors would have had specific requests necessitating special orders, like the one Cicero placed with his friend Atticus, who lived in Athens (Cicero, *Ad Atticum* 1, 6, 2ff.).

The villa with the most extensive portrait collection we know of is the famous Villa dei Papiri in Herculaneum.<sup>3</sup> Most of its herms, busts, and statues stood in a large portico at the heart of the villa and in a long garden peristyle flanking a euripus (watercourse). To judge from the only partially assured sequences, the portraits' placement was by no means

chronological or thematic. Instead, they were grouped together with heads of Classical and archaizing Greek sculptures in a motley, almost arbitrary arrangement, so that heads of deities and heroes were seen next to portraits of queens and philosophers. With the abundance of heads, the villa's owner apparently wished to display a comprehensive overview of Greek culture. Moreover, here, as in other villas, the portraits were inscribed, so that as the cultured visitor passed before them, the names reminded him of the figures' deeds or merits. All of the Museum's Roman copies of Greek portraits could have stood in such a gallery.

The example of the Villa dei Papiri also shows how popular Epikouros and his teachings were in the time of the Roman Empire, for no fewer than four ancient Roman versions of his portrait have been found in different sizes. Since a high proportion of the many papyrus scrolls discovered in the villa contain the writings of the Epicurean philosopher Philodemos of Gadara (ca. 110–30 B.C.), and since portraits of Epikouros's successor, Hermarchos, and his closest friend, Metrodoros, also occur among the finds, there is good reason to believe that at the time of Augustus (r. 31 B.C.–A.D. 14), the villa's owner was a follower of Epicurean teaching. The owner is considered, doubtless correctly, to have been a cultured Roman patrician. The juxtaposition of small portraits of Epikouros and Hermarchos with those of the Stoic Zeno and the orator Demosthenes in the room where the many scrolls were stored implies that, like all politically active Roman aristocrats, this man had not withdrawn into private life in the manner of Epikouros and his pupils, but combined his *negotium* (political responsibilities) in Rome with *otium* (leisure) in one of his villas. The portrait of Zeno could represent his assumption of public duties; the portrait of Demosthenes, his political activity as a member of the Senate.

As suggested by the statuette of a philosopher (cat. 11) that once stood atop a candelabrum on a dining table, the Romans' philosophizing and their interest in philosophical rules for life should not always be taken as a deadly serious matter. The candelabrum served its owner and his feasting and drinking friends as a lampstand in the evening. Given the philosopher's well-groomed appearance and his meticulous clothing and footwear, he was unquestionably an older Epicurean whose obviously well-fed frame was an appropriate table decoration. In this function he represented in abbreviated form the exhortation attributed to Epikouros and so beloved by the Romans, that one should enjoy life, not least in eating and drinking. The statuette could therefore be considered a delightful genre figure were it not for its highly uniform style, which clearly indicates its derivation from a serious portrait of the later third century B.C.

#### NOTES

1. Bronze statuette, British Museum, London (38443): Kyrieleis 1975, p. 178, no. J2, pl. 9. Ptolemaic oinochoai: Thompson 1973.

2. For example, Richter 1965, vol. 2, p. 196, nos. 7, 9, 13, figs. 1164,

1180–82, 1165, 1166.

3. Neudecker 1987, pp. 147–48; Pantermalis 1971, addenda 7–9.



1

**Portrait of a Ruler with Headband and Bull's Horns**

Hellenistic, late 4th or early 3rd century B.C.  
Marble, overall H. 13 $\frac{3}{8}$  in. (35.2 cm), chin to crown 9 $\frac{1}{2}$  in. (24.1 cm)

Gift of Renée E. and Robert A. Belfer, 2012  
(2012.479.10)

**PROVENANCE:** Collection of Kojiro Ishiguro, Tokyo, from at least the 1980s until his death in 1992. Bequeathed by Kojiro Ishiguro to his wife, Toyoko Ishiguro. Sold by the Ishiguro family to Renée E. and Robert A. Belfer through the Ariadne Gallery, New York, in February 1997. Given by Renée E. and Robert A. Belfer to The Metropolitan Museum of Art in 2012.

Despite its splendid condition, this portrait is not easy to understand or classify, for it is unquestionably a reworking of an earlier portrait. This is clearly seen in profile views, where the back of the head rises much too high in relation to the face and forehead. In addition, the large, clustered locks of hair that in the original would have been visible from the nape of the neck to the headband and around and above the ears have all been cut away. The reworking is also evident on the ears. Whereas the left ear survives in its original state, the upper part of the right ear was carved out of the hair of the first version, as is apparent from its execution when the head is viewed from the back. Only the earlobe and base of the ear appear to be from the original version.

The face itself was also greatly changed in the reworking. For example, the left side is clearly broader than the right. The right eyebrow appears to have been considerably shortened and is barely articulated; similarly, the lips are shorter on the right side than on the left. The musculature of the neck



appears to be largely that of the first version, which is why the muscular cord on the right is so prominent and at odds with the movement of the head. Clear traces of the removal of stone are visible beneath the chin.

In the present version, the subject wears a twisted headband, which identifies him as a ruler.<sup>1</sup> The short, animated locks in front of the band merge on the sides with flatter areas of hair carved down from the first version. The head's former polychromy would have made these awkward junctures less obvious than they appear now. The broken surfaces of the inset horns, which were affixed on either side of the head with a light paste, have not been smoothed. Presumably, the horns were a later addition, since the holes in which they were inserted cut through the already carved-down hair of the present version.

It is impossible to identify the subject of the reworked portrait with any assurance, especially since nothing is known about where it was found. Its profile can be compared with coinage of Demetrios Poliorketes (337–288 B.C.) minted earlier in Pella (Macedonia), on which the king had himself portrayed wearing the horns of Dionysos.<sup>2</sup> However, the front view of the head bears no resemblance to the assured portrait of Demetrios discovered in Herculaneum, for the face is too narrow.<sup>3</sup> There are no coin portraits of Demetrios's son and eventual successor as king of Macedonia, Antigonos Gonatas (319–239 B.C.).

The head presumably dates from shortly before or after 300 B.C., but there are few comparable originals from that time. Similarities are found in the brows, eyes, mouth, and cheeks of two portraits in Leiden and Ephesos



that R. R. R. Smith has dated as early Hellenistic and whose subjects he has identified as Diadochi (rulers who succeeded Alexander the Great).<sup>4</sup> The Alexander head in Munich's Glyptothek, though earlier and preserved only as a copy, is comparable in the area of the brows and eyes.<sup>5</sup>

CONDITION: The head is in superb condition, with only small breaks on the tip of the nose and the edge of the left ear.

LITERATURE: Gallery Mikazuki 1996, no. 9, ill.

#### NOTES

1. See the Alexander head with a twisted headband from Kyme, now in the Istanbul Archaeology Museums (Mendel no. 597): R. Smith 1988, pl. 12.3; Salzmänn 2012, with superb illustrations.
2. Newell 1927, pls. VII.9, VII.11. See also a fine portrait of Ptolemy III Euergetes in Cairo: Walker and Higgs 2001, p. 48, no. 10 (S. Ashton). On ruler portraits with horns: Thomas 2001.
3. R. Smith 1988, pls. 4, 5.
4. *Ibid.*, pls. 13.1–2, 13.5–6.
5. Schwarzenberg 1967; Himmelmann 1989, pp. 90–91, 93, figs. 31a–b, 32, p. 216, no. 10, colorpl.; I. Jucker 1993.



## 2

### Portrait of a Ptolemaic Queen

Hellenistic, third century B.C., ca. 270–240 B.C.  
Marble, overall H. 15 in. (38.1 cm), chin to crown 9¾ in. (24.8 cm)

Purchase Lila Acheson Wallace Gift, The Bothmer Purchase Fund, Malcolm Hewitt Wiener, The Concordia Foundation and Christos G. Bastis Gifts and Marguerite and Frank A. Cosgrove Jr. Fund, 2002 (2002.66)

PROVENANCE: Between 1786 and 1796, acquired in Egypt by George Baldwin, British Consul General; until 1826, collection of George Baldwin, London; May 1828, purchased by William Richard Hamilton at the sale of the George Baldwin Collection through Cauty, London; 1828–1976, William Richard Hamilton, London, and descendants; 1953–76, on loan to the British Museum, London; July 1976,

purchased by Mrs. Ariel Herrmann through Sotheby's, London; 1976–early 1980s, collection of Mrs. Ariel Herrmann, New York; [early 1980s–1985/6, with the McAlpine Gallery, London]; [1985/86–2002, private collection, New York and New Haven]; acquired in 2002, purchased through the Acanthus Gallery, New York.

This head probably represents a Ptolemaic queen from the third century B.C. It comes from Egypt and was produced in the typical way for this region, where marble is scarce. Because the block from which the portrait was carved was too small, an additional piece had to be attached to the crown of the head. The veil that covered the back of the head and the coiffure was presumably modeled in stucco on the crudely worked surfaces, as can be seen in a series of portraits of Ptolemaic queens.

The head is captivating, thanks to its austere, dignified presence. The individualized features preclude its being the idealized image of a deity, although the eyes and brows are reminiscent of statues of goddesses such as the Venus de Milo.<sup>1</sup> The portrait was formerly linked to Berenike II of Egypt (r. 246–222/21 B.C.); however, all the portraits associated with that queen present a compact, more rounded head.

Helmut Kyrieleis has argued persuasively that the head is a portrait of Arsinoe II (ca. 316–270 B.C.). This might seem problematic at first glance because of the work's ideal aura. However, many of its features correspond to those represented in the assured portraits of Arsinoe II, including the high cheekbones; the flat, almost sharp-edged eyebrows; and the small, pointed chin. The elongated cheeks are also seen on several portraits of Arsinoe II,



among them, the heads in Istanbul, Venice, the Musée Royal de Mariemont (Morlanwelz, Belgium), and Kingston Lacy (Dorset, England).<sup>2</sup> The very narrow eyes are unusual but are most obvious only in photographs taken from too high an angle. The portraits in Morlanwelz and Kingston Lacy also have narrow eyes.

The rigid pose of the head, facing directly forward, could suggest the equation of the queen with a goddess, as Kyrieleis suggests. This association would be quite logical in the case of Arsinoe II, for after her death in 270 B.C., her brother and husband, Ptolemy II Philadelphus, had her venerated as a goddess in various guises and with her own temples and shrines.<sup>3</sup>

CONDITION: The head was presumably covered with a veil. On the top of the head, a wide space has been smoothed and picked where a marble hairpiece could have been attached. On the sides, the hair ends in crudely worked stone, which must have been covered by the veil. The same is true of the back and the transition between the carefully carved neck and crudely worked sides. Similar finishes, which can be explained by the scarcity of marble in Egypt, are found in an entire series of portraits of Ptolemaic queens.

LITERATURE: Society of Dilettanti 1835, vol. 2, p. 67, pl. 39; Michaelis 1882, p. 434, no. 1; Vermeule and Von Bothmer 1956, p. 334 (as Berenike II, "work of ca. 240 B.C."); Kyrieleis 1975, pp. 84–85, 93–94, 180, no. J9, pl. 78.1–4 (as Arsinoe II); Vermeule 1978–79, pp. 100–101, no. 12 (as Berenike II); Recent Acquisitions 2002, p. 8, ill. (C. Picón: as Ptolemaic queen, ca. 270–250 B.C.); Picón et al. 2007, pp. 190, 448, no. 220; Casagrande-Kim 2014, pp. 45–46, no. 68 (D. Clayman).

#### NOTES

1. Lullies 1979, pp. 138–39, pls. 284, 285.
2. Kyrieleis 1975, pls. 74, 75, 80, 81.
3. Müller 2009.



### 3

#### **Bronze Statue of an Orator**

Late Hellenistic, ca. 50–30 B.C.

Bronze, H. 73 in. (185.4 cm)

Gift of Renée E. and Robert A. Belfer, 2001  
(2001.443)

**PROVENANCE:** Reported to be the property of A. Weber of Eulenbruch, near Cologne, Germany, from the late 1970s; sold by Phoenix Ancient Art S. A. to Mr. and Mrs. Robert Belfer in 2001; partial gift of Robert and Renée Belfer to the Museum in 2001, remainder given in 2010.

Very few ancient bronze statues have survived, for as a rule they have been melted down. Most well-preserved ancient bronzes have been raised from the sea or come from the excavations in Herculaneum. The statue in the Metropolitan Museum comes from an excavation, as is clear from the many traces of soil in the drapery folds. Unfortunately, its findspot is unknown.

The figure wears a Greek cloak and sandals and extends its right forearm toward the viewer, gesturing with the fingers. Clearly, the subject is an orator in the middle of a speech. His weight rests on his left leg, and his right leg is placed slightly forward and to the side. He wears carefully made leather shoes with a closed heel and straps, over which the thongs are knotted with a loop.<sup>1</sup> His cloak is drawn over his right shoulder, then back over the left shoulder and down across his left arm. Two small weights ensure the orderly fall of the folds. In front, the drapery plays about the forms of the body so that the right thigh and abdomen are clearly visible. The fabric is ornamented with a woven, horizontal band that is especially apparent at the back and was heightened with either pigment or gilding.



The sides and back of the statue are strikingly flat. For comparison, there is a statue from roughly the same time that was recovered from the sea off Cilicia (today's southern Turkey). The figure in that sculpture has considerably greater volume than the Metropolitan's, and its back is fully worked. Its cloak happens to exhibit a very similar woven pattern.<sup>2</sup>



The orator's pose evokes the famous statue of Aeschines (389–314 B.C.), who, in contrast to his rival Demosthenes (ca. 382–322 B.C.), boasted of observing the strict Attic rules of rhetoric, which forbade speakers to gesticulate or make any arm movements whatsoever while declaiming.<sup>3</sup> The present orator holds his right arm cradled in the loop of his cloak, to be sure, but extends his hand

toward his public in an explanatory gesture.

In dating the work, note the very similar pose and play of folds around the body in the youth from Eretria in the National Archaeological Museum in Athens, probably from the first century B.C.<sup>4</sup> Closer in time to the Metropolitan's orator is the above-mentioned statue found off the Turkish coast, likely produced about 50 B.C. Even figures of the Zoilos frieze in Aphrodisias, from the early years of the reign of Augustus, compare to the Museum's orator, indicating that the statue was made about 50–30 B.C.<sup>5</sup> Presumably, it comes from western Turkey or neighboring Syria.

CONDITION: The statue is very well preserved; however, the head and neck are missing, as is the left hand, which was cast separately. As yet, the statue has been cleaned only provisionally.

LITERATURE: Picón et al. 2007, pp. 185–87, 447, no. 212.

#### NOTES

1. Marcadé 1969, pls. LXVIII, LXIX.
2. Bruns-Özgan and Özgan 1994.
3. For the statue of Aeschines, see Richter 1965, vol. 2, p. 213, no. 6, figs. 1369–71; Hiller 1962, pl. 12;

Lewerentz 1993, pp. 241–42, no. I.2; Hoff 2008, pp. 21–22, fig. 24.

4. National Archaeological Museum, Athens (244): Bieber 1961, fig. 743; Arndt, Brunn, and Bruckmann 1891–, no. 519; Arndt, Amelung, and Lippold 1893–, ser. III (1897), pl. 624; Niemeier 1985, pp. 143–46; Lewerentz 1993, pp. 242–43, no. I.4, with good photographs of all sides of the work, figs. 3–6.

5. For the Zoilos frieze, see R. Smith 1993, pls. 3, 10, 33.

## 4

**Herm Bust of Herodotos****(ca. 484–ca. 424 B.C.)**

Early Antonine, ca. A.D. 150

Roman copy after a Greek bronze statue of ca. 380 B.C.

Marble, overall H. 18¾ in. (47.6 cm);

H. of the head 13¼ in. (33.5 cm)

Inscription on the shaft: Ἡρόδοτος (Herodotos)

Gift of George F. Baker, 1891 (91.8)

PROVENANCE: Shortly before 1891, found in Benha (ancient Athribis), Lower Egypt, by Émile Brugsch Bey; 1891, purchased by George F. Baker; acquired in 1891, gift of George F. Baker.

In Cicero's time (106–43 B.C.) Herodotos was already regarded as the *pater historiae* (first writer of history) of Greece—"history" in the sense of "investigations" of countries, customs, and events. Scholars differ about the extent to which his accounts, enlivened with numerous narrative digressions, are to be considered "history." Such debate is moot. Especially with respect to the more remote zones of the world then known, Herodotos's precise reports about what he himself had seen and experienced easily blend with retellings of legends, quite in accordance with the way his contemporaries learned about and experienced the world.

Herodotos came from an aristocratic family in Halikarnassos (present-day Bodrum, Turkey), which was at that time under Persian sovereignty. Before he was twenty he fled from the tyrant Lygdamis to Samos. Returned to Halikarnassos, he took part in the tyrant's murder but shortly thereafter left his home for good. He then appears to have begun his wanderings through a large part of the known world, collecting material for his *Historiae*. Finally, about 444 B.C., he migrated

with Attic colonists to the Greek city of Thurii in southern Italy, settling there as a citizen. About 430 B.C. he was once again in Athens. He died approximately six years later.

In the nine books of his *Historiae*, Herodotos relates the historical events, customs, and conventions of various peoples, beginning with the Lydians. He learned a great deal from the priests in Egypt, where he apparently sojourned for an extended period. He tells of the campaigns of the Persian king Darius (r. 522–486 B.C.) against the Scythians on the Black Sea and against "Libya" (North Africa). Then follows his report on the rebellion and subjugation of the Ionians. Finally, in the last three books, he deals extensively with the campaigns of the Persian king Xerxes (r. 486–465 B.C.) against the Greeks, up to the destruction of the Persian fleet at Salamis and the ultimate victory over Persian forces at Plataea (479 B.C.). With this "patriotic" section, especially, he appears to have had great success in his presentations in Olympia and Athens as early as 447–444 B.C., or thereabouts.<sup>1</sup>

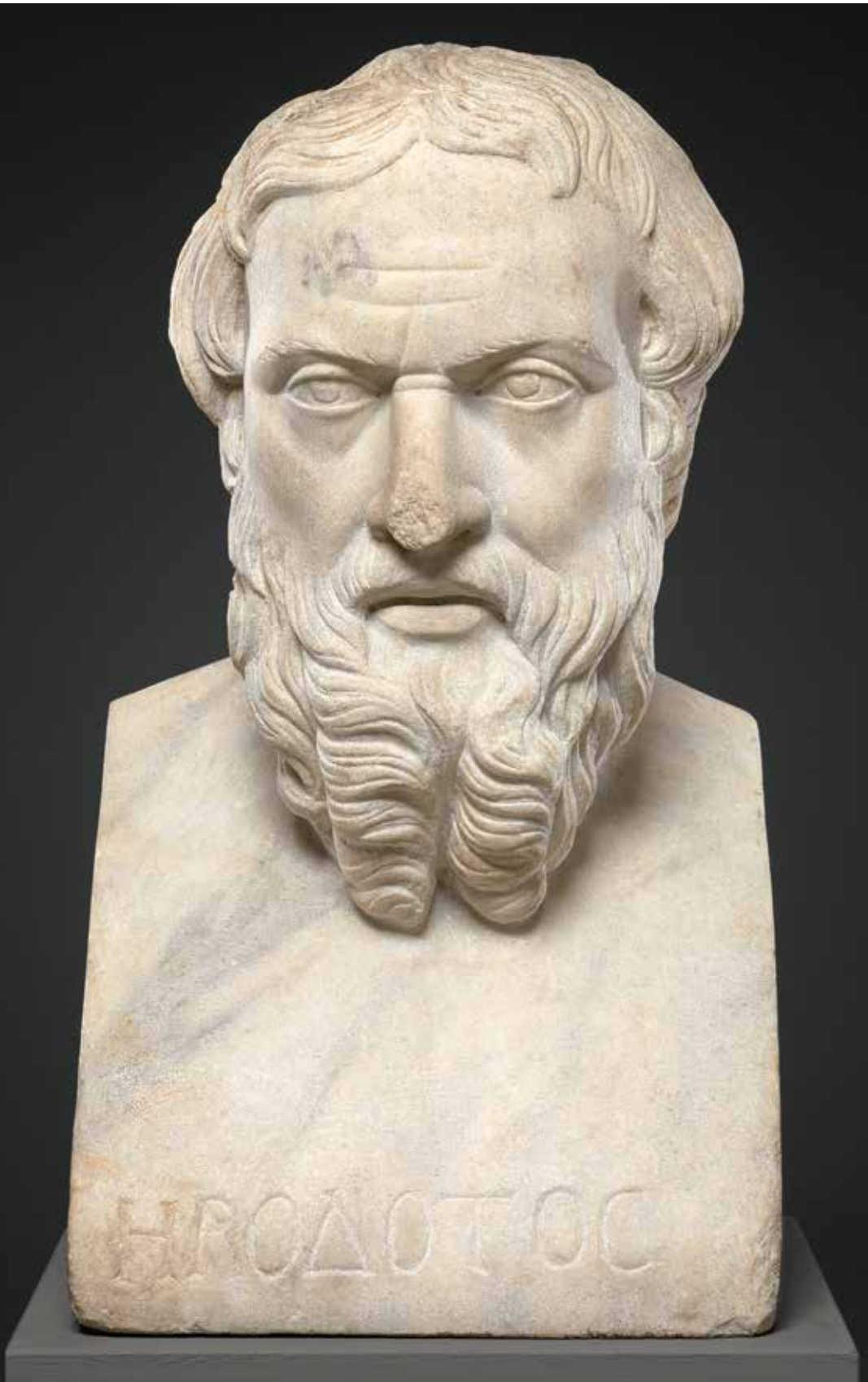
Of the original portrait statue of Herodotos, eight Roman replicas of the head are known—nothing more. Presumably, Herodotos was portrayed wearing a simple cloak that left his right shoulder and chest exposed, like the men represented on Attic grave stelai. Where the original stood is also unknown. There was doubtless an entire series of statues erected in his honor; however, historical sources mention only three: one stood in the Baths of Xeuxippos in Constantinople; one in the gymnasium of the ephebes in Halikarnassos, Herodotos's native city; and one in Pergamon.<sup>2</sup>

Half of the surviving head replicas come from herms, like the portrait in New York and the double herm in Naples on which a portrait of Herodotos is paired with one of Thucydides.<sup>3</sup> This indicates that portraits of the great Greek historians were eagerly displayed by Roman villa owners in their gardens or houses as evidence of their education.<sup>4</sup>

Unfortunately, it is impossible to determine with certainty which replica reproduces the head of the original most faithfully. As for the quality of the carving and the details in the rendering of the hair, the Metropolitan Museum copy and the double herm in Naples doubtless resemble the original most reliably; in these aspects they are essentially confirmed by the two heads in Dresden and Berlin.<sup>5</sup> In the face and beard, however, the differences in all four of these copies are obvious.

The New York head presents Herodotos as a man of advanced age. His mouth is open, as if he were speaking. Above his high forehead, his hair forms broadly splayed "tongs." The modeling of the creases as straight lines at the root of the nose and on the forehead was surely a simplification by the copyist, but they harmonize well with the equally simple forms of the cheeks, with their scarcely visible cheekbones, and the way the skin sags beneath the eyes. Even the two "archaicizing" spirals in the beard are well suited to the austere aspect of the face.

In the Herodotos portrait on the double herm in Naples, the entire structure of the head and numerous details, such as the hair, are very similar to those of the New York bust; however the forms in the face and beard are rendered less bluntly. The forehead has three curving and more conspicuous



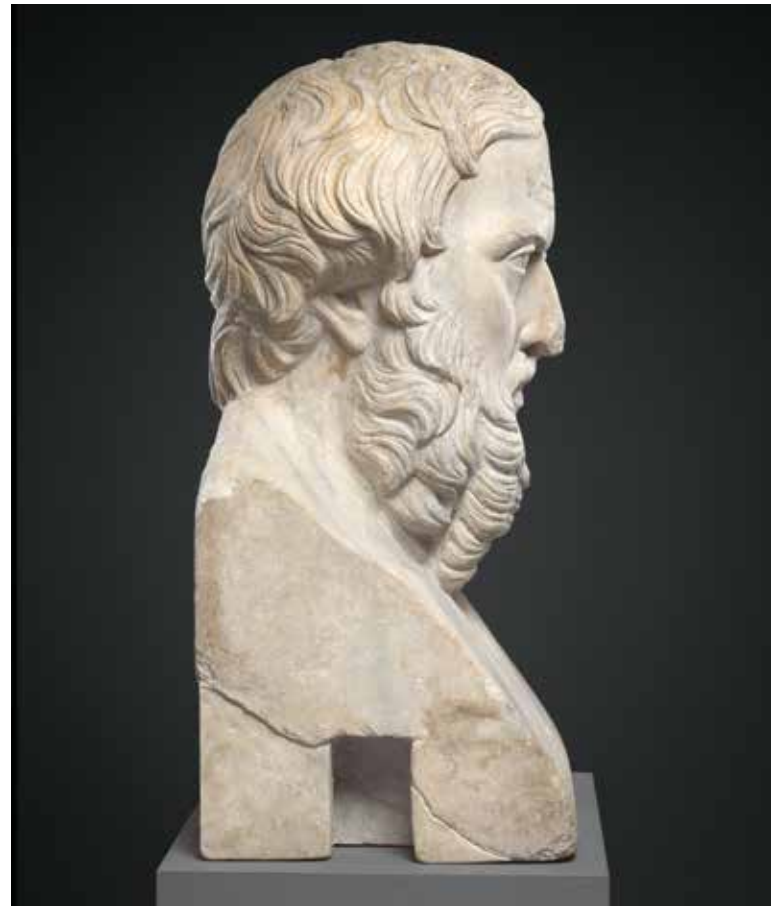
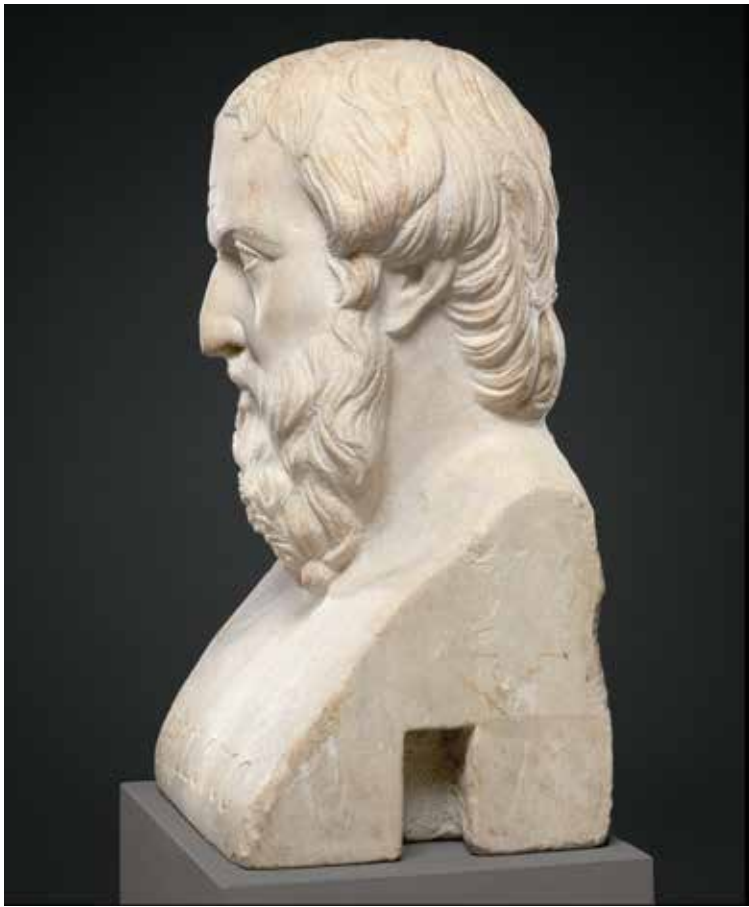
horizontal creases; the contraction of the brows and the furrows beside the nose are less pronounced; and the mouth is barely open. In the beard, the locks that are so severe in the New York head have been loosened up and, accordingly, seem more natural.

Comparing the other replicas, the severe spiral locks of the beard on the New York head recur in similar form on the majority, but the brow area is developed nowhere as sharply and expressively as in the Metropolitan Museum's work. On the other hand, the forehead creases in all the other copies are represented by three horizontal, curving lines. In this respect, the simplification of the New York head seems unique. Thus it is scarcely possible to determine which version comes closest to the original.

Like all the other repetitions of the type, the New York portrait can be dated to the time after Hadrian's death in A.D. 138. Its eyes make the head seem more vigorous than the other replicas, thanks to the sharply outlined irises and recessed pupils. Herodotus gazes to his right, and since the left half of the face is flatter and thus seems broader, the original head was presumably turned toward its right.

There is still the question of dating the original. Over time many possibilities have been proposed, from the early fourth century B.C. to the Empire. Karl Schefold's opinion that the original dated from the time of the Empire seems untenable, for as yet there are no original portraits of famous Greeks of the Classical period that were first created in the Empire.<sup>6</sup> Moreover, no stylistic features support such a claim. It seems most probable that the original on which the Metropolitan's copy is based dated from the early fourth





century B.C., as recently proposed most convincingly by Christiane Vorster. As with the originals of portraits of Thucydides, correspondingly dated to the earlier fourth century B.C., the portrait of Herodotos presents old-fashioned features, especially in the hair and beard. A distinctly comparable rendering of the broad locks of the hair and beard and of the shape of the face occurs in the copy of the portrait of Lysias (ca. 458–380 B.C.) in the Palazzo Nuovo in Rome.<sup>7</sup> Besides being an outstanding orator or writer of speeches in Athens under Thrasybulos, Lysias had championed the restoration of the democratic constitution. His honorific statue must have been erected, like that of Demosthenes, about 380 B.C.,<sup>8</sup> and

the original statue of Herodotos could also have been created at that time.

**CONDITION:** All that is missing in the face is the tip of the nose. There is slight damage to the beard. On the right and on the back, on either side of the rectangular hole for the herm shaft, small pieces of marble that had broken off were restored in modern times. The back exhibits raw traces of the chisel; the hair and mouth reveal traces of the drill.

**LITERATURE:** E. Robinson 1919, ill.; Graindor 1939, pp. 74–76, no. 26, pls. XXIII, LXXII.6 (as post-Hadrianic copy after a Hellenistic original); Curtius 1944, p. 74 (as “unusable variant” of a possible Classical type); G. Lippold 1950, p. 215 n. 6 (as Alexandrian?); Richter 1954, pp. 66–67, no. 103, pl. LXXXIII; Richter 1965, vol. 1, p. 146, no. 8, figs. 795, 796; Fittschen 1977a, p. 17, no. 4 n. 5 (as after an original from not before the mid-fourth century B.C.); Richter 1984, pp. 131–33; Schefold 1997, p. 348, fig. 221, coins

pp. 414–15 (dates the prototype to the Augustan era); Vorster 2004, p. 388, fig. 357 (as original from the first half of the fourth century B.C.); Picón et al. 2007, pp. 219, 454, no. 256 (as prototype probably from the first half of the fourth century B.C.).

#### NOTES

1. Bichler and Rollinger 2011; Jacoby 1913.
2. Richter 1965, vol. 1, p. 145.
3. Museo Archeologico Nazionale, Naples (6239): Richter 1965, vol. 1, p. 146, no. 2, figs. 810–12.
4. On the function of herms and double herms, see Wrede 1986, pp. 78–79.
5. Richter 1965, vol. 1, p. 146 n. 6, figs. 804–6 (Dresden), p. 146, no. 5, figs. 815, 816 (Berlin).
6. To the present writer’s knowledge, Schefold’s dating to the early Empire has been received positively only in Metzler 1971, p. 273. See Fittschen 1977a, p. 18 n. 17.
7. Musei Capitolini, Palazzo Nuovo, Sala dei Filosofi (601).
8. Richter 1965, vol. 2, pp. 207–8, figs. 1343–45.

## 5

### Portrait of a Greek General

Late Republican, ca. 50 B.C.

Roman copy after a Greek bronze portrait statue, possibly of the second quarter of the 4th century B.C.

Marble, overall H. 18 $\frac{3}{16}$  in. (46.2 cm), chin to crown 8 $\frac{1}{2}$  in. (21.6 cm)

Fletcher Fund, 1924 (24.97.32)

PROVENANCE: [Until 1924, with Alfredo Barsanti, Rome]; acquired in 1924, purchased from A. Barsanti.

The Corinthian helmet (without crest) identifies the subject as a Greek strategos (general).<sup>1</sup> The portrait is a Roman copy that was presumably displayed in a villa or an aristocratic house. Dimitrios Pantermalis (1969) compiled a list of Roman copies of at least twelve different strategos heads, some with Corinthian and others with Attic helmets, and several of them in the form of herms. Unlike most other Roman copies of strategos portraits, the head in the Metropolitan Museum presumably belonged originally to a statue (see Condition). Since four additional replicas of the same type have survived, it can be assumed that the subject was a well-known personality.

Scholars unanimously judge the New York portrait to be the most impressive and reliable replica of the type. The energetic movement to the left gives the slightly tilted head a dynamic expression that must have been even more effective when the head was on the statue. The right side of the neck is correspondingly extended, and the left shoulder is raised in response. The open mouth, which provides a glimpse of the upper teeth, heightens the powerful expression. Added to this were inset eyes in colored glass. The long strands of hair flicker



about the forehead and the sides of the face and curl at the nape of the neck.

As in all strategos portraits, the helmet is raised above the forehead. It would have contributed even more than it does now to the effect of the head if the cheek-pieces had been preserved. Only in the New York copy is the helmet decorated with reliefs. On the sides of the nose guard are two large ram's horns, and on the crown two rampant griffins spring toward the center.

The replica is now unanimously dated to the late Republican period. Most indicative is the rendering of the hair and beard. The individual strands are carved three-dimensionally, clearly subdivided, and are separated on the head by deeply drilled channels carefully reworked with the chisel. As for the clarity of the modeling, some of which clearly attempts to imitate the original bronze, the quality of this head is matched by no other replica. The one in Naples, from Herculaneum, must have been produced before the eruption of Mount Vesuvius in A.D. 79 and most likely dates from after A.D. 50.<sup>2</sup> The locks of its hair and beard agree closely with those of the head in New York, although their forms are somewhat more tightly fused together. The head in the Museo Nazionale Romano, Rome, from the later first century A.D., also confirms the tradition of the New York portrait, though the Rome head turns to the opposite side.<sup>3</sup> "Reversed" copies have long been known in idealizing sculpture. The copy in the Sala della Biga in the Vatican Museums confirms the direction of the head in the New York copy, whereas the replica in the Vatican's Museo Chiaramonti, with its classicizing forms, is of no value in a reconstruction of the original.<sup>4</sup>

Scholarly attempts to date the original on which the copies were based have disagreed considerably. Margarete Bieber and Pantermalis wished to date the original image to the late fourth century B.C., proceeding on the hypothesis that the subject was Alcibiades, of whom a statue had been erected in the Forum Romanum, together with one of Pythagoras, about 300 B.C. Yet arguments in favor of such an identification, appealing as it is, are too uncertain to be convincing. Christiane Vorster recently suggested a dating to the second quarter of the fourth century B.C., which seems reasonable, especially since the head recalls late fifth-century forms in such details as the beard, the forehead, and the area around the eyes. But this leaves open the question of the subject's identity, which has also been sought among the heroes from the time of the Trojan War, although the other strategos portraits argue against this possibility.

The only strategos portrait with a firmly identified subject is that of Perikles. Unfortunately, none of the Roman copies of strategos portraits have been linked to matching statues. It is only in the Metropolitan Museum's example that the turned head and the breast section indicate something of the statue on which the portrait originally sat. Most likely it was a statue in armor. Its appearance can be imagined from examples depicted on Attic tomb and votive reliefs and on the basis of small bronzes.<sup>5</sup>

The earliest statues of generals in Athens, such as those of Perikles (ca. 495–429 B.C.) and his father Xanthippos (ca. 525–475 B.C.) on the Akropolis, were dedications erected either by the generals themselves or by their followers and families. This was a

favored form of self-glorification. Rulers and powerful politicians also donated such votive statues in the great Panhellenic sanctuaries of Delphi and Olympia, where they were seen by all. They must be distinguished from the honorific statues commissioned in Athens by the assembly, most of which were erected on the Agora or at the Theater of Dionysos. The first Attic politician to be so honored was Konon, who had defeated the Spartans in a sea battle near Knidos in 394 B.C. To the Athenians, the strategos statues on the Agora represented an extraordinary distinction. While in other cities only victorious athletes were lauded with statues, in Athens successful generals were honored in the Agora near the monument to the tyrannicides Harmodios and Aristogeiton. At least that is how the famous orator Lykourgos described the Athenians' custom.<sup>6</sup>

Unfortunately, it is not known who donated the statue on which the original of the present head sat or in which agora or shrine it was erected.

CONDITION: Thick incrustations covering the entire surface have been removed from the face and the right side of the helmet only, probably with acid. Given the narrow shoulder section and the removal of the edge of a garment on the left side, it can be assumed that the head was originally destined for a statue. The work appears to have been damaged and repaired in Antiquity, and then presumably displayed as a bust. This would explain the removal of the drapery fragment and the strands of hair at the neck. A metal peg was inserted during this repair to attach the missing tip of the nose. The rim of the helmet is missing above the forehead. Traces of the now-missing cheek-pieces and the dowels employed to attach them are visible on both sides. There is damage to the face and the locks of the beard.

LITERATURE: Alexander 1930, pp. 166–68, fig. 1; Arndt, Amelung, and Lippold 1893–, ser. XVII B



(1940), nos. 4735–37 (M. Bieber: as Alcibiades?); V. Poulsen 1954a, p. 203 (as Alcibiades?); Richter 1954, p. 67, no. 104, pl. LXXXIV; Richter 1965, vol. 2, p. 158 (attempted identification with Phokion); Pantermalis 1969, pp. 59–65 (detailed analysis of copies; dates the original to the late fourth century B.C. and also considers an identification as Alcibiades); Korres 1970, pl. 37B; Giuliano 1987, p. 3, no. R2 (D. Bonanome: extensive discussion of the type); Vorster 2004, p. 386, pl. 351 (as original from the second quarter of the fourth

century B.C.); Picón et al. 2007, pp. 182, 446, no. 209 (as mid-fourth century B.C.).

#### NOTES

1. M. Weber 2002.
2. Museo Archeologico Nazionale, Naples (6157) (from Herculaneum), *Guida Ruesch* 1134; Pantermalis 1969, pp. 60–61, pls. 17.3–4, 18.1.
3. Museo Nazionale Romano, Rome (74037); Giuliano 1987, pp. 3–6, no. R2; Pantermalis 1969, p. 61, pls. 18.4, 19.4.
4. Vatican Museums, Sala della Biga (616); G. Lippold 1956, pp. 83–86, pls. 41, 42; Pantermalis

1969, pp. 61–62, pls. 18.3, 19.1. Vatican Museums, Museo Chiaramonti, no. 14 (531); Andreae 1995, vol. 1, pl. 33, vol. 3, p. 9; Pantermalis 1969, p. 62, pl. 19.2–3.

5. For Attic tomb and votive reliefs, compare, for example, the honorary decree for Herodoros from the year 294–95 B.C.: Acropolis Museum, Athens (4063-EM 7386); Walter 1923, p. 8, no. 9; M. Meyer 1989, p. 312, no. A169, pl. 45.2. For small bronzes, see, for example, the bronze statuette, National Museum, Athens (16727); Karouzos 1968, p. 186, fig. 1.

6. See Vorster 2004, p. 385.



## 6

**Portrait of a Bearded Poet, Philosopher, or Sage**

Hadrianic, ca. A.D. 120–40

Roman copy of a Greek original of the late 4th century B.C.

Marble, H. 12<sup>3</sup>/<sub>16</sub> in. (31 cm)

Marguerite and Frank A. Cosgrove Jr. Fund, 1993 (1993.342)

PROVENANCE: Said to be from Italy (H. Jucker and Willers 1982, p. 39); by 1982, private collection, Switzerland; [1988, purchased by Acanthus Gallery, New York]; private collection, New York, purchased from Acanthus Gallery; 1993, exchanged by the owner for another work from Acanthus Gallery; [1993, with Acanthus Gallery, New York]; acquired in 1993, purchased from Acanthus Gallery, New York.

The head is a copy of a Greek portrait from the late fourth century B.C., one of no fewer than nine Roman replicas of the original known today. The subject was therefore presumably an acclaimed Greek poet or philosopher, or perhaps one of the sages. This supposition is supported by the fact that most of the replicas were displayed as herms in Roman villas or houses, probably together with portraits of other great Greeks of the past.

In order to obtain some idea of the lost Greek original, it is necessary to consider the copies. The following are known:

1. The Metropolitan Museum, New York (1993.342)—the head discussed here.
2. Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek, Copenhagen (1621). The herm has been restored in modern times: Brendel 1936, p. 49, pls. 6, 7 (as Thales); V. Poulsen 1954b, pp. 42–43, no. 14; Richter 1965, vol. 1, p. 85, no. 1; Johansen 1992, pp. 52–53, no. 17.

3. Petworth House, England—herm bust: Wyndham 1915, pp. 53–54, no. 30, pl. 30; Richter 1965, vol. 1, p. 85, no. 2; Raeder 2000, pp. 130–33, no. 40, pl. 55.

4. Galleria degli Uffizi, Florence (1914, n. 371): Arndt, Brunn, and Bruckmann 1891–, nos. 617, 618; Mansuelli 1961, p. 96, no. 110; Richter 1965, vol. 1, p. 85, no. 3.

5. Musei Capitolini, Palazzo Nuovo, Sala dei Filosofi, Rome (57)—herm bust: Arndt, Brunn, and Bruckmann 1891–, nos. 613, 614; Jones 1912, p. 248, no. 71; Richter 1965, vol. 1, p. 85, no. 4; Helbig 1966, p. 169, no. 1351 (H. von Heintze).

6. Staatliche Museen, Antikensammlung, Berlin (Sk 314): Blümel 1938, no. K201, pl. 14; Richter 1965, vol. 1, p. 85, no. 5.

7. Location unknown. In 1937 in the possession of Count Branicki Starczuk, Wilanów, Poland: Starczuk 1929, p. 418, pl. 9; Arndt, Amelung, and Lippold 1893–, ser. xva (1937), nos. 4264, 4265; Richter 1965, vol. 1, p. 85, no. 6; Mikocki 1994.

8. J. Paul Getty Museum, Malibu (73.AA.134)—herm bust (ex coll. B. Meissner, Zeuthen, Germany): Arndt, Brunn, and Bruckmann 1891–, nos. 1194, 1195; Richter 1965, vol. 1, p. 85, no. 7; Frel 1981, no. 16, ill.

9. Palazzo Medici Riccardi, Florence—herm bust: Richter 1965, vol. 1, p. 85, no. 8; Saladino 2000, pp. 197–99, no. 69 (E. Polito).

Comparison of the copies, which differ greatly from one another, confirms the New York head in all essential points; on the whole, it proves to be the best replica of the type. Before the sides were so badly damaged, the overall shape of the head most closely resembled the

replicas in Rome (no. 5) and Malibu (no. 8). The locks of hair around the forehead are similar to those of the heads in Copenhagen (no. 2) and Petworth (no. 3), rightly considered by Gisela M. A. Richter to be the “most faithful” copies. The same is true of the hair at the sides. The locks of the beards in the works at Petworth House (no. 3) and the Uffizi (no. 4) most closely approximate those of the present head, though the latter proves to be more precise in detail than all the others. The broad face is unquestionably reproduced most sensitively in the present copy. Throughout the work, however, the copyist’s own style plays a distinct role. For example, the eyes, with their metallic-seeming lids, exhibit a classicizing form especially typical of the Hadrianic era.

Dating the replicas requires no special analysis. The present head is the earliest copy and was presumably made in the Hadrianic period. All the other versions were made in the Antonine era, as the cursory execution of their sides and, even more so, backs, reveals. On the present head, even the locks at the back are clearly, if somewhat broadly, rendered.

The two sides of the face on the New York head differ from one another. The proper left side is somewhat broader than the right and is quite flat as it recedes, whereas the right side seems compact and swollen. This suggests a slight turning of the head toward its right. The herm copies confirm this observation: the head, at least in this Roman version, was directed slightly to the right (compare copies 4, 5, and 8).

The portrait at first suggests a distinctive personality. On closer



inspection, however, the seemingly individualized features take on formulaic shapes from the Late Classical period. To be sure, the formulas of the copyist's era are in part responsible for this, as are the adverse consequences of the damage. A sense of the original Greek portrait's effect can be derived from the much more severe expressions on the replicas in Copenhagen (no. 2) and Petworth (no. 3). In any case, the forehead on the original must have been furrowed, the eyes shadowed beneath the strongly projecting brows, the cheekbones more prominent, and the mouth seemingly closed beneath the mustache.

The disordered tangle of long locks was doubtless an attribute associated with the subject, who was probably a poet or one of the Seven Sages. Attempts to identify him with Pindar and Thales have proved to be surely false; there is also no concrete evidence to support an identification with the sage Solon—the most popular hypothesis. It is not possible to say more than that, on the basis of the many copies of his portrait, the subject must have been a Greek who was still very famous in the time of the Empire.

CONDITION: The head appears to have suffered considerable damage during or after its discovery, resulting in the exposure of many

areas of light, unweathered marble. The ancient chips exhibit the same brownish color as the weathered stone. The nose, brows, and upper lip have broken away. Large sections of the curls above the forehead and on both sides of the face are missing.

LITERATURE: H. Jucker and Willers 1982, p. 39, no. 11; *Recent Acquisitions* 1994, pp. 14–15, ill. (E. Milleker); Saladino 2000, p. 198, under no. 69 (E. Polito); Picón et al. 2007, pp. 219, 454, no. 255.

ON THE PORTRAIT TYPE: See the last list of replicas in Richter 1965, vol. 1, pp. 85–86 (with tentative identifications), as corrected by Eugenio Polito in Saladino 2000, pp. 197–99, no. 69.



7

**Portrait of an Early Hellenistic King**

Hellenistic–late Republican, ca. early

1st century B.C.

Roman replica of a Greek portrait of the late  
4th century B.C.

Overall H. 14 $\frac{3}{16}$  in. (37 cm); H. of the head  
10 $\frac{7}{8}$  in. (27.5 cm)

Gift of Mrs. Frederick F. Thompson, 1903  
(03.12.8b)

PROVENANCE: From before 1637 and until  
1902, in the Giustiniani Collection, Rome;  
1902, purchased from the Giustiniani  
family through Giuseppe Sangiorgi by  
Mrs. Frederick F. Thompson, New York;  
acquired in 1903, gift of Mrs. Frederick F.  
Thompson.

This slightly over-lifesize head has a long history. It was presumably restored even before it was placed on the Diadoumenos statue, thus before 1631 (see Condition). The restoration was so radical that an assured identification of the Greek original on which this Roman replica is based is scarcely possible. The presence of the headband indicates that the subject was a ruler. However, it is difficult to determine whether the idealized face was a characteristic of the original work or new to the Roman replica. For this reason, it is unproductive to seek a name for the subject.

Based on its style, the head has often been related to the famous statue of Meleager, which is generally attributed to the sculptor Skopas of Paros. Yet, while the head bears a certain similarity to the head of Meleager, this line of reasoning does not lead to dating that is even somewhat assured.

R. R. R. Smith has pointed to two very similar heads in the Sala dei Busti of the Vatican Museums and in Houghton Hall, Norfolk, England.<sup>1</sup>





Despite the major post-Antique changes to the New York head, it is possible to see that this work and the one in Norfolk could be replicas of the same type. This evidence would

support dating the Greek original to the late fourth century B.C.

The execution of the Metropolitan's head is of the earlier part of the first century B.C. Comparable is an anonymous portrait type with copies in the Museo Archeologico Nazionale in Rome and in the National Archaeological Museum in Tirana.<sup>2</sup> Pertinent also is the Basel replica of another late Republican type.<sup>3</sup>

CONDITION: Sometime before 1631, the head was placed on the body of a Roman replica of the Diadoumenos by Polykleitos in the Galleria Giustiniani, Rome. The resulting statue, identified as a gladiator, stood in the cortile of the Palazzo Giustiniani until it was sold at the beginning of the twentieth century.

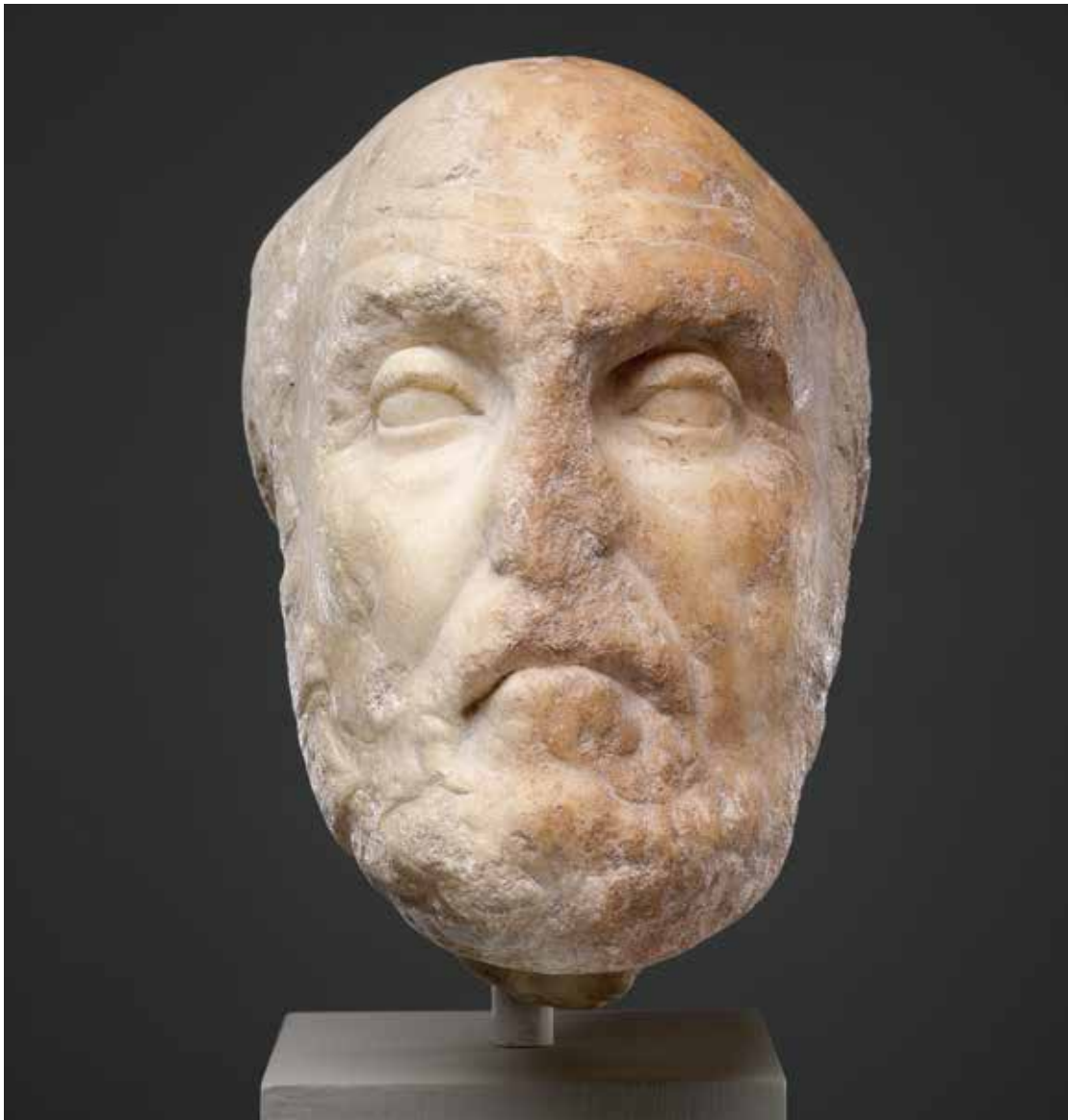
In the Metropolitan Museum, the head was removed from the statue and displayed separately only in 1938.<sup>4</sup> Because it was badly damaged, the old restorations were preserved. The nose, chin, and a piece of the left side of the cranium are restored. The lips are partly chipped, and in the face and hair there are still traces of numerous breaks and abrasions

despite evidence of harsh cleaning, so that the sculptural structure is partially lost. The edge of the right ear and the top of the left one are missing. On the back, the hair above the neck is wholly abraded, leaving its forms barely distinguishable. When the head was placed on the Diadoumenos, the base of the neck was smoothed.

LITERATURE: Giustiniani 1631, pl. 104; Matz and von Duhn 1881–82, vol. 1, p. 298, no. 1041 (diadoch); Petersen 1890, p. 190, no. 5; Rizzo 1905, pp. 42–44, fig. 10; Arndt, Amelung, and Lippold 1893–, ser. XVIB (1940), nos. 4724–26 (M. Bieber); Richter 1954, pp. 77–78, no. 135, pl. CI (as “early Hellenistic ruler, perhaps Demetrios Poliorketes”); R. Smith 1988, pp. 66, 157, no. 12, pl. 11.1–2; Fusconi 2001, pp. 244–47, no. 21, pl. 21b–c (L. Buccino); Picón et al. 2007, pp. 183, 446–47, no. 210 (as copy of a work from the early third century B.C.).

#### NOTES

1. R. Smith 1988, pl. 10.3–6.
2. Megow 2005, pp. 21–22, pls. 1–4, and Himmelmann 1989, pp. 225–28, with good illustrations of the head from all sides.
3. Berger 1980; Megow 2005, p. 55, pls. 21, 22.
4. For the headless statue, see MMA 03.12.8a.



## 8

### Portrait of the Philosopher Chrysippos (ca. 281–ca. 208/204 B.C.)

Probably Early Imperial, ca. A.D. 50  
Roman copy after a Greek portrait statue,  
probably of the last decade of the third  
century B.C.

Marble, H. 5½ in. (14 cm)  
Fletcher Fund, 1924 (24.243)

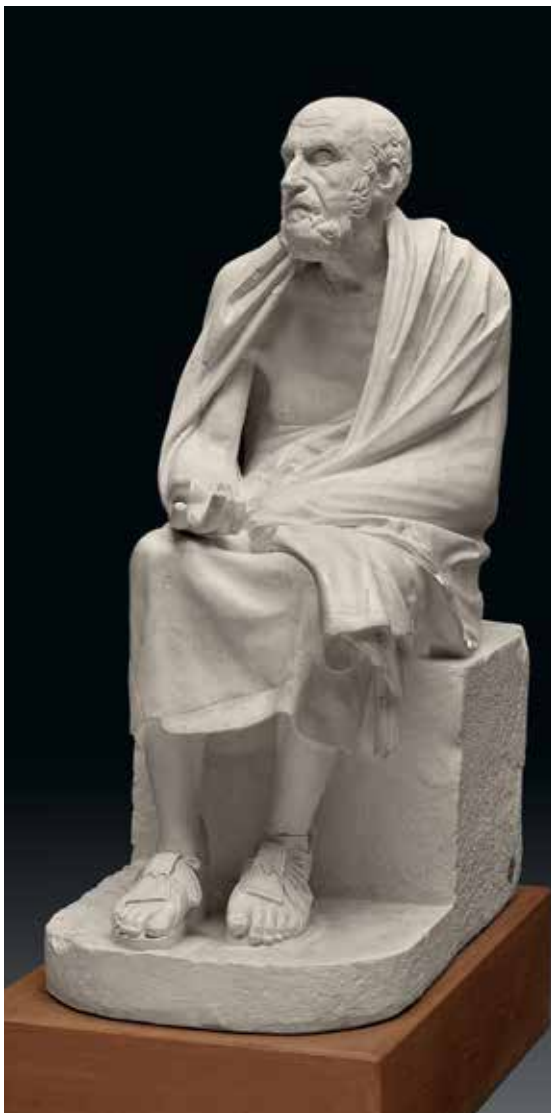
PROVENANCE: Said to have been found in  
Rome; [with Ugo Jandolo, Rome]; [with  
Durlacher Brothers, London]; [until 1924, with  
Joseph Brummer, New York]; acquired in 1924,  
purchased from Joseph Brummer.

As a young man, Chrysippos left Soloi in Cilicia (near Adana, modern Turkey) for Athens, where he first studied in the Academy founded by Plato, then switched to the Stoics under Kleanthes. About 231/230 B.C., Chrysippos succeeded Kleanthes as head of the Stoic school of philosophy. He wrote numerous works about the most varied aspects of philosophy, of which only fragments have survived.<sup>1</sup> During the Empire he was considered

the chief representative of the widely disseminated Stoic teachings and was famous for the vehemence and penetration of his argument. These qualities also inform the conception of a lifesize, headless statue in the Musée du Louvre, Paris, which, to judge from the inscription on an unfortunately headless bust in Athens, represents Chrysippos.<sup>2</sup> The work in Paris is probably a copy of a statue mentioned by several ancient authors as being by the artist

Eubulides. It represented the philosopher *digitis computans* (counting on his fingers)<sup>3</sup> and was probably erected after his death in the last decade of the third century B.C.

A reconstruction of the statue shows the old man seated on a simple block of stone, bent forward as though shivering, his feet placed uncertainly on the ground (fig. 13). He has drawn his cloak closely around his shoulders and back. Of his naked, decrepit body only a part of his chest is visible. However, in distinct contrast to his physical appearance, the philosopher's



unrelenting intellectual energy abounds: he virtually butts his head against the person he is addressing, enumerating the separate points of his argument on the fingers of his outstretched right hand.<sup>4</sup>

It is as yet uncertain whether the head, of which there are several replicas in various sizes, belongs to this body, though it very probably does.<sup>5</sup> The copy in the British Museum, London, provides the best sense of its emphatic energy; it gives the impression that the subject is directly

attacking his vis-à-vis or opponent.<sup>6</sup> For facial details, however, it is better to consult other copies, especially a bust in Naples.<sup>7</sup>

The under-lifesize replica in New York likely comes from a small bust displayed in a domestic setting. It probably dates from the early Empire. How popular it was for Romans to display portraits of Chrysippos in their homes is reported by the satirist Juvenal (ca. A.D. 60–after 127), who scoffs at the would-be sophisticates *indocti primum, quamquam plena omnia gypso Chrysippi invenias* (whose houses were crammed with plaster casts of Chrysippos).<sup>8</sup> Despite its poor condition, the New York head conveys the sculptor's ability to reproduce the energy of the original.

Fig. 13 Statue of Chrysippos. Modern reconstruction of bronze original, probably of the late 3rd century B.C. Plaster cast, H. 45 $\frac{5}{8}$  in. (116 cm). Museum für Abgüsse Klassischer Bildwerke, Munich



The position of the head, especially, matches that of the replica in London. Presumably, the New York copy was made in the early Imperial era.

In 1999, during excavations in the area of Rome's Forum Pacis, an even smaller bust, in bronze, of the Chrysispos portrait was found in Early Medieval rubble. It is conceivable, as the writer who published it suggested, that this small bust originally stood in one of the scroll cupboards in the reading room of the "library" in the Forum Pacis.<sup>9</sup> The work is astonishingly detailed and provides further evidence of the widespread distribution of Chrysispos portraits in the Empire.

CONDITION: The under-lifesize head is badly damaged. The nose, most of the eyebrows, and

large portions of the ears are missing. The beard and hair are abraded. Enough of the neck is preserved to indicate clearly that the head was thrust forward. When the head was acquired, it was mounted on a statue to which it did not belong.

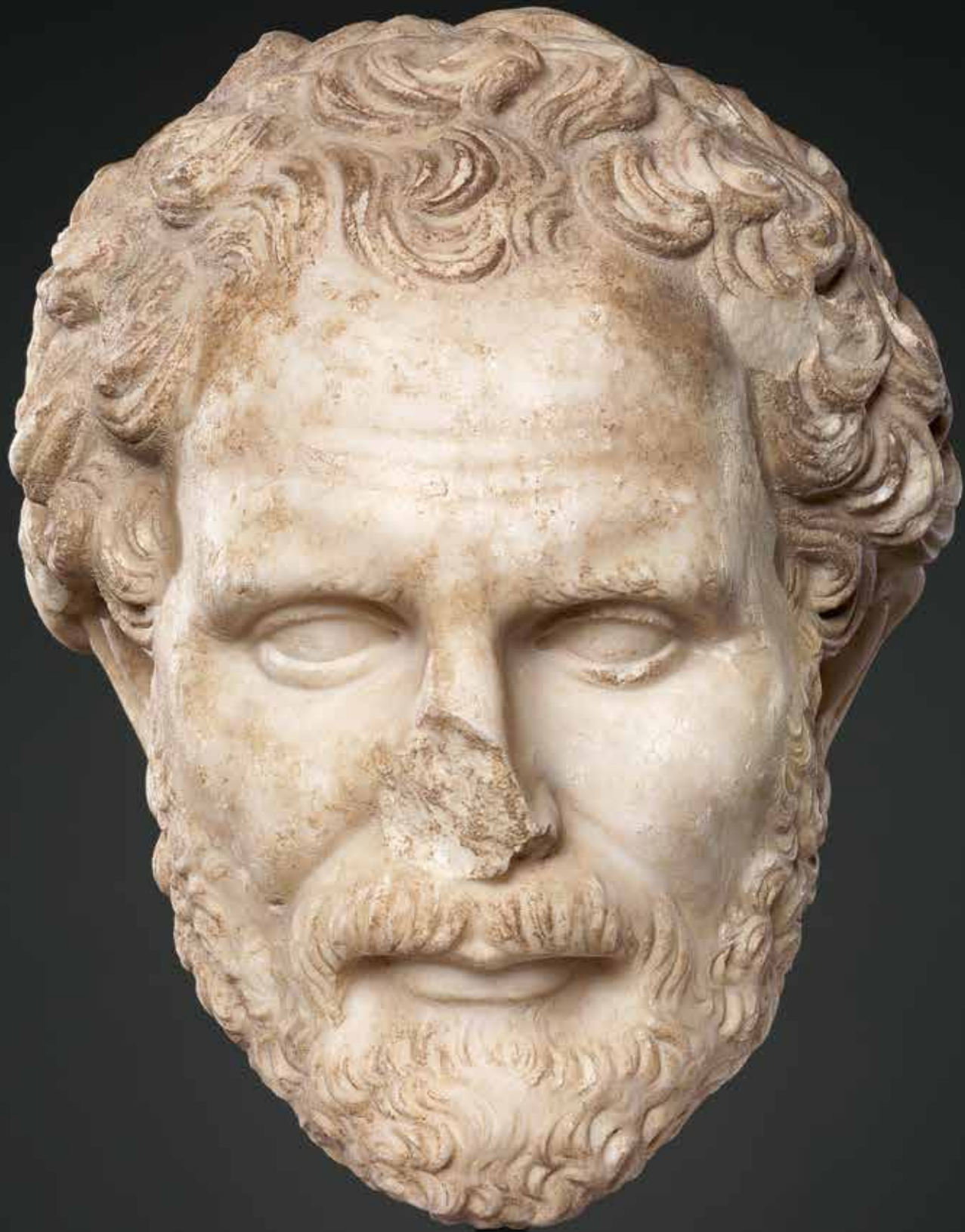
LITERATURE: Richter 1925a, pp. 104, 107, fig. 4; Richter 1925b, figs. 3, 4; Richter 1954, pp. 97–98, no. 188, pl. CXXXII (with detailed discussion of the identification of the type as Chrysispos); Bieber 1961, p. 69, figs. 236, 237; Richter 1965, vol. 2, p. 192, no. 15, fig. 1130; Hoff 1994, pp. 100 n. 16, 169 (as Flavian?).

ON THE TYPE: Richter 1965, vol. 2, pp. 190–94, figs. 1111–47; Buschor 1971, p. 27, no. 101, fig. 27 (good characterization of the portrait); Bacchielli 1979 (relates the portrait type to Aratos of Soloi); Thielemann and Wrede 1989, pp. 125–34 (on the statue only); R. Smith 1991, p. 36, fig. 33; Fittschen 1992, pp. 21–24 (emphasizes the uncertainty of the

connection of the statue type with the portrait type); Hoff 1994, pp. 96–111, figs. 83–104 (with most recent list of replicas); Zanker 1995, pp. 97–102; Schefold 1997, pp. 518–19, figs. 140, 141; Papini 2005; Del Moro 2007; Mandel 2007, pp. 107–13.

#### NOTES

1. Gould 1970.
2. For the Louvre statue (Ma 80), see Richter 1965, vol. 2, p. 193, no. 17, fig. 1144. For the headless bust with inscription (National Museum, Athens [3469]), see *ibid.*, p. 193, no. 171, fig. 1145.
3. Pliny, *Natural History* 34: 88.
4. Zanker 1995, pp. 98–100.
5. Fittschen 1992, pp. 21–24.
6. Copy in the British Museum: Richter 1965, vol. 2, p. 192, no. 9, figs. 1118–20.
7. *Ibid.*, p. 192, no. 8, figs. 1115–17.
8. Juvenal, *Satires* II: 4–5.
9. Papini 2005; La Rocca et al. 2011, p. 158, no. 2 (S. Milozzi).



## 9

**Portrait of Demosthenes****(ca. 384–322 B.C.)**

Ca. A.D. 30–50

Roman copy after a Greek original of  
280/279 B.C.

Marble, H. 11 in. (27.9 cm)

Gift of Renée E. and Rober A. Belfer, 2012  
(2012.479.9)

PROVENANCE: Mussienko Family Collection, Maryland, 1973; sold by Fortuna Fine Arts, New York, to Ariadne Gallery, New York, in 1987; sold by the Ariadne Gallery to Morris Pinto, New York, before December 1992; consigned by Morris Pinto to Christie's New York, December 15, 1992, lot 14, passed in; consigned by Morris Pinto to the Acanthus Gallery, New York; acquired by Renée E. and Robert A. Belfer from the Acanthus Gallery, New York, before 1998; given by Renée E. and Robert A. Belfer to The Metropolitan Museum of Art in 2012.

Despite his initially weak voice, Demosthenes was determined to become an orator and achieved his goal. He recognized early the threat to Athens's independence by Philip II of Macedon, and after serving as an extremely successful lawyer, he entered politics in 351 B.C. His anti-Macedonian speeches are famous, as is his later dispute with his political rival, the orator Aeschines. After the latter's banishment from Athens, Demosthenes led the democratic city. He fled as a man condemned to death, however, following the Macedonian victory over Athens and its allied Thebans in 338 B.C. In 322 B.C., he committed suicide.

In 287 B.C. Athens regained its independence under the protection of Ptolemy Keraunos, the son of Ptolemy I Soter, and obtained a democratic constitution. The city voted to erect an honorific bronze statue to Demosthenes at the urging of his nephew Demochares

in 280/279 B.C., forty-two years after his death, on the Agora, not far from the Altar of the Twelve Gods. The statue was the work of the sculptor Polyeuktos. An inscription beneath it was said to read: "If only your strength had been equal, Demosthenes, to your wisdom / Never would Greece have been ruled by a Macedonian Ares." Plutarch, who saw the statue on the Agora himself, mentions that a soldier was reported to have hidden his money in Demosthenes's clasped hands and covered it with leaves.<sup>1</sup>

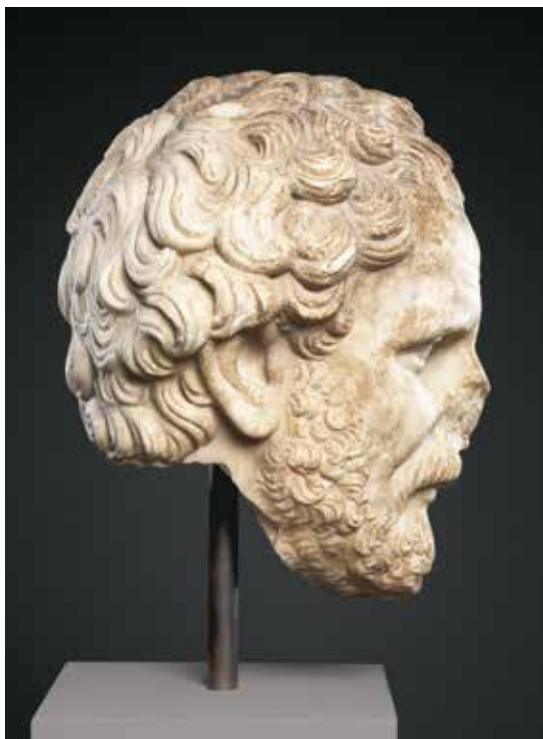
Thanks to this description and a small bronze bust from Herculaneum inscribed with the name Demosthenes, the identity and appearance of the work reproduced in numerous copies and variants from the time of the Roman Empire are uncommonly well documented.<sup>2</sup> The most complete idea of the whole statue is provided by the copy in Copenhagen (fig. 14), together with the surviving hand fragment in the Vatican Museums.<sup>3</sup> The realistic rendering of the aged, gaunt body with its wrinkled skin is most faithfully reproduced in the copy in the Royal Museums of Art and History in Brussels.<sup>4</sup> There the orator is portrayed in intense concentration. We are to imagine him struggling to find the right words without allowing himself to resort to gesticulation.<sup>5</sup> His head tilts downward, and there is enormous tension in his face. The details are relatively differentiated, but compared with the probably Antonine style of the statue in Copenhagen, they are too soft. By contrast, the enormous concentration of the features is especially clear in a bust in Cyrene from the early second century A.D., particularly the mouth, with its distinctly retracted lower lip, and the extremely tense features of the

forehead, with the knotted muscles of the brows and frown creases.<sup>6</sup> Several replicas and ring stones confirm the accuracy of this dramatically tense version.<sup>7</sup>

Comparison of the head in the Metropolitan Museum with the tradition exemplified by the Cyrene bust, which presumably reflects most closely that of the lost original, makes it clear that the sculptor of the New York head deliberately muted the original severe and extremely concentrated expression. The contraction of the brows is almost



Fig. 14 Statue of Demosthenes. Roman copy after the bronze original of 280/279 B.C. by Polyeuktos. Leaded bronze, H. 9 1/8 in. (23.2 cm). Harvard Art Museums/Arthur M. Sackler Museum, Cambridge; Gift of John W. Straus in honor of David Mitten (2007.221)



completely ignored, and the furrows in the forehead have become merely those of age. Yet the characteristic physiognomy, with narrow, deep-set eyes, sharp furrows beside the nose, and retracted lower lip, is definitely preserved.

For the dating of this “rejuvenated” and relaxed portrait of Demosthenes, the renderings of the hair and beard are indicative. They compare well with the two highly idealized portraits of Augustus in Naples and Boston, which Dietrich Boschung has rightly dated to the reign of Emperor Caligula (A.D. 37–41).<sup>8</sup> Not only is the hair similar, but so, too, are other details, such as the shape of the eyes and the characteristic smoothing of the entire face. Among the replicas of the Demosthenes portrait are a few others with similarly relaxed features. They include the inscribed bronze bust, mentioned above, from Herculaneum; a portrait in the Musée du Louvre, Paris; and the fully preserved herm in the Munich

Glyptothek (fig. 15).<sup>9</sup> To judge from photographs, all of these copies date from the early Empire, yet none has so serene an expression as the New York head.

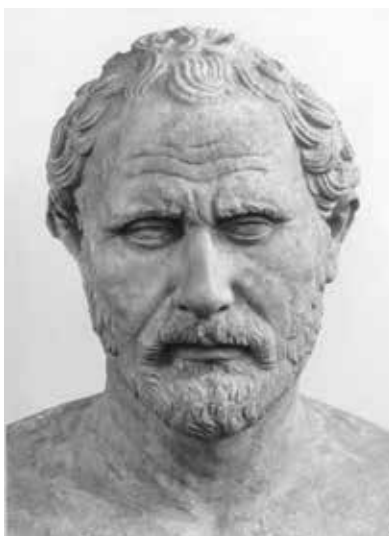


Fig. 15 Head of a herm of Demosthenes, ca. 30–20 B.C. Copy after Greek original of 280/279 B.C. Marble, H. of head 10% in. (27.5 cm). Staatliche Antikensammlungen und Glyptothek München (292)

CONDITION: As the incrustation on the neck shows, the portrait was broken in Antiquity from a bust or statue. The loss from the nose and the small areas of damage in the hair and beard are also old. The hair on the back of the head, however, was evidently “cleaned” with strong acid after the object’s modern rediscovery, because here, too, small remnants of incrustation are discernible.

LITERATURE: Christie’s 1992, lot 14, ill. (as the first century B.C.).

ON THE STATUE AND PORTRAIT TYPE: Bieber 1961, pp. 66–68, figs. 214–29; Richter 1965, vol. 2, pp. 215–23, figs. 1397–1497; Richter 1984, pp. 108–13, fig. 74; Fittschen 1988, pp. 78–100, 141–45, pls. 108–116.1; Hoff 1994, p. 56 n. 25 (with expanded list of the copies). The complete written sources relating to the statue can be found most recently in Hebert 1989, pp. 8–13.

#### NOTES

1. Plutarch, *Lives: Demosthenes*, 30:5–31.
2. Bronze bust from Herculaneum: Richter 1965, vol. 2, p. 217, no. 12, figs. 1438–40.
3. *Ibid.*, fig. 1407; see also the bronze statuette in Harvard Art Museums/Arthur M. Sackler Museum, Cambridge (2007.221); Picón and Hemingway 2016, p. 109, no. 9.
4. Fittschen 1988, pl. 114.2; Balty 1978.
5. Zanker 1995, pp. 83–89.
6. For the Cyrene bust, see Richter 1965, vol. 2, p. 221, no. 46, figs. 1485–88; Alföldi-Rosenbaum 1960, p. 37, no. 4, pl. VII.
7. Compare, for example, the bust in the Vatican Museums (1555): Richter 1965, vol. 2, p. 217, no. 3, figs. 1410–12; the portrait head, also in the Vatican Museums, found near the Lateran in 1965: Richter 1972, p. 7, fig. 1412a–c; or a head in the Museo Nazionale Romano, Rome (8581): Richter 1965, vol. 2, p. 217, no. 5, fig. 1431. For ring stones, see, for example, *ibid.*, vol. 2, figs. 1506, 1508.
8. Museo Archeologico Nazionale, Naples (149974): Boschung 1993a, p. 115, no. 16, pl. 26. Museum of Fine Arts, Boston (99.344): *ibid.*, p. 146, no. 80, pls. 119.3, 120.
9. For the bronze bust from Herculaneum, see note 2. For the works in Paris and Munich, see Richter 1965, vol. 2, p. 218, no. 22, figs. 1444–46 (Paris) and p. 220, no. 36, figs. 1476, 1477 (Munich).

## 10

### Portrait of the Philosopher Epikouros (ca. 341–270/271 B.C.)

Late Flavian–early Trajanic, ca. A.D. 90–110  
Roman copy after a Greek original of the  
3rd century B.C.

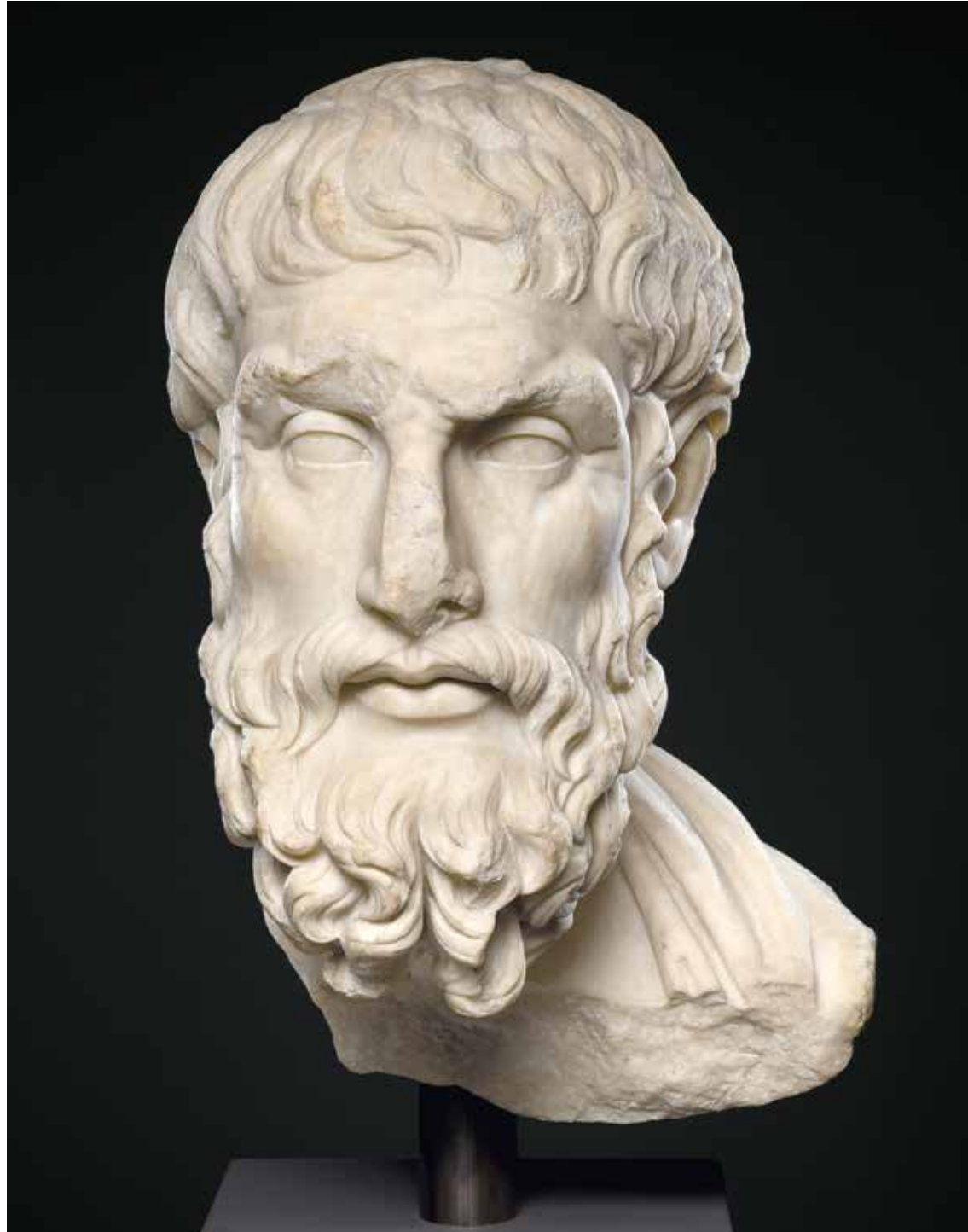
Marble, overall H. 19 $\frac{5}{8}$  in. (49.8 cm)  
Rogers Fund, 1911 (11.90)

PROVENANCE: [Until 1911, with Ettore Jandolo,  
Rome]; acquired in 1911, purchased from  
E. Jandolo.

The original statue of Epikouros stood not in a public space but in the *kepos* (garden) outside Athens where the school of the Epicureans was situated and where the philosopher's pupils venerated their charismatic teacher after his death. Klaus Fittschen has convincingly reconstructed the statue (fig. 16) on the basis of the statue torso in Athens and the head of a bust in the Palazzo Nuovo, Rome.<sup>1</sup> The



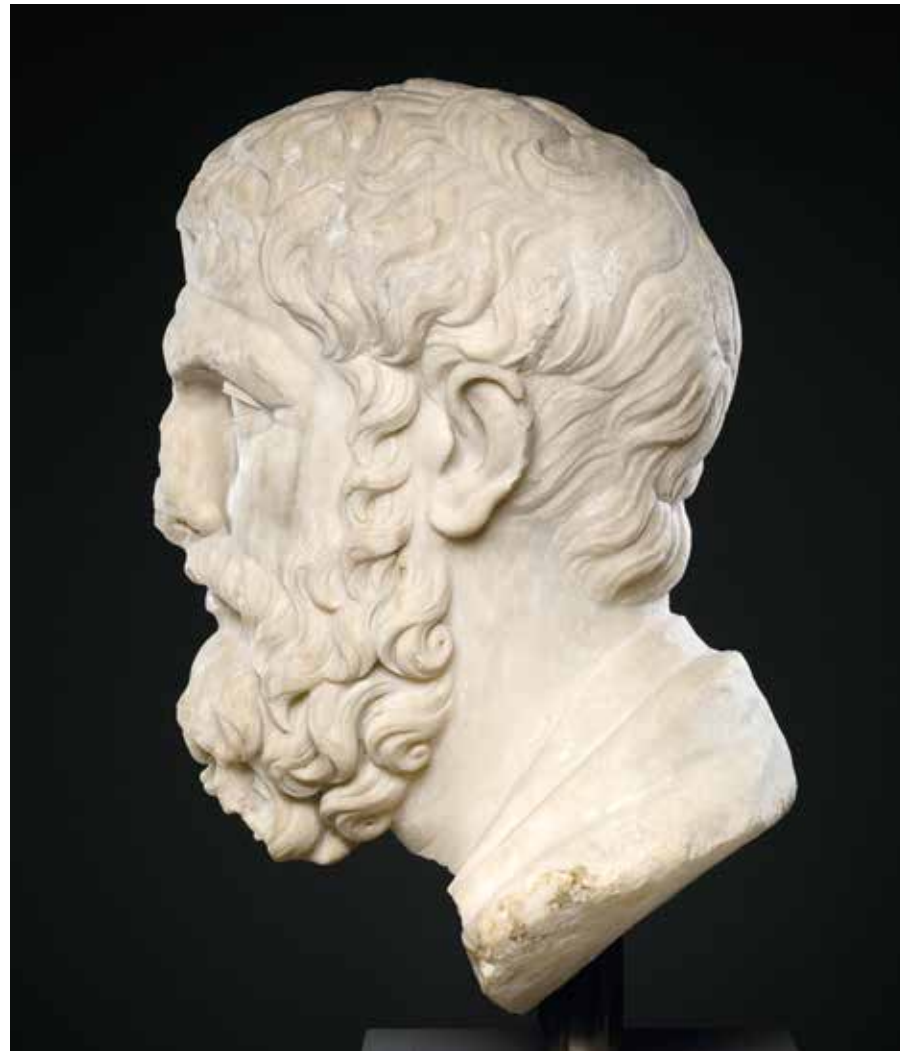
Fig. 16 Statue of Epikouros. Modern reconstruction by Klaus Fittschen of the Hellenistic bronze original. Cast Collection, University of Göttingen



philosopher sits on a thronelike seat with a high back and relief carvings of lions on the arm supports, much like the honorary seat of the priest of Dionysos in the Theater of Dionysos in Athens. Metrodoros (ca. 330–277 B.C.),

Epikouros's friend and first pupil, and Hermarchos (ca. 340–260 B.C.), his successor as director of the school, were honored after their deaths with statues with simpler seats, in accordance with the school's hierarchical





ranking. Metrodoros sits on an ordinary chair with a back and comfortable cushions, Hermarchos on a plain stone block.<sup>2</sup>

Despite his honorary throne, Epikouros wears only a simple cloak that leaves part of his upper body exposed. In this, and in the full beard and well-trimmed sideburns and hair worn by Epikouros and his two friends, there is a programmatic message: the men deliberately present themselves as “old-fashioned” Athenian citizens of the democratic polis that had disappeared a generation earlier.

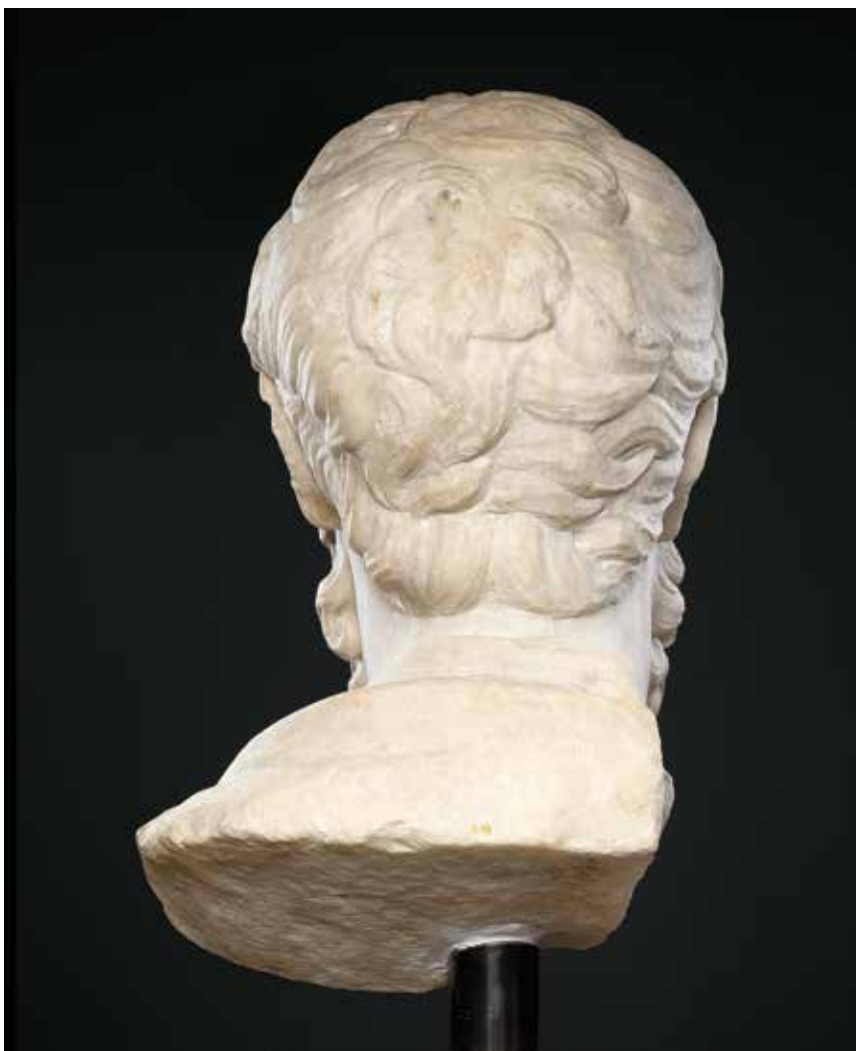
Epikouros leans back easily but respectably in his chair, almost in a contrapposto. His right leg is extended, his left drawn back. His bent left arm,

wrapped in his cloak, lies relaxed across his nude torso. In his left hand he holds a half-open scroll; he has raised his right arm, now lost, beside his head. In the reconstruction, the head turns to the left and downward, as in the bust in the Palazzo Nuovo, Rome: Epikouros is pausing to reflect.<sup>3</sup> His features reflect both calm and concentrated contemplation. The tranquil lower half of the face contrasts with the high forehead and its strong, tensed muscles.

There is no other ancient Greek portrait of which so many replicas survive: Ralf von den Hoff has counted forty-three heads and eleven statues and statuettes of Epikouros.<sup>4</sup> This suggests that at the time of the Imperium

Romanum, no Greek philosopher, poet, or statesman was as beloved as he. The replicas are of disparate quality, to be sure, and only relatively few of them succeed in reconstructing the original. Like von den Hoff, we assume that for the hair, the unusual variant in the replica in the Musée du Louvre, Paris, is most accurate, and for the face, the double herm in the Palazzo Nuovo (Kruse-Berdoldt [1975]).<sup>5</sup>

The splendidly carved and preserved copy in the Metropolitan Museum diverges from the prime replica above all in the styling of the hair on the proper left side of the head and the beard. Here the late Flavian or early Trajanic copyist has effectively expressed the prevalent style of his own



time by isolating the individual locks with deeply drilled channels. In the face, however, the furrowing of the forehead seems hardened when compared to the double herm in the Palazzo Nuovo, and the rendering of the eyelids follows a classicizing formula.

In all the copies in which the head can be judged, it is reproduced upright, and in many it is also turned to the left. This can probably be explained by the fact that the copies derive not from statues but from busts. The contemplative quality that one must assume was present in the original, based on Fittschen's reconstruction of the statue, is therefore lost in favor of a sophisticated, imposing countenance, as in the Metropolitan Museum's portrait. One

exception is the oft-mentioned bust in the Palazzo Nuovo.

To gain a sense of the effect and message of the original statue, it is necessary to return to the rendering of the philosopher's body. A replica statuette in the Palazzo dei Conservatori in Rome shows that Epikouros's nude torso was depicted as haggard and emaciated. This highly realistic rendering was intended as a reference to the philosopher's long and difficult illness, an indication of how the great teacher achieved *ataraxia* (calm) and *eudaimonia* (contentment) despite sickness and pain. It served as a paradigm to his pupils of how the truly wise man can shape his own life even under adverse conditions.<sup>6</sup> The brilliantly executed

New York portrait of Epikouros thus exemplifies the degree to which busts intended for imposing display can differ in expression from the honorific statue portraits on which they were based.

CONDITION: The portrait is very well preserved. The head, with the neck and top of the chest, could be the upper part of a broader bust, as suggested by the execution of the underside. It is difficult, however, to determine whether the changes to the presumed bust are ancient or modern. Portions of the nose and the right eyebrow are lost. Scrapes and small breaks occur in the hair and on the bottom edge of the beard.

LITERATURE: E. Robinson 1911b, ill.; Delbrueck 1912, p. 38, no. 25, pl. 25; Richter 1925a, p. 104; Arndt, Brunn, and Bruckmann 1891–, nos. 1124, 1125 (1928) (G. Richter); Adriani 1946–48, pp. 148–49, fig. 2; G. Lippold 1950, p. 314 n. 13; Richter 1954, pp. 96–97, no. 186, pl. CXXX; Bieber 1961, p. 55, figs. 161, 162; Richter 1965, vol. 2, p. 197, no. 28, figs. 1200–1203; Richter 1970, pp. 75, 78, fig. 7; Kruse-Berdoldt 1975, pp. 30–31, no. E25; Robertson 1975, p. 525, pl. 195d; Schmaltz 1985, pp. 23, 28–30; Hoff 1994, p. 71 n. 96; Schefold 1997, pp. 228, 512, fig. 120; Andreae 2001, pp. 76–78, fig. 36; Picón et al. 2007, pp. 220, 455, no. 257.

REPLICA LIST: Richter 1965, vol. 2, pp. 195–97; extensive analysis and discussion of the dating of the original most recently in Hoff 1994, pp. 72–75.

ON THE RECONSTRUCTION OF THE STATUE: Fittschen 1992, pp. 15–17.

#### NOTES

1. Statue torso: Ephorate of Antiquities of Athens (M888). Bust: Musei Capitolini, Palazzo Nuovo (inv. 577). For a discussion of the reconstruction, see Zanker 1995, pp. 113–22.
2. *Ibid.*, pp. 116–17, figs. 63, 64, and p. 364 n. 25.
3. For the bust in Rome, see Richter 1965, vol. 2, p. 195, no. 2, figs. 1151, 1152.
4. Hoff 1994, p. 70.
5. Louvre head (Ma 490): Richter 1965, vol. 2, p. 197, no. 18, figs. 1189–91. Double herm, Musei Capitolini, Palazzo Nuovo, Rome (inv. 576): *ibid.*, p. 195, no. 1, figs. 1149, 1150, 1153.
6. Zanker 1995, pp. 122–24.

## 11

### Statuette of a Philosopher on a Lampstand

Late Republican–Augustan, ca. 50–20 B.C.

Roman copy, reduced from a Hellenistic original of the 3rd century B.C.

Bronze, H. of the statuette 10 $\frac{3}{8}$  in. (26.3 cm)

Rogers Fund, 1910 (10.231.1)

**PROVENANCE:** Said to have come from Ostia Antica; [until 1910, with Ludwig Pollak, Rome]; acquired in 1910, purchased from L. Pollak. Left foot: [until 1911, with Paul Hartwig, Rome]; acquired in 1911, purchased from P. Hartwig.

A fleshy old man, apparently a philosopher, stands on a base that rests atop an Ionic capital including the top of a column. Four looplike hooks—two complete, two preserved only as fragments—are attached to the capital's volutes. The capital once crowned a tall candelabrum with oil lamps hanging from the hooks.<sup>1</sup> The abacus and capital are elaborately decorated, the abacus with an egg-and-dart pattern and a Lesbian cyma. Between the capital's volutes is a sprig of flowers. Judging from the diameter of the column, the candelabrum was about twelve inches in height and apparently was meant to stand on a table. In addition, there would have been a stand a few centimeters tall.

The candelabrum's date is indicated by the outstanding quality of the statuette, carefully modeled in the smallest detail, as well as by the forms of the ornament. Both suggest a date in the later first century B.C. or shortly afterward.<sup>2</sup> Comparable candelabra from the later first century B.C. or early Empire are adorned with statuettes of a boxer, a discus thrower, and a seated sphinx.<sup>3</sup> In all these instances the statuettes are to be seen as more or less serious representations of specific moral





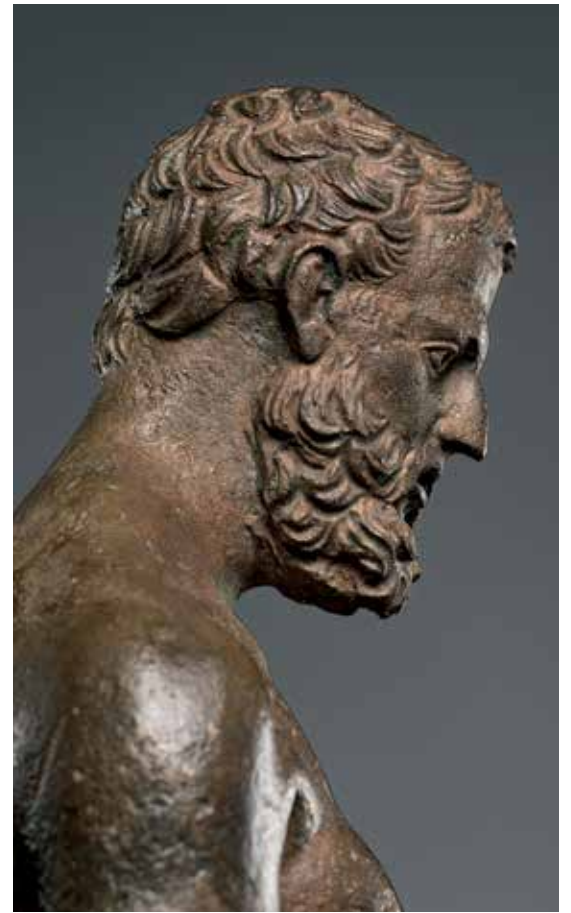
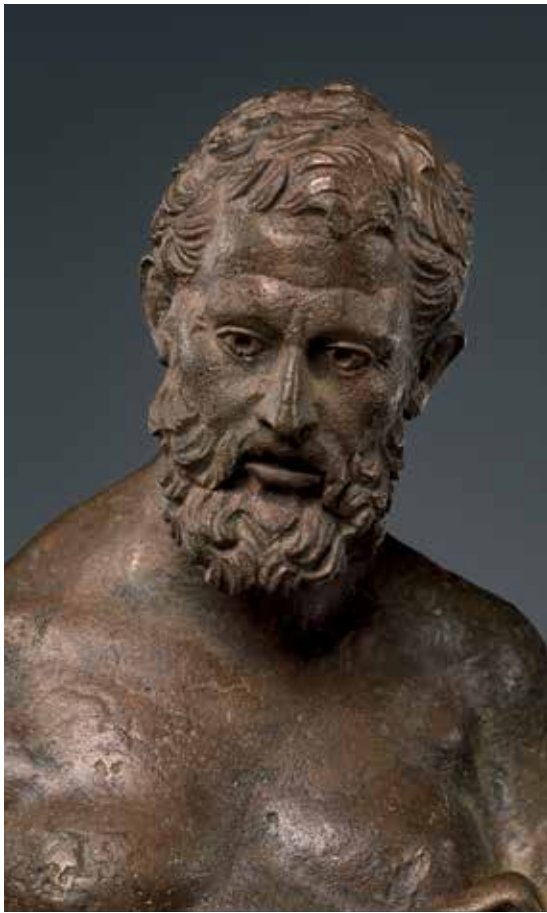
concepts. On a dining table, the philosopher statuette could accordingly be understood as an image of the pleasurable life based on philosophy, as particularly attributed to the Epicureans during the Empire. This is to be seen not so much as a personal message as an expression of reverence, like the one accorded by the physician Antigonos in his house to an archetype of all physicians, Hippocrates.<sup>4</sup>

But who is the philosopher atop the table lamp? Is this a copy of a known philosopher statue, as was formerly assumed by various scholars who

identified him as Hermarchos and even as Epikouros?<sup>5</sup> Or did the sculptor create a philosopher figure suitable for a table ornament out of one or more Hellenistic models? These questions are difficult to answer, especially because, though many Hellenistic philosopher portraits exist as Roman copies, only a few of the statues to which they belonged are known.

Let us look at this philosopher in detail. He appears to have paused to ponder something. His head is tilted to the side and slightly downward. His cloak, of heavy fabric, appears to be

slipping from his shoulder. One end of it hangs over his raised left forearm, and one of the attached weights is visible. He has raised his right arm slightly in a seemingly involuntary gesture, his hand half closed, appearing to respond to a momentary consideration. Because the hand is so tightly curled, it seems doubtful that the philosopher once held a scroll, as some writers assume. Important in an interpretation of the figure are the carefully worked, meticulously rendered sandals, whose ties are covered by wide flaps.<sup>6</sup>



Unquestionably, this is an older man, with fallen shoulders and chest and a well-fed belly that hangs slack. His paunch projects so clearly beneath the cloak that good living must have been seen as a distinctive feature of the subject. That Epicureans considered this altogether worthy of being depicted is evident from the seated statue of Metrodoros, a friend of Epikouros's.<sup>7</sup> The head of the Metropolitan's philosopher can also be compared to that of Metrodoros, though it is narrower and longer, with a more expressive forehead.<sup>8</sup> The fine footwear seems appropriate, given the subject's noble face and well-cut beard and hair. These features definitely argue against seeing him as a Cynic, despite the cloak

slipping from his shoulder, which recalls the well-known statue of the Cynic in Rome's Palazzo Nuovo.<sup>9</sup> Yet closer comparison makes clear that there the slipping cloak is not an expression of chance movement, as in the statuette, but rather serves as a sign of the subject's deliberate neglect of his outward appearance. For that reason, the Cynic's cloak, in contrast to the statuette's, hangs in considered disarray.

Finally, there is the question of dating. The statue appears to be consistent not only iconographically, but also stylistically. There is no stylistic difference between the forms of the head and the body, so the statuette could be a copy of a lifesize Hellenistic statue from the third century B.C. For the dating of this

presumed original, the statuette's momentary movement is definitely an advance over the fixed stance of a Demosthenes or even of the Cynic in the Palazzo Nuovo.<sup>10</sup> In a very subtle analysis of the style, Ralf von den Hoff has argued that the original statue could have been produced in the later third century B.C. Gerhard Krahmer had suggested as much in 1936, and that date was adopted by several writers.<sup>11</sup> Carola Reinsberg later justified it with additional arguments.<sup>12</sup> Von den Hoff also assumes that this high-Hellenistic original was already the "generic image of a philosopher" and as such was widely copied as a statuette.<sup>13</sup> We think it more probable that an original honorific statue later



served as the pattern for the candelabrum's statuette.<sup>14</sup>

If one assumes that the statuette is a copy of an original Hellenistic statue, that work most likely could have stood as an offering in either a sanctuary or an Epicurean school. The statuette on the candelabrum, by contrast, would have been understood by revelers at a nocturnal symposium as an admonition to enjoy life. It would have been seen as an "Epicurean" genre figure splendidly appropriate to the situation of the banquet's participants.

CONDITION: A "crusty, green patina" was removed from the statuette by M. André in Paris before it was purchased by the Metropolitan Museum. Both feet had broken off and were reattached. They had also become

detached from the baseplate, but the footprints on the plate indicate that they surely belong to it. "Of the two pairs of suspended loops one is whole, but of the other only the middle portion connecting the loops is left" (Richter 1915d, p. 74).

LITERATURE: E. Robinson 1911a, ill.; Delbrueck 1912, pp. 38–39, no. 26, pl. 26; Richter 1915d, pp. 70–74, no. 120, ill. (as Hermarchos?); Walters 1925, pp. 258–59, fig. 1; Arndt, Brunn, and Bruckmann 1891–, no. 1123 (1928) (G. Richter); Krahrmer 1936, pp. 220–21 (detailed analysis of the style, with dating to the second half of the third century B.C.); Alscher 1957, p. 192, fig. 77c; Richter 1959, pp. 25–26, fig. 37 (as Hermarchos); Richter 1960, p. 11; Bieber 1961, pp. 67–68, figs. 230, 231; Richter 1962, pp. 40–41, figs. 50, 51, 53, 55 (as Epikouros); Richter 1965, vol. 2, p. 199, fig. 1220; St. Boucher-Colozier 1965, pp. 30–31, fig. 4 (as Hermarchos); Richardson 1966, p. 257, fig. 5

(on the himation); Buschor 1971, pp. 26–27, 77, no. 99, fig. 26 (as "aged ironic man"); Robertson 1975, p. 524, pl. 158b; Bieber 1977, p. 120, figs. 535, 536; Raftopoulou 1979, p. 43, pl. 15.4; Rutkowski 1979, p. 207 n. 128 (ca. 240 B.C.); Reinsberg 1980, pp. 137, 142, 155 n. 485; Havelock 1981, pp. 42–43, fig. 28 (good analysis of the statuette); Rolley 1984, p. 192, ill.; Pollitt 1986, p. 69, fig. 67; *Greece and Rome* 1987, p. 10, ill.; Kozloff and Mitten 1988, pp. 154–59, no. 26, ill. (M. True; with extensive bibliography); R. Smith 1991, p. 42, fig. 24; Thomas 1992, p. 143, fig. 146 (as Epikouros?); Hoff 1994, pp. 171–78, figs. 208–15 (as genre figure); Zanker 1995, pp. 125–27, fig. 70; Schefold 1997, p. 252, fig. 139 (as a Cynic, possibly Monimos, pupil of Diogenes); Dillon 2006, pp. 116–18, figs. 152, 153; Mandel 2007, pp. 106–10, pl. 130a–f (meticulous description of the statuette's formal features); Picón et al. 2007, pp. 221, 455, no. 258; R. Smith 2015, pp. 101–2, fig. 7.4.

#### NOTES

1. See Rutkowski 1979, pp. 206–7.
2. For an extensive discussion of the dating, see Hoff 1994, p. 172. His attribution to the early first century B.C. strikes me as too early; see Kozloff and Mitten 1988, pp. 154–59, no. 26 (M. True).
3. Pernice 1925, pp. 43–57, fig. 63.
4. Lucian, *Philopseudes* 21.
5. Richter 1959, pp. 25–26, fig. 37 (Hermarchos); Richter 1962, pp. 40–41, figs. 50, 51, 53, 55 (Epikouros); St. Boucher-Colozier 1965, pp. 30–31, fig. 4 (Hermarchos).
6. See Pfrommer 1987.
7. Richter 1965, vol. 2, p. 202, no. 1, fig. 1258: statue in Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek, Copenhagen (2685). See note 2, p. 41.
8. *Ibid.*, p. 201, no. 2, figs. 1233, 1234: bust, Musei Capitolini, Palazzo Nuovo, Sala dei Filosofi (51), Rome; bust, National Archaeological Museum, Athens (368); *ibid.*, p. 202, no. 16, figs. 1255–57.
9. For the statue of the Cynic, see Richter 1965, vol. 3, p. 185, figs. 1071–74. For the identification of the statuette as a Cynic, see recently Schefold 1997, p. 252.
10. For the stance of Demosthenes, see Richter 1965, vol. 2, p. 219, no. 32, figs. 1398–1400.
11. Krahrmer 1936, p. 221.
12. Reinsberg 1980, pp. 137–29.
13. Hoff 1994, p. 173, though the similarity to a portrait of Arsinoe III (r. 222–204 B.C.) on a Ptolemaic oinochoe is difficult to accept.
14. On this point, I have revised my earlier judgment. See Zanker 1995, p. 126.

## 12

### Portrait of a Greek Philosopher

Early Empire, late Augustan–Tiberian,  
A.D. 10–30

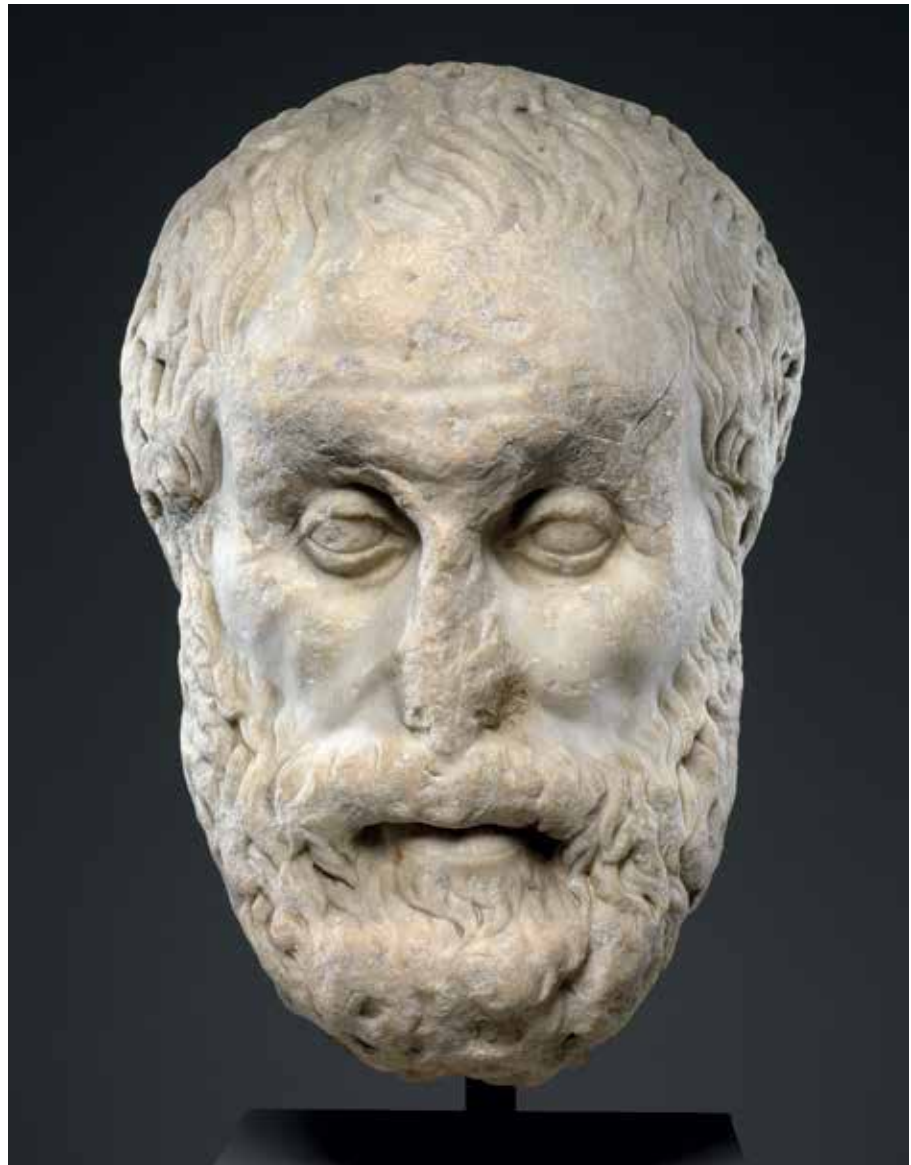
Roman copy of a Greek original of ca. 300 B.C.  
Marble, H. 12<sup>3</sup>/<sub>16</sub> in. (32.5 cm)

Funds from various donors, 1926 (26.269)

PROVENANCE: By 1881, collection of Jens Adolf Jerichau, Denmark; after 1883, collection of Sigurd Wandel, Copenhagen; [until 1926, with Joseph Brummer, New York]; acquired in 1926, purchased from Joseph Brummer.

This is a portrait of an old man. His eyes lie deep in their sockets beneath high-vaulted brows. His cheeks sag, so that the bones stand out. The forehead and brows are raised, not energetically, but rather questioningly, in an expression frequently seen in elderly people. The lower lip of the slightly open mouth is drawn in, probably indicating the absence of teeth. However, the old man's hair and beard are carefully arranged, in distinct contrast to depictions on tomb reliefs of elderly men with long, disheveled hair. The hair on his head is drawn forward to cover the baldness above his forehead. The rest of the hair is thicker. The mustache and side-whiskers are carefully cut and ring the mouth in short, curly strands.

The head is doubtless a copy of a portrait of a famous philosopher. That this was a writer well known and beloved even in Roman times is evident from the fact that recently no fewer than four other certain copies have been discovered.<sup>1</sup> The renderings of the portrait type with the greatest degree of articulation are unquestionably those in New York and the Museo Nazionale Tarquiniense, Tarquinia, which agree in all the essential details.<sup>2</sup> The signs of age in the face of the head



in Tarquinia are somewhat less pronounced, however: the eyes squint slightly, as they do in old people who have trouble seeing. Since the badly damaged but carefully worked head from Caesarea Maritima, Israel, has similar eyes, it could be a more reliable copy than the New York portrait.<sup>3</sup> The head in the Palazzo Nuovo in Rome, however, is more cursorily carved and differs markedly from the New York–Tarquinia–Caesarea group, especially around the eyes and in the hair.<sup>4</sup>

Jiří Frel published a head preserved in the Museo Archeologico Nazionale d'Abruzzo, Chieti, as a copy of the same

type, but that portrait does not resemble the copies mentioned above either in the face or in the hair and beard.

The New York head was probably carved during the reign of Augustus or shortly afterward. This is suggested not only by the nuanced rendering of the surface of the face but also by the extremely delicate molding of the ears and the detailed rendering of the hair, where the subtle use of the drill left no visible channels. The replicas in Tarquinia and Caesarea Maritima also probably date from the early Empire; the head in Rome's Palazzo Nuovo, however, is from the early second century A.D.



Presumably, the original on which the copies were based was an honorific statue that stood either in a public space or in one of the schools of philosophy. The position of the head—thrust well forward, as is frequent in old people—provides a slight hint of the statue’s appearance. On the right side, the edge of a cloak is still visible at the base of the neck. The figure could have been seated, as Maria Grazia Picozzi suspects, or represented as standing with the help of a staff.

As for the dating of the original, Gisela M. A. Richter pointed out a certain similarity to the portrait of Aristotle. However, comparison with the Aristotle portrait in the Kunsthistorisches Museum in Vienna (see fig. 8, p. 6), probably the most reliable replica of the Greek original, reveals similarity only in the arrangement of the hair and beard, not in the face, which is entirely different. In the work in Vienna, Aristotle’s features are tensed and, compared to those of the present portrait, seem almost energetic.<sup>5</sup> This leads to the question of why in the hair and beard of the Metropolitan Museum’s philosopher there is no indication of the advanced age of the face, as is found, for example, in the portrait of Euripides, with its long hair.<sup>6</sup> Perhaps it

is because the New York portrait, like that of Theophrastos and the unidentified bronze portrait from the Villa dei Papiri at Herculaneum, represents one of the early Peripatetics, and for this reason it was deemed preferable to render the subject in the proper guise of a citizen despite his advanced age.<sup>7</sup>

If we assume that the statue of Aristotle was erected shortly after his death in 322 B.C., it seems likely that the original on which the Metropolitan’s portrait was based dates from not long afterward, at the latest to the first decade of the third century B.C. Indications include the greater detail of the face and its seemingly individualized signs of age. The portrait of Theophrastos, Aristotle’s successor as leader of the Peripatetics, seems clearly later. Presumably, the original statue of Theophrastos was erected only after his death in 288/287 B.C. It differs from the present portrait in its more individualized structure and its severe, frowning face, which juts forward, keel-like. The bronze portrait from Herculaneum, which is very similar to the Metropolitan’s head, especially in the hair and beard, could also have been produced in the earliest years of the third century B.C. Also comparable is the portrait of the orator Hypereides

(390–322 B.C.), which must have been made at the end of the fourth or the beginning of the third century B.C.<sup>8</sup> Should these considerations be correct, the development of portraiture from the late fourth century B.C. to early Hellenism would be exemplified in this series of philosopher and orator portraits.

CONDITION: This excellent portrait is unfortunately greatly damaged. The nose and considerable portions of the brows are missing. The face, eyes, ears, mustache, and beard are badly abraded in spots, as is the hair, especially on the back.

LITERATURE: Matz and von Duhn 1881–82, vol. 1, p. 488, no. 1762; Richter 1927c, pp. 142–44, figs. 3, 4; Richter 1954, p. 97, no. 187, pl. CXXXI; Richter 1965, vol. 2, p. 185; Frel 1971; Picozzi 1993; Dillon 2006, pp. 16–20.

#### NOTES

1. See Picozzi 1993, Dillon 2006.
2. Picozzi 1993, p. 66, figs. 10–13.
3. Dillon 2006, pp. 17–20, figs. 10, 15, 17, 147.1.
4. For the head in the Musei Capitolini, Palazzo Nuovo, Rome (inv. 523), see Picozzi 1993, pp. 60–63, figs. 1–5.
5. For the Aristotle portrait in Vienna, see Richter 1965, vol. 2, p. 173, no. 7, figs. 976–78, 985.
6. *Ibid.*, vol. 1, p. 135, no. 13, figs. 717–19.
7. For the portrait of Theophrastos, see Richter 1965, vol. 2, pp. 176–78, figs. 1022–30; Hoff 1994, p. 53, figs. 13, 14. For the bronze portrait from Herculaneum, see *ibid.*, pp. 57–62, figs. 17–20.
8. Richter 1965, vol. 2, p. 211, no. 1, figs. 1350, 1351, 1362–64.





# 13

## Statuette of a Philosopher

Hadrianic-Antonine, ca. A.D. 150  
 Roman replica, reduced from a Greek original  
 of the 3rd century B.C.  
 Marble, H. 17½ in. (44.5 cm)  
 Fletcher Fund, 1924 (24.73)

PROVENANCE: Said to have been found in Rome; [with Ugo Jandolo, Rome]; [with Durlacher Brothers, London]; [until 1924, with Joseph Brummer, New York]; acquired in 1924, purchased from Joseph Brummer.

It has so far proved impossible to determine which Greek philosopher (or poet) is depicted in this statue type. The five replicas known to date are all statuettes under 19¾ inches in height. They are based on a common statuette version that was apparently very popular among the Romans beginning in the first century B.C., probably for domestic display. That statuette was presumably based on a lifesize or even



Fig. 17 Statuette of a philosopher. Probably reduced replica of a Hellenistic original. Bronze. The British Museum, London (1865,0712.1)

over-lifesize original from the Hellenistic age that stood in a school of philosophy, a public area, or a shrine.<sup>1</sup>

The differences among the surviving replicas are considerable, above all in their details. It is therefore difficult to reconstruct the original even approximately. Helpful in forming some idea of it are the bronze statuette from Brindisi in the British Museum, London (fig. 17), and the headless replica in the Museo di Scultura Antica Giovanni Barracco, in Rome.<sup>2</sup> In these works, the philosopher sits comfortably, with ankles crossed, on a backless chair fitted with a thick cushion. His upper body is shown as though in motion, as is often the case in early Hellenistic works: his left hand, beneath his cloak, seems about to push the garment aside, while his closed right hand rises in a spontaneous movement toward his head, turned contemplatively to the side.

It is easiest to gain a sense of the front view from the statuette in the Museo Barracco. This work presents the features typical of late Hellenistic sculpture and probably dates from the first century B.C.; the bronze statuette in the British Museum is a somewhat cursory copy from the second century A.D. In the Museo Barracco's statuette, part of the chair is preserved. In the main view, the dramatic movement of the right arm is clearly visible, and the muscles and the creases in the skin indicate that the subject is an older man. The fabric of the cloak, with its delicate, small folds juxtaposed with



the dominant main ones, is rendered with particular realism. By contrast, the copyist has straightened the body's sides and back, contradicting both the forward bend of the shoulder in the front view of the statuette and the backward bend of the relaxed upper body in the London and New York replicas.

The New York statuette was produced by a sculptor who was obviously not greatly interested in details, one whom Ralf von den Hoff has doubtless rightly dated to the Antonine era. To be sure, the spontaneous movement of the body as a whole is reproduced much as in the statuettes in the Museo Barracco and the British Museum, but in his rendering of the drapery and the sides and back of the body, the sculptor clearly simplified his model considerably. The replicas in the Vatican Museums and in Dresden provide no additional clues.<sup>3</sup>

Assuming that the prototype for the statuettes was a Hellenistic original, it must have been created in the third century B.C. A dating to the middle of the third century B.C., first proposed by Ernst Buschor, was based on the precise depiction of the momentary, instinctive movements of the body. The viewer is meant to participate, so to speak, in the philosopher's state of concentration. Of the few known philosopher statues from this time, the one of Chrysippos compares most favorably, though its expression is altogether different (see fig. 13, p. 34).

To situate the present work within the traditional philosopher iconography, one must be guided by the relaxed pose and comfortable cushion. Neither is appropriate for a Stoic philosopher: compare the simple stone block in the

statue of Chrysippos. By contrast, Metrodorus (330–277 B.C.), Epikouros's friend, also sits relaxed in a high-backed chair with a thick cushion.<sup>4</sup> Perhaps the original statue of our type and its small-scale copies represented a philosopher from the school of Epikouros.

**CONDITION:** The statuette's head, right forearm, and feet (originally pieced on) are missing, as is a piece that was once attached at the back. A cushion on which the figure is seated projects on the left side. To judge mainly from the copy in the Museo Barracco in Rome, the torso of the original Greek statue must have leaned farther to the right than our statue does.

**LITERATURE:** Richter 1925a, pp. 104, 106, fig. 1; Richter 1925b, ill.; Richter 1954, p. 96, no. 185, pl. CXXXIX; Bieber 1961, p. 68, fig. 232; Beschi 1962, p. 29 (as ca. 250 B.C.); Richter 1965, vol. 2, p. 190, no. 4, fig. 1108 (as Zeno the Stoic); Thielemann and Wrede 1989, pp. 136–37 (as Kleanthes); Hoff 1994, pp. 165–71, no. 3, pl. 52,

figs. 204–7 (extensive discussion of the statue type with analysis of the copies; dates the present copy to the Antonine era); Dillon 2006, pp. 116–18, figs. 154, 155.

**ON THE PORTRAIT TYPE:** Esdaile 1914 (as Aristippos; with very good illustrations of the statuette in the British Museum); G. Lippold 1918, pp. 19–21 (as Zenon); G. Lippold 1950, p. 337 n. 9; Buschor 1971, p. 75, no. 84a–b (as third quarter of the third century B.C.); Reinsberg 1980, pp. 135–38 (as third quarter of the third century B.C.); Pollitt 1986, p. 67, fig. 63 (as perhaps Kleanthes); Zanker 1995, pp. 104–6; Schefold 1997, pp. 234, 514, ill. on p. 235 (as Kleanthes).

#### NOTES

1. Ralf von den Hoff (1994) assumes that the original work from the third century B.C. was not a statue, but rather a statuette, which seems unlikely.
2. Compare the literature and illustrations in Hoff 1994, pp. 165–71, figs. 192–203.
3. Richter 1965, vol. 2, p. 189, no. 1, fig. 1107, and p. 190, no. 3, fig. 1109.
4. See Zanker 1995, pp. 114–17.



## 14

### Statue of a Poet Playing a Kithara

Early Empire, Claudian(?), ca. A.D. 50  
Roman copy of a Hellenistic statue probably  
of the late 2nd century B.C.

Marble, H. 51½ in. (130.8 cm), W. 23 in.  
(58.4 cm), D. 35½ in. (90.1 cm)

Inscription on the stone block:



(Zeuxis made it)

Rogers Fund, 1909 (09.221.4)

PROVENANCE: 1903, found at the Villa Patrizi,  
Via Nomentana, Rome; until 1907, collection  
of Enrichetta Castellani, Rome; until 1909,  
collection of Joachim Ferroni, Rome; acquired  
in 1909, purchased through Jandolo  
& Tavazzi.

That this is a singer or a poet singing and playing is obvious from the sound box of the kithara, which is cradled in the figure's left arm. The subject's entire body is involved in his performance. He sits broadly and firmly on a kind of bench, extending his right leg and probably bracing himself with the ball of his foot. His left leg is drawn back, with only his toes touching the ground. He turns his torso energetically to the left as he plucks the instrument's strings with his right hand. His head must be envisioned as tilted toward the instrument as he listens intently. Despite the tension in the body, the drapery remains surprisingly well ordered. The singer wears an undergarment, visible on his right side across his chest and back, and over it a cloak. The latter envelops his entire lower body, looping loosely from his right side across his back. It then falls



from his left shoulder over his left arm and finally ends between his legs.

The statue is the work of an excellent copyist who confidently placed his name, Zeuxis, on the stone block next to the singer's left leg. Given the drapery's soft, "doughy" forms, the sculptor presumably worked in the early Empire, perhaps under Claudius (r. A.D. 41–54).

On the basis of inadequate photographs, earlier writers postulated that the statue represented the philosopher Karneades (214/3–129/8 B.C.), the leader of the Platonic Academy. The kithara makes this impossible, for the instrument clearly identifies the subject as a poet and singer. As yet, no clues suggest who he might be. Is this a statue of a Hellenistic contemporary? Or, given the fact that it is a Roman copy, does it represent one of the great figures from early Greek poetry? The latter proposition seems far more probable than the first.

But when was the Hellenistic original produced? Because the head is missing, dating is difficult. Comparison with the splendidly carved fragment of an over-lifesize seated figure in Alexandria, which, owing to its "baroque" forms probably dates from the late third or earlier second century B.C., shows that the original on which the present work was based must have been created considerably later.<sup>2</sup> A closer relative is the seated statue of an elderly philosopher(?) with a nude torso, found in Klaros, now in Izmir, Turkey, though this statue, too, would have been carved earlier than the original of the present work.<sup>3</sup> Thus, it would seem most likely that the original dates to the later second century B.C.



CONDITION: Missing from the statue are the head and neck, both arms, and the right foot with the bottom of the garment covering the lower leg. The three small dowel holes in the drapery above this missing section probably come from a repair. A piece of the shoe on the left foot was carved separately and attached, as were the head and neck. A fragment of the metal dowel used to connect the right arm is still preserved in the socket. Above the lower part of the box of the kithara, three holes indicate where the upper part of the instrument, now missing, was attached. Hard, blackish incrustation exists in many spots.

LITERATURE: Arndt, Brunn, and Bruckmann 1891–, no. 610 n. 7 (1891) (P. Arndt); Gatti 1904 (excavation report); Jandolo & Tavazzi 1907, p. 59, no. 663, pl. 23; Jandolo & Tavazzi 1909, p. 71, no. 756, pl. L; E. Robinson 1910, pp. 234–35, fig. 2; G. Lippold 1912, p. 84, fig. 21 (as Karneades?); Arndt, Brunn, and Bruckmann 1891–, nos. 1121, 1122 (1928) (G. Richter: as ca. 150–130 B.C., based on the letters of the inscription); Pfuhl 1930, p. 58 (as first half of the second century B.C.); Schefold 1943, pp. 146–47, 213, ill. (as Karneades? 150–100 B.C.); Adriani 1946, pp. 21–22, fig. 9 (as “by a copyist of exceptional ability”); G. Lippold 1950, p. 350 n. 3; Richter 1954, pp. 99–100, no. 190, pl. CXXXIII; Richter 1965, vol. 2, p. 251, fig. 1680; Hoff 1994, p. 46 n. 31 (as “Pergamene”); Dillon 2006, pp. 34–35, figs. 40, 41; Picón et al. 2007, pp. 218, 454, no. 254 (as “republican or early imperial”).

#### NOTES

1. The inscription is dated by Benjamin Meritt to “the first century or later.” Letter to Gisela M. A. Richter, 1948, records of the Department of Greek and Roman Art, MMA. For more information, see Moretti 1990 (1559); Kansteiner 2014, p. 168, no. 3767, ill.; Rawson 1975, p. 40.
2. Statue in Alexandria: Adriani 1946, pls. I–III.
3. Statue in the Izmir Museum of History and Art (3501): see Richter 1984, p. 55, fig. 22; Özgan 1982, pl. 48.4.





# PORTRAITS OF ROMAN EMPERORS

PORTRAITS OF ROMAN EMPERORS WERE ubiquitous in the cities of the Imperium Romanum. Their statues and busts appeared in fora, temples, public buildings, streets, houses, and villas. In addition, there was an abundance of small, even tiny, Imperial portraits on gems, ring stones, soldiers' weapons, chariots, and on everyday objects such as cups and buttons. Emperors did not erect honorific monuments to themselves. These projects were undertaken by the entire society—the Senate, the cities, associations of all kinds, and individual citizens—as a way to express loyalty, approval, and veneration.

In Rome, the Senate determined whether and where Imperial statues might be erected; in other cities of the Empire, the local council decided. As a rule, the donor chose the type of statue appropriate to the purpose, budget, and the aspect of the emperor to be celebrated. For example, an emperor might be depicted wearing a toga, highlighting his role as *princeps* (first among equals) of the Senate; as *capite velato* (with a veiled head), making a pious offering; or in armor, as a victorious general. To emphasize the ruler's superhuman qualities, he might be portrayed either nude or seminude. The Metropolitan Museum's two partially draped statues (cats. 33, 34) are good examples of the latter.<sup>1</sup>

A ruler's various attributes were occasionally honored cumulatively in rows or groups of portraits. For example, the *Historia Augusta* (Tacitus 16.2) records that in a single painting, the emperor Marcus Claudius Tacitus (r. A.D. 275–76) was depicted wearing a toga, armor, a chlamys (thus, probably seminude), Greek clothing (as a philosopher), and even hunting garb.<sup>2</sup> In addition, there were statues of deified emperors nude or seminude and with radiate crown and scepter, or over-lifesize and seated, much like statues of the supreme deity of the Roman state, Jupiter Optimus Maximus.

Emperors were frequently honored together with their family members in the most varied kinds of statue groupings. In these, too, the roles, achievements, and ranks of the individuals represented could be expressed by the statue types selected. A well-known relief fragment in Ravenna, probably carved about the middle of the first century A.D. under the emperor Claudius (r. A.D. 41–54), preserves the left portion of one such grouping (fig. 18). On the right stands a statue of the deified Augustus (r. 31 B.C.–A.D. 14) that must have occupied the center of the original composition. He holds the scepter in his right hand, and as world ruler he places his left foot on the globe. He wears





Fig. 18 Fragment of a frieze, ca. A.D. 50. Marble. Museo Nazionale, Ravenna

the *corona civica* (civic crown) awarded him by the Senate in 27 B.C., and in his left hand he probably clutched a thunderbolt, in the manner of Jupiter. He is draped in a mantle that leaves his torso bare. On his right stands a female figure—probably Livia (58 B.C.–A.D. 29), Augustus’s deified wife—characterized as Venus with Amor. Next comes a deceased prince, also characterized as deified by the star in his hair. This is probably Germanicus (15 B.C.–A.D. 19), brother of the emperor Claudius, whose statue would have stood next to that of Augustus on the lost section of the relief. Germanicus probably held a small statuette of Victory in his right hand. He turns toward the statue in armor to his right, possibly Drusus the Elder (38–9 B.C.), his father.<sup>3</sup>

Noteworthy among the Metropolitan Museum’s Imperial portraits for its completeness is the over-lifesize nude bronze statue that probably depicts an emperor who reigned near the middle of the third century A.D., Trebonianus Gallus (r. A.D. 251–53) (cat. 30). The collection includes parts of another emperor’s statue, representing Caracalla (r. A.D. 211–17) (cat. 27). Portions of the work’s bare legs were found together with the portrait head, indicating that the statue could have looked much like the Trebonianus Gallus. The over-lifesize marble portraits of Augustus and Constantine the Great (r. A.D. 307–37) also doubtless come from statues (cats. 17, 31). Both were presumably seated statues of the Jupiter type, in which only the heads and exposed parts of the body were rendered in marble; the drapery would have been made of bronze or some other material.

The Museum owns fine, almost fully preserved busts of the emperors Caligula (r. A.D. 37–41) and Severus Alexander (r. A.D. 222–35) (cats. 21, 29), and also several under-life-size, even very small, portraits of Augustus and Caligula that were presumably placed in domestic shrines next to lares and penates.

In contrast to the general messages communicated by the bodies of most Roman statues, the Imperial portraits as a rule express something of the emperor’s sense of himself—how he wished to be seen. Unfortunately, there are no literary sources concerning the creation of portraits of Roman emperors or members of the Imperial family. However, extensive studies from the last few decades provide at least an approximate notion of how these portraits were realized.<sup>4</sup>

A “court sculptor” must have produced a portrait that met the expectations and requirements of the emperor or a member of his family. This “prototype” was then disseminated through copies, a process that was not organized by the Imperial House itself but was left up to the sculpture workshops. Since no such prototypes have been identified, archaeologists must reconstruct them by meticulous comparison of the copies. It is then possible to trace the spread of a given portrait type with all of its deviations and variants, which were themselves being circulated. For most emperors, and frequently for their relatives as well, there are several such types. Thus, they or other members of the Imperial household must have initiated the creation of a new portrait several times during their lives, reflecting increasing age or merely a new hairdo or type of beard.

Less often, there was a wholly new, programmatic self-presentation, as in the case of Augustus. After formally restoring the Republic in 27 B.C., he commissioned a new portrait of himself. This Prima Porta type, named after the famous statue from Prima Porta now in the Vatican Museums, no longer shows him with an emotional expression, as in his earlier portraits, but with an ageless face, its idealized features based on Classical sculptures from the fifth century B.C. (fig. 19).<sup>5</sup> The *princeps*, as he now called himself, was meant to appear in the new portrait as a sovereign figure, corresponding to the epithet Augustus (the Illustrious One) awarded him by the Senate at that time. Three of the Metropolitan Museum’s four Augustus portraits in marble represent versions of this Prima Porta type (cats. 15–17). Unlike the Prima Porta statue, they were not created during Augustus’s lifetime but rather in the early reign of the emperor Claudius. As discussed in the catalogue entries, all three are reworked heads

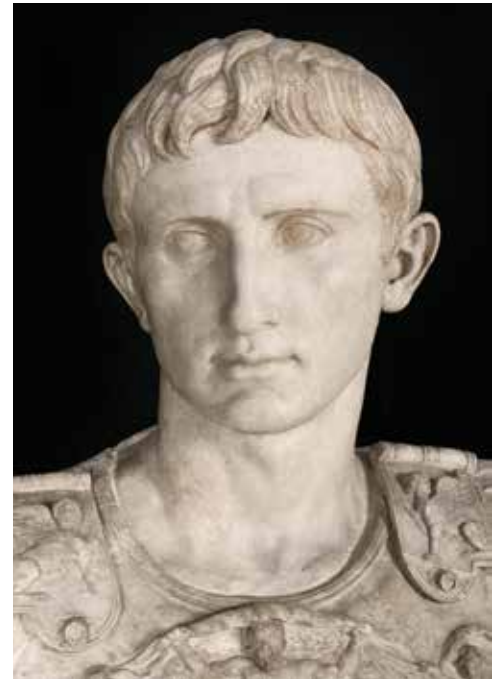


Fig. 19 Portrait statue of Augustus from Prima Porta (detail), 20 B.C.–A.D. 10. Marble. Vatican Museums, Braccio Nuovo, Vatican City (2290)

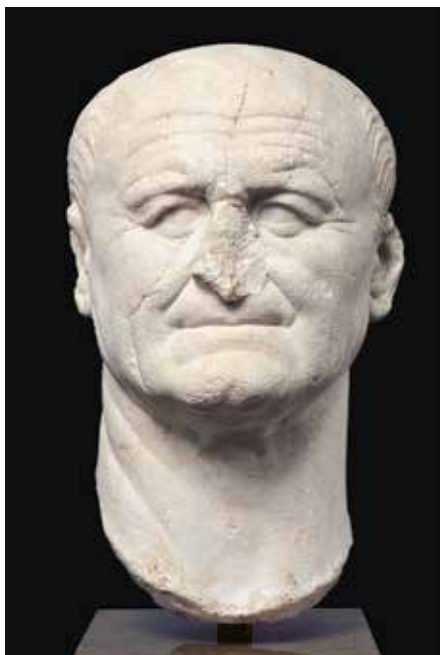
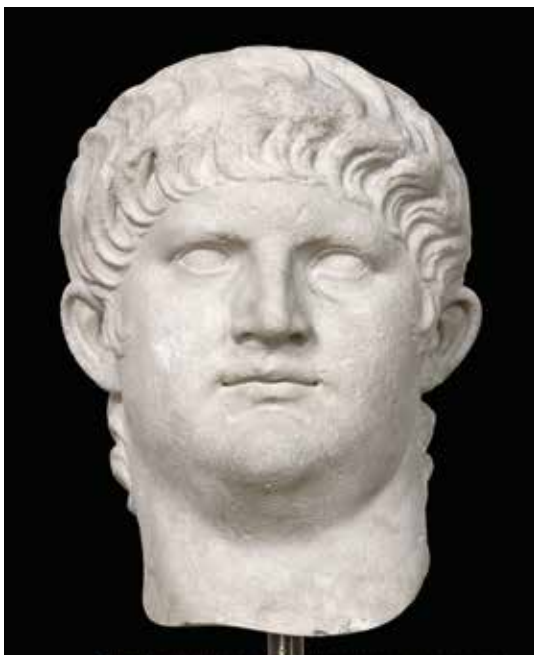


Fig. 20 Portrait of Emperor Nero (r. A.D. 54–68). Marble. Glyptothek, Munich (321)

Fig. 21 Portrait of Emperor Vespasian (r. A.D. 69–79). Marble. Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek, Copenhagen (2585)

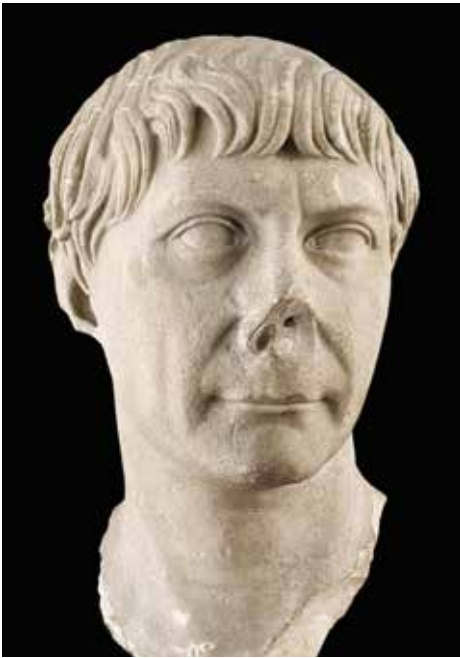
Fig. 22 Bust of Emperor Domitian (r. A.D. 81–96). Marble. Toledo Museum of Art, Ohio (1990.30)

Fig. 23 Portrait of Emperor Trajan (r. A.D. 98–117). Marble. Musée Royal de Mariemont, Morlanwelz, Belgium (70/1)

of the emperor Caligula, who after his murder was the first emperor to be subjected to *damnatio memoriae*—effectively eradicated from memory. This meant that Caligula’s laws and decrees were declared null and void and, to the extent possible, everything evoking him was removed from sight or destroyed. For that reason many heads from his statues, like the three in the Metropolitan Museum, were either reworked into heads of Augustus, who was elevated posthumously to the rank of state god, *Divus Augustus*, or into portraits of Caligula’s successor, Claudius.

A relatively large number of Caligula’s portraits have come down to us in uncommonly good condition despite the *damnatio memoriae* and the brevity of his reign.<sup>6</sup> The reason is doubtless that after his fall, the works were disposed of where they were least likely to be found: thrown into the Tiber or, as in the case of the Metropolitan Museum’s bust (cat. 21), presumably sunk in Lake Albano. Caligula was only twenty-five when, as a great-grandson of Augustus, he succeeded Tiberius (r. A.D. 14–37). His youthful features are therefore unsurprising. From the portraits of Tiberius and, even more clearly, those of Claudius, it is evident that the ideal, classicizing facial features with which Augustus had conveyed his sublimity failed to gain permanence with his successors.

The decisive step was taken under the emperor Nero (r. A.D. 54–68). As an adolescent prince and even as a young emperor, he had worn a simple hairdo with a “fork” of curls above the center of his forehead in the style of the Julio-Claudian family. However, in his last two portrait types after A.D. 59, he had himself portrayed *coma in gradus*



*formata* (with complicated waves of hair). Then, beginning in A.D. 64, he appears with a distinctly fat face and an extremely luxurious hairstyle. An example is provided by the over-lifesize replica of this last portrait type in the Munich Glyptothek (fig. 20).<sup>7</sup> The hairdo itself required tedious work with a curling iron, and up to that point appears to have been worn only by a few extravagant men.<sup>8</sup> Nero was murdered in A.D. 68 and, like Caligula before him, was condemned to *damnatio memoriae*.

In the Flavian era, curly hair in various styles, including this layered coiffure, was widely popular, in part thanks to the hairdos of the emperor Vespasian's sons, Titus and Domitian. Many of Nero's portraits, like Caligula's, were reworked after his death, transformed into likenesses of Vespasian, his sons, and even the Divus Augustus.<sup>9</sup>

Emperor Vespasian himself (r. A.D. 69–79), who came to power after the Year of Four Emperors (A.D. 68/69), was as forthright as Nero in the realism of his portraits. He had himself depicted without embellishment, as a toothless old man with a heavily lined face, yet one that radiated energy and drive, as seen most impressively in an outstanding replica of the type in Copenhagen (fig. 21).<sup>10</sup>

Whereas portraits of Vespasian's older son and successor, Titus (r. A.D. 79–81), still present full and realistic features and a benevolent expression, those of Titus's younger brother, Domitian (r. A.D. 81–96), emphasize their subject's aloofness. A fine bust of this kind is now in Toledo, Ohio (fig. 22).<sup>11</sup> In portraits like these, Domitian no longer styled himself after his father as *princeps inter pares* (first among equals), but as a sovereign with unlimited powers. Although his reign was successful in many respects, his autocratic rule was onerous, not least to the Senate, at whose urging he was murdered. The Senate once again imposed *damnatio memoriae*, decreeing that everything that might recall Domitian be destroyed. Accordingly, many of his portraits were either demolished or reworked into likenesses of his successors, Nerva (r. A.D. 96–98) and Trajan.

By contrast, the emperor Trajan (r. A.D. 98–117) followed the example of Augustus in his exercise of power. In gratitude, the Senate awarded him the honorary title *optimus princeps* (supreme leader of the Senate). Thanks to his conquests, the Roman Empire attained its greatest extent. His portraits depict a determined ruler with an austere expression and simple hairstyle, which in his later years partly recall Augustus (fig. 23).<sup>12</sup> Despite his policy of conquest, Trajan was greatly beloved by the Romans, as indicated by their adoption of his hairstyles, which remained popular long after his reign,



Fig. 24 Bust of Emperor Hadrian (r. A.D. 117–38). Marble. Musei Capitolini, Palazzo Nuovo, Sala degli Imperatori, Rome (inv. 443)

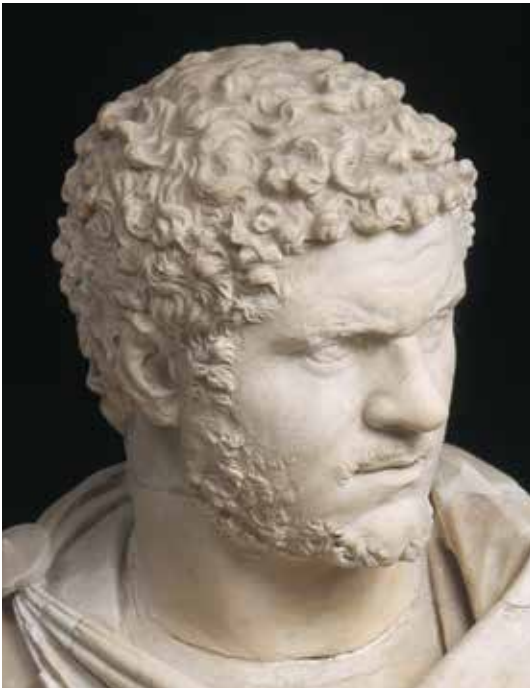
Fig. 25 Bust of Emperor Marcus Aurelius (r. A.D. 161–80). Marble. Musei Capitolini, Palazzo Nuovo, Sala degli Imperatori, Rome (inv. 448)

Fig. 26 Bust of Emperor Caracalla (r. A.D. 211–17), A.D. 212. Marble. Musée du Louvre, Paris (Ma 1106)

apparently because of their simplicity. A number of the men depicted in the Metropolitan Museum's portraits wear hair reminiscent of Trajan's (cats. 51–54).

Unlike his predecessor, Hadrian (r. A.D. 117–138) followed a distinctly peaceful agenda. He avidly promoted Greek culture and made Athens the cultural center of the Empire. His portraits, showing him with a beard and elaborately dressed hair, are also fundamentally different from those of Trajan. As his various portrait types reveal, he revived the fashion for luxurious coiffures from the Neronian and Flavian periods, even outdoing them with a complicated arrangement of curls. The bust in Rome's Palazzo Nuovo provides a perfect example (fig. 24).<sup>13</sup> Beards, which turned up periodically after the late portraits of Nero and were often probably indicated with paint, became a fixed element of male fashion with Hadrian.

In contrast to Hadrian's elegant self-presentation, the portraits of the Antonine emperors make their subjects seem benevolent but also always remote. Beginning with the portraits of the emperor Antoninus Pius (r. A.D. 138–61) (cat. 24), and continuing with those of Lucius Verus (r. A.D. 161–69) (cat. 26), Marcus Aurelius (r. A.D. 161–180) and his son Commodus (r. A.D. 180–192), and down to Septimius Severus (r. A.D. 193–211), all the emperors are depicted with abundant, splendidly curly hair and beards that gradually become ever more luxuriant. Presumably, these hairdos were meant to recall the great Greeks from the past, but unlike the Greeks, the Romans favored elaborate forms that were artful creations. A newly developed technique allowed sculptors to



loosen up the hair in such a way as to produce a lively interplay of light and shadow. Literary sources relate that this effect was desired and occasionally heightened in real life, notably by Lucius Verus, who had gold dust sprinkled on his hair (*Historia Augusta, Lucius Verus* 10.7). One such portrait with an elegantly executed play of light in the hair is a bust of the emperor Marcus Aurelius, dating from about A.D. 170–180, in the Palazzo Nuovo in Rome (fig. 25).<sup>14</sup>

For more than half a century, emperors presented themselves to their subjects with such complex beards and hairstyles, as rulers of a firmly established and enduring empire. Actual political events, including battles resulting in severe losses in the north and east that seriously endangered the

Empire for the first time since the beginning of Imperial rule, had no effect on the way they had themselves portrayed. Nonetheless, the *Meditations* of Marcus Aurelius presents some idea of the man behind the portrait, indicating that the official image he chose accorded little with his personal state and how he sought to master his existential problems with the guidance of the Stoic philosophers.

Such standardized, official images changed under the son of Septimius Severus, who has gone down in history as Caracalla (r. A.D. 211–17), named after the hooded Celtic cloak he wore among his soldiers. His official name, was Marcus Aurelius Severus Antoninus, which falsely suggests links between the Severan and Antonine families and Marcus Aurelius. Caracalla's rule was in no way reminiscent of the reign of that beloved emperor. After having his brother and coruler Geta murdered and assuming sole rule in A.D. 212, Caracalla had himself depicted in a wholly new type of portrait, an especially expressive version of which is in the Musée du Louvre in Paris (fig. 26).<sup>15</sup> It shows the emperor full of energy and ready for battle, having jerked his head slightly to the side and downward and furrowed his brow as though in a rage. The portrait in the Metropolitan Museum, by contrast, follows a type placed in circulation somewhat later, in which this extreme expression has been moderated (cat. 27).

After the assassination of Caracalla and the brief reign of Macrinus (r. A.D. 217–18), who had him murdered, two very young emperors followed, again from the Severan family: Elagabalus (r. A.D. 218–22) and Severus Alexander (r. A.D. 222–35). The latter's official name was Marcus Aurelius Severus Alexander—clearly he wished to be associated

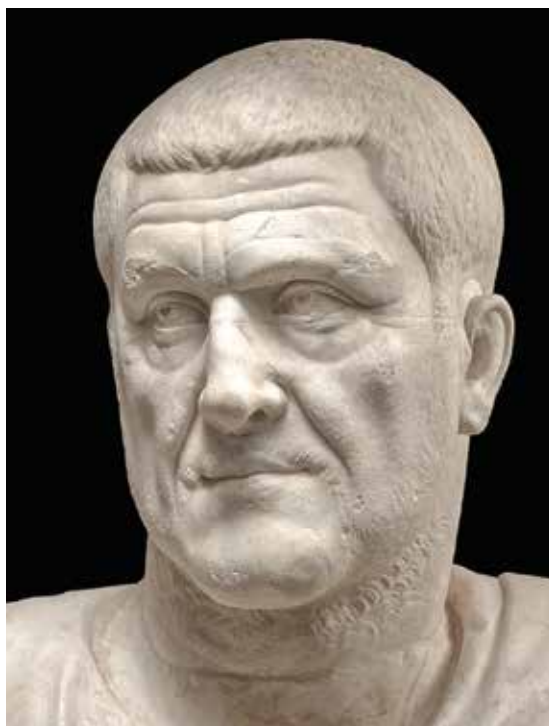


Fig. 27 Portrait of Emperor Maximinus (Thrax) I (r. A.D. 235–38). Marble. Musei Capitolini, Palazzo Nuovo, Sala degli Imperatori, Rome (inv. 473)

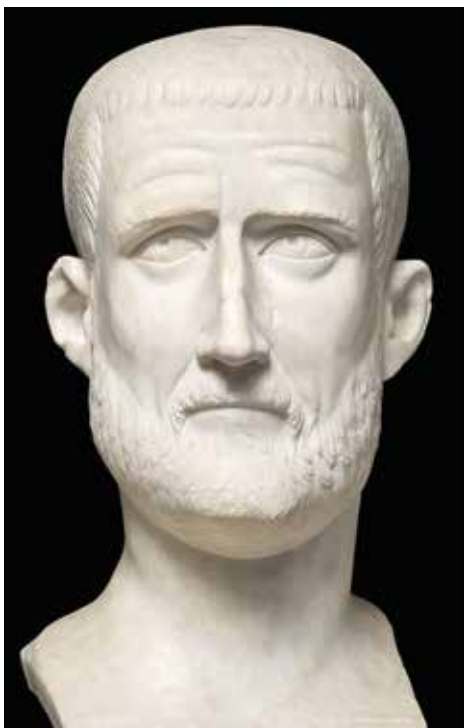
Fig. 28 Over-lifesize bust of Emperor Probus (r. A.D. 276–82). Marble. Musei Capitolini, Palazzo Nuovo, Sala degli Imperatori, Rome (inv. 493)

not only with Marcus Aurelius but also with Alexander the Great. Severus Alexander was only thirteen when he became emperor. His portraits, of three basic types, show him first as a boy, then growing older, and finally, around A.D. 230 and after, as an adult. In the third type, the emperor, roughly twenty-five, wears a mustache and slight side-whiskers. The superb portrait in the Metropolitan Museum (cat. 29) is one of these late examples. Severus Alexander was murdered by soldiers who, displeased with his handling of the war in Germania, proclaimed Maximinus (Thrax) I his successor (r. A.D. 235–38). The bust shows dam-

age from a pickaxe around the eyes and nose, a form of mutilation suffered by other of his surviving portraits after his fall.

The death of Severus Alexander ushered in the era of the “soldier emperors,” which lasted, aside from a phase of consolidation under Gallienus (r. A.D. 253–268), until the time of the tetrarchs and the beginning of the reign of Constantine the Great (r. A.D. 306–37). From this period the Museum owns the impressive bronze statue, mentioned above, of one of these soldier-emperors from the mid-third century A.D. (cat. 30). The portraits of the emperors Severus Alexander and Constantine, which were created before and after this statue, exemplify the profound formal changes in portraiture between the death of Severus Alexander and Constantine the Great’s victory over Maxentius in A.D. 312.

The portrait type of Maximinus (Thrax) I, illustrated here by the especially impressive replica in Rome’s Palazzo Nuovo (fig. 27),<sup>16</sup> follows the tradition of the Caracalla portraits, emphasizing the assertive general’s struggle and passion. A comparison of its features to those of the Trebonianus Gallus demonstrates the gradual process of abstraction. For example, the creases on the forehead lose their organic context, and little by little the entire face becomes a partially unarticulated disk. Even more decisive is the next step, seen in the over-lifesize portrait of Probus (r. A.D. 276–82), in which abstraction has altered the entire shape of the head, increasing the fascinating expressiveness of the portrait (fig. 28).<sup>17</sup> The planes of the face form proper corners at the



sides, and the wrinkles on the forehead create uniform swellings, one above the other, parallel to the brows beneath them. Emerging here is the style that finally prevails most obviously in late portraits of Constantine, such as the one in the Museum (cat. 31).

In the Museum's Department of Medieval Art is a superb emperor portrait from a Late Antique Eastern workshop that deserves inclusion in this catalogue (cat. 32). It depicts a ruler wearing a diadem and hair that falls over the back of his neck, as first seen in the latest portraits of Constantine the Great. The unlined, delicately modeled face with its still youthful features shows that the subject of the portrait was quite young. His bangs cover much of his forehead and end in a line parallel

to his eyebrows. The head was probably carved in the last years of Constantine's life. Presumably, it represents Constans (b. A.D. 320), the youngest of the emperor's three sons, declared coregents about A.D. 333. After Constantine's death, Constans ruled in the west from 337 to 350.

#### NOTES

1. In style they compare well with the statues of Tiberius and Drusus the Younger(?) in the Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek, Copenhagen: V. Poulsen 1962–74, vol. 1, pp. 84–85, pls. LXXXI–LXXXIII.
2. Additional examples, also in the form of statues and busts, are found in Fittschen 1977b, pp. 324–25.
3. Most recently Maderna 2010, pp. 72, 95, 313, fig. 139, with earlier literature.
4. For the first fundamental identification, see Fittschen 1971, pp. 219–21; additional literature on the subject in Boschung 1993b.
5. Boschung 1993a, p. 38, no. 171, pls. 69, 70.
6. Boschung 1989.
7. Bergmann 2013.
8. For a detailed discussion, see Cain 1993, pp. 58–78, 81–95.
9. Bergmann and Zanker 1981.
10. Johansen 1994–95, vol. 2, pp. 28–29, no. 3; Daltrop, Hausmann, and Wegner 1966, p. 75, pl. 3.
11. The Toledo Museum of Art, Ohio (1990.30): Toledo Museum 2009, p. 84, ill.; Varner 2004, p. 130, fig. 135; for the portraits of Domitian, see Fittschen and Zanker 1985, pp. 35–37, nos. 32–33, pls. 33–37; Daltrop, Hausmann, and Wegner 1966, pls. 23–33.
12. The Mariemont portrait of Trajan belongs to a type reminiscent of Augustus portraits in the styling of the hair: Fittschen and Zanker 1985, pp. 40–41, no. 41, addendum 19.
13. *Ibid.*, pp. 54–57, no. 52, pls. 58–60; La Rocca et al. 2011, p. 286, no. 4.31, ill. (L. Buccino).
14. Fittschen and Zanker 1985, pp. 76–77, no. 69, pls. 79–82.
15. *Ibid.*, p. 106, no. 13.
16. *Ibid.*, p. 124, no. 105, pls. 128, 129.
17. *Ibid.*, pp. 139–41, no. 116, pls. 143, 144.





15

**Emperor Augustus (r. 31 B.C.–A.D. 14)**

Claudian, after A.D. 41

Marble, H. 11 in. (27.9 cm)

Rogers Fund, 1908 (08.258.47)

PROVENANCE: [Until 1908, with Ettore Jandolo, Rome]; acquired in 1908, purchased from E. Jandolo.

The two straight-cut surfaces at the attachment of the neck indicate that the slightly over-lifesize head was reworked into a portrait of Augustus from the head of an emperor con-

demned to *damnatio memoriae*. To judge from the early Imperial style of the head, the subject can only have been Emperor Caligula. Accordingly, the head must have been recarved from a portrait of Caligula in the first years of Claudius's reign (A.D. 41–54). Indications for this include the oddly compact shape of the face and the abrupt flattening of the hair behind the front row of locks. More decisive is the back, where remnants of the longer hair of Caligula are still visible above the neck,

where the head was chiseled off. This shows that the Caligula head was removed from a statue and presumably replaced on the same body after being turned into a portrait of Augustus.<sup>1</sup>

The face, unusually small in relation to the head, seems strangely compressed as a result of the reworking. The bone structure is barely visible. The eyes differ in shape, and the right eye is somewhat lower than the left. The top of the nose is narrow, and the eyes are very close together. The most fully



articulated part of the carving is the mouth. The agelessness of the facial features is similar to that of the oversized Augustus portrait (cat. 16).

The fork and tongs motif in the hair at the center of the forehead clearly links the portrait to the so-called Prima Porta type, though it repeats the motif in a highly imprecise form. The resemblance to more reliable replicas, such as the head of the cuirassed statue from Prima Porta itself or the less idealized head of the togate statue in the Museo Nazionale Romano in Rome, is also limited to this main motif.<sup>2</sup> The rest of the hair, including the locks along the temples, is greatly simplified and only suggested in the very flat rendering at the crown and on the back of the head.

**CONDITION:** The nose and portions of the forehead locks are missing. The ears, lower lip, and hair are damaged. Traces of accretions appear over the entire head. To judge from the two flat-cut surfaces on the back of the head, the sculpture was probably reworked from an earlier portrait.

**LITERATURE:** Richter 1909, p. 64, fig. 3; Chase 1924, pp. 176–77, fig. 211; Montini 1938, pp. 59, 61, 90, no. 65; Hausmann 1981, pp. 551–98; Boschung 1993a, pp. 73, 167, no. 141, pl. 110; Milleker 2000, pp. 32–33, 205, no. 12 (C. Lightfoot).

**NOTES**

1. H. Jucker 1981, p. 278, figs. 48–51; Bergmann and Zanker 1981.
2. Boschung 1993a, pp. 179–81, no. 171, pl. 70 (for the cuirassed statue); pp. 176–77, no. 165, pl. 80 (for the togate statue).







## 16

### Fragment of an Over-Lifesize Portrait of Emperor Augustus (r. 31 B.C.–A.D. 14)

Claudian, after A.D. 41  
Marble, H. 12 in. (30.5 cm)  
Rogers Fund, 1907 (07.286.115)

PROVENANCE: [Until 1907, collection of Edward Perry Warren, Lewes House, Sussex, U.K.]; acquired in 1907, purchased from E. P. Warren.

The condition of this fragment suggests that it, like the colossal head of Augustus (cat. 17), was separately carved and placed atop an over-lifesize statue of the assassinated emperor Caligula, who was subjected to *damnatio memoriae*. What survives of the present head indicates that it was a work of high quality. It was turned slightly to its right and downward, for at that angle the different sizes of the eyes and the flat extension of the left half of the face are in balance. Given the position, it may have belonged to a seated figure.

A comparison of the fragment with a replica of the original type of the Prima Porta Augustus and with the Prima Porta statue itself in the Vatican Museums makes the variations and

peculiarities of the present version readily apparent. Whereas the fork and tongs motif in the hair above the forehead is reproduced quite precisely, the sculptor placed the strands of hair at the sides parallel to each other, in contrast to those of the model. In the face, the clear, wide-boned structure beneath the eyes of the model have given way to a more elongated shape and a youthful-seeming, smooth surface. This delicate modeling is also very apparent on the lower lids, which are rendered like skin, whereas on the head of the Prima Porta statue they are distinctly set off from the cheeks in a manner reminiscent of Classical works from the fifth century B.C.

These deviations from the original conception of the Prima Porta type represent a deliberate interpretation of that work. The ruler, meanwhile deified, is here celebrated as an eternally youthful presence that has lost all earthly weight. In various sculpture galleries, the seated statues of the Divus Augustus are generally presented with a body associated with statues of Zeus/Jupiter and together with family members. In the context of such a gallery, a portrait like this one took on additional

meaning as representing the progenitor of the gens Julia.

Helpful in dating the work are the broad, angular strands of hair, which begin to appear in a very similar form in the Tiberian period.<sup>1</sup> If the present writer's surmise is correct, the head would have been produced in the fifth decade of the first century A.D., after the death of Emperor Caligula.

CONDITION: The back of the head is missing, and only a narrow fragment of the neck is preserved, on the right side of the head. The tip of the nose and part of the chin are also missing. Only a small portion of the left ear survives. As the smooth cuts on the cranium and back of the head indicate, the head was set atop the neck of a statue.

LITERATURE: E. Robinson 1908, p. 7; D. Robinson 1926, p. 127, fig. 1; Montini 1938, pp. 59, 90, no. 66; F. Poulsen 1939, p. 24, no. 7; Richter 1948, no. 18, ill.; Hausmann 1981, p. 589 n. 286; Hertel 1982b, pp. 60–62, 257, no. 100; *Greece and Rome* 1987, pp. 11, 99, no. 72 (M. Anderson); Boschung 1993a, pp. 73, 166–67, no. 140, pl. 109 (as Tiberian); Bartman 1999, p. 29 n. 7; Milleker 2000, pp. 33, 205, no. 13 (C. Lightfoot); Picón et al. 2007, pp. 332, 481, no. 383.

#### NOTE

1. Kersauson 1996, vol. 1, p. 156, no. 72 (MA 1255).



17

**Fragment of an Over-Lifesize  
Portrait of Emperor Augustus  
(r. 31 B.C.–A.D. 14),**

Claudian, after A.D. 41

Marble, H. 17 $\frac{7}{8}$  in. (45.4 cm)

Rogers Fund, 1921 (21.88.94)

PROVENANCE: [Until 1921, with Ettore Jandolo, Rome]; acquired in 1921, purchased from E. Jandolo.

The colossal dimensions and shape of the head fragment indicate that it came from an acrolith, a statue in which only the exposed body parts (head, hands, and feet) were carved in marble; the rest was made up of various textile or metal elements secured to an internal frame.<sup>1</sup> To judge from the shape of the head fragment, the acrolith could have been reconstructed after a repair. It was probably a seated statue of the Jupiter type, of which examples are known for Augustus, Tiberius (r. A.D. 14–37), and Claudius.<sup>2</sup>

The style of the fragment indicates that it was produced during the reign of Claudius. This is suggested especially by the soft, full forms around the mouth, which resemble those on portraits of Claudius himself. Comparable also is another colossal head of the deified Augustus from a statue gallery in Caere (modern Cerveteri); the head was carved from a portrait of Caligula, as the chiseling of the hair on the neck indicates.<sup>3</sup>

The face exhibits an animated surface. The right cheekbone is prominent, while the left side is flat, which suggests a slight turning of the head to its left. The head's dramatic effect derives mainly from the overlarge eyes, exaggerated by the straight brows lying directly above them. The enlargement of the eyes was an effect with which a

series of sculptors sought to express the deified emperor's new power. This was not a new portrait type, but rather a formal device applied to the old types in various workshops in quite different ways. The polychromy, now lost, would have enhanced the effect considerably. In Italy, good examples for this effect exist in the head from Cerveteri already mentioned and in another in Volterra; in Gaul, in the old-fashioned provincial head in Toulouse; in Spain, in the colossal head from Italica in Seville; and in North Africa, in the two acroliths from Leptis Magna, near Tripoli, and from Athribis in Alexandria.<sup>4</sup> In all these examples, the sculptors were intent on expressing the superhuman power of the deified emperor with heads much larger than lifesize. However, in most cases the intended effect remains ambiguous, probably because the rest of the facial features generally adhere to the familiar typology, which presented handsome characteristics but not superhumanly ideal ones.

It is still necessary to classify the fragment's typology. Dietrich Boschung (1993) identified it as a variant of the so-called Octavian type. It could just as accurately be called a late variant or simplification of the predominant Prima Porta type. A comparison of this fragment with the portraits that come closest to the Prima Porta type indicate how greatly the artist simplified.<sup>5</sup> He made the "fork" above the corner of the left eye sweep far to the sides, so that the fork and tongs motif dominates the entire forehead. The layer of hair above it seems disorganized and could further indicate a reworking of an earlier portrait.

Despite its only partial preservation, the portrait is highly imposing



and is one of the especially attractive pieces in the Metropolitan Museum's portrait gallery.

CONDITION: Only the front part of the colossal head survives; the rest was originally pieced on. The lower part of the face is missing and most of the nose has broken off. The surface is roughened and friable from weathering. "On the neck beneath the chin a uniformly sloping surface. Behind, an irregularly roughened surface with an ancient dowel hole that meets another surface for attachment at a right angle. At the top, remains of two iron clamps leading to the back. It is thus a colossal acrolithic head, of which the neck, portions of the cheeks, and

ears were carved separately" (Boschung 1993, p. 116). Further study can improve on this description by Dietrich Boschung. The portrait appears to have been placed on the neck and back of the head of an earlier statue. Given the style, only a statue of Caligula (r. A.D. 37–41), subjected to *damnatio memoriae*, is possible. There are incrustations mainly on the left side.

LITERATURE: Richter 1948, no. 16, ill.; Vierneisel and Zanker 1979, pp. 66–67, ill.; Hausmann 1981, p. 583 n. 260, no. 3 (as Tiberian); Zanker 1983, p. 35 (on the large eyes as an expression of deification); Fittschen and Zanker 1985, p. 3, under no. 2 n. 2 (posthumous blurring of types); Grimm 1989, pl. 93.1 (extremely

intricate and, in the opinion of the present writer, largely inaccurate typological differentiation); Boschung 1993a, pp. 15, 116, no. 18, pl. 23.

#### NOTES

1. Mau 1894.
2. Niemeyer 1968, pp. 104–7, pls. 29–31. For the display contexts, see Boschung 2002, pls. 8, 26, 34, 52, 56, 70, 92.
3. Boschung 1993a, p. 182, no. 174, pl. 139.
4. *Ibid.*, pp. 192–93, no. 205, pl. 126 (Cerveteri and Volterra); pp. 121–22, no. 29, pls. 18, 19 (Toulouse); p. 131, no. 47, pl. 44 (Seville); pp. 190–91, no. 200, pl. 118 (Tripoli); p. 139, no. 65, pl. 144 (Alexandria).
5. Vierneisel and Zanker 1979, pp. 52–53; Boschung 1993a, pp. 38–50.

## 18

### Small Marble Portrait of Emperor Augustus (r. 31 B.C.–A.D. 14)

Late Augustan–early Tiberian period,

ca. A.D. 10–30

Marble, H. 4<sup>15</sup>/<sub>16</sub> in. (12.6 cm)

Rogers Fund, 1909 (09.221.7)

**PROVENANCE:** Said to have been found in Rome; [until 1909, with Paul Hartwig]; acquired in 1909, purchased from Paul Hartwig.

The small head of high quality very probably comes from a statuette that was displayed in a home, possibly in a *lararium* (household shrine), together with representations of the protective deities of the house and the *lares*.

The head was turned almost imperceptibly to its left and perhaps upward. This is at least suggested by the dissimilar carving of the sides of the face, with flatter forms toward the right side. Viewed from the front, the face does not exhibit any close similarity to assured portraits of Augustus: the eyes are small and narrow, the lower face is broad, the mouth, small. The resemblance to Augustus is clearer in profile.

The stylization of the locks and the laurel wreath in the hair are the clearest



suggestions that the head is to be identified as Augustus.<sup>1</sup> Doubtless, the work was originally polychromed, and the wreath and hair were therefore initially more clearly differentiated from one another. The hair at the forehead resembles the Octavian type, though

the sculptor not only simplified the sequence of locks but virtually doubled it. The upper layer clearly recalls the way the hair of this type is “tossed” toward the subject’s right, though the “fork” is shifted completely to the left. Beneath this layer is another one that



repeats the same sequence of locks in a slightly varied form. The hair on the crown of the head, arranged around a cowlick, further supports the identification with Augustus.

Dating the small head is difficult, especially since the surface is partly deteriorated. Dietrich Boschung proposed a dating from the later Augustan or early Tiberian period, and that suggestion seems most probable.

CONDITION: The tip of the nose is missing; otherwise the head is well preserved. Some damage exists in the hair and laurel wreath, and there are significant accretions.

LITERATURE: E. Robinson 1910, pp. 236–37; Brendel 1931, pp. 44, 67, no. 14 (as Octavian type); Curtius 1940, p. 47 (as Octavian type); Richter 1948, no. 19, ill.; Zanker 1973b, p. 26 (not clearly classifiable typologically); Schneider 1976, p. 12, ill.; Borromeo 1993, pp. 17, 244, no. 7 (as Neronian); Boschung 1993a, pp. 115–16, no. 17, pl. 34 (as Actium type/Octavian type); Dahmen 2001, p. 147, no. 1, ill. (no clear typological classification possible; as Augustan-Tiberian).

NOTES

1. Boschung (1993a, pp. 6–7 nn. 64, 65) provides a compilation of the portraits with laurel, *corona civica*, and other wreaths. The portraits do not relate to each other typologically.





## 19

### Small Ivory Head of Emperor Augustus (r. 31 B.C.–A.D. 14)

Augustan, ca. 10 B.C.–A.D. 10

Ivory, H. 1<sup>7</sup>/<sub>16</sub> in. (4 cm)

Rogers Fund, 1923 (23.160.78)

**PROVENANCE:** Said to have been found in Rome; by 1903 and until 1910, collection of Count Grigoriy Sergeevich Stroganov, Palazzo Stroganov, Rome; 1910–20, with his descendants, Palazzo Stroganov, Rome; [ca. 1920–1923, sold to Giorgio Sangiorgi, Rome]; acquired in 1923, purchased from G. Sangiorgi.



Just under two inches in height, this ivory head is unquestionably a portrait of Augustus. The artist was a true master of his craft, for he succeeded in rather faithfully copying his model, which traces the primary, Prima Porta type, despite the enormous reduction in scale.

A comparison with the over-lifesize head of the Prima Porta statue reveals that the ivory head is narrower, causing some of the forms to seem compressed. But the sequence of locks of hair above the forehead, with their fork and tongs motif, matches very well. The artist even tried to reproduce correctly the curled locks on the sides. Only on the back did he make do with long, descending strands of hair.

The face differs from the type somewhat more: the eyes are narrower; the mouth, with its thin lips, looks almost pursed; and the chin is smaller and recedes slightly. Also, the subtle modeling on the forehead and cheeks is lacking, which is unsurprising, given the small dimensions and the material.

Nevertheless, it is astonishing how even the profile views clearly present the shapes of Augustus's physiognomy.

Unfortunately, the original polychrome surface has been completely lost. Traces of a white coating survive on to which the actual face tones were applied.

**CONDITION:** Broken at the neck. A small piece of the left ear is missing, and there are cracks on the right and left cheeks; otherwise, the head is well preserved. Some of the white coating on the face and hair has come off.

**LITERATURE:** Graeven 1903, p. 111, pl. 67; Pollak and Muñoz 1911, p. 75, pl. XLVI.1; Richter 1926a, p. 84, fig. 7; Richter 1930, pp. 314–15, fig. 222; Richter 1938b, p. 275, fig. 3; Richter 1948, no. 20, ill.; Hausmann 1981, p. 581, no. 6; Kiss 1984, p. 105; Boschung 1993a, p. 167, no. 142, pl. 197 (as Augustan); Milleker 2000, pp. 54, 206, no. 35 (C. Lightfoot); Dahmen 2001, p. 166, no. 72, pl. 72.



## 20

### Small Faience Head of Emperor Augustus (r. 31 B.C.–A.D. 14)

Late Augustan–Tiberian, ca. A.D. 20

Faience, H. 2<sup>1</sup>/<sub>16</sub> in. (6.8 cm)

Department of Egyptian Art

Purchase, Edward S. Harkness Gift, 1926  
(26.7.1428)

**PROVENANCE:** From Egypt, Memphite region, possibly from Memphis (Mit Rahina); from before 1923 and until 1926, collection of George Herbert, 5th Earl of Carnarvon; acquired in 1926, purchased from Almina, Countess of Carnarvon.

The small faience head of Augustus comes from Egypt, where small-format replicas of Imperial portraits in this material were popular as substitutes for gems. It could have belonged to a small bust like the fully preserved faience bust of Tiberius in the Cabinet des Médailles of the Bibliothèque Nationale de France in Paris, which is roughly the same size.<sup>1</sup> Similarities in the rendering of the hair, especially at the nape of the neck, shared by the present head, the small faience bust of Tiberius, and the turquoise head of

Augustus in Florence, are striking.<sup>2</sup>

These seem to be customary simplifications by Egyptian workshops of the complicated structure of the type. This is also suggested by the similar rendering of irises and pupils with sharp scribing.

The youthful portrait of Augustus is based on a type of his earlier representation as Octavian, as indicated by the stylization of the hair at the forehead, with locks forming “tongs” on the right and a “fork” on the opposite side.

Dietrich Boschung sees in the hair a connection with the secondary type found in the version of the portrait in Stuttgart, but this is unconvincing, especially since there the rest of the hairstyle is also different. In the Museum’s portrait, the creases at the top of the nose also conform to the Octavian type; however, the plump forms of the lower part of the face diverge completely from the more precise replicas of the type.

A dating on the basis of style is difficult. The calmer rendering of the forehead hair and the scant modeling of the

face in comparison to the glass head of Augustus in Cologne suggest that the work was produced in the late Augustan or even the Tiberian period.<sup>3</sup>

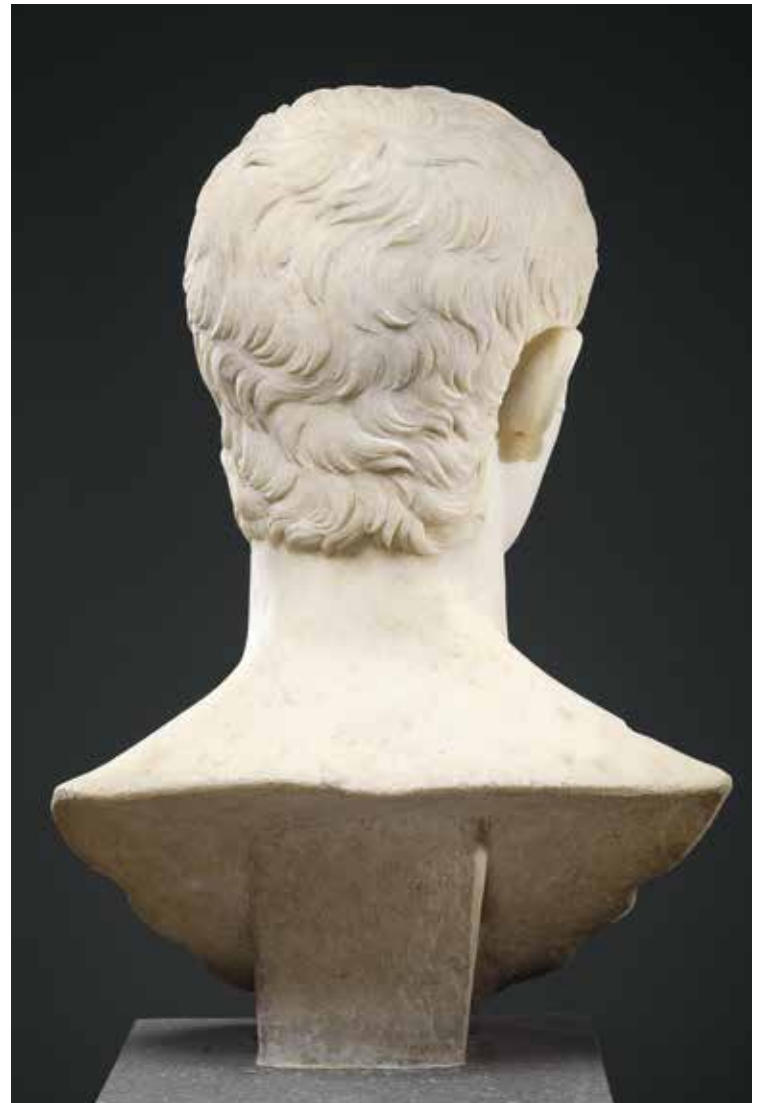
**CONDITION:** The bottom part of the small head has broken off at an angle from the chin to the neck, and there are numerous losses in the face and hair. The nose and right ear are completely missing. Missing, too, are part of the left ear and portions of the chin. Particularly heavy damage is visible on the lower right cheek and above the neck, where there is a nearly circular hole. Traces of blue-green faience glaze remain on the forehead, cheeks, and hair. There is also heavy damage on the back of the head.

**LITERATURE:** Stuart 1944, ill. (careful description and identification as Augustus); Richter 1948, no. 21, ill.; Kaschnitz von Weinberg 1965, p. 473, pl. 134.1 (on the impression of the hard material with its glossy effects); Doppelfeld 1965–66, p. 9 n. 16 (publication of the well-known glass head of Augustus in Cologne); Parlasca 1967, p. 554 n. 26; H. Jucker 1974, p. 188; Schneider 1976, pp. 15–16; Hausmann 1981, pp. 543–44 (as the so-called Actium type, ca. 15 B.C.?); Massner 1982, p. 34 n. 187 (the Roman ruler image IV); H. Jucker 1983a, p. 142, pl. 7 (attribution to the so-called Actium or Octavian type); Kiss 1984, p. 36, pls. 40, 41 (compilation of portraits of the Imperial family from Egypt); Fittschen and Zanker 1985, p. 2 n. 6 (based on the so-called Actium-Octavian type); Salzmann 1990, p. 152 n. 11b (compilation of Augustus heads in glass, faience, and semiprecious stones); Boschung 1993a, p. 116, no. 19, pl. 35 (blurring of the Octavian type and a secondary type, mid- to late Augustan); Milleker 2000, pp. 88, 207, no. 68 (C. Lightfoot); Walker and Higgs 2001, p. 272, no. 321 (S. Walker).

#### NOTES

1. Vollenweider and Avisseau-Broustet 1995, p. 77, no. 82, pl. 64; Delbrueck 1925, p. 15, pl. 5.
2. Augustus head: Palazzo Pitti, Museo degli Argenti, Florence (1921 n. 759); Boschung 1993a, p. 152, no. 99, pl. 204.3–4; Delbrueck 1925, pp. 13–14, figs. 6, 7, pl. 4.
3. For the Cologne head, see Boschung 1993a, p. 156, no. 110, pl. 203.





21

**Bust of Emperor Caligula**

(r. A.D. 37–41)

Reign of Caligula

Marble, overall H. 20 in. (50.8 cm), chin to crown 10¼ in. (26 cm)

Rogers Fund, 1914 (14.37)

PROVENANCE: Said to have been found near Marino, Lake Albano; [until 1914, with Alfredo Barsanti, Rome]; acquired in 1914, purchased from A. Barsanti.

The excellent preservation of the bust suggests that it, like the Caligula portrait in the Worcester Art Museum (1914.23), was carefully buried, which accords with the reported circumstances of the find. The sculpture is supported on the interior by a broad plinth, and the shoulders extend nearly to the tops of the arms. The bottom edge of the bust, with its undulations—doubtlessly ancient—is so far unique.

The head is tilted slightly upward and turned to its right, like other

portraits of Emperor Caligula, so that the classicizing pose loses some of its severity. The face also compares favorably with other Caligula portraits, such as the bust with cuirasse in Copenhagen.<sup>1</sup> As there, the brows lie flat above the eyes and then make a short swing to the sides, the tip of the nose is slightly bulbous, and the upper lip projects. The high forehead also matches those on portraits certain to represent Caligula. However, the arrangement of the hair is different,



especially the strands running downward on both sides and the detailed “forks and tongs” of the locks at the forehead, which do not give way to the familiar receding areas of certain Caligula portraits.

In the hair at the forehead, the head in Worcester differs in a similar way from the typologically assured portraits, though in the Worcester work the corners of the hairline at the brow are clearly indicated. In their classicizing hair arrangement, the two heads are otherwise so similar, even with respect to the execution of the flat strands, that Dietrich Boschung has assumed they came from the same workshop.

Most authors have had no hesitation in identifying the subject as Caligula, which is altogether possible. However, if the strict standard of typology is applied, the subject could also be a person who deliberately had his physiognomy brought into conformity with

that of the young emperor, a practice seen again and again, especially in the case of popular rulers, since Caesar’s time.<sup>2</sup> Despite this uncertainty, the identification nonetheless is justified, particularly given the simultaneous appearance of two almost perfectly preserved portraits.

CONDITION: “Cleared after arrival at the Museum” (note in the records of the Department of Greek and Roman Art). Photographs preserved in the Deutsches Archäologisches Institut in Rome show the head covered with incrustation before cleaning. Traces of root marks and accretions are still visible today on the neck, bust, hair, and back, attesting to the unquestioned authenticity of the bust. Aside from the effects of heavy cleaning, the work is almost completely preserved. All that is missing is a piece from the left ear; there are also breaks along the edge of the bust.

LITERATURE: Richter 1914a, pp. 60–61, figs. 2, 3 (as Tiberius); F. Poulsen 1921, pp. 67–68, pls. 26–28 (as Caligula); F. Johnson 1926, p. 162;

Bianchi Bandinelli 1932, p. 154; West 1933–41, vol. 1, pp. 201–2, pl. LIII.232; Horn 1937, col. 412 (comparison with the Augustus from Fondi in the Museo Archeologico Nazionale, Naples); Richter 1948, no. 36 (illustration reversed); Polacco 1955, p. 150; V. Poulsen 1957, pp. 46–47, no. II.1, fig. 9; V. Poulsen 1958, pp. 186–87, no. II.1; H. Jucker 1961, p. 48; V. Poulsen 1962–74, vol. 1, p. 89; Brilliant 1969, pp. 13–15, pls. III.1, IV.1; Faur 1971, pp. 37, 38, 40, fig. 6; H. Jucker 1973, p. 20; H. Jucker 1981, p. 258 (edges of the bust reworked in Antiquity); Hertel 1982a, p. 266 n. 19, no. 2; Hertel 1982b, pp. 50, 236, no. 63; Massner 1982, p. 111; Johansen 1987b, p. 106, fig. 33; Boschung 1989, pp. 60–62, 119, no. 46, pls. 37.1–4, 47.1, p. 62, sketch 36 (questions the Caligula identification based on typological deviations); Milleker 2000, pp. 34, 205, no. 14 (C. Lightfoot); Varner 2004, pp. 36–37; Picón et al. 2007, pp. 358, 486, no. 413 (as Caligula).

#### NOTES

1. Boschung 1989, p. 112, no. 20, pls. 20, 21.
2. Zanker 1981 and 1982.



## 22

### Small Bronze Bust of Emperor Caligula (r. A.D. 37–41)

Reign of Caligula

Bronze, overall H. 9<sup>13</sup>/<sub>16</sub> in. (25.5 cm), chin to crown 4<sup>3</sup>/<sub>4</sub> in. (12 cm)

Rogers Fund, 1923 (23.160.23)

PROVENANCE: Until 1923, collection of Ludwig and Frida Mond, London; acquired in 1923, purchased from Mrs. Mond.

This small bust, particularly impressive thanks to its surviving inlaid eyes, undoubtedly represents the emperor Caligula. His head is slightly raised, and, in the traditional classicizing manner following the Prima Porta type of Augustus, grandly turned

toward the right. The portrait displays features so characteristic of Caligula: a longish face with high forehead, a small mouth with markedly receding lower lip, a nose with a hump and a bulbous tip, and small eyes.

The hairstyle essentially follows the primary type of Caligula portraits, though it is highly simplified when compared with the main representatives in Venice, Adolphseck, and Jesi: the “fork” in the middle of the forehead is shifted slightly to the right, as usual, but the “tongs” at the corners of the forehead are now barely perceptible. On the sides and at the neck, the long strands are almost undifferentiated. By



contrast, the deeply receding hairline on either side of the forehead is prominent, discreetly indicating that the young emperor began to lose his hair at an early age, as ancient sources report (Suetonius, *Caligula* 50). Small-scale busts of this kind had to be freely modeled, since the artists could not work with casts and pointing machines. For

this reason, obvious deviations from the portrait types are frequent.

The bust must have had some kind of finial, but it is impossible to say what form it took.<sup>2</sup> The work certainly stood in the house of a man who wished to express his loyalty to the ruler. In contrast to the lifesize portraits and small portrait busts in armor and with a

paludamentum (military cloak) across the shoulders, this nude bust represents a neutral form of aggrandizement employed in depictions of ordinary citizens as well as of rulers and military heroes. The most likely placement for the bust was in a small lares shrine like those found in houses in Pompeii. The emperor's bust could have stood next to the lares protecting the house and the deities especially venerated by the owner.<sup>3</sup>

The small bust's well-preserved state suggests that it was either fished from the Tiber or had been carefully buried.<sup>4</sup>

CONDITION: An ancient break runs at the level of the collarbones; above this, on the left shoulder, a large ancient repair has broken off. The entire surface is heavily corroded. The inlaid eyes (a feature rarely preserved) have attracted particular attention. The eyeballs are white glass, and the one on the right still has an iris and a pupil. Investigations carried out in 2012 in the Metropolitan Museum's Sherman Fairchild Center for Objects Conservation determined that the blue-green color of the iris is very likely a recent discoloration from the surrounding bronze.

LITERATURE: Richter 1924, pp. 70–71, fig. 6; F. Johnson 1926, p. 162; Curtius 1934, pp. 131–32, fig. 10; Richter 1948, no. 39, ill.; V. Poulsen 1957, p. 45, no. 6; V. Poulsen 1958, p. 181, no. 8; H. Jucker 1961, p. 48; Schneider 1976, p. 40 (useful compilation of the small emperor busts); Krumme 1980, p. 32 n. 3.17; H. Jucker 1981, pp. 258, 262; Hertel 1982a, p. 273, no. 27; Boschung 1989, pp. 115, no. 31, pls. 28, 47.2; Borromeo 1993, pp. 25–26, 248, no. 16; Motz 1993, pp. 216, 224, pl. 43; Varner 2000, pp. 102–3, no. 7; Dahmen 2001, p. 158, no. 43, ill.; Lahusen and Formigli 2001, p. 129, no. 71.

#### NOTES

1. Boschung 1989, pls. 4, 5, 7.
2. Hans Jucker (1981, p. 258, figs. 24–28) points to a very similar bust of Caligula reworked into a Claudius portrait in Berlin.
3. Hoff 2009, p. 248 n. 40.
4. See H. Jucker 1982 and 1961, p. 48.



23

**Small Bronze Head of Emperor Caligula (r. A.D. 37–41)**

Reign of Caligula

Bronze, overall H. 2<sup>1</sup>/<sub>16</sub> in. (6.8 cm)

Fletcher Fund, 1925 (25.78.35)

**PROVENANCE:** Until 1910, collection of Count Grigoriy Sergeyeovich Stroganov, Palazzo Stroganov, Rome; 1910–20, with his descendants, Palazzo Stroganov, Rome; [ca. 1920–23, sold to Giorgio Sangiorgi, Rome]; [until 1925, with G. Sangiorgi, Rome]; acquired in 1925, purchased from G. Sangiorgi.

This small head of Emperor Caligula, just under three inches in height including the long neck, is distinguished by an astonishing articulation of its forms. Like the bronze bust (cat. 22), it was derived from the main type of Caligula portrait. As there, the head is turned slightly to the right and



raised. The face narrows below the broad, prominent cheekbones and extends far upward at the corners of the high forehead, partly confirming the report by Suetonius (A.D. 70–130) (*Caligula* 50): *capillo raro ac circa verticem nullo* (he had little hair, and the crown of the head was bald). The lower portion of the forehead projects forward, and the brows lie flat above the large eyes. The tip of the nose points upward, in contrast to most other Caligula portraits. The lower lip is drawn in, as usual.

From the “fork” almost in the center, the locks of hair curve toward the sides; the “tongs” in the corners are only suggested. However, the locks on the sides are executed in astonishing detail. They extend from the back of the head down on to the nape of the neck. Here, the artist no longer followed the standard pattern, but rather arranged the hair in a fine composition of his own, with a classic cowlick and uniform rows of locks.

This portrait probably comes from a bust from which it was violently broken off, as one can see from the irregular break at the back. Presumably,



this is another case of a Caligula portrait that was displayed in a home and intentionally damaged and disposed of after the emperor’s assassination. The head, like others, was perhaps thrown into the Tiber.<sup>1</sup> Unfortunately, as so often, the circumstances of the find are not known.

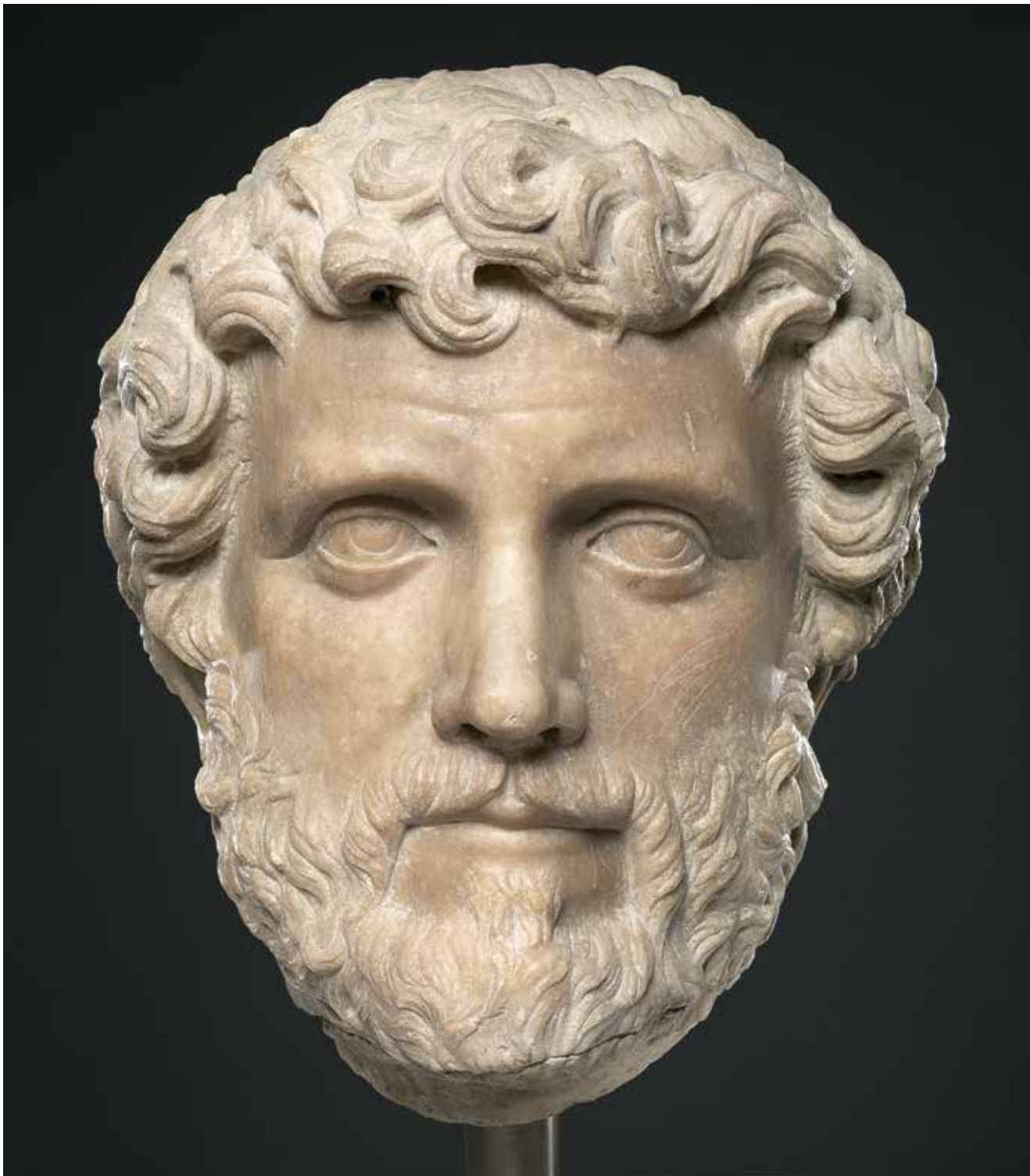
**CONDITION:** There are small losses in the face, and the head has been abraded on the forehead and cheeks. The pupils are missing, but otherwise the small head with its long neck is well preserved. There is a green patina especially in the hair. The irises were inlaid with silver. The edge of the right ear is damaged.

**LITERATURE:** Pollak and Muñoz 1911, p. 28, pl. XXV.2; Richter 1927b, pp. 20–21, fig. 9; Richter 1948, no. 40, ill.; V. Poulsen 1958, p. 181, no. 9; H. Jucker 1961, pp. 48–49; Schneider 1976, pp. 39–40, ill.; H. Jucker 1981, p. 262 n. 79; Hertel 1982a, p. 273, no. 28; H. Jucker 1982, p. 112 n. 18; Boschung 1989, pp. 114–15, no. 29, pl. 26.5–8 (with detailed description); Borromeo 1993, pp. 25–26, 247–48, no. 15; Varner 2000, pp. 102–3, no. 8 (on the placement in lararia and “disposal” following Caligula’s assassination); Dahmen 2001, p. 159, no. 44, ill.; Lahusen and Formigli 2001, p. 125, no. 67, ill.

**NOTE**

1. Hoff 2009.





24

**Portrait of Emperor Antoninus Pius  
(r. A.D. 138–61)**

Early Antonine, ca. A.D. 140–60

Marble, H. 12 $\frac{7}{8}$  in. (32.7 cm)

Gift of Mrs. Frederick F. Thompson, 1903

(03.12.1)

**PROVENANCE:** From before 1637 and until 1902, in the Giustiniani Collection, Rome; 1902, purchased from the Giustiniani family through Giuseppe Sangiorgi by Mrs. Frederick F. Thompson, New York; acquired in 1903, gift of Mrs. Frederick F. Thompson.

The portrait once sat atop a lovely seventeenth-century bust that, unfortunately, can no longer be found in the Museum (fig. 29). In its present condition, the head exhibits seemingly modern features, owing to a heavy

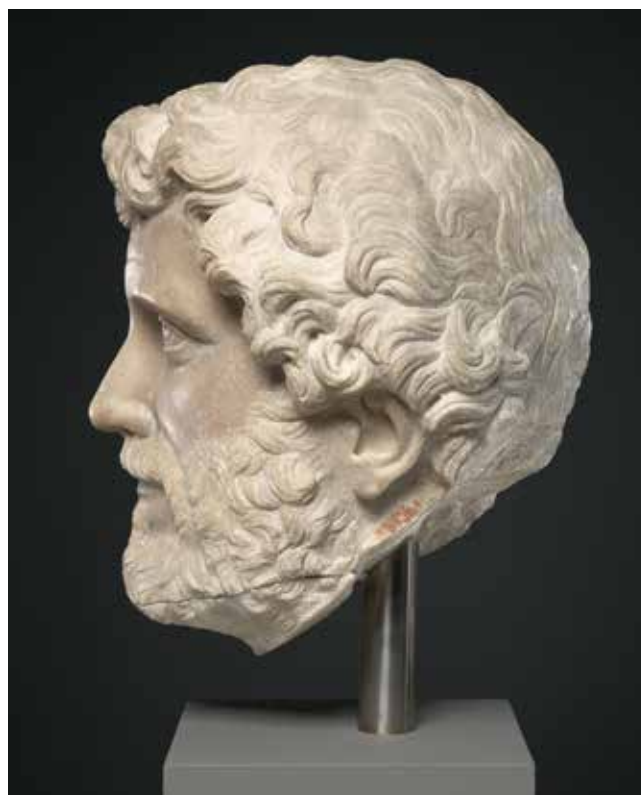
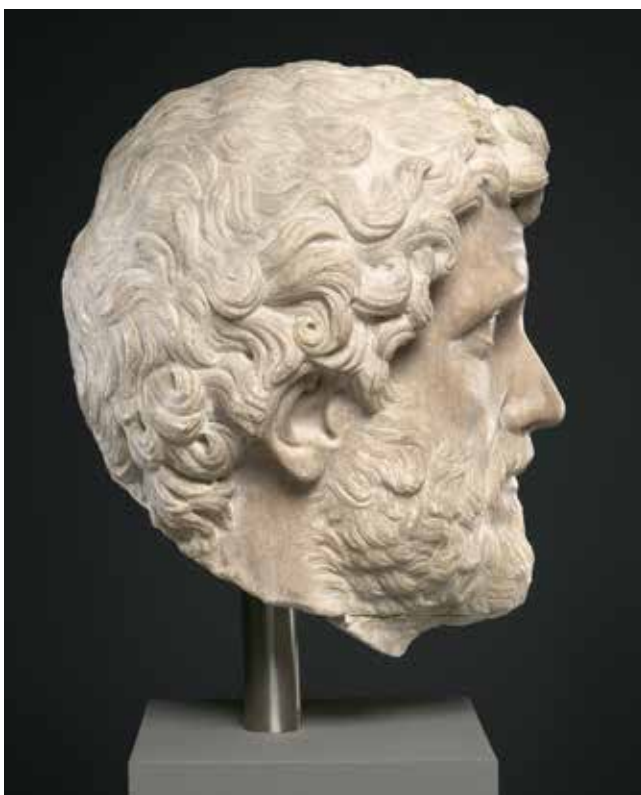


Fig. 29 Archival photograph showing the portrait of Emperor Antoninus Pius atop a seventeenth-century bust, now lost. Records of the Department of Greek and Roman Art, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York

surface cleaning carried out centuries ago. All the forms have been heightened and smoothed. Certain “clarifications,” such as the scribing of the irises and pupils, have caused some writers to question the work’s authenticity.

The head is unquestionably ancient. It represents a not very detailed replica of the main portrait type, of which, as Klaus Fittschen (1985) has shown, there are variants. The present example is a simplified version, one of some twenty-five known replicas. These, in turn, differ slightly from each other. Given the intentionally “accidental” arrangement of the locks in the portrait type, this is hardly surprising.

The sculptor of the present work, unlike the makers of most of the other replicas, chose not to lighten the hair and beard with the use of a drill. Two portraits of Antoninus Pius in Schloss Fasanerie near Fulda, Germany, are

among other examples that similarly simplify in the rendering of the locks.<sup>1</sup> Presumably, the sculptor commissioned to prepare the head for its new display in the seventeenth century “scoured” the front part of the hair especially thoroughly while cleaning it.

CONDITION: In the seventeenth century, the portrait was placed on a modern bust with a military cloak in the Giustiniani Collection and was heavily reworked. At that time, the face was restored, cleaned, and recarved in numerous spots. The dowel at the top of the head is doubtless modern.

LITERATURE: E. Robinson 1906, p. 82, no. 16 (as “modern”); Wegner 1939, p. 136 (“lifeless, weak, indefinite in the details”); Arndt, Amelung, and Lippold 1893–, ser. XVIB (1940), nos. 4733, 4734 (M. Bieber); Richter 1948, no. 74, ill.; Fittschen and Zanker 1985, p. 66 n. 19e (as type Croce Greca 595).

NOTE

1. Heintze 1968, nos. 35, 36, pls. 61–63.

**Portrait of Emperor Antoninus Pius  
(r. A.D. 138–61)**

Early Antonine, A.D. 140–60

Marble, overall H. 15<sup>3</sup>/<sub>16</sub> in. (40.2 cm),

H. of the head 12<sup>3</sup>/<sub>4</sub> in. (32.4 cm)

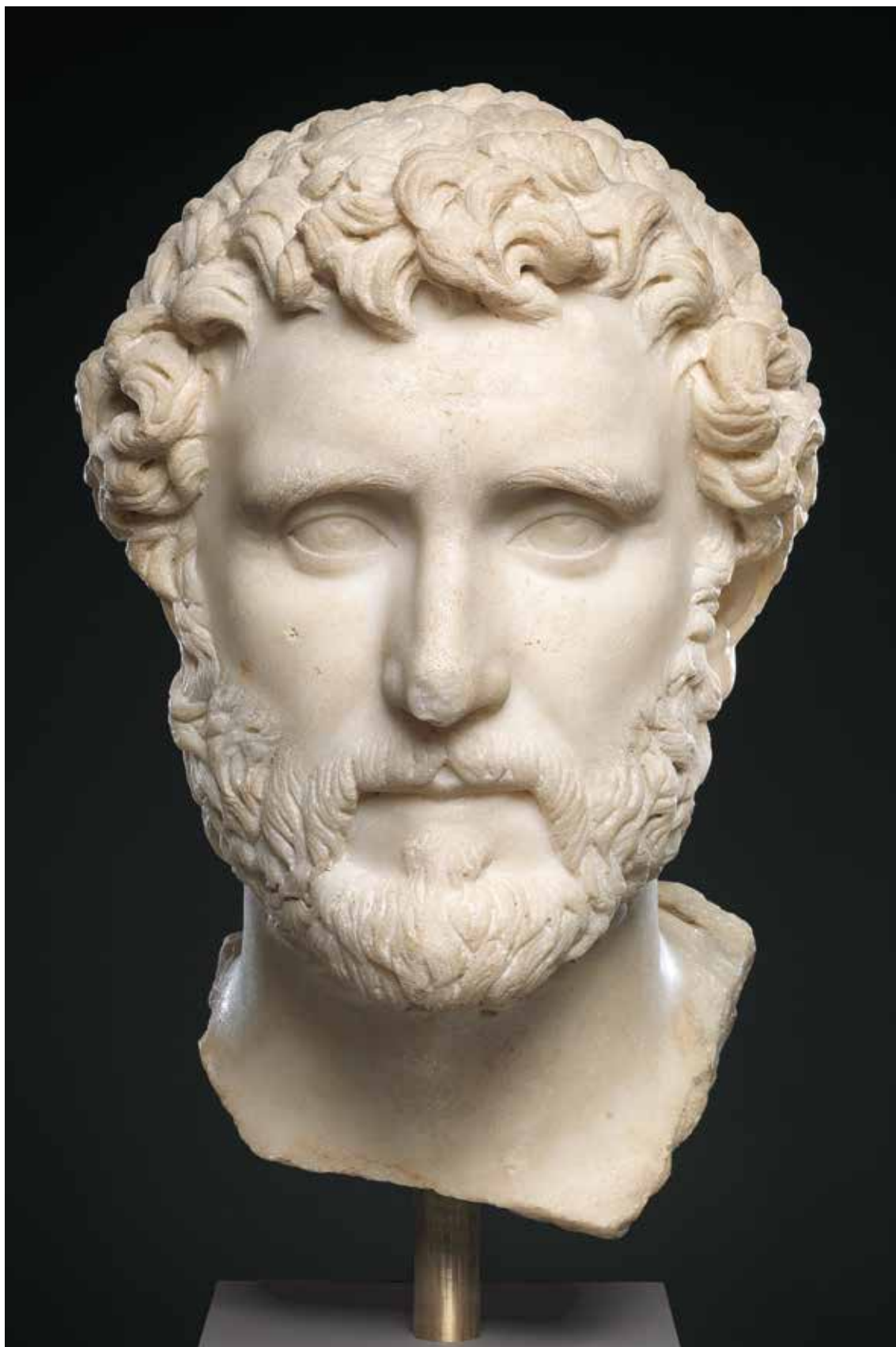
Fletcher Fund, 1933 (33.11.3)

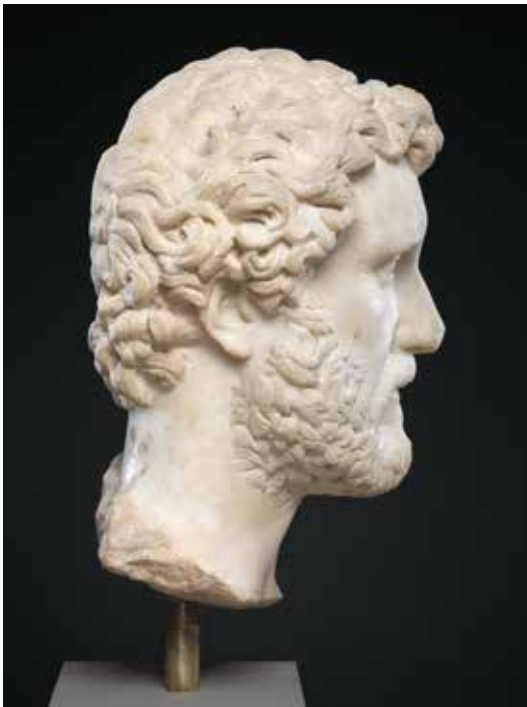
PROVENANCE: [Until 1933, with Alfredo Barsanti, Rome]; acquired in 1933, purchased from A. Barsanti.

The emperor Antoninus Pius turns his head slightly to his left. His gaze is earnest and attentive, as though he is listening to someone. The eyebrows droop at the sides, intensifying the gaze. The fine creases on the forehead, beneath the eyelids, and on the sides of the nose were almost completely lost during a heavy “cleaning” of the face. Despite this, from the forehead and cheeks it is still possible to appreciate how clearly the face was constructed.

Antoninus Pius’s outward appearance has nothing imperious about it. The emperor presents himself as an extremely well-groomed gentleman. The locks of his beard lie close to his face and allow its outline to be seen. The carefully clipped mustache grows longer at the corners of the mouth, so that it appears to merge with the beard. The tuft of hair beneath the emperor’s lower lip underscores the care given to the artfully trimmed beard. His hair, which seems to fall loosely onto his forehead, proves to have been arranged with equal attention. Its locks radiate from a cowlick on the back of the head down to the nape of the neck and forward in long waves to the forehead, where they end in fork and tongs motifs at the sides.

More than one hundred twenty portraits of Antoninus Pius have survived, and they are of two types. The





vast majority, as Klaus Fittschen has shown in his careful analysis, belong to the primary, so-called Formia type, whereas only some ten examples are known of the presumably contemporary secondary type (the so-called Vatican, Sala dei Busti 284 type).<sup>1</sup> “The small number of portrait types of Antoninus Pius during his long, twenty-four-year reign is striking, especially in comparison to his predecessor, Hadrian. One suspects that the Roman citizen was meant to be faced with the image of a steady, considerate, and ageless ruler.”<sup>2</sup>

The surviving examples of the main type fall into numerous variants, which can be distinguished only with effort by slight divergences in the “forks and tongs” at the forehead.<sup>3</sup> The present portrait represents a simplified version of this main type, of which Fittschen lists no fewer than eighteen examples, nearly all of which differ slightly from each other. This is hardly surprising,

given that the styling of the hair was intended to look accidental.

A comparison with particularly well-carved replicas of this main type, such as the bust in the Glyptothek, Munich, makes clear that the present portrait is a less painstaking copy: the back of the head is flat, and the work lacks the detailed division and execution of the locks found on the Munich head.<sup>4</sup> Even so, the Museum’s example presents an altogether reliable impression of the standard portrait of Emperor Antoninus Pius.

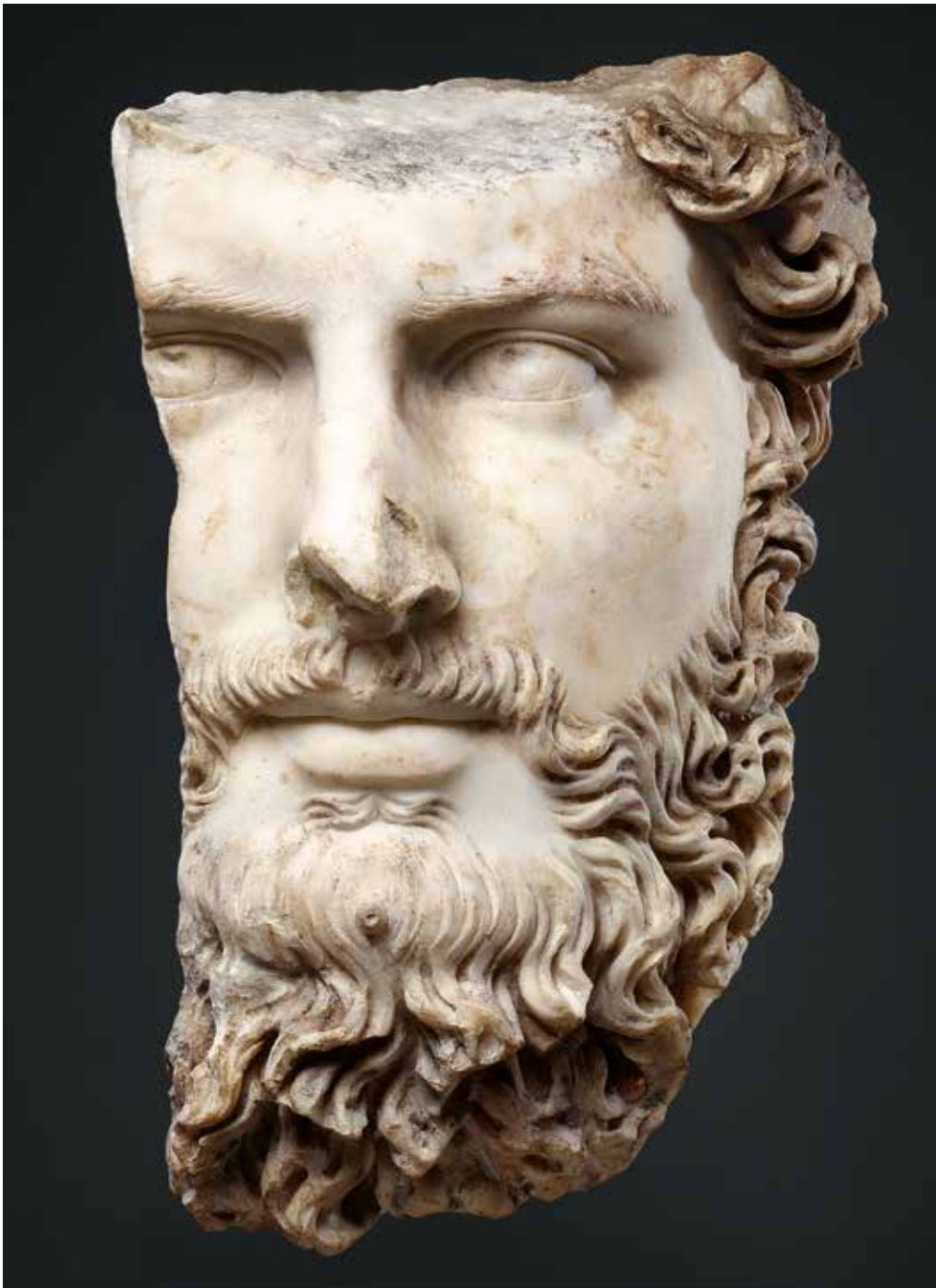
CONDITION: The head originally sat on a bust, the top of which is preserved. The tip of the nose and small pieces from the face and hair are missing. The surface was heavily damaged in modern times during the removal of incrustations, especially in the face. The glossy effect characteristic of many Antonine portraits was presumably lost in the process.

LITERATURE: Alexander 1934, ill.; Wegner 1939, pp. 15–17 (on the typology), p. 136 (the authenticity of the head erroneously

questioned); Arndt, Amelung, and Lippold 1893–, ser. XVII B (1940), nos. 4733, 4734 (E. Krüger and G. Lippold see here a common model for the types Wegner separated); Richter 1948, no. 73, ill.; McCann 1978, pp. 28–29, fig. 22; Fittschen and Zanker 1985, p. 66 n. 18e, addendum 46a–d; *Greece and Rome* 1987, pp. 134–35, no. 102 (M. Anderson); Picón et al. 2007, pp. 382, 493, no. 447. For the typology of the Antoninus Pius portraits, see Fittschen and Zanker 1985, pp. 63–66, no. 59; Fittschen 1994; most recently La Rocca et al. 2011, p. 288, no. 4.32 (L. Buccini, with reference to recent literature on specific portraits of Antoninus Pius).

#### NOTES

1. Chief representative of the second portrait type: Vatican Museums, Sala dei Busti (284); see Fittschen 1999, p. 19 n. 139, pl. 122c–d; Wegner 1939, pl. 6b.
2. Fittschen 1977a, p. 76.
3. An extensive listing of the various versions of the type can be found in Fittschen and Zanker 1985, pp. 65–66.
4. Glyptothek, Munich (337): Fittschen and Zanker 1985, pp. 65–66 n. 15e, addendum 39; Wegner 1939, p. 134, pl. 2.



## 26

### Fragment of an Over-Lifesize Portrait of Emperor Lucius Verus (r. A.D. 161–69)

Late reign of Marcus Aurelius or early  
Commodus, ca. A.D. 170–90  
Marble, H. 14½ in. (36.8 cm)  
Rogers Fund, 1913 (13.227.1)

PROVENANCE: Said to be from Rome; [until  
1913, with Paul Hartwig, Rome]; acquired in  
1913, purchased from P. Hartwig.

The fragment comes from the portrait of high quality on a greatly over-lifesize statue of Lucius Verus. He ruled together with Marcus Aurelius beginning in A.D. 161, led a successful campaign against the Parthians, and died suddenly of the so-called Antonine plague in A.D. 169, on his return from the first engagement with the Marcomanni in Altinum. He was the son of Lucius Aelius Caesar

(A.D. 101–138), whom Hadrian had designated as his successor but who died before Hadrian himself. After that death, Hadrian chose Antoninus Pius, who did not designate Lucius Verus as his successor, as Hadrian had doubtless expected, but rather Marcus Aurelius. After his accession, Marcus Aurelius elevated Lucius Verus to co-emperor, as Antoninus Pius had presumably dictated, yet he excluded him from the succession in favor of his son Commodus. Lucius Verus is said to have distinguished himself not only as a general, but also in poetry and oratory. In contrast to Marcus Aurelius, he appears to have enjoyed life a great deal and celebrated it, although this impression comes from a late source, the *Historia Augusta*, which is often unreliable.

Portrait statues were erected of even the boy Lucius Verus.<sup>1</sup> As such, the future emperor already appears in a highly political depiction, the large frieze of the Parthian monument from Ephesus, now in Vienna.<sup>2</sup> Two further portrait types show him as a youth and young prince.<sup>3</sup> However, most portraits, of which more than ninety survive, belong to the main type. Together with others, the portraits in the Palazzo Nuovo, in Rome, and two in the Musée du Louvre, Paris (Ma 1101, Ma 1131) can be considered the most reliable versions for a reconstruction of the work in the Metropolitan Museum.<sup>4</sup>

The Museum's fragment exhibits a small but striking deviation from the main type: the mustache does not end at the upper lip, but rather grows down to blend in with the beard. This beard form has been found on only two other portraits of Lucius Verus: one in Naples and the other in Athens.<sup>5</sup> As it happens, the same form of elongated mustache



CONDITION: It was originally presumed that this portrait was part of a large relief, but, as Fittschen has shown, that was not the case. The over-lifesize head must have come from a statue. Parts of the nose and the tips of the locks of the beard are missing. A break runs vertically through the head; the upper part and entire back of the head, including the left ear, are missing. The upper part of the hair was worked in a separate piece of marble and attached. On the back of the head (below right), the hole, with its roughly picked interior, indicates where the hair and its dowel were connected. Directly to the left is a bit of the remaining smooth contact surface that was broken away over the forehead. I am grateful to Klaus Fittschen for generously providing parallels as well as photographs of three other portraits of Lucius Verus with attached hairpieces on top of the head. The example in the Antiquario Forense in Rome (fig. 30) coincides entirely with the Metropolitan Museum's portrait in the hole for the dowel as well as in the contact surface. Comparison of the two works indeed makes these

is always found on examples of Marcus Aurelius's third and fourth portrait types. The present instance is thus doubtless an assimilation to the portraits of Marcus.

There remains the question of dating. Unlike on the other replicas of the type, the hair of the mustache and on the chin are carefully carved but without drilling. Similar work is found on portraits of Marcus, specifically, those of the fourth type.<sup>6</sup> The colossal head of Lucius Verus must accordingly have been produced only after the subject's death, in the later years of Marcus Aurelius or even under Commodus.

features in the Museum's fragment comprehensible.<sup>7</sup>

LITERATURE: Richter 1914a, pp. 61–62, fig. 4; Chase 1924, p. 188, fig. 237; Richter 1930, pp. 302–3, fig. 212; Wegner 1939, p. 236; Richter 1948, no. 81, ill.; Fittschen 1971, p. 249, 252, fig. 53; Albertson 1981, pp. 101, 397, pl. 184; *Greece and Rome* 1987, p. 138, no. 106 (M. Anderson: “from a relief that may have been an ambitious historical monument”); Picón et al. 2007, pp. 385, 494, no. 450.

#### NOTES

1. Fittschen 1999, pp. 32–38, pls. 58–63.
2. Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna (I 864): Oberleitner 2009, figs. 65, 70.
3. Fittschen 1999, pp. 39–41, pls. 64–72.
4. Fittschen and Zanker 1985, pp. 79–81, no. 73, pls. 84, 85 (for the portraits in Rome) and p. 81



Fig. 30 Portrait of Emperor Lucius Verus, showing the place of insertion for the upper part of the head. Marble. Antiquario Forense, Rome (1269)



Cat. 26, rear view

nn. 13d–e, addenda 50, 51 (for the portraits in Paris).

5. For the Naples portrait, see Fittschen 1971, pp. 248, 252, figs. 51, 52 (also has a copy mark at the same spot); for the Athens portrait (National Museum, Athens [3740]), see Wegner 1939, p. 226, pl. 45a.

6. Fittschen and Zanker 1985, pp. 74–76, no. 68, pl. 80; Kersaoun 1996, vol. 2, pp. 240–41, no. 106.

7. Antiquario Forense, Rome (1269). The two other portraits: Museo Archeologico, Florence (14148): Wegner 1939, p. 229 (Gab. Fot. Sopr. alle Ant. d'Etr., Fot. 24411/24413/24416); Vatican, Galleria delle Statue (541): *ibid.*, p. 244 (Arch. Fot. Musei Vat. xxv.21.85/86). It is Klaus Fittschen's achievement to have recognized these particular types of piecing. They were probably necessary for the complicated hairstyles of Lucius Verus, in which sculptors' mistakes could so easily happen.



27

**Portrait from a Statue of Emperor Caracalla (r. A.D. 211–17)**

Late Severan, A.D. late 220s–early 230s  
Marble, overall H. 14¼ in. (36.2 cm), chin to crown 9¼ in. (23.5 cm)  
Samuel D. Lee Fund, 1940 (40.11.1a)

PROVENANCE: Said to be from Rome; until 1940, collection of Hans Peter L'Orange, Oslo; acquired in 1940, purchased from Hans Peter L'Orange.

This imposing portrait of Emperor Marcus Aurelius Severus Antoninus Augustus, nicknamed Caracalla after his small, hooded cloak, has been given a great deal of attention in the literature,

for on the one hand, it is a portrait of splendid quality, and on the other, it is difficult to classify typologically and stylistically. The head was designed to be placed atop a statue, of which two leg fragments also were acquired by the Museum. They show that the head was part of a figure presumably wearing only a paludamentum (military cloak). This cloak must have been draped around the neck in such a way that the depression in which the head sat was not obvious.

The head was turned strongly to its left, thus agreeing with the portraits of the so-called sole ruler type, which was

generally used in depictions of Caracalla beginning in A.D. 212. The same is true of the strongly contracted forehead muscles: as in the portraits of the sole ruler type, they were meant to express the emperor's extraordinary energy and readiness for combat so greatly admired by his soldiers.<sup>1</sup>

Nonetheless, the portrait does not really belong to the sole ruler type. Even if the slightly reduced expression of the forehead musculature with the almost straight creases above the contraction were considered a variant of the type, the closely trimmed hair differs from it completely. A similar







hairstyle occurs on the portraits of the so-called Tivoli type, which Klaus Fittschen, by means of comparisons with coinage from the last years of Caracalla's reign, has dated to A.D. 215–217.<sup>2</sup> The portraits of this type show a clear retreat from the extremes of strength and energy projected in the sole ruler type.

Despite a clear similarity to the various versions of the Tivoli type, the present portrait differs from it: on the one hand, the work shows the close-cropped mustache of the sole ruler type, and on the other, its hair and beard are cut shorter than in the replicas of the Tivoli type. Based on the particular stylization of the hair, a number of writers have followed Gisela M. A. Richter, who in the first publication of the head in 1940 suspected that it was a posthumous portrait.<sup>3</sup>

Although Caracalla's successor Macrinus had him murdered, he nonetheless elevated Caracalla as one of the gods of the state out of fear of the soldiers who liked him. There are, accordingly, posthumous coins bearing Caracalla's portrait, and doubtless new portrait sculptures of the deceased were commissioned. The present head could therefore be just such a posthumous likeness. This is suggested above all by the style of the short hair, for which there are analogies among portraits of Caracalla's successors Macrinus, Elagabalus, and even the young Severus Alexander.<sup>4</sup>

Whether this head belongs to a new type or is unique can hardly be determined. The only portrait that has been cited as a possible copy of the same type is in the Museo Torlonia in Rome, which unfortunately has been inaccessible for decades. That head cannot be properly evaluated on the basis of the sole photograph of it that is available.<sup>5</sup>

Despite the complex problems of typology and the uncertainties regarding a more precise dating, in this carving the Metropolitan Museum owns one of the best portraits of Emperor Caracalla. The two leg fragments evidently found with the head can provide an idea of the statue on which the portrait was once placed. One fragment is from the right thigh, the other from the left leg, extending from above the knee almost to the end of the calf. According to these pieces, the body was shown nude. There may have been a short cloak around the neck and shoulders, such as the one on the sculpture of Trebonianus Gallus(?) (cat. 30), in which the attachment for the head was concealed.

CONDITION: The head is preserved with two other fragments of the same statue (MMA

40.11.1b, .1c). Aside from the tip of the nose, the edges of the ears, and chips from the proper left brow and cheek, the portrait is very well preserved. The removal of the hair on the back of the head is most unusual. As the treatment of the underside of the neck reveals, the head was set on a statue to which the two fragments found with it belonged. One of these is from the right thigh; the other is a piece of the left leg extending from above the knee nearly to the bottom of the tibia. To judge from these leg fragments, the figure was represented draped only in a small cloak.

LITERATURE: Richter 1940a, pp. 439–42, figs. 13–18; Richter 1940b (with detailed description and discussion of dating); Hill 1944, p. 263 n. 9; Richter 1948, no. 107, ill. on front cover; Budde 1951, p. 52, IV n. 3. (the head not posthumous); H. Weber 1953, p. 137; Richter 1970, pp. 82, 84, fig. 21; Wiggers and Wegner 1971, pp. 41–42, 71 (as posthumous portrait); Bergmann 1977, pp. 12, 202 (the hair rendered with a scoring technique like that used for Severus Alexander); Vermeule 1977, p. 293 n. 17; Wood 1981, p. 65, pl. 14.4; Wood 1982, p. 245, pl. 40, fig. 4; Salzmann 1983, pp. 368, 369, fig. 24 (based on coinage, the type and portrait were created in Caracalla's lifetime); Fittschen and Zanker 1985, p. 111, no. 94 n. 2 (as possibly posthumous); Wood 1986, pp. 29 n. 16, 30, fig. 2; *Greece and Rome* 1987, pp. 141–42, no. 109 (M. Anderson); Kleiner 1992, p. 324, fig. 286 (dated too early: A.D. 206–11); Kleiner 2000, p. 53; Picón et al. 2007, pp. 389, 494, no. 454.

#### NOTES

1. Fittschen and Zanker 1985, pp. 105–9, nos. 91–93, pls. 110–14, addenda 71–77.
2. List of replicas in *ibid.*, p. 110, no. 94. See *ibid.*, pl. 115, addenda 78–80.
3. Richter 1940b, p. 140.
4. Macrinus portrait, Musei Capitolini, Palazzo Nuovo, Rome (inv. 1757): Fittschen and Zanker 1985, pp. 112–13, no. 95, pl. 117. Elagabalus portrait, Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek, Copenhagen (2073): Johansen 1994–95, vol. 3, p. 42, no. 12. Severus Alexander portrait, Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek, Copenhagen (1283): Fittschen and Zanker 1985, pp. 117–21, no. 99, pls. 122–24; Johansen 1994–95, vol. 3, p. 48, no. 15.
5. Museo Torlonia, Rome (571): Felletti Maj 1946–48, p. 70, fig. 1.



28

**Fragment of a Bronze Statue of Emperor Caracalla (r. A.D. 211–17)**

Late Severan, ca. A.D. 211–17

Bronze, H. 8½ in. (21.6 cm)

Gift of Norbert Schimmel Trust, 1989

(1989.281.80)

PROVENANCE: Said to be from Bubon, southwestern Anatolia (Milleker 1992, p. 52); by 1967 and until 1990, collection of Norbert Schimmel, New York; 1990–92, with Norbert Schimmel Trust; acquired in 1992, gift of Norbert Schimmel Trust.

The fragment of a bronze head most probably comes from the well-known statue gallery in Bubon (present-day Ibecik, Turkey). It represents Emperor Caracalla in the so-called sole ruler portrait type, but it does not adhere strictly to this type.<sup>1</sup> The arrangement of the hair essentially follows the more faithful replicas produced in Rome, although there is simplification in the sequence of its smaller locks of hair. Especially striking are the

changes in the direction of the head and the facial expression. The head is not turned as far to the left as in the more faithful copies, which explains the modeling of the cheeks: the right one is taut, the left one rather flat. Most obvious are the changes on the forehead. The considerable contraction of the more precise replicas is here replaced by only slight tension, with almost parallel creases.

Altogether, these divergences from the most accurate versions of the type are so great that they must be considered a deliberate correction of the sole ruler type, though the source of the correction—whether the sculptor of the present head or that of the model he used—is unclear. In view of the qualitative weaknesses of the bronze statues from Bubon, the sculptor responsible for this fragment probably had a pattern to work from that already exhibited these changes.

Two other assured portraits of Caracalla from Asia Minor are known. They, too, are simplified versions of the sole ruler type. A marble head from Ephesus also exhibits a weakened form of the forehead contraction and has the traditional arrangement of locks of hair on the crown of the head. Presumably, the sculptor had only a plaster cast of the face available and based the rest of the head on other models.<sup>2</sup> The other portrait comes from Pergamon and expresses more accurately than the heads from Bubon and Ephesus the more specific characterization in the sole ruler type. Here, too, the hair at the forehead is simplified, and the three-dimensional elaboration of the forehead was clearly reduced.<sup>3</sup>

It is possible that in the eastern portion of the Empire this quieter version of the Caracalla portraits corresponded



more readily to expectations than the powerful expression of the original sole ruler type that circulated in Rome and through the western part of the Empire.

CONDITION: All that survives is a fragment of the head from a bronze statue. The entire back of the head and much of the top and right side are missing. A small section of the top of the neck survives on the left side.

LITERATURE: Mitten and Doeringer 1967, pp. 244–45, no. 234 (H. Menzel); H. Jucker 1969, p. 610; Wiggers and Wegner 1971, pp. 71–72; Muscarella 1974, no. 95 (H. Hoffmann); Inan 1977–78, p. 280, pl. 87.1–2 (compilation of the statue bases and the bronzes then thought to be from Bubon); Settgest 1978, no. 112; Inan and Alföldi-Rosenbaum 1979, pp. 122–23, no. 70, pl. 62; Vermeule 1980, p. 187, no. 1; Fittschen and Zanker 1985, p. 106, no. 91 n. 31; Milleker 1992,

p. 52, ill.; Inan 1994, pp. 7, 19–20, pl. 25, figs. 43, 44; Picón et al. 2007, pp. 388, 494, no. 453.

#### NOTES

1. For a discussion of the sole ruler type, see Fittschen and Zanker 1985, pp. 105–9, nos. 91–93, pls. 110–14, addenda 71–77.
2. Inan and Alföldi-Rosenbaum 1979, pp. 121–22, no. 69, pl. 61.
3. Wiggers and Wegner 1971, p. 57 and *passim*, pl. 12.

## 29

### **Bust of Emperor Severus Alexander (r. A.D. 222–35)**

Late Severan, ca. A.D. 230–35

Marble, overall H. 29 $\frac{3}{8}$  in. (74 cm), chin to crown 9 $\frac{3}{4}$  in. (24.8 cm)

Purchase, Lila Acheson Wallace and Philodoroi Gifts, 2011 (2011.87)

**PROVENANCE:** Probably found in Rome before 1868; [from before 1868 and until 1879, with Wolfgang Helbig, Rome]; 1879, acquired by Baron Philipp Wambolt von Umstadt from W. Helbig; 1879–2010, collection of the Wambolt von Umstadt family, Schloss Birkenau, Germany; acquired in 2011, purchased from Valerio Turchi, Rome.

Like other portraits of Severus Alexander, this bust appears to have been deliberately vandalized after his assassination, as indicated by traces of the blows, presumably with a pickaxe, to the nose and left eye.<sup>1</sup> However, the breaks and losses do not obscure the fact that this is an especially high-quality portrait of the emperor. The bust, with the toga, compares in its sensitive rendering of the folds with one of the most beautiful busts of the young Severus Alexander, which is in the Palazzo Nuovo, Rome; however, the New York bust is somewhat less wide at the bottom.<sup>2</sup>

After the assassination of Elagabalus in A.D. 222, his cousin Severus Alexander, then only fourteen, was designated to succeed him as emperor. The new ruler's official name, Marcus Aurelius Severus Alexander, suggests his descent from the beloved Marcus Aurelius and his kinsman Septimius Severus; at the same time, in a romantic look back, it pays homage to Alexander the Great, as Caracalla had done before him to an extreme degree. Severus Alexander ruled the

Empire for seventeen years before his successor, Maximinus (Thrax) I (r. A.D. 235–38), had him murdered in Moguntiacum (Mainz) in A.D. 235 during the campaign against the Germanic tribes. The business of governing appears to have been largely dictated or at least strongly influenced by his mother, Julia Mamaea (d. A.D. 235). Both Julia Mamaea and Severus Alexander affiliated themselves closely with the Senate and allowed it to advise them (Cassius Dio 80, 2, 4), yet the two were hardly able to win over the army, especially in the last phase of their rule. In addition, there was the unpleasant outcome of the engagement with the Persians in the east and the hesitant stance of the emperor vis-à-vis the

Alemanni, the new adversary on the side of the Germans.

The portraits of Severus Alexander retain “the same basic type throughout his entire reign, adapted as he aged”; the shape of the face and the growth of his beard were altered in various phases corresponding to his advancing years.<sup>3</sup> The present portrait belongs to the type of the emperor's last years, his mid- to late twenties (roughly A.D. 230–35), when he was represented with a narrower face, a mustache, and a slight beard on his cheeks and chin. Of the portraits from this time, a head in the Vatican Museums compares particularly closely, for like the Metropolitan's it presents longer strands of hair and a beard trimmed and picked in a very





similar way.<sup>4</sup> Two other closely comparable portraits from the last years of Severus Alexander are in Paris and Florence.<sup>5</sup>

**CONDITION:** The bust was apparently broken into several pieces when it was found after 1850, probably in Rome or its surroundings. When piecing it together, the restorer very skillfully rejoined three sections of the toga on the right side (one where the arm bends, a small piece of filler above it, and the major part of the right shoulder). The wide segment of the toga beneath the broad sinus (band of drapery over the chest) is completely missing. On the back of the bust, the modern restorations are clearly distinguishable from the old fragments. The head rests on the break, but a narrow strip had to be added at the join. A broad piece that chipped off in the hair above the forehead on the left was restored in plaster. Another piece is missing behind the left ear. The nose has broken off, and the face, especially on the left eye, has suffered smaller losses. The iris is outlined, and the pupils are greatly recessed. The surface of the face was polished, and the glossy effect largely survives. In many spots, traces of root marks and incrustations are still visible even after careful cleaning.

**LITERATURE:** Helbig 1868; Bernoulli 1894, p. 148, no. 8; Felletti Maj 1958, p. 89, no. 10; Wiggers and Wegner 1971, p. 191; Recent Acquisitions 2012, p. 13 (C. Lightfoot).

#### NOTES

1. Compare the heavily damaged face of the bust of Severus Alexander in the Glyptothek, Munich: Wünsche 1989, figs. 7, 8. Additional examples of deliberate destruction of the face on portraits of Severus Alexander can be found in Wiggers and Wegner 1971, pls. 47, 49, 50, 55b.
2. Fittschen and Zanker 1985, pp. 117–21, no. 99, pls. 122, 123, 126.
3. Bergmann 1977, p. 28.
4. Vatican Museums, Sala dei Busti 361 (632): Fittschen and Zanker 1985, p. 119, no. 99 n. 17, addendum 86; Bergmann 1977, p. 27, no. 17, pls. 2, 3; Wiggers and Wegner 1971, p. 197, pl. 54.
5. Musée du Louvre, Paris (Ma 1051): Fittschen and Zanker 1985, p. 119, no. 99 n. 15, addendum 87 (though there the hair is fluffy). Galleria degli Uffizi, Florence (1914.245): *ibid.*, p. 119, no. 99 n. 14; Wiggers and Wegner 1971, pp. 186–87, pls. 53, 65a.



**Over-Lifesize Statue of Trebonianus Gallus(?) (r. A.D. 251–53)**

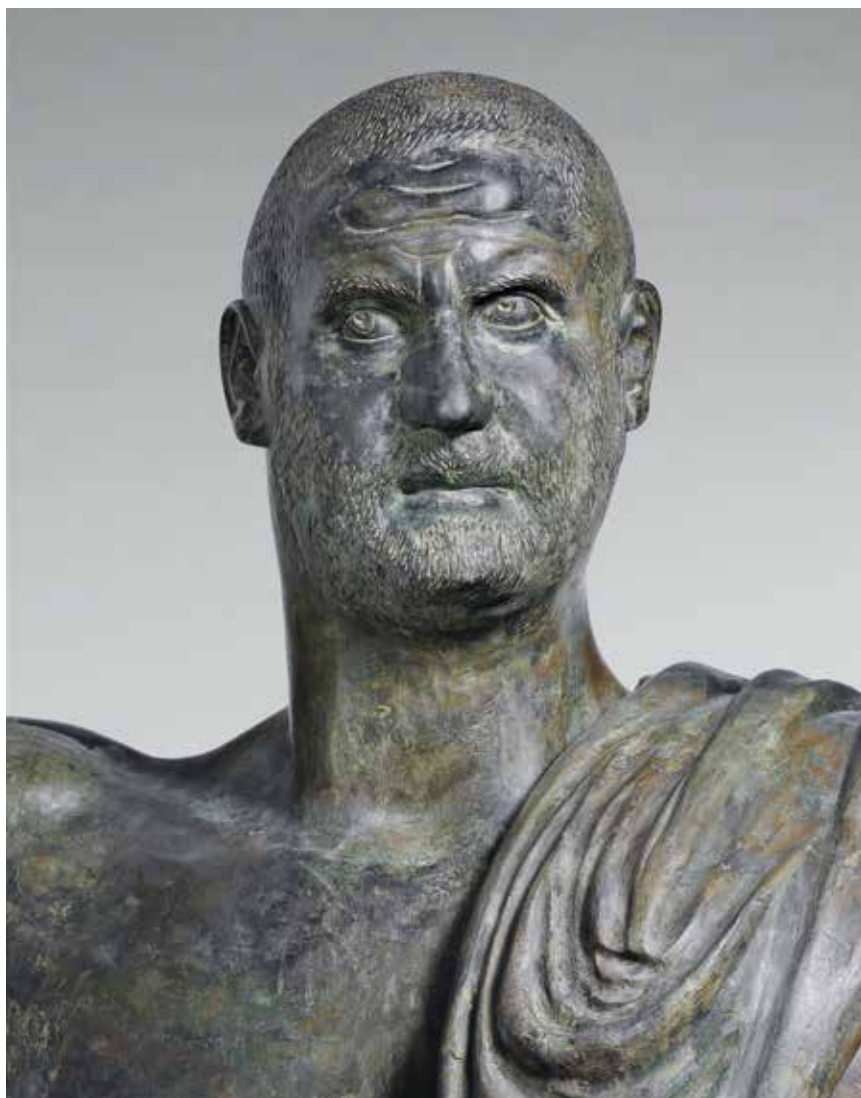
After the mid-3rd century A.D., ca. A.D. 250–60  
Bronze, overall H. 95 in. (2.4 m), chin to crown  
9¾ in. (24.8 cm)

Rogers Fund, 1905 (05.30)

PROVENANCE: Said to have been found in Rome by Count Nicolai Nikitich Demidov; until 1828, collection of Count Nicolai Nikitich Demidov, Rome and Florence; after 1828, collection of Anatole Nicolaevich Demidov, later prince of San Donato, Rome and Saint Petersburg (by descent); by 1852, collection of Auguste de Montferrand, Saint Petersburg; [after 1858, with Rollin & Feuardent, Paris]; [until 1905, with Pottier & Cie., Paris]; acquired in 1905, purchased from Pottier & Cie.

The over-lifesize statue probably represents an emperor. In his outstretched right hand he presumably held a lance, and in his left, a sword. The powerful forms of the body are wholly calculated to be viewed from the front. Corresponding to the late style of the statue's creation, they appear to be applied to the trunk with no organic relationship. Nevertheless, the massive forms of the statue lend it an imposing presence.

The head, abruptly turned to the side, is much too small for the body, a disproportion that only accentuates the power of the massive forms. The gaze and the tense forehead express determination and drive. In the face, the contrast between the polished skin and the beard stubble is striking. This, too, enhances the work's powerful presence. To modern eyes, the statue's effectiveness lies precisely in its inorganic but nevertheless extremely expressive forms. Although recent technical analysis of the statue made it possible to determine that the small head belongs to the work, it cannot be ruled



out—since the head is fragmentary—that in the third century A.D. the statue first bore the head of a different ruler.

None of the identifications of specific emperors proposed to date are truly convincing. To be sure, the face has doubtless suffered from deformation and repairs by multiple restorers. A dating to or shortly after the middle of the third century A.D., as assumed by most writers, seems most probable. The highly divergent coinage of the emperors of this period lends credibility to the possibility that the subject is in fact Trebonianus Gallus.<sup>1</sup> It is also possible

that the statue originally wore a wreath, which would be normal for an Imperial portrait from this period. If confirmed, the supposed findspot near the Basilica of Saint John Lateran would also suggest an emperor's portrait, since the camp of the military unit *Equites Singulares* was situated there. The camp was later destroyed by Constantine and transferred to the bishop of Rome after the troops fighting on the side of Maxentius perished in the Battle of the Milvian Bridge in A.D. 312.

The iconography of the statue, with a nude body and short cloak that lies







on the left shoulder and across the left arm, is attested in a series of emperor statues dating from the early Empire to the third century A.D. Only relatively rarely are the bodies based on the so-called Diomedes type; generally they are classicizing variants of this type and have no definite prototype.<sup>2</sup> This form of “heroicizing” depiction was by no means limited to statues of emperors. It is one of the statue types by means of which patrons honored their subjects as effective and active, a practice that was followed in different forms from

the late Hellenistic period into the third century A.D.

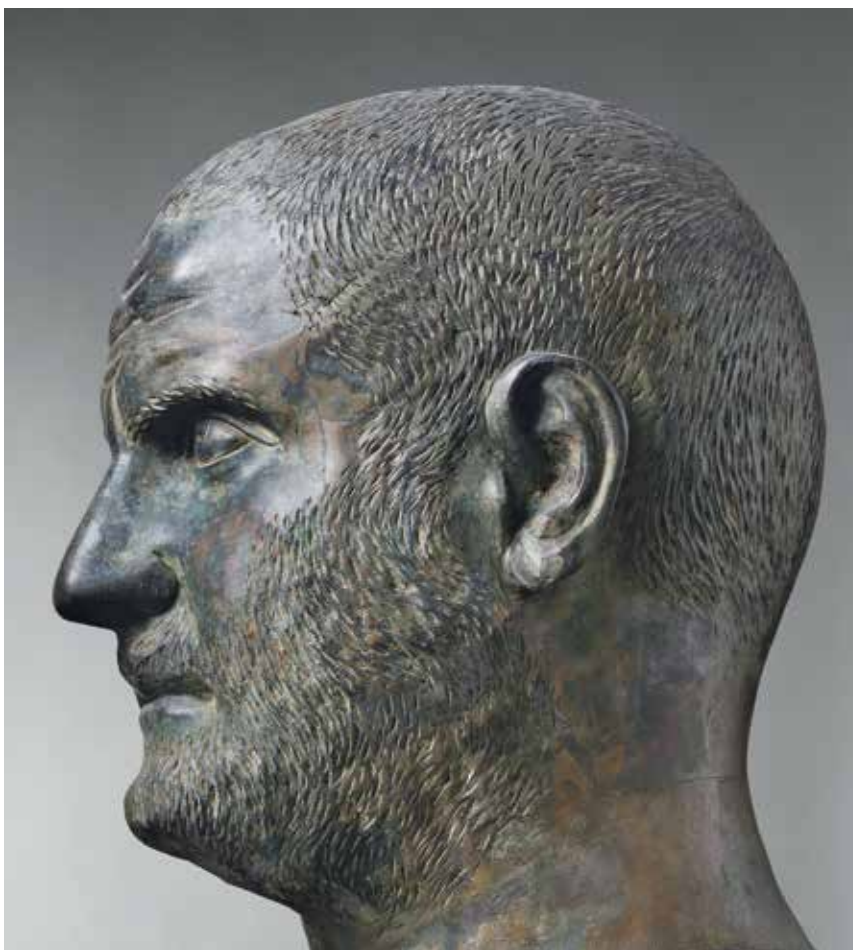
Despite the work’s problematic condition and the impossibility of a definite identification, the statue is one of the most impressive monuments in the Metropolitan Museum’s antiquities collection. It is one of the few almost completely preserved bronze statues from the third century A.D., and viewers can hardly escape its powerful effect.

CONDITION: Before the statue was installed in the Metropolitan Museum’s newly renovated galleries in 2007, it underwent a thorough

technical investigation by the Department of Objects Conservation.<sup>3</sup> Scientific analysis showed the sculpture to be more than 75 percent ancient. It was produced by the process of indirect lost-wax casting. Briefly summarized, the results show that the head is pieced together from numerous ancient fragments; the face consists almost completely of one ancient piece. A large part of the torso also proved to be ancient and integral to the original work, although some segments, including large ones on the right side, are modern. The mantle was added as a whole; it apparently replaced an ancient counterpart worn in similar fashion. There is uncertainty about both sandal-clad feet. The one on the right is probably modern;

the one on the left could be ancient, though it is unclear whether it belonged to this or another statue. Figure 31 shows the main modern parts rendered in gray.

LITERATURE: Köhne 1852, p. 187; Montferrand 1852, pp. 2–9, no. 1, pls. I, II; Bernoulli 1882, p. 165; Fitz Gerald 1905, ill.; Delbrueck 1914, pls. xxxiv, xxxv; Richter 1915d, pp. 154–56, no. 350, ill. (detailed history of the statue and identification of Trebonianus Gallus on the basis of coins); Chase 1924, pp. 189–90, fig. 241; Kluge and Lehmann-Hartleben 1927, vol. 2, pp. 45, 100, vol. 3, pl. 31 (as mid-third century A.D., with good observations on its style); L’Orange 1933, p. 97 (as ca. A.D. 250; identification with Trebonianus Gallus is not convincing); Minto 1937, p. 50, figs. 5, 6, 13; Bovini 1943, pp. 192–93, fig. 7; Richter 1948, no. 109, ill. (as Trebonianus Gallus); Harrison 1953, p. 97, pl. 46c (as ca. A.D. 250); Heintze 1956, p. 58, pls. 23.1, 25.1 (as Traianus Decius); Felletti Maj 1958, p. 203, no. 260, pl. 36; Balty and Balty 1966, pp. 542–44, pl. v.2; Niemeyer 1968, p. 113, no. 128, pl. 48.1 (as Trebonianus Gallus); Bianchi Bandinelli 1970, p. 26, fig. 21 (outstanding illustration); Richter 1970, pp. 73, 75–77, fig. 3 (on the purchase in the context of the collection’s history); Bergmann 1977, p. 45 n. 142 (none of the identifications as emperor are convincing); Bieber 1977, pp. 252–53, figs. 894, 895 (as Trebonianus Gallus; “certainly made in a Roman workshop”); Inan and Alföldi-Rosenbaum 1979, p. 129, under no. 76 (as Trebonianus Gallus; good comparison with a presumed emperor portrait of the same time from Antiochia in Ankara); Wegner, Bracker, and Real 1979, pp. 84–86 (as unidentifiable); Weitzmann 1979, pp. 8–9, no. 1 (A. McCann: as Trebonianus Gallus based on coinage); Balty 1980, p. 50 n. 8, pls. 14.4, 15.4 (hardly convincing identification of several portraits as Trebonianus Gallus); McCann 1981, pp. 630–32, pls. v, vi (as possibly a private portrait from a “workshop distant from the center of the empire”); Wood 1986, pp. 43–44, pl. VIII.11; *Greece and Rome* 1987, pp. 152–53, no. 118 (M. Anderson: as Trebonianus Gallus); Kleiner 1992, pp. 371–72, fig. 336; Kreikenbom 1992, p. 237 (as impossible to identify); Mattusch 1996, p. 349, no. 55, fig. 1 (as Trebonianus Gallus); D’Ambra 1998, pp. 109–10, fig. 69



(disproportion between head and body deliberate, “signifying an overbearing physical power”); Papini 2000, p. 148; Lahusen and Formigli 2001, p. 294, no. 183, figs. 1–4; Picón et al. 2007, pp. 402–3, 497–98, no. 471 (as Trebonianus Gallus; the head original); Fittschen, Zanker, and Cain 2010, p. 171, no. 169 n. 8; Marlowe 2014 (attempts to show that the findspot near the Basilica of Saint John Lateran is incorrect); La Rocca et al. 2015, pp. 367–68, no. 158, pl. 199.

#### NOTES

1. Wegner, Bracker, and Real 1979, pl. 29.
2. Examples in Niemeyer 1968, p. 108, no. 100, pl. 36 (Augustus in the Diomedes type); p. 110, no. 110, pl. 41 (Hadrian, Vaison-la-Romaine); p. 112, no. 126, pl. 47 (Pupienus?, formerly Palazzo Verospi, Rome).
3. A detailed report resides in the Department of Greek and Roman Art and can also be found in Hemingway et al. 2013.

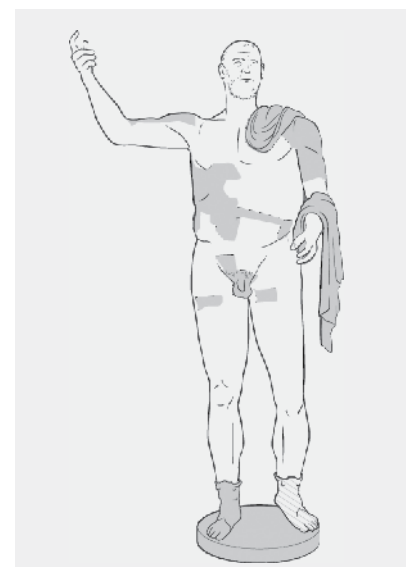


Fig. 31 Diagram of the statue of Emperor Trebonianus Gallus(?), showing restored areas in gray



**Colossal Portrait of Emperor  
Constantine the Great (r. A.D. 306–37)**

Constantinian, ca. A.D. 330

Marble, overall H. 37½ in. (95.3 cm), chin to  
crown 20¼ in. (51 cm)

Bequest of Mary Clark Thompson, 1923 (26.229)

PROVENANCE: From before 1631 and until 1902, in the Giustiniani Collection, Rome; 1902, purchased from the Giustiniani family through Giuseppe Sangiorgi by Mrs. Frederick F. Thompson (Mary Clark Thompson), New York; 1902–23, collection of Mary Clark Thompson; acquired in 1926, bequest of Mary Clark Thompson.

The portrait is more than three times lifesize. A standing statue with this head would have been roughly sixteen and one-half feet tall. The neckline, which reveals a narrow transition to the shoulder only on the left side, has led some scholars—among them, Richard Delbrueck and Thomas Schäfer—to propose that the head could have come from a cuirassed statue. However, it is not known to what extent earlier restorers altered the original state of the work. It is apparent, in any case, that the dowel used to attach the head to a statue would have required a hole considerably deeper than the existing one. Given the size of the head, it cannot be excluded that it came from a colossal seated statue like the famous one whose fragments are preserved in the cortile of the Palazzo dei Conservatori, Rome.<sup>1</sup> If such were the case, it would have been part of an acrolith, in which only the exposed parts of the body—the head, hands, portions of the legs, and feet—would have been carved in marble.

In side view, considerable disproportion is evident in the way the back of the head is rounded, the crown of the skull flattened, and the face completely flat, with no volume. Since the style of the

sharp-edged hair behind the ears is wholly different from that of the broad, doughy locks over the forehead, the head must be a reworking of an earlier portrait. The colossal dimensions indicate that the earlier work, too, depicted an emperor, and the precise form of the original locks behind the ears permits a definite identification of the predecessor. The earlier portrait must have been of the emperor Trajan (r. A.D. 98–117) from the late years of his reign (see the detailed discussion in Schäfer 1999).

Scholars have repeatedly theorized that the reuse of an emperor's portrait, the features of which were destroyed and replaced with those of a new ruler, could signify that the later ruler looked to his predecessor as a model.<sup>2</sup> This strikes me as a false assumption. For who among the original viewers of the head could have analyzed it with the interest of a modern archaeologist and, in the present case, recognized from the locks of hair at the neck that it was originally a portrait of Trajan?

In order to turn the image of Trajan into that of Constantine the Great, the sculptor had to chisel up to four inches off the surface of the face and lower the crown of the head, which is arched in the Trajan portraits. In the process, the face acquired its present narrow, rectangular shape, which deviates from that of all the other portraits of Constantine. Since the neck was too wide after this operation, the sculptor reduced it on the right side, and in so doing eliminated the suggestion of the right shoulder. An indication of the left shoulder survives on the opposite side.<sup>3</sup>

Astonishingly, this extensive reworking of the original Trajan portrait did not diminish the effect of the new portrait that emerged from it. The hair, combed forward, lies in broad

strands that curve toward the center of the forehead; on the sides, it sweeps toward the face at almost a right angle, unlike in other replicas of the type. Since the lower part of the face repeats the verticals of the hair at the forehead, the face takes on a narrow, rectangular outline into which the forehead, eyes, brows, mouth, and chin are fitted like separate parts. A straight crease runs across the forehead, from which two short, parallel creases descend to the top of the nose. The eyes show an upturned iris framing a sickle-shaped pupil. The broad upper lids and the articulated brows curve in parallel above, enhancing the effect of the aimless upward gaze. The slight turning of the head to its left causes the flattening of the right cheek and the greater sagging of the skin beneath the right eye.

Despite the modern restorations, the face is captivating for its majestic expression. The viewer was meant to look up in awe at the emperor's image, as though at a higher power of the sort described by a panegyrist: *eadem in fronte gravitas, eadem in oculis et in ore tranquillitas* (in his forehead majesty, in his eyes and mouth tranquility).<sup>4</sup> Initial experiments with a new ruler's image of this kind are seen in the portraits showing the emperor Gallienus as sole ruler.<sup>5</sup> The expression of energy in those portraits, though discreet, is wholly abandoned in this Constantine. That we are not dealing with an artistic expression of superhuman grandeur is shown by the behavior later exhibited by Constantius II (r. A.D. 337–61) on his entry into Rome in A.D. 357. As Ammianus Marcellinus reports in *Res Gestae* (16, 10, 8), the emperor sat “like a human statue” on his chariot and directed “his blazing gaze straight ahead, turning his face neither to the right nor to the left.”



To establish the time when the Metropolitan's head was created, it is necessary to look at the other portraits of Constantine the Great. In addition to the portraits listed in Fittschen and Zanker 1985,<sup>6</sup> three other heads have come to light:

1. Villa Giulia, Rome (from Bolsena): Giuliano 1991, figs. 1–4. The portrait was reworked from an early Imperial head and dates from the first years of Constantine's reign.
2. Private collection, London: Giuliano 1991, figs. 9–11. Reworked portrait, also

probably from early in the reign.

3. Musei Capitolini, Palazzo dei Conservatori, Rome (from a sewer next to the Forum Traianum [Forum of Trajan]): La Rocca and Zanker 2007; Demandt and Engemann 2007, ill. on pp. 103, 105 (N. Hannestad: late image, originally a portrait of Hadrian). The portrait is over-lifesize, measuring 45% inches with the neck. It was recarved from a Julio-Claudian emperor's portrait after what might have been a very recent attempt at reworking and appears to have been left unfinished.

This attempt also appears to date from the first years of Constantine's reign.

A comparison of the New York head with the other known portraits indicates that it differs from them primarily in its more abstract forms and long, narrow face, which is in part attributable to the reworking. Because of its equally abstract forms, the bronze portrait from Niš (in present-day Serbia) in the National Museum in Belgrade compares most closely, although it exhibits simplified shapes and differs from the New York portrait in its proportions; because of its diadem, it certainly dates from the period after A.D. 325.<sup>7</sup> The portrait from Rome that is now in Copenhagen, with its broad strands of hair, elongated face, and unstructured cheeks, doubtless also produced in the late period, is comparable.<sup>8</sup> There, too, the diadem is lacking.<sup>9</sup> Most writers now assume that the portrait in the Metropolitan Museum dates from the late years of Constantine's reign.

CONDITION: Much over-lifesize, the head has been repeatedly restored. This is unsurprising, given its long modern history. In the nineteenth century, it stood in the cortile of the Palazzo Giustiniani in Rome, where it was identified as "Nero." The nose, mouth, chin, and ears are completely modern, though only the elegant line of the mouth seems inauthentic. The missing piece on the left side of the skull could be related to an ancient restoration. The marble block or reused head was perhaps not large enough at this spot.

The work must be a reused portrait, as can be seen from the wholly divergent style of the strands of hair behind the ears. Although the surface of the hair is dull, the skin on the face is polished, a contrast that may be related to the original polychromy.

LITERATURE: Giustiniani 1631, vol. 1, pl. 25.2; Matz and von Duhn 1881–82, vol. 1, p. 506, no. 1942; Bernoulli 1894, p. 221; Rizzo 1905,



pp. 16–17, fig. 6; Richter 1927a, pp. 305–6; Delbrueck 1933, pp. 112–13, pls. 28, 29; L'Orange 1933, pp. 64, 139, no. 91, fig. 166 (as from the A.D. 320s); Richter 1948, no. 110, ill.; Vermeule 1961, p. 15, no. 4, pl. 33 (as ca. A.D. 325); Harrison 1967, p. 92, figs. 46, 47 (as ca. A.D. 325); H. Jucker 1967, p. 125, pl. 43.3–4 (as ca. A.D. 330); Sydow 1969, pp. 22, 26–27 (as A.D. 320–30); Bergmann 1972, p. 216 (as after A.D. 326); Calza 1972, pp. 221–22, no. 134, pl. 74; Oberleitner 1973, p. 141 n. 190 (as after A.D. 312–13); Weitzmann 1979, pp. 15–16, no. 9 (J. Breckenridge: as after A.D. 324, influenced by Trajanic portraits); Hüfler 1980, p. 96, no. 2 (H. Severin: late repetition of the type with simplified forms heightened in detail);

H. Jucker 1983b, pp. 67–69; L'Orange and Unger 1984, p. 69, pl. 48d (as after A.D. 324); Fittschen and Zanker 1985, p. 150 n. 8 (deliberately simplified style, from the later years of Constantine's reign); *Greece and Rome* 1987, pp. 158–59, no. 123 (M. Anderson); Knudsen 1988, cat. 15, fig. 54 (as recut from an earlier portrait); Schäfer 1999 (detailed account of the reworking from a late portrait of Trajan); La Rocca and Zanker 2007, pp. 149–50; Picón et al. 2007, pp. 404–5, 498, no. 473 (as after A.D. 325).

#### NOTES

1. Compare the reconstruction of the colossal seated statue, the fragments of which are in the cortile of the Palazzo dei Conservatori, Rome, in Demandt and Engemann 2007, p. 131.

2. Most recently, Schäfer 1999.

3. By contrast, compare the colossal head from the Forum of Trajan, discovered in 2005, in which the original neck, much too thick after the reworking, was not carved down.

4. *Panegyrici Latini* x (4), 35.4.

5. Wegner, Bracker, and Real 1979, pp. 108, 117, pl. 45.

6. Fittschen and Zanker 1985, pp. 149–51.

7. *Ibid.*, p. 150 n. 9; good illustration in Delbrueck 1933, pl. 35.

8. Fittschen and Zanker 1985, p. 150 n. 7;

V. Poulsen 1962–74, vol. 2, p. 191, no. 198,

pls. CCCXXXII, CCCXXXIII; good illustration in Demandt and Engemann 2007, p. 115.

9. La Rocca and Zanker 2007, p. 150.

**Portrait of Emperor Constans**  
(r. A.D. 337–50)

Constantinian, A.D. 337–350

Marble, overall H. 10¾ in. (27.3 cm), chin to crown 7⅞ in. (19.4 cm)

Department of Medieval Art and The Cloisters  
Rogers Fund, 1967 (67.107)

**PROVENANCE:** By 1932, private collection, Istanbul; from ca. 1932, collection of Dr. Wilhelm Fabricius, Bonn and Istanbul; until 1967, collection of Wilhelm Fabricius (son, by descent); acquired in 1967, purchased from W. Fabricius.

The diadem identifies the subject as a ruler. With his head raised, he looks straight ahead without focusing on anything in particular. The head is almost imperceptibly turned to its right, yet the sculptor has rendered the forms on the right side of the face as clearly compressed, thereby enhancing the vitality of the expression. Most illustrations of the work present it at an angle from the side, diluting the intended severe effect of the pose: the ruler was meant to be perceived as a force set above his subjects.

Accordingly, the relaxed face exhibits no trace of movement. The large eyes, with bean-shaped, recessed pupils, are abstract, without any individualized characteristics. They gaze not at the viewer but slightly upward. The curves of the upper eyelids are repeated in the edges of the brows, and their shapes in turn are echoed after only a short interval by the tightly pressed locks of hair hanging low across the forehead. The U-shaped face is broad and flat and gives no indication of its bone structure. That the nose was clearly arched is difficult to see from illustrations. Only the mouth exhibits a somewhat lively shape.



However, for all their abstraction, the facial features indicate that the subject was very young.

The hair is distributed in every direction from the cowlick. Toward the forehead it masses forth beneath the diadem and forms a wave, then ends in a straight line just above the brows. At the back, long, wavy locks fall to the nape of the neck. They are separated by deeply drilled channels, though on the back the sculptor dispensed with detailed elaboration. This hairstyle, with locks extending down on to the neck, first appears in the late portraits of Constantine the Great and is there associated with the diadem, as in the present portrait. The broad hoop of the diadem is ornamented above the center of the forehead with a large, rectangular gem; the edges, top and bottom, are adorned with large pearls. Beneath the diadem the young ruler wore a ribbon, the ends of which hang down across the headdress at the nape of the neck.

The dating and identification of the head are disputed. Most recent writers tend to place it late in the reign of Constantine the Great. The main evidence lies in the stylistic differences between this head and the portraits of the emperors Arcadius (r. A.D. 395–408) and Honorius (r. A.D. 395–423) produced before and about A.D. 400, respectively. In comparison with the portraits of Valentinian II (?) (r. A.D. 375–92) and Arcadius in Istanbul, the stylistic differences are particularly apparent.<sup>1</sup> On the New York head, the face and especially the bangs are distinctly more substantial and less abstract than on the two later portraits. The same is true to an even greater extent of the eyes and brows, which on the portrait of Arcadius especially are rendered as wholly abstract

forms. The colossal head of the boylike ruler in the cortile of the Palazzo dei Conservatori in Rome, probably a portrait of Honorius, exhibits a still greater degree of abstraction.<sup>2</sup> Since an emperor portrait in Trier identified by Richard Delbrueck as the emperor Gratian (r. A.D. 375–83) is comparable to the New York head in its even more abstract style, the present portrait is in all probability one of the three sons of Constantine the Great.<sup>3</sup> About A.D. 333, in the last decade of his reign, their father elevated the three, still boys, to corulers—*Caesares*—in order to secure the continuity of the new dynasty.

But which of Constantine's three sons, who divided the Empire between them after their father's death in A.D. 337, is represented in the present portrait? Is it Constantine II (A.D. 316/17–340), Constantius II (A.D. 317–361), or Constans (A.D. 320–350)?

Portraits on coinage are ambiguous and do not provide any clues for a reliable identification. Moreover, almost all the comparable portraits that presumably represent Constantine's sons come from the western part of the Empire, unlike the present one. Since the head in the Metropolitan Museum characterizes the subject as still quite young, even boyish, it most likely could be a portrait of Constans, the youngest of the three. He was only thirteen or fourteen years old when his father named him a coruler. Beginning in A.D. 340, after a brief civil war and the death of Constantine II, Constans ruled over the entire western part of the Roman

Empire. He fought quite successfully against the Franks on the Lower Rhine and was able to restore Hadrian's Wall in Britannia. After an altogether successful ten-year reign he was assassinated at the age of thirty by the usurper Magnentius (r. A.D. 350–53).

Proceeding from the assumption that the present portrait represents Constans as a youthful ruler, it would of course be helpful to find a depiction of him in the territory over which he reigned. Yet comparison with the ruler portraits of the western part of the Empire yields no results. A colossal head—which stood for a long time in the Parco Borghese in Rome, was heavily restored in the Renaissance, and is now in the cortile of the Palazzo dei Conservatori—could also have been created or reworked in the later reign of Constantine or immediately







afterward.<sup>4</sup> It, too, most probably represents a son of Constantine the Great. But the structure of the face is much sharper, and the hair falls higher on the forehead and is made up of broader strands. Presumably, the head represents one of Constans's two brothers—perhaps Constantine II, whose coin portraits bear a certain resemblance to it.<sup>5</sup> All the good portraits of Constantius II on coinage picture the third brother with a narrow, elongated face, for which reason he may be the subject depicted in a portrait in Philadelphia.<sup>6</sup>

Aside from the uncertainty of its identification, this portrait is an outstanding example of the Late Antique ruler portrait, one deserving of emphasis in the Museum's display.

**CONDITION:** The tip of the nose, part of the lips, the ears, and the diadem are missing, and there are numerous small abrasions and losses. The

back is only cursorily carved. The surface of the face was polished. Traces of red pigment remain. The dowel on the underside of the neck points to a modern intervention. Originally, the head might have been an integral part of a statue.

**LITERATURE:** Bruns 1932, figs. 1–3 (as Constantius II); Delbrueck 1933, pp. 154–55, pls. 58, 59 (as Constantius II or Constans?); H. Jucker 1959, p. 278 (as second quarter of the fourth century); Forsyth and Miller 1967, p. 83 (as Constans?); Johansen 1969, pp. 260–61, pl. XCII (as Constantinian); Sydow 1969, pp. 22, 26–27 (as Arcadius or Honorius); Bergmann 1972, p. 215 (also with dating to the late fourth century); Inan and Alföldi-Rosenbaum 1979, pp. 135–38, no. 81, pl. 73 (as “young Augustus,” A.D. 340–400); Weitzmann 1979, p. 22, no. 15 (J. Breckenridge: as Constans); L’Orange and Unger 1984, pp. 87, 133, pl. 58 (as one of Constantine’s sons); Kiilerich 1993, p. 228 (as son of Constantine the Great); Meischner 2001, pp. 98–99; Little 2006, pp. 128–29, no. 53 (H. Evans: as Constans); Demandt and Engemann 2007, p. 72, no. I.9.48, catalogue text on the enclosed diskette (H. Evans: as Constans).

#### NOTES

1. For the portrait of Valentinian II, see L’Orange 1933, p. 140, no. 94, figs. 182, 183; Volbach 1958, pp. 54–55, pls. 50, 51. For the portrait of Arcadius, see Inan and Alföldi-Rosenbaum 1979, p. 138, no. 82, pl. 74.1–2; Volbach 1958, p. 56, pls. 56, 57.
2. Fittschen and Zanker 1985, p. 159, no. 127, pl. 158.
3. For the identification of the Trier portrait, see Delbrueck 1933, p. 193, pl. 90; Stichel 1982, pp. 49–50, pls. 13, 14; Demandt and Engemann 2007, diskette text for I.16.1.
4. For the colossal head (Musei Capitolini, Palazzo dei Conservatori, Rome [inv. 2882]), see Fittschen and Zanker 1985, p. 156, no. 125, pl. 156; Demandt and Engemann 2007, diskette text for I.10.31. The eye area of this portrait suggests a comparison with that of the portrait of Dogmatius created about or after A.D. 330 (L’Orange 1933, p. 139, no. 92, fig. 167). The rendering of the hair behind the ears and at the back of the colossal head, which appears to come from a previous portrait from the reign of Trajan, suggests a reworking.
5. L’Orange and Unger 1984, esp. pl. 69; Delbrueck 1933, pl. 6.
6. For depictions of Constantius II on coins, see Delbrueck 1933, pl. 7; L’Orange and Unger 1984, pl. 70a–d. For the Philadelphia portrait, see L’Orange and Unger 1984, pp. 86, 134, pl. 57b.

### 33

#### Statue Cloaked at the Hips

Tiberian-Caligulan, A.D. 20–40

Marble, H. 46 in. (116.8 cm)

Bequest of Bill Blass, 2002 (2003.407.8a, b)

PROVENANCE: By 1997 and until 2002, collection of Bill Blass, New York; acquired in 2003, bequest of Bill Blass.

See text cat. 34.

### 34

#### Statue Cloaked at the Hips

Tiberian-Caligulan, A.D. 20–40

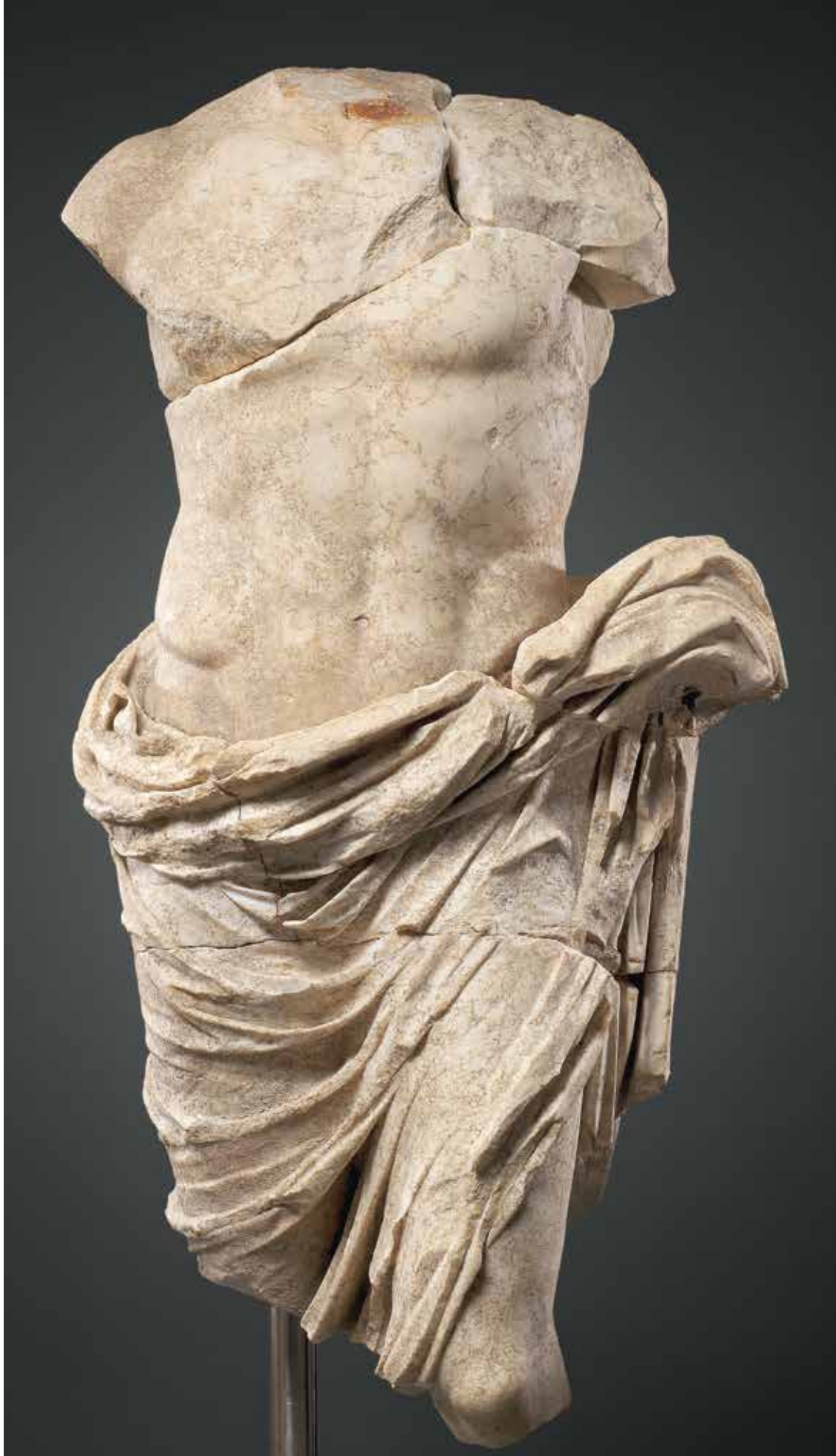
Marble, H. 47 in. (119.4 cm)

Bequest of Bill Blass, 2002 (2003.407.9)

PROVENANCE: By 1997 and until 2002, collection of Bill Blass, New York; acquired in 2003, bequest of Bill Blass.

CONDITION: The statue is missing its head, both arms, the right leg below the thigh, and the left leg below the knee. The rest of the work was broken into a number of pieces and has been reassembled. Fragments survive of the metal rod with which the left hand was attached. The right arm was also attached with a metal dowel.

LITERATURE: Post 2004, pp. 458–59, no. VIII.11, pl. 36c; Recent Acquisitions 2004, pp. 8–9, ill. (E. Milleker); Picón et al. 2007, pp. 360, 487, no. 416.





These two torsos are examples of so-called *Hüftmantelstatuen*, or nude statues draped at the hips, which were especially popular in the early Empire. They were generally set up in public spaces as commemorative statues or placed in front of tombs as funerary statues. Many of the statues of this type represent members of the emperor's family and were set up in family galleries of the Julio-Claudian Imperial house.

The earliest such works, still unconventional in their physique and drapery, date from the late Republic; one of the best-known examples is the so-called Tivoli Commander.<sup>1</sup> The canonical type, with Neoclassical body forms in the "Polykleitan" style, first appeared early in the reign of Augustus and was frequently produced in the early Empire.<sup>2</sup> The Romans were still uncomfortable with the nudity in Classical Greek art, hence the draping of the genitals. It seems that this type of statue was frequently found among the statues erected in honor of the ruling family in the religious, conservative climate of the Julio-Claudian era.





The two fragmentary statues in the Metropolitan Museum doubtless came from the same ancient gallery and are distinguished by their particularly high quality. The Polykleitan physiques are rendered in delicate relief but are greatly detailed, even including indications of the veins. The two classical bodies present minor differences. In the sculpture shown in catalogue 34, the *inscriptions* (anatomical articulation), especially of the chest and the edge of the rib cage, are somewhat more fully modeled than on the pendant statue. The same is true of the drapery. In the work seen in catalogue 33, the movement of the slightly bent, free leg beneath the drapery is more visible, and the folds of fabric are fewer and lie closer to the thighs, whereas in the other statue (cat. 34), the more abundant drapery hangs down in front of the legs, revealing them less. The carving of the folds is also different, indicating that the statues were created by two different sculptors, which is unsurprising in a grouping of numerous statues.

For clues to the dating of the works, parallels for the delicate modeling of the bodies and for the rendering of the drapery must be found. A togate statue of Caligula from Rome, now in Richmond, Virginia, provides a parallel for the drapery, as does a Tiberius statue from Leptis Magna.<sup>3</sup> It is more difficult to find good comparisons for the modeling of the bodies, though in the present writer's view, the Augustus statue from Otricoli, now in the Vatican, a Tiberius statue from Nemi, outside Rome, and the above-mentioned Tiberius from Leptis Magna compare favorably.<sup>4</sup> These would make possible at least an approximate dating to the Tiberian or early Claudian period.

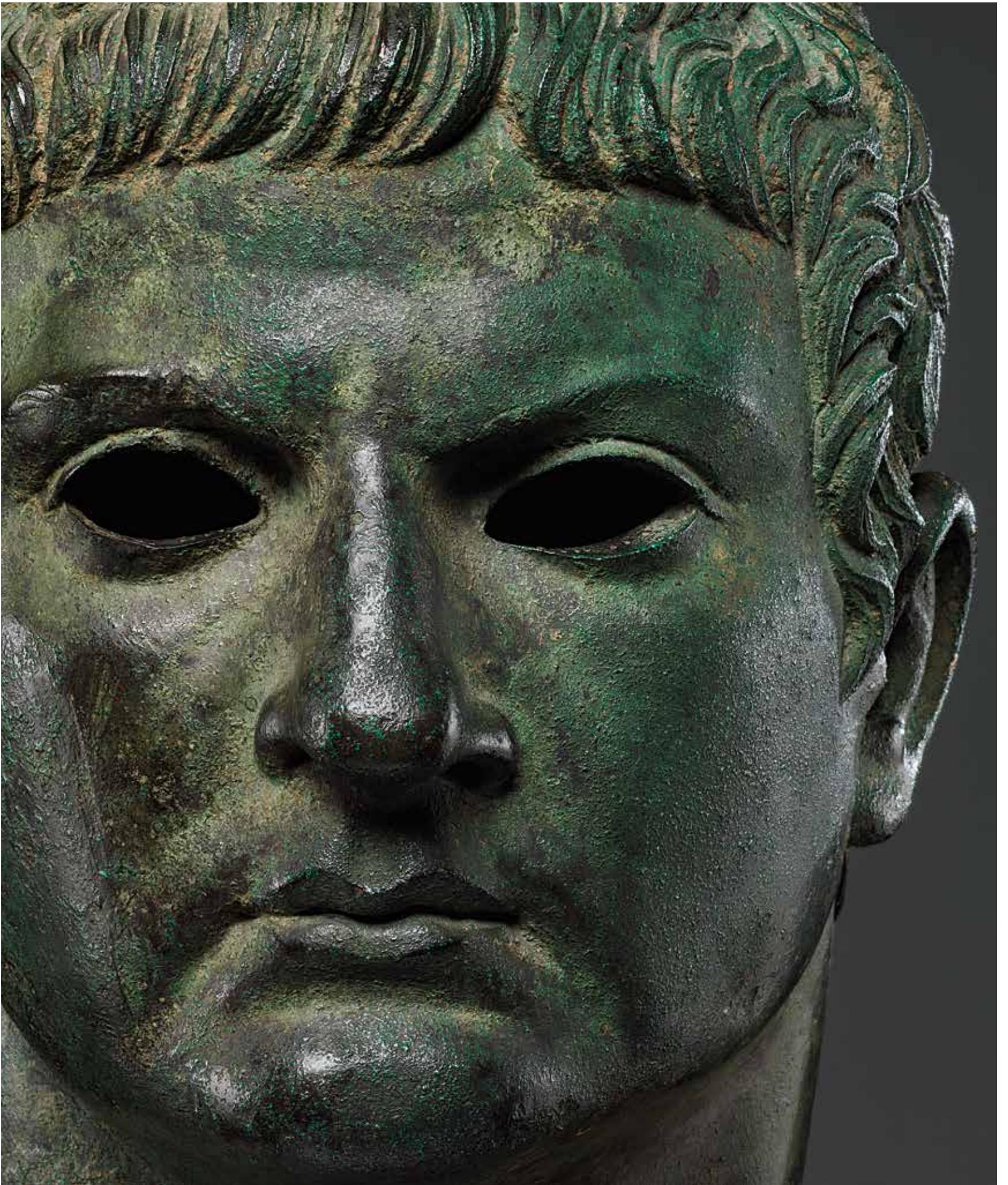
Many of the portraits of emperors and princes with drapery around the hips were placed in Imperial galleries, especially common after the time of Tiberius. They stood next to statues of deified or reigning emperors. Part of such a gallery is pictured on the well-known relief fragment in Ravenna, in which a member of the Imperial family, draped at the hips, is identified as deceased by a star in his hair (see fig. 18, p. 56).<sup>5</sup> This relief provides a good idea of such groupings of portraits of the Imperial household as appeared in many places—in front of temples, in basilicas, in fora, and on triumphal arches.<sup>6</sup>

CONDITION: Like its pendant (cat. 33), this statue must have been struck into pieces during Antiquity. Probably its fragments, like those of so many other marble statues, were meant to be burned into lime. Here, as in the pendant, the fragments fit together seamlessly. On the back, however, there are four flat, rectangular, carefully carved and smoothed depressions. These were probably repairs to damage already suffered in Antiquity. On the left breast there is a flat spot where a chip is missing and, beneath it, two deep scratches that were presumably made when the work was unearthed. Portions of the metal rod with which the right hand was attached are still present, as is a larger metal rod on the back at the height of the right thigh. Damage and losses, especially on the edges of the upper folds, are considerable. Traces of a “purple band” discovered on a strip of the drapery were identified by the Metropolitan Museum's Department of Scientific Research as “an alteration of the gilding,” that is, altered remains of a gold stripe on a garment that, as was customary, was painted (correspondence in the Department of Greek and Roman Art).

LITERATURE: Rayner and Schezen 1997, p. 114, ill.; Blass 2002, pl. 9 after p. 136; Post 2004, p. 500, no. xvii.12, pl. 16d; Recent Acquisitions 2004, pp. 8–9, ill. (E. Milleker); Picón et al. 2007, pp. 361, 487, no. 417.

#### NOTES

1. Giuliano 1979, pp. 267–69, no. 164. (E. Talamo); La Regina 1998, pp. 33–34.
2. Niemeyer 1968, pp. 101–4; Post 2004, pp. 329–30.
3. Caligula statue: Boschung 1989, pp. 109–10, no. 117, pls. 11, 42, 43. Tiberius statue: Hertel 2013, pp. 174–75, no. 80, pls. 71.2–4, 123.1; Boschung 2002, p. 10, no. 1.14, pl. 10.1–2; Niemeyer 1968, p. 103, no. 77, pl. 25.
4. Augustus statue: Boschung 1993a, pp. 183–84, no. 177, pl. 219.1. Tiberius statue: Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek, Copenhagen (709); see Johansen 1994–95, vol. 1, p. 120, no. 48.
5. Good illustrations in Himmelmann 1989, p. 240, fig. 22d; H. Jucker 1976, fig. 6.
6. Numerous examples in Boschung 2002.



# PORTRAITS OF MEN AND YOUTHS

MANY OF THE MALE PORTRAITS in the Metropolitan Museum survive only as heads, so it is impossible to determine whether they belonged to statues, busts, or herms. The most common forms of male portrait statues were essentially the same as those of Imperial portraits, and, as with them, standardized bodies identified the subject as a citizen, an office holder, or allegorically, in the figure of a deity.<sup>1</sup> Doubtless most common were the togate (toga-wearing) statues, which identified their subjects as Roman citizens. The majority, including the Augustan example in the Museum (cat. 38), were placed at tombs. On the countless tomb reliefs, discussed in detail elsewhere in this volume (see “Reliefs and Tomb Altars with Portraits of the Deceased”), ordinary citizens were routinely depicted wearing the toga.

Honorific statues in public spaces, by contrast, represented citizens who held public office or had otherwise acquired status in their cities. Through stripes of color on the toga (*toga praetexta*), peculiarities in footwear, and other signs, the statues indicated their subjects’ political, social, or religious affiliations.<sup>2</sup> In the public sphere, statues in armor generally suggested the subject’s elevated military rank. Most statues of this kind were commissioned for members of the Imperial family. The emperor probably had the statues in armor erected in Rome for high-ranking generals, as Trajan did on his Forum Traianum (Forum of Trajan). In the provinces, however, armored statues for generals or Roman proconsuls were commissioned by provincial councils or cities. It is only at tombs, especially in the last decades of the Republic and the early years of the Empire, that portraits of ordinary soldiers wearing armor occur.<sup>3</sup>

The practice of erecting statues of nude and seminude figures, with only a mantle draped around the hips or shoulders, had been adopted from the Greeks beginning in the second century B.C. As honorific and tomb statues, these were meant to celebrate the subject as an especially deserving man comparable to the heroes of myth, just as in statues of emperors. In this case, the subject’s merits might be of a general kind that did not need to be specified, unlike those of men shown in armor. Then, finally, there were the equestrian statues, which, according to Cicero, represented the highest honor for a Roman. Over the course of the Empire, they were granted virtually only to members of the Imperial family (fig. 33, p. 175).



In the last decades of the Republic and into the early Empire, whole series of statues were sometimes erected for leading municipal figures and their family members, an honor later reserved for the emperor and his family. Among the best-known examples were the statues erected in Herculaneum for Marcus Nonius Balbus, a senator and patron from that city.<sup>4</sup> In these statues, which were located in especially prominent places—the forum, the basilica—he was depicted wearing the toga, in armor, in heroic nudity, and several times on horseback. In addition, there were statues of his family members. The works were donated not only by the city of Herculaneum but also by the neighboring city of Nocera and even the Roman province of Crete and Cyrene, where Balbus had served as proconsul, in gratitude for his commendable service. This example shows how excessive such tributes to individual benefactors and their families could be.

Statues were generally placed on bases nearly two feet high. Consequently, viewers could see the portrait only from a distance and form only an approximate idea of the face. For busts and herms, the situation was altogether different: viewers stood face to face with the portrait and could examine it in detail. The subject's name was generally inscribed on the shaft of the herm, as seen in the the fully preserved herm of Lucius Caecilius Jucundus from Pompeii (fig. 32).

The Metropolitan's fine bronze bust (cat. 37) from the time of Augustus once sat atop a similar herm, as did the bronze bust of a boy with a hairdo similar to that of the young Nero (cat. 45). On busts there is generally a small tabula above the base on which the subject's name might be either written or chiseled. When not placed in tomb niches, such busts sometimes stood on bases or benches.<sup>5</sup>

The preceding brief overview is intended to provide some idea of the various supports to which portraits could be attached so that Museum visitors can imagine the original effect a given portrait may have had atop a statue, bust, or herm. The following remarks, on the other hand, are meant to place the most important portraits, presented individually in the catalogue, in their historical contexts.

The late Republican period is represented in the Museum's collection by a single male portrait, though an especially interesting one: the head of an old man from Alexandria (cat. 35). It dates from the middle of the first century B.C. and is an impressive example of how realistically at this time the face of an elderly man could be captured with all its lines and creases. Indeed, the patron and sculptor did not hesitate to indicate even the effects of an *ictus* (stroke). A second portrait that might be assigned to the late Republic is the extremely energetic rendering of a man with a bony face (cat. 41). But



Fig. 32. Herm of Lucius Caecilius Jucundus, Augustan period. Bronze and marble. Museo Archeologico Nazionale, Naples (110663)

given its shape, the bust dates to the early Empire. It is thus a copy of a late Republican original, which speaks for the importance of the subject.

The reigns of Augustus (r. 31 B.C.–A.D. 14) and Tiberius (r. A.D. 14–37) are represented by two excellent bronze heads and by the bronze statue of a boy from Rhodes. Already mentioned, the portrait intended to be placed atop a herm is a masterpiece (cat. 37). It depicts a roughly forty-year-old man and in pose and expression exhibits the classicizing style of the Augustan era. Nonetheless, in the detailed modeling of the face, with subtle indications of advancing age, it preserves something of late Republican portraits. By contrast, the bronze portrait from Susa, Italy (cat. 40), which in its complete form probably showed the figure in armor, exemplifies the new classicizing style of the early Empire. The unlined face offers a hint of individuality only around the tense mouth and energetic chin. The shape of the head and the bangs are reminiscent, probably intentionally, of portraits of Drusus the Elder and Tiberius. As for the beautiful bronze statue of the roughly twelve-year-old boy from Rhodes (cat. 39), it presents the style of the Augustan Age so clearly that there can be no doubt that it dates to that time, despite the draping of the mantle, which recalls the fourth century B.C. The boy's hairstyle corresponds to that of the grandson of Augustus, Gaius Caesar (20 B.C.–A.D. 4), a feature with which the statue's donor wished to display his or her reverence for the Imperial House.

Two portraits of boys (cats. 44, 45) display hairdos similar to those of the young Nero. They therefore date from late in the reign of the emperor Claudius (r. A.D. 41–54) or, more probably, early in the reign of Emperor Nero (r. A.D. 54–68). Nero had been adopted by Claudius at age thirteen and came to power at only seventeen, bypassing Claudius's own son, Britannicus. Both portraits exhibit obviously provincial features. The marble head, more simply worked, comes from Spain, while the bronze portrait, more carefully modeled, probably comes from Italy. In their similarity to the youthful portraits of Nero, the two works attest to the emperor's widespread popularity among his subjects and present clear examples of the assimilation of citizens' portraits to those of the ruling family.

The Flavian era is represented by several portraits (cats. 46–49), all of them presumably dating from the reign of the emperor Domitian (r. A.D. 81–96), since the individual features are still quite clearly articulated, while the surfaces of the faces appear flattened and rigid, just as in the busts of Domitian. Comparison of the four portraits makes clear how hard even in the later Flavian era sculptors still tried to characterize their subjects as distinctive individuals by their facial expressions and the turn of their heads. This feature disappears increasingly over the course of the second and third centuries A.D.

All of the Museum's male portraits from the time of Trajan and Hadrian exhibit variants of the extremely popular, simple hairstyles familiar from portraits of Emperor Trajan (r. A.D. 98–117). Among the Trajanic portraits, the excellent, slightly over-lifesize head is particularly striking, thanks to its energetic expression (cat. 51). The subject gives the impression of a successful, celebrated, military man, like the generals who were awarded honorific statues in the Forum of Trajan. Despite its Trajanic hairdo, the broad bust could date to the reign of the emperor Hadrian (r. A.D. 117–38) (cat. 53). The exquisitely carved bust of a boy with a tabula featuring a lion's skin instead of an inscription deserves special attention (cat. 56). The lion's skin can be understood as a poetic allusion to Hercules.

The two portraits of Hadrian's beloved Antinous (cats. 57, 58) are included in this section, since the collection does not yet have a portrait of the emperor Hadrian to which they might have been related. They document, though only modestly, the veneration of Antinous in the form of various deities throughout the Empire after his tragic death in the Nile. By erecting such statues, cities and citizens naturally hoped to gain the goodwill of the emperor, yet the reverence accorded Antinous can also be seen in the context of contemporary attempts to revive the former faith in the gods.

From the time of the emperors Antoninus Pius (r. A.D. 138–61) and Marcus Aurelius (r. A.D. 161–80), the Museum owns three excellent though very different portraits. The earliest depicts a young man whose hairdo, still reminiscent of Antinous, suggests that the work may date from about the middle of the second century (cat. 59). Despite a certain smoothness, the face is striking above all for its hint of a superior smile, which accords well with the subject's elegant appearance and artfully groomed beard. The two other portraits from this period are not from Italy, but, presumably, from Asia Minor and Greece. The bust with a portrait of a bearded man (cat. 60) was probably displayed high on a wall together with busts of other men, much as it is in the Museum today. The abundant hair, with seemingly wild curls that are actually carefully arranged, is typical of the look of an intellectual of the time—a look that enjoyed great popularity in the later second century.<sup>6</sup> This is presumably a man who had distinguished himself as a teacher of philosophy.

The bust of a young man presented as a hero is unquestionably one of the highlights displayed among the Museum's portraits (cat. 61). Dating from the middle of the second century, the work presents the subject in an idealized stylization meant to evoke, like Antinous, a figure from the Classical era. On the other hand, the extravagant, curly hairdo indicates that the young man is to be regarded as a typical representative of his own era's *jeunesse dorée*. In any case, with this bust, the Museum exhibits one of the most accomplished Greek works from the time of the Antonine emperors.

Although the later second century and the time of Septimius Severus (r. A.D. 193–211) are not as yet represented in the collection, several interesting works from the third century A.D. are included. The earliest is the bust of an older man (cat. 64) that is only 8¾ inches (22 cm) tall but a work of astonishingly high quality. It probably came from the private quarters of a house, perhaps from the *lararium* (household shrine), and depicted the owner, who thus placed himself under the protection of its gods. The other portraits are reworkings of earlier versions, as is common for the later third century and as with the emperor portraits. In the case of the emperors, the reworkings are explained by the *damnatio memoriae* of the previous ruler, but this explanation cannot apply to subjects of no particular rank. At this time there must have been numerous portraits, mainly from cemeteries, in which no one was interested any longer and that sculptors or patrons could reuse.

The recarvings, dependent on the physiognomy of the new subject and the portrait of his predecessor, are highly diverse. Viewers can observe the range in the Museum's four reworked portraits. Especially striking is the contrast between the attractive paludamentum bust (the subject wears a military cloak) from the Antonine period and its radically reworked head from about A.D. 260 (cat. 65). The under-lifesize bust of an older man also dates from the third century A.D. (cat. 66). Here the sculptor limited his reworking essentially to the mouth and chin; he also pricked in a beard and accented the subject's pupils, as was customary at the time of the emperor Gallienus (r. A.D. 253–68). The two last portraits are preserved without their busts and are so thoroughly reworked that it is no longer possible to recognize the forms of the original portraits. The extremely narrow face of one of them shows extremely prominent cheekbones and deeply sunken cheeks (cat. 67). Apparently, the sculptor was commissioned to portray a dead man. Whereas this portrait was reworked in the middle of the third century A.D., the recarving of the last head probably dates to the reign of Gallienus or shortly afterward (cat. 68). Traces of the original portrait are preserved only in the soft modeling of the forehead and beneath the eyes. As in the previous portrait, the height of the original head—standard at roughly 9⅞ inches (25 cm)—was reduced in the reworking by about 1 inch (2 or 3 centimeters).

#### NOTES

1. For more information, see Fejfer 2008, pp. 181–83.

2. Goette 1990, pp. 2–8; Fejfer 2008, pp. 183–99.

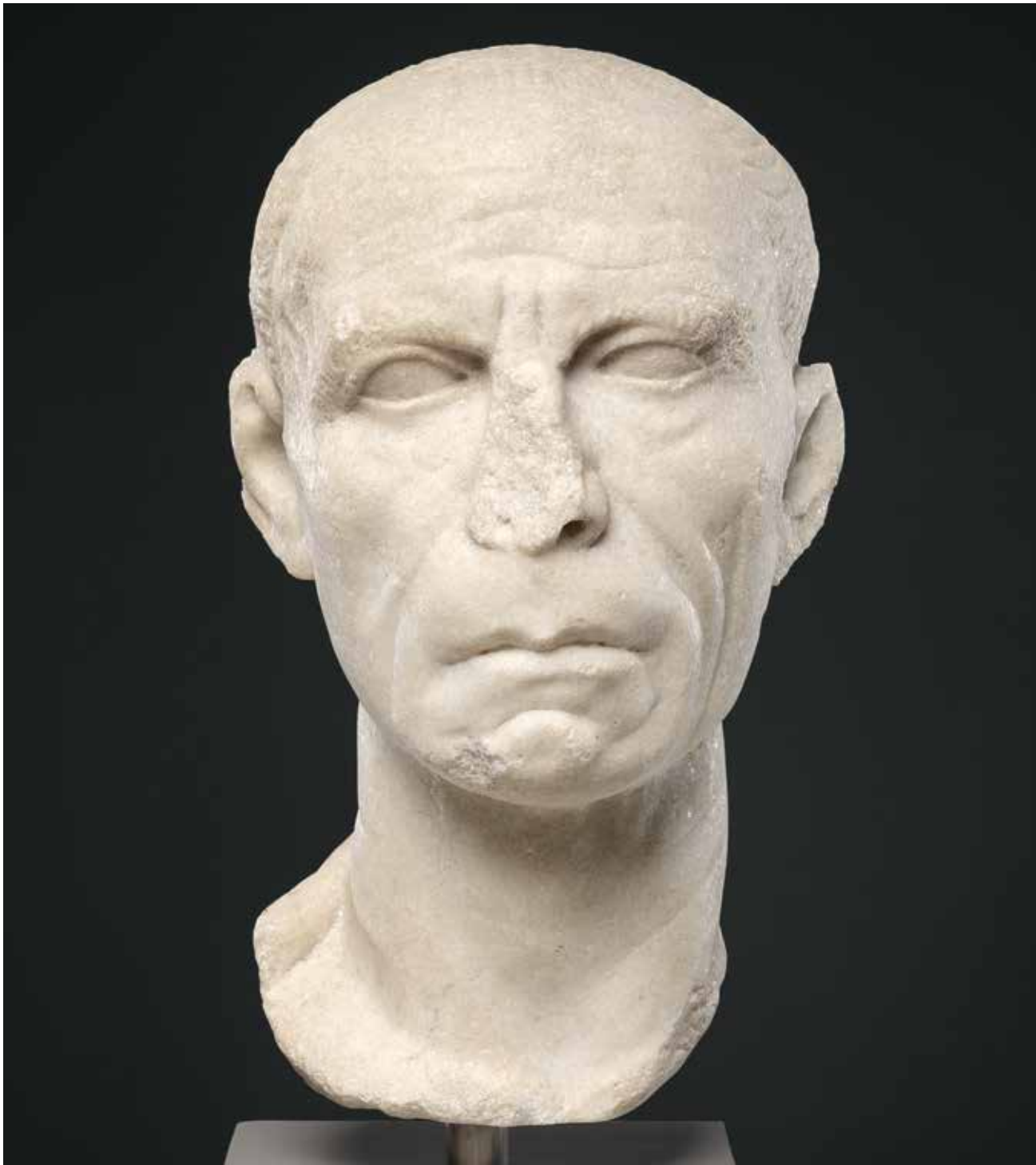
3. Stemmer 1978; Fejfer 2008, pp. 207–13.

4. The allocation of the inscriptions is uncertain, and some of

the precise findspots are unknown, since all of the statues were excavated in the eighteenth century. For an extensive discussion, see Fejfer 2008, pp. 218–23.

5. Cadario 2011, pp. 209–21; Fejfer 2008, p. 181.

6. Zanker 1995, pp. 224–25, 233–38.



35

**Portrait of an Old Man from Egypt**

Late Republican, ca. 40–30 B.C.

Marble, H. 12 $\frac{3}{8}$  in. (31.5 cm)

Rogers Fund, 1921 (21.88.14)

PROVENANCE: 1898, found in Egypt; purchased by Joseph von Korp; 1899–1910, collection of

Count Grigoriy Sergeyeovich Stroganov, Palazzo Stroganov, Rome; 1910–20, with his descendants, Palazzo Stroganov, Rome; [ca. 1920, sold to Giorgio Sangiorgi, Rome]; acquired in 1921, purchased from G. Sangiorgi.

This portrait, acquired in Alexandria, addresses the viewer with astonishing immediacy. It is indeed “plein de vie et de caractère” (full of life and character).<sup>1</sup> We see an old man with his head tilted slightly upward. His forehead,



threaded with irregular creases, seems almost tense; the cheekbones are prominent, and the cheeks are sunken. The chin is disproportionately small and barely projects forward. The full lips and the entire right side of the face sag distinctly, and the right half of the face lacks the volume of the left. A doctor has suspected, doubtless correctly, that the subject had suffered a stroke.<sup>2</sup> Unmistakable depictions of pathological conditions are extremely rare in Greco-Roman art.<sup>3</sup>

Viewed in profile, the carving of the face is very flat, and large parts of both cheeks are scarcely detailed. This also suggests a reworking. Moreover, the left ear is overly large and sits at an angle to the face, whereas the right ear is anatomically correct.

The head was first carved in Julius Caesar's time, about 50 B.C. or shortly thereafter. Because the portrait's features resemble Caesar's, the subject was once thought to be Caesar himself, but that assumption was immediately and properly rebutted by Maurice Besnier

(1899). It is more likely an early example of a so-called *Zeitgesicht* (a portrait of a private citizen with features resembling those of a famous man or an emperor), a genre that first emerged among Caesar's contemporaries. In the Imperial period, such works—ideologically fashionable approximations of emperors' portraits—appeared with some frequency, especially those of popular emperors such as Nero and Trajan.<sup>4</sup>

Heinrich Drerup and Achille Adriani have pointed out that, despite its late Republican style, the portrait exhibits peculiarities of the Egyptian tradition, such as the shape of the eyes. They therefore assume, as have other writers, that the work was created in Egypt. Given the absence of marble in Egypt, the stone could have been imported, as J. J. Herrmann has explained.

CONDITION: The head was carved from a coarse-grained marble. A large part of the nose is missing, and there is lesser damage to the face, mainly at the eyebrows and both ears. The

portrait has been reworked from an earlier state. This is indicated by the cursory reduction of the entire back of the head, where remnants of strands of hair have been chiseled off; the projecting ears; the removal of a section of drapery at the back; and the crude execution of the reworked hair as compared to the face.

LITERATURE: Arndt, Brunn, and Bruckmann 1891–, no. 819 (1891) (P. Arndt); Besnier 1899, ill.; Pollak and Muñoz 1911, p. 10, pls. XII–XIV (as a man about sixty years old); Richter 1925a, p. 106; Richter 1948, no. 3, ill.; Schweitzer 1948, pp. 70–72 and *passim*; Buschor 1949, pp. 65–66, fig. 41; Drerup 1950, p. 26 n. 49; Johansen 1967, p. 55, no. 22; Adriani 1970, pp. 77–78, 104, pl. 33.2; Hüfler 1980, pp. 72–73, no. 38, ill.; Milleker 2000, pp. 28–29, 205, no. 9 (E. Milleker: as portrait of a man); Walker and Higgs 2001, pp. 224–25, no. 206, ill. (S. Walker); Picón et al. 2007, pp. 331, 481, no. 382; H. Johnson 2009.

#### NOTES

1. Pollak and Muñoz 1911, p. 10.
2. H. Johnson 2009.
3. A comparable instance is in the Musei Capitolini, Palazzo Nuovo, Rome (inv. 2759): Fittschen, Zanker, and Cain 2010, pp. 47–48, no. 36, pl. 38.
4. On the *Zeitgesicht*, see Zanker 1982, Bergmann 1982.

**Portrait of an Older Man**

Mid-Augustan, ca. 20–10 B.C.

Marble, overall H. 11 in. (27.9 cm), chin to crown 8¾ in. (22.2 cm)

Rogers Fund, 1913 (13.229.4)

PROVENANCE: [Until 1913, with Ettore Jandolo, Rome]; acquired in 1913, purchased from E. Jandolo

A first look at the head can raise doubts as to whether it is truly an ancient portrait. However, on closer inspection, no substantive arguments for suspicion can be found. The obvious similarity to portraits of Julius Caesar (100–44 B.C.) is also found in numerous other portraits that constitute a very distinct form of the so-called period face.<sup>1</sup>

The head is turned toward its left and slightly raised, in an echo of late Hellenistic pathos. It particularly resembles the portrait of the deified Caesar, especially the serene, later version of that work, which must have been created after the rule of Augustus was established, thus after 27 B.C.<sup>2</sup> Comparison with the replica of the deified Caesar in the Vatican Museums highlights both the distinctive physiognomy of the Metropolitan's work and its similarity to the Caesar portrait. The forehead of the unknown man is very close in its proportions to that of the Caesar portrait, and the hair virtually quotes it. The sculptor has merely reversed the strict arrangement of the locks above the center of the forehead, including the fork and tongs motifs, which are simply a mirror image of the locks in the *Divus Iulius* portraits. It is only in the lower half of the face that the unique physiognomy of the unknown man becomes apparent. His face is more elongated than Caesar's,



though the lines at the sides of the nose and on the chin recall the Caesar portrait. On the sides and at the back of the head, the hair, with its short, restless locks, diverges completely from the hair of the Caesar portrait but compares favorably with other portraits reminiscent of Caesar. Compare a head in Copenhagen or the portrait of Marcus Nonius Balbus(?) from Herculaneum, also of mid-Augustan date.<sup>3</sup>

The large eyes of the portrait are particularly striking. Here one is most likely to suspect modern reworking. Yet even this feature seems to be of ancient origin or can at least be understood as part of the approximation of the Caesar portrait, for both the early, though reworked, version of the posthumous Caesar portrait in Pisa and other portraits from the same period exhibit this trait.<sup>4</sup>



**CONDITION:** The neck was broken off and joins perfectly. The nose is missing, and the cheeks, right eyebrow, and both ears are chipped. Heavy accretions occur especially on the neck and have been partially removed from the face.

**LITERATURE:** Richter 1914a, p. 62; Richter 1948, no. 5, ill.

**NOTES**

1. Zanker 1981, pp. 356–58; Zanker 1982.
2. Zanker 2009, p. 310, and see the literature on Caesar portraits cited there in note 6.

3. For the head in the Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek, Copenhagen (576), see V. Poulsen 1962–74, vol. 1, p. 60, no. 29, pls. XLI, XLII; and Johansen 1994–95, vol. 1, p. 84, no. 30. For the portrait from Herculaneum, see Zanker 1981, p. 360, figs. 17, 18.
4. For the Caesar portrait in Pisa, see Zanker 2009, p. 309; Johansen 1987a, p. 22, fig. 6a–b; Johansen 1967, p. 28, pl. vi. See also Museo di Antichità, Turin (129): Johansen 1967, p. 26, pl. II. For other large-eyed portraits of the period, see Johansen 1994–95, vol. 1, p. 72, no. 24, p. 86, no. 31.

## 37

### Bronze Bust of a Younger Man

Augustan, ca. 20 B.C.–A.D. 1

Bronze, H. 15 in. (38.1 cm)

Bequest of Benjamin Altman, 1913 (14.40.696)

**PROVENANCE:** Said to have been found in Trastevere, Rome; [until 1911, with Cesare and Ercole Canessa, Rome and New York]; 1911, purchased by Benjamin Altman from C. and E. Canessa; 1911–13, collection of Benjamin Altman, New York; acquired in 1914, bequest of Benjamin Altman.

The bronze bust was intended for insertion into a herm. To judge from the Greek lion presumably found with it (MMA 09.221.3), the bust came from a villa-like *hortus* (garden) in Trastevere. In any case, such a location would accord well with the work's outstanding quality. The minimal bust section and neck are also carefully modeled, with attention to the clavicles and the hollow between them, the neck muscles, and the highly prominent Adam's apple.

The head turns slightly to its right. The bone structure is clearly defined on the forehead and thus forms a finely modeled surface on which the first slight furrows are barely distinguishable. Above the sharp-edged eyes, the slightly raised brows are delicate and very even. First wrinkles can be seen at the corners of the eyes and also around the nose and chin. Since the irises and pupils have been lost, the white of the eyes produces a staring gaze that would not have existed originally. On the cheeks and the mouth, too, the artist has indicated individualized features that are evident only upon close observation.

The ears project relatively far from the head and are articulated with unusual care, suggesting the difference





Cat. 37



between cartilage and flesh. The closely cropped hair is rendered with odd, sickle-shaped locks encountered only in the Augustan period and immediately afterward. These fan out from a cowlick on the back of the head, extending now to the right, now to the left, uniformly across the entire skull, ending in precisely drawn lines above the forehead and at the nape of the neck. The hair in the center, above the high forehead, forms a slight ridge, then leads in large arcs to the ears.

It is in this extremely precise stylization of the hair that the style of the work becomes clear: the bust is unquestionably a masterpiece from the Augustan period. The sculptor succeeded in combining the new classicizing forms with a subtle rendering of the subject's actual physiognomy. An

approximate dating is provided by the bronze portrait of Lucius Calpurnius Piso Pontifex, which presumably shows the Roman senator at the time of his consulate, about 15 B.C.<sup>1</sup>

CONDITION: The head is on the whole splendidly preserved with only minor damage visible in places such as the right ear and the edge of the bust. The patina was largely removed during cleaning. The surface presents numerous areas of corrosion, but these do not detract from the overall impression.

LITERATURE: Richter 1913a; Richter 1915d, pp. 142–44, no. 325, ill. (as Augustan); Kluge and Lehmann-Hartleben 1927, vol. 2, p. 11, fig. 4 (as early Augustan); Curtius 1935, p. 302 n. 2; F. Poulsen 1937, pp. 21–22, figs. 47, 48 (with earlier dating of ca. 70 B.C.); Vessberg 1941, p. 226 (as early Augustan, also because of the bust form); Richter 1948, no. 8, ill.; Schweitzer 1948, pp. 79–85 (as a “reworking” of an earlier portrait); Buschor 1949, pp. 53–54 (as third

quarter of the first century B.C.); Harrison 1953, pp. 15–16, under no. 4 (with doubts about F. Poulsen's and Schweitzer's dating attempts); Kaschnitz von Weinberg 1965, p. 447, pl. 122.2; Oliver 1967, pp. 264–65, fig. 3; Lahusen and Formigli 2001, pp. 146–47, no. 87, ill. (as Claudian); Picón et al. 2007, pp. 330, 481, no. 381 (as early Empire).

NOTE

1. Most recently Lahusen and Formigli 2001, pp. 100, 102, no. 49, ill., with bibliography and excellent illustrations on p. 102; Boschung 2002, pl. 15.2–4.



## 38

### Roman Togate Statue

Augustan, ca. 10 B.C.

Marble, H. 72 in. (182.9 cm)

Gift of John D. Crimmins, 1904 (04.15)

PROVENANCE: Until 1904, collection of John D. Crimmins; acquired in 1904, gift of John D. Crimmins.

When this statue entered the Museum's collection, it had been fitted with a bronze copy of the head of the Aischines statue in Naples as well as with a forearm, hands, and sandal-clad feet, also in bronze. It was first seen as "a Roman copy of Greek work, excavated at Cumae" (*The Metropolitan Museum of Art Annual Report*, 1905, p. 35) and only later, when the bronze head was removed, recognized and displayed as a Roman togate statue.

The figure is clothed in a tunic and toga. Of the two inset hands, now missing, the left one was surely extended and must have held something. The cylindrical leather scroll container at the sculpture's lower left edge lies very flat against the folds of the toga. On the right, the statue angles back to a side of insufficient breadth that in turn angles to the flat and only cursorily worked back. The left side is carved in greater detail, and there the folds of the toga lead more harmoniously to the back. This manner of articulation indicates that the statue stood directly in front of the wall of a tomb and was seen more easily from the left than from the right. Also, the sculptor was obviously working with a marble block that was too flat for the subject.

Regardless of the minimal depth, the statue is carefully executed at the front, and it is apparent that a skilled sculptor was at work. The folds of the



toga are here differentiated and rendered in distinct three-dimensional layers. Dating the work, despite the absence of the portrait, is thus no problem. To judge from the simple flow of the folds, the statue is doubtless from the time of Augustus, presumably before the turn of the millennium. In any case, it is comparable to reliefs of the Ara Pacis in Rome, carved about 10 B.C., and to the probably somewhat later statue of Augustus in Corinth, which, though found in Greece, provides an excellent counterpart.<sup>1</sup>

Given its execution, the statue surely did not represent a high-placed individual, but rather a simple citizen or freedman. Long before Augustus's decree that togas be worn on all official occasions as well as on visits to the forum and the theater, such men proudly had themselves depicted at their tombs as *togati*.<sup>2</sup> The directly comparable forms of toga worn by high dignitaries on the Ara Pacis and on statues of Augustus also show how eagerly the change in fashion at the highest level of society was imitated as early as the middle of Augustus's reign by the well-to-do, mostly freedmen.

CONDITION: Only the body of the statue is preserved. The head and arms were carved separately and inserted into the sockets prepared for them. The same applies to the feet and ankles. In the case of the latter, the picked sections are partly preserved, partly broken away. The toga and tunic present numerous small losses, especially on the edges of the folds.

LITERATURE: *The Metropolitan Museum of Art Annual Report*, 1905, p. 35; Milleker 2000, pp. 39–40, 205, no. 19 (E. Milleker: as Augustan, contemporary with the Ara Pacis). For the type in general, see Goette 1990.

#### NOTES

1. Goette 1990, pls. 5.5, 6.4.

2. Numerous examples are found in Kockel 1993.

## 39

### Bronze Statue of a Boy

Augustan, 10 B.C.–A.D. 10  
Bronze, H. 52½ in. (132.4 cm)  
Rogers Fund, 1914 (14.130.1)

PROVENANCE: Said to be from Rhodes; [until 1914, with Theochares, Rhodes]; acquired in 1914, purchased from Theochares through Evangelos P. Triantaphyllos.

This bronze statue of a boy, presumably from Rhodes, is unquestionably one of the most important pieces in the Metropolitan Museum's collection of Greek and Roman portraits, not only because well-preserved bronze statues are extremely rare, but also, and above all, owing to its outstanding quality.

A boy of possibly twelve years of age stands before us, wearing only a himation. He does not look at us but has turned his head to his left and slightly downward. His contemplative or almost shy pose could be related to the fact that spectators are meant to imagine the boy in a shrine, praying. Presumably this was suggested by the two objects he once held in his hands, as attested by the marks where they were affixed. Sadly, it is impossible to identify them. The figure could have held a branch in his raised right hand, a pose frequently seen in worshippers, and in his left, possibly a small box for incense.

As Classical as the boy seems, he does not come from the fourth century B.C. but, as a glance at his face shows, from the Roman period. His hairstyle closely corresponds to that of Gaius Caesar (20 B.C.–A.D. 4), the older of Augustus's adopted sons. As in the portraits of Gaius, the hair above the broad, high forehead includes locks resembling a small pair of "tongs" on the right side, and on the left, a "fork."



The face narrows more than in Gaius's later portraits, but this could be ascribed to the subject's youth. Seen from the side, the head has a rounded shape, and the profile, too, differs considerably from the altogether classicizing heads of the reliable copies of the prince's portrait. Likewise, the short hair on the top of the head shows no classicizing structure, although a cowlick is suggested at the back. It is impossible to determine with certainty whether this is a portrait of the prince or of a boy whose Roman or Rome-friendly parents wished to see the hair and face of their son assimilated to those of the princes of the Imperial Household. Based on the scholarly discussion of the past few years, the latter seems more probable.

On close inspection, the figure's stance appears to be showy and un-Classical. This is no Classical contrapposto, with one bearing leg and one free leg. Instead, the weight of the body rests on the left leg, and the right leg is placed well to the side in order to present the front of the body to greatest advantage. The forms of the nude torso exhibit delicate transitions, but the figure as a whole, with its broad shoulders, does not seem boyish at all. The cloak wraps around the body from the left upper arm, is gathered in front, then falls across the outstretched left forearm. The three-dimensional folds, some tubular, are carefully modeled and animate the garment front and back. On the left side, the fabric does not fall in a straight line but is folded forward toward the viewer. Across the front, a linear structure is visible. Presumably, it represents not flat folds but ornamental stripes roughly one inch wide.<sup>1</sup> They are indicated only on the front, ending abruptly at the sides. The artist was clearly concerned to render accurately



the "Classical" himation, as one sees from the ends of the fabric, to which tassels have been added.<sup>2</sup>

On late Hellenistic funerary stelae, boys were almost always portrayed for ethical reasons in cloaks enshrouding the entire body. The very few

exceptions come almost exclusively from Rhodes and quote Classical poses.<sup>3</sup> Thus, it is probable that the Classical stylization of the bronze boy stands in that tradition. The sculpture would accord well with the cultural tradition of Rhodes, whose schools of



philosophy and rhetoric also greatly attracted Romans of the early Empire. Before he became emperor, Tiberius (r. A.D. 14–37) was among those who spent considerable time there.



CONDITION: Except for the feet and lower legs, the statue is extremely well preserved, though the two objects the boy once held in his hands, traces of which can be seen in his palms, are missing. On his left side, two bronze struts survive of the kind known from marble statues.

They were probably meant to stabilize the hanging drapery. Parts of the fingers of the left hand are missing, and the right arm, once broken, has been repaired, as has a break in the middle of the torso. Of the eyes, Gisela M. A. Richter noted (1915d, p. 152): “The eye-balls



were inserted separately. Only one is now preserved and has not been placed in the socket; the white is of ivory, the iris of a blue-gray stone, the pupil missing; fragments of the lashes of one eye, of bronze, are also preserved, but have likewise not been added.”

The very meticulous casting technique and the assembly of the statue from separately cast pieces were investigated and described in detail in Hemingway, Milleker, and Stone 2002. Only minor casting flows with now-missing patches are visible in places, such as on the drapery.

During the investigation, the statue was carefully cleaned of its coating of grime, ancient and modern, revealing a greenish black patina, which was fixed with a thin layer of wax. Only on the back was a portion of the drapery left untreated so as to make possible future studies. In some places the seams have been left visible. Particularly noticeable is the one between the body and the left arm, though this spot could not be seen if the statue were placed on a high base.

LITERATURE: Richter 1915a, ill.; Richter 1915b, ill.; Richter 1915d, pp. 149–52, no. 333, ill. (as perhaps Gaius or Lucius Caesar); West 1933–41, vol. 1, pp. 136–38, pl. xxxiv, fig. 147; Curtius 1935, pp. 300–301, fig. 22 (as Tiberius as a boy); Hill 1939, p. 406; F. Poulsen 1939, p. 15, fig. 23 (as a private portrait); Richter 1948, no. 29, ill. (as perhaps Gaius); Chamoux 1950, p. 96 (as Lucius Caesar, ca. 6 B.C.); Hafner 1954, pp. 17–18, 27, pl. 4, no. R12, pl. 4; Bieber 1977, pp. 43, 52, 190–91, no. 22, figs. 783–85; *Greece and Rome* 1987, pp. 100–101, no. 73 (M. Anderson: as perhaps Gaius); Zanker 1989 (as Gaius); Milleker 2000, pp. 35, 205, no. 15 (E. Milleker: as statue of a boy); Lahusen and Formigli 2001, pp. 83–84, no. 35, ill. (as Lucius Caesar?); Hemingway, Milleker, and Stone 2002 (as Gaius?); Picón et al. 2007, pp. 351, 485, no. 405 (as aristocratic boy); Daehner and Lapatin 2015, pp. 260–61, no. 35 (S. Hemingway).

#### NOTES

1. Similar stripes are found on a bronze statue pulled from the sea and now in the Adana Archaeology Museum, in southern Turkey. See Bruns-Özgan and Özgan 1994.
2. To be sure, the way the cloak is worn here, with a nude upper body, is rare on tomb reliefs from the fourth century B.C. See Clairmont 1977, nos. 3.397a, 3.480.
3. Pfuhl and Möbius 1977, p. 86, no. 138, pl. 32, pp. 82–83, no. 121, pl. 29.



**Bronze Portrait of a Man**

Tiberian, ca. A.D. 20

Bronze, H. 12 $\frac{3}{8}$  in. (31.4 cm)

Rogers Fund, 1914 (14.130.2)

PROVENANCE: 1904, found in Susa, Piedmont; [from after 1904, with Cesare and Ercole Canessa, Paris]; until 1914, collection Arthur Sambon, Paris; acquired in 1914, purchased through Galerie Georges Petit at the Arthur Sambon Sale, Paris.

This head was found not far from the Arch of Augustus in Susa (northern Italy, at the foot of the Cottian Alps), together with small fragments of one or more bronze statues as well as a fragment of a marble inscription that presumably came from an honorific statue. The statue had been donated for Agrippa (63–12 B.C.) by a member of the Cottii family, but nothing suggests that the bronze head and the inscription belong together.<sup>1</sup>

The type of statue to which the head belonged cannot be determined, since nothing below the neck has been preserved. Possibly, it was a cuirassed statue, which accords best with the edge of the neck. The head, turned only slightly to its right, shows a broad-faced man with strong, tense features. The mouth and chin seem small in comparison with the projecting forehead, and the missing eyes appear to have been wide open. They were presumably made of frit and must once have greatly intensified the effect of the figure's gaze.

In his idealizing style, the artist limited himself to only a very general rendering of the physiognomy. Two sharply drawn, deep creases lead down from the corners of the small, beautifully formed mouth. The forehead is barely articulated, with only two slight







protruberances apparent at the root of the nose. The arches of the brows, detailed with short, incised lines, run almost parallel to the eyelids.

The abundant hair consists of short locks that emerge from a cowlick at the back of the head. They cover the entire skull, curving to the right and left. Many of the locks are subdivided and three-dimensional. Above the forehead, they form an even row interrupted only by the “fork” above the left eye. To judge from the characteristic alignment of locks above the forehead, the head was probably cast during the reign of Tiberius. Good comparisons exist among the copies of the portrait of Drusus Minor and in later portraits of Tiberius.<sup>2</sup>

The head has been associated repeatedly with Marcus Vipsanius Agrippa, doubtless owing to the inscription found at the same time.

But it must be noted that no connection can possibly be made with Agrippa’s familiar portrait type.<sup>3</sup> Not only is the stylization of the hair above the forehead completely different, but so are the shape of the head and the facial expression. The Museum’s portrait must therefore represent some other high-ranking Roman who was active in the Alpes Cottiae (Cottian Alps), and to whom the son of the last king, Marcus Julius Cottius, felt indebted.<sup>4</sup> The latter had been named *praefectus civitatum* (high magistrate) by the Romans. However, it is also possible that this is a portrait of Cottius himself, as Federico Barello suspects. The Celtic prince would thus have presented himself, in the cut and style of his hair, as fully “Roman.”

CONDITION: The head appears to have been forcibly removed from a statue, causing irregular cracks and losses to the neck and the

nape of the neck. There is heavy incrustation, especially on the neck and in the hair, and the surface is badly corroded. “There is a rectangular loss near the middle of the back of the head, next to which is a large dent that is cracked at the center. There is an old-looking crack, approximately 6.25 cm in length at the lower edge of the proper left side.”<sup>5</sup>

LITERATURE: Cantarelli 1904, pp. 365–66; Couvert 1908, p. 406, pl. 18; Espérandieu 1910, pp. 335–36; Bankó 1911, p. 262 n. 15 (as not a portrait of Agrippa); Collection Sambon 1914, no. 71, ill.; Richter 1915c, pp. 23–24, fig. 1; Richter 1915d, pp. 144, 146, 148–49, no. 330, ill. (doubts about the identification with Agrippa); Chase 1924, p. 174, fig. 209; Kluge and Lehmann-Hartleben 1927, vol. 2, p. 3, pl. 2 (detailed discussion); F. Poulsen 1928, p. 63 (as Agrippa); Curtius 1933, pp. 237–39, pls. 44.1, 45.1 (as not Agrippa); F. Poulsen 1939, p. 15, fig. 23 (as not Agrippa); Richter 1948, no. 28, ill.; Johansen 1970, p. 143 n. 89, fig. 26; Johansen 1971, pp. 36–37, 43, fig. 26 (as perhaps a local version of Agrippa); Fittschen 1977a, p. 43 n. 16e (as Drusus the Elder?); Pollini 1981, p. 131 nn. 76, 77, pls. 40, 41 (detailed discussion, no identification); Hertel 1982b, p. 57, no. 89 n. 127 (as Drusus the Elder); Fittschen and Zanker 1985, p. 29 n. 18 (as not Drusus the Elder); Bergemann 1988, p. 121, pl. 52.1; Slavazzi 1996, pl. 3 (as Agrippa); Romeo 1998, p. 184, no. R17, figs. 147, 148 (as Agrippa); Milleker 2000, pp. 36, 205, no. 16 (E. Milleker: as portrait of a man); Lahusen and Formigli 2001, pp. 92–95, no. 43, ill. (as Agrippa); Picón et al. 2007, pp. 350, 485, no. 404 (as Agrippa); Fittschen, Zanker, and Cain 2010, p. 33 n. 25e (P. Cain: discusses the mistaken Agrippa identifications at length and rejects the identification for the present head).

#### NOTES

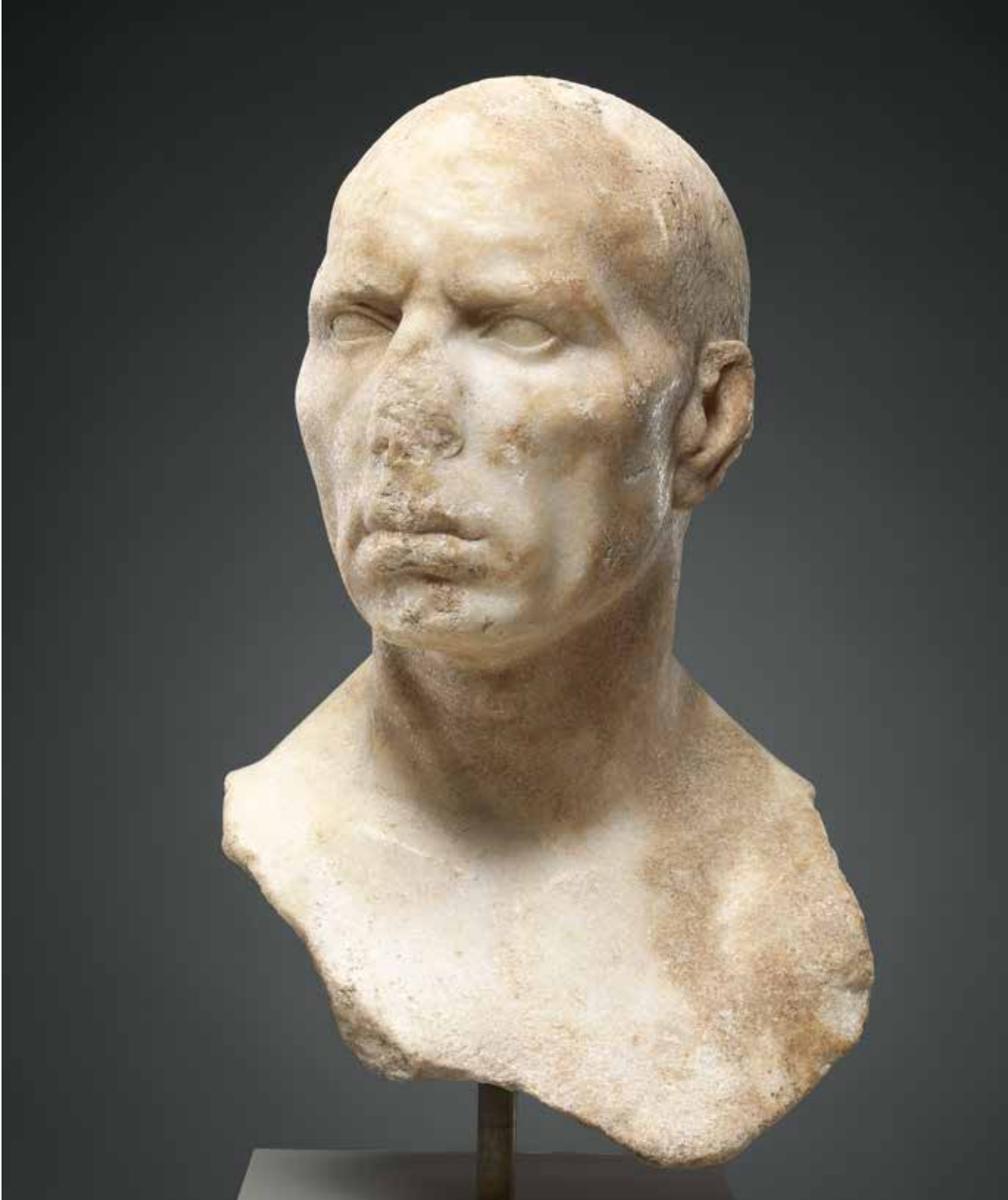
1. Richter 1915d, p. 144. There is a new edition of the inscription, as Federico Barello has graciously informed me: Cimarosti 2012, pp. 169–73.

2. Compare, for example, the Drusus the Younger from Veleia or the Tiberius from Veii: Boschung 2002, pls. 14.1, 33.2.

3. A summary of the copies is in Fittschen, Zanker, and Cain 2010, pp. 30–32, no. 16.

4. Lahusen and Formigli 2001, p. 94.

5. Database of The Metropolitan Museum of Art.



41

**Bust of a Middle-Aged Man**

Tiberian-Claudian, ca. A.D. 20–40

Marble, overall H. 17½ in. (44.3 cm), chin to crown 8¾ in. (22.2 cm)

Fletcher Fund, 1926 (26.60.3)

PROVENANCE: [Until 1926, with Ugo Jandolo, Rome]; acquired in 1926, purchased from U. Jandolo.

Because of its highly individual physiognomy and dramatic, one might even say brutal, expression, this head is one of the outstanding portraits in the collection. With tensed features, the middle-aged man energetically lifts his head upward and to the right. His brows are drawn together; his mouth is

compressed. With its broad, jutting nose; small eyes; strong cheekbones; receding forehead; small, receding chin; and large ears, the portrait appears to be a highly realistic work from the late Republican period. The short, feather-like hair could also date the work to the pre- or early Augustan period.



Yet the broad bust distinctly argues against such an early date, despite this impressive realism. At the shoulders, the portrait even exceeds the form of the bust of Lucius Calpurnius Piso Pontifex (48 B.C.–32 A.D.), copied during the reign of Tiberius, in the Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek in Copenhagen.<sup>1</sup> It can also be compared to a Tiberian or early Claudian bust in the Palazzo Nuovo in Rome.<sup>2</sup> Accordingly, it must be assumed that this is a copy of an older portrait, despite the realistic physiognomy. It is thus similar to the above-mentioned bust of Calpurnius Piso Pontifex, which also happens to present featherlike hair. The delicately modeled edges of the eyes and the conventionally rounded back of the head also argue for a dating in the late Tiberian or Claudian period.

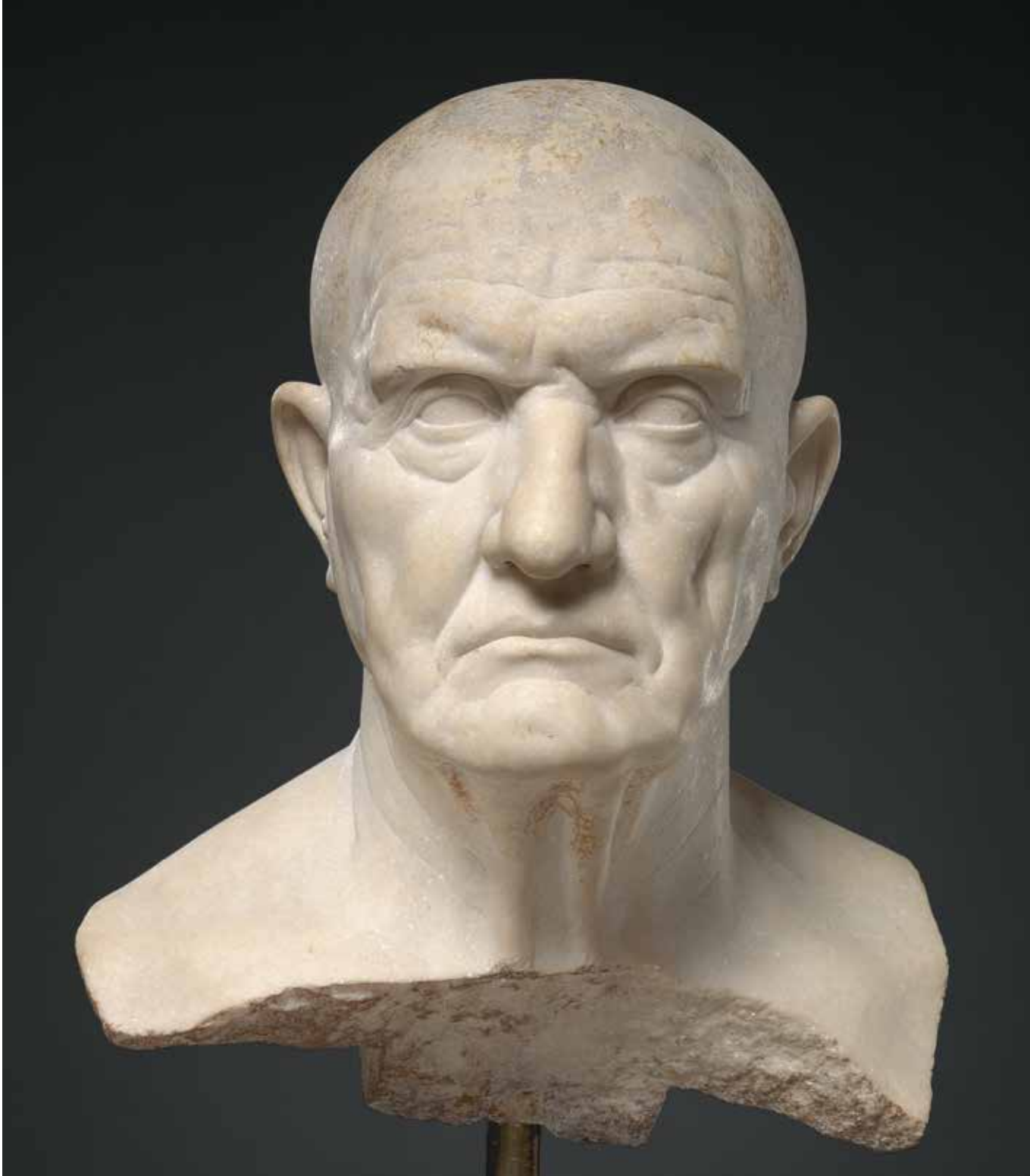
CONDITION: Large portions of the bust are missing; however, the preserved edge on the left side and the start of the shoulder on the right provide a fairly accurate idea of its original size. The greater part of the nose is missing, and there is considerable damage to the entire head. Part of the right ear is missing, and the left one is damaged. At the back of the head, a rectangular area has been carved away. Traces of sintering are present, especially on the neck and cheeks.

LITERATURE: Richter 1926b, pp. 258–59, fig. 5 (as the early Empire, based on the bust section); Richter 1948, no. 2, ill.; Milleker 2000, pp. 30–31, 205, no. 10 (as mid-first century A.D.).

#### NOTES

1. Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek, Copenhagen (749): V. Poulsen 1962–74, vol. 1, no. 67, pls. CXIII, CXIV; Johansen 1994–95, vol. 1, p. 162, no. 69.
2. Musei Capitolini, Palazzo Nuovo, Rome (inv. 347): Fittschen, Zanker, and Cain 2010, p. 60, no. 53, pl. 59.





42

**Bust of an Old Man**

Julio-Claudian, ca. A.D. 20–40

Marble, H. 14 $\frac{3}{8}$  in. (36.5 cm); chin to crown  
6 $\frac{7}{8}$  in. (17.3 cm)

Rogers Fund, 1912 (12.233)

PROVENANCE: [Until 1912, with Ettore Jandolo,  
Rome]; acquired in 1912, purchased from  
E. Jandolo.

Uncertainty regarding the authenticity of this bust was intensified by the fact that a very similar head, though in limestone, turned up in Rome about 1939. The limestone head was initially considered to have been copied from the same original as the Museum's bust, but that cannot be the case.<sup>1</sup> For all their similarity, the two

portraits are essentially different in the overall shape of the heads and in their details, especially in the neck and on the forehead. Also, the limestone head is doubtless a fragment of a typical late Republican tomb sculpture or relief from a tomb.

The present work's condition reveals that this impressive portrait



blends ancient and modern elements in such a way that it is difficult to distinguish between them. The modern reworking particularly changed the expression of the face. The creases were retraced; damage was removed by deeper carving, especially on the cheeks; and the contraction of the forehead was heightened. These alterations have given the face its more intense expression.

Considering the careful execution of the interior with its support, the bust can hardly have been created before the early Empire. A good comparison exists in a portrait bust in the Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek in Copenhagen—an early Imperial copy, produced about 20–40 A.D., of an Augustan portrait.<sup>2</sup> Because of the major changes, it is difficult to determine whether the original underlying the present bust was created in the late Republican or early Augustan era.

**CONDITION:** The bust has been heavily “cleaned,” but it is certainly an ancient work, despite repeated expressions of doubt on the subject. This is evident from the incrustations and accretions inside the bust and on its edges and also in the hair and folds of the skin. The head was not only “cleaned” in modern times but also reworked in a number of places, such as beneath the eyes and on the brows, the sunken cheeks, the mouth, and ears, to mask cracks and damage. Given this unusually radical treatment, the portrait, with its heightened severity, has taken on a late nineteenth- or early twentieth-century expression, occasioning doubts about its authenticity.

**LITERATURE:** E. Robinson 1913, ill.; Vessberg 1941, p. 224, pl. LXI.4; F. Poulsen 1942, p. 193, fig. 17; Arndt, Amelung, and Lippold 1893–, ser. xviii (1947), no. 5057 (G. Lippold here doubts its authenticity); Richter 1948, no. 1, ill.; Schweitzer 1948, pp. 42 n. 5, 72–79 (correctly sees the head as a copy from the early Empire); Howard 1970, p. 110, pl. 7.2 (as “Republican”);

H. Weber 1975, pp. 28–29, pl. 12.4 (as Hadrianic copy?); Türri 1984, pp. 180–81, no. RR6 (as modern); Fittschen, Zanker, and Cain 2010, p. 37, no. 20 n. 4.

#### NOTES

1. Fittschen, Zanker, and Cain 2010, pp. 36–37, no. 20.
2. Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek, Copenhagen (749): V. Poulsen 1962–74, vol. 1, no. 67, pls. cxiii, cxiv; Johansen 1994–95, vol. 1, p. 162, no. 69.

## 43

### Head of a Baby

Julio-Claudian, ca. A.D. 30–50  
Marble, H. 3 $\frac{7}{8}$  in. (9.8 cm)  
Rogers Fund, 1912 (12.232.1)

**PROVENANCE:** [Until 1912, with Alfredo Barsanti, Rome]; acquired in 1912, purchased from A. Barsanti.

Portraits of small children are not uncommon in Greek and Roman art, and the Metropolitan Museum owns a lovely example in its small boy depicted as a young Dionysus with a wreath of ivy (cat. 62). Here, however, the subject is not a small child, but, rather, an infant. The full cheeks and the still scarcely articulated chin and jowl indicate that the baby can be only a few months old. The still-bald head projects far back and at the nape of the neck merges with the cushion of fat so characteristic of infants. All of this is extremely carefully registered in detail.

Like most of the surviving portraits of small children, this head doubtless came from a tomb where it was displayed with portraits of other family members. Just how it was displayed is difficult to say, since we have only a few examples in which the placement of portraits in tombs is reliably documented. Most likely, the small head could have been placed in a tomb niche.<sup>1</sup>





As for its dating, based on the detailed rendering of the flesh, the shape of the skull, and the eyelids, there can be no question but that the work is of the early Empire. The small Eros from the Prima Porta statue created in the middle of Augustus's reign is clearly different, owing to its much more precise modeling.<sup>2</sup> By contrast, portraits of small children from the late Tiberian and early Neronian eras provide good counterparts, although most of the comparable heads represent somewhat older children. Examples include a small head of similarly high quality in the Museo Nazionale in Rome;<sup>3</sup> an infant's portrait, probably carved somewhat later, in the storeroom of Munich's Glyptothek;<sup>4</sup> and two small heads in the storeroom of the museum at Ostia Antica.<sup>5</sup>

CONDITION: Part of the nose is missing and was restored, hence the modern surface. The right earlobe is missing, and the left ear is badly damaged. The upper lip is almost wholly lost. Other damage is found mainly on the cheeks and chin. There are discolorations and incrustations.

LITERATURE: Richter 1913b, p. 175, fig. 2; *Augustan Art* 1938, p. 26; Richter 1948, no. 33, ill.; Coonin 1995, pp. 61, 63, fig. 6.

#### NOTES

1. Busts of three very small children are depicted in niches on the facade of the tomb structure represented on a well-known relief from the Tomb of the Haterii, now in the Vatican Museums (Sinn and Freyberger 1996, pl. 14.1). See also a Neronian pedestal with three children's heads in the Glyptothek, Munich (10027): Fittschen and Zanker 2014, addendum 2c.
2. Well illustrated in Simon 1986, p. 54, fig. 58.
3. Giuliano 1987, pp. 182–83, no. R139.
4. Glyptothek, Munich (338a): Hekler 1912a, pl. 216a–b.
5. Museo Ostiense, Ostia Antica, Rome (272 and 479): Calza 1964, p. 40, nos. 49, 50, pl. xxx.





## 44

### Bust of a Boy

Late Claudian-early Neronian, ca. A.D. 50  
Marble, overall H. 12½ in. (31.8 cm), chin to  
crown 7¾ in. (19.7 cm)

The Friedsam Collection, Bequest of Michael  
Friedsam, 1931 (32.100.471)

**PROVENANCE:** Said to have been found in Spain  
(Govett, Rubenstein, and Colasanti 1919,  
no. 55); [by 1919, with Cesare and Ercole  
Canessa, New York]; until 1932, collection of  
Michael Friedsam, New York; acquired in 1932,  
bequest of Michael Friedsam.

The bust section, with its indication  
of the shoulders, is disproportion-  
ately small in relation to the head. Since  
the back is not hollowed out and only  
very crudely smoothed, the portrait  
could have been placed in a tomb niche.

The boy gazes with wide eyes  
toward his left, and his head turns  
slightly in the same direction. His face

is chubby, and the sculptor has modeled  
it carefully, especially beneath the eyes  
and around the small mouth. The  
expression of the very young child is  
extremely earnest, a characteristic fea-  
ture of Roman portraits of children,  
mostly boys. They were meant to be  
remembered by their relatives as  
young adults.

The boy's hair has been carefully  
combed forward, where it forms a "fork"  
above the center of the forehead. This is  
the hairstyle worn by the young Nero.  
On the back, the sculptor rendered the  
hair very flat, leaving it smooth and  
angular above the neck. Presumably, he  
spared himself the trouble of carving it,  
as he knew that the bust would not be  
seen from behind.

Compared to the roughly contempo-  
rary bronze bust of a boy (cat. 45), also

with hair styled like that of the young  
Nero, this marble bust is obviously of  
simpler execution, especially with  
respect to the modeling of the hair and  
face. The head is said to have come  
from Spain. In any case, it is the prod-  
uct of a second-rate workshop.

**CONDITION:** The front of the head has been  
cleaned, whereas considerable accretion has  
been left on the back. There are numerous  
abrasions as well as smaller and larger losses,  
such as that seen beneath the right eye. Parts of  
the ears are missing. Apparently, the marble  
block was not large enough: the right side of  
the head was completed with plaster.

**LITERATURE:** Canessa Collection 1919, no. 55,  
ill.; Govett et al. 1919, no. 55; Richter 1948,  
no. 60, ill. (as still dated to Trajanic period);  
Coonin 1995, pp. 61–62, fig. 2.





## 45

### Bronze Bust of a Young Boy

Late Claudian–early Neronian, ca. A.D. 50  
Bronze and silver, overall H. 11½ in. (29.2 cm);  
chin to crown 6⅞ in. (16.8 cm)  
Funds from various donors, 1966 (66.11.5)

**PROVENANCE:** By 1876, collection of Sir Francis Cook, Doughty House, Richmond, U.K.; 1901–5, collection of Wyndham F. Cook, Richmond; 1905–25, collection of Humphrey W. Cook, Richmond; July 14, 1925, purchased by Davidge through Christie’s, London (lot 118); [until 1945, with H. Blairman & Sons, Ltd., London]; [1945, purchased by Joseph Brummer from H. Blairman & Sons, Ltd.]; [1945 (arrived in New York City on February 4, 1946)–47, with Joseph Brummer, New York]; October 20, 1947, purchased from the Brummer estate by Albert E. Gallatin; 1947–66, collection of Albert E. Gallatin, New York; acquired in 1966, purchased through Sotheby’s, London.

This superbly preserved bronze bust presumably crowned a marble herm shaft situated in a house or a sizable tomb complex. However, the hole on the back could have served to affix the work to a wood core. The portrait represents a six-to-eight-year-old boy. His round head faces straight forward so that the gaze of his large eyes seems almost transfixed beneath his high-arched brows. The eyes are made of silver, and the irises and pupils appear to have been colored, heightening the eyes’ effect in the face. The sharply outlined lower lids recall those on Classical statues. The “fine, little mouth” (Conze 1903) and chin are distinctly small in relation to the eyes, and the lips are extremely narrow, apparently to emphasize the boy’s young age. The plump cheeks are

almost completely unarticulated. As so often in Roman portraits, the ears are tipped well forward so that their careful modeling can be appreciated even from the front.

The sculptor took considerable pains with the hair. Above the forehead, the locks are combed to either side of the clearly emphasized “fork,” though certain strands curve in the opposite direction at the temples. Across the entire remainder of the head, the sculptor created a composition of very distinct, flat strands emerging from a cowlick at the back. These are carefully subdivided but not highly detailed.

The treatment of the hair at the forehead resembles that of the young Nero (r. A.D. 54–68) and has prompted repeated suggestions that the bust is a



boyhood portrait of the future emperor.<sup>1</sup> But the supposition is highly improbable, for Nero was thirteen when Claudius (r. A.D. 41–54) designated him his successor, passing over his own son Britannicus, in A.D. 50. The boy in this portrait is much younger. He was probably the son of a man who chose to have him portrayed wearing the hairstyle of the young prince or emperor.

Where the head was found—whether in Rome, in a villa, or in some other Roman city—is not known. The bronze caster’s work is exceptional, yet in the modeling of the face, the head presents obvious stylizations. These indicate that the sculptor cannot have been among the first-rank masters of

his time: consider for comparison the Metropolitan Museum’s exquisitely worked bronze head of a younger man (cat. 37). Among the stylizations in the present portrait are the sharp-edged transitions in the modeling of the face and the uniform, flat locks on the crown of the head. These features suggest that the work probably originated in the provinces.<sup>2</sup>

**CONDITION:** The separately cast silver eyes are inset. The break in the center-front edge of the bust probably comes from a clamp that originally attached the bust to a herm. On the back are a narrow hole and two dowels pointing inward. Otherwise—aside from the partially corroded surface—the bust is in excellent condition. See the detailed technical observations in Mattusch 1996, pp. 318–21.

**LITERATURE:** ; Conze 1903, no. 15, ill. (first mention); C. Smith and Hutton 1908, p. 113, no. 37, pl. 33; Arndt, Brunn, and Bruckmann 1891–, nos. 1066, 1067 (1912); F. Poulsen 1937, pp. 10–13, pl. 12; V. Poulsen 1951, pp. 122–25, no. 5, fig. 12 (attempts to justify an identification with Nero); von Bothmer 1961, p. 42, no. 160, pls. 60, 61 (as Nero); Oliver 1967; Vermeule 1981, p. 295, no. 251; *Greece and Rome* 1987, pp. 86–87; Coonin 1995, pp. 61–62, fig. 4; Mattusch 1996, pp. 318–21, no. 46 (detailed technical observations on bronze casting; as Neronian); Lahusen and Formigli 2001, pp. 148–49, no. 88, ill. (with detailed metal analysis; as Nero?); Pollini 2002, pp. 2 n. 8, 17 n. 15; Picón et al. 2007, pp. 359, 486–87, no. 414 (as “aristocratic boy,” A.D. 50–68); Giunilia-Mair 2015, p. 169, fig. 11.2 (amalgam gilding and tining).

#### NOTES

1. For the hair of the first portrait of Nero, see most recently Bergmann 2013, pp. 332–39.
2. Comparable portraits are found in Mattusch 1996, p. 320 n. 4.

## 46

### Portrait of a Man

Flavian, ca. A.D. 80

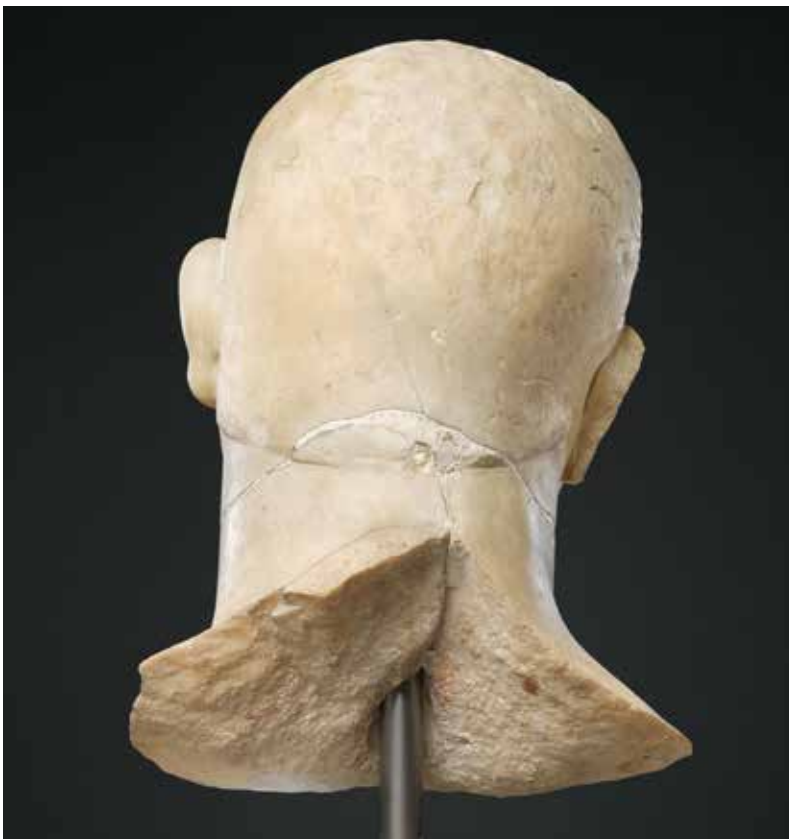
Marble, H. 13 in. (33 cm); chin to hairline, 9¾ in. (24.8 cm)

Rogers Fund, 1915 (15.144)

**PROVENANCE:** Said to be from near Rome; [until 1915, with Ugo Jandolo, Rome]; acquired in 1915, purchased from U. Jandolo.

The head presents a noteworthy condition, most likely the result of a reworking of an earlier portrait. The most obvious evidence for this supposition is the unworked hair at the neck. There, at the edges, are a few remaining indentations from the original hairstyle. Above the forehead, the hair of the first version ended in an almost horizontal line; on the sides it must have extended farther forward. A reworking would also explain the projection that was not removed above the outer end of the proper right





brow and the excessive projection of the left ear.

The well-preserved face of the second version is exquisitely worked. It shows a plump man of forty or fifty with a lively expression. Ludwig Curtius invented a character study for this “obvious phlegmatic” that is worth reading. The forehead of the easy-going subject is articulated to a high degree; the cranial bones are prominent above the nose. There are age lines as well as deposits of fat on the cheeks and around the mouth. The full, beautifully formed lips are slightly drawn in at the corners. Together with the fleshy surface of the face and the small, attentively gazing eyes, they create a distinctly lively impression.

In all of these particulars, the head compares favorably with portraits from the Flavian period. Petra Cain cited the late portrait of Domitian as a comparison for the long locks of hair drawn forward on the sides. Nevertheless, the animated, not yet “hardened” structure of the fleshy face is more suggestive of the mid-Flavian period.<sup>1</sup> To judge from the traces of hair at the forehead, the original portrait could have been created in the Julio-Claudian period.<sup>2</sup>

CONDITION: As Petra Cain rightly remarks, the condition of this portrait is not easily explained. The neck and bust are broken into two pieces beneath the chin. The unusual condition of these doubtless ancient parts of the bust, which are convex at the back, could possibly derive from a later reworking. The portrait itself is well preserved, and though the face has been very heavily cleaned, traces of accretion are still visible. Only the tip of the nose and the edge of the right ear are missing. There is damage to the face and the right ear.

LITERATURE: Richter 1916, pp. 38–39, fig. 1; Chase 1924, pp. 185–86, fig. 231; Curtius 1931, pp. 233–34, pl. 24 (as early Flavian; detailed description); Richter 1948, no. 52, ill.; H. Jucker

1961, p. 81 (as “outstanding head,” too early dating); Cain 1993, pp. 183–84, no. 64 (as late Flavian).

#### NOTES

1. Comparable portraits of the emperor Titus are in the Vatican Museums, Braccio Nuovo, Vatican City (2282): Daltrop, Hausmann, and Wegner 1966, pl. 11; Fittschen 1977a, pp. 63–67, no. 21, pls. 23, 24.4. Compare also the younger Domitian in the Vatican Museums, Braccio Nuovo (126): Daltrop, Hausmann, and Wegner 1966, pl. 28a–b.

2. For the hair at the forehead, compare, for example, a Claudian portrait in the Musei Capitolini, Palazzo dei Conservatori, Rome (inv. 1223): Fittschen, Zanker, and Cain 2010, p. 63, no. 56, pl. 63.

## 47

### Bust of a Younger Man

Flavian, ca. A.D. 80–100

Marble, overall H. 16½ in. (41.9 cm); chin to crown 8½ in. (21.6 cm)

Rogers Fund, 1909 (09.221.5)

PROVENANCE: Said to have been found in Rome; [until 1909, with Alessandro and Antonio Jandolo, Rome]; acquired in 1909, purchased from A. and A. Jandolo.

This bust was probably meant to be set into a herm, as indicated above all by the support that extends beyond the edge of the bust. A rather good comparison occurs in the bust of a charioteer in the Museo Nazionale Romano in Rome.<sup>1</sup>

The still-young man wears a slight beard, the curls of which are articulated delicately in low relief and also partly with incision. The idealized forehead, eyebrows, and eyes meld imperceptibly into the more highly individualized mouth. The irregular nose is striking: from its narrow root it suddenly widens toward the bridge. This feature could be the result of a flaw, either in the marble or in the carving, that the sculptor attempted to correct.







The elaborate styling of the hair is a sure indication that the head was produced in the Flavian era. The fleecy locks of the short hair at the forehead change to a slightly wavy hairstyle above the ears, much as one finds in earlier portraits of the emperor Domitian and on reworked busts of Nerva.<sup>2</sup>

CONDITION: Deposits and dark discoloration occur at the base of the neck, on the chin and nose, and in the hair, especially above the forehead. The light portions of the face have obviously been cleaned more heavily.

LITERATURE: E. Robinson 1910, pp. 234, 235–36, fig. 1; Richter 1948, no. 41, ill.; *Greece and Rome* 1987, pp. 116–17, no. 87 (M. Anderson); Cain 1993, p. 59 (with erroneous dating to the time of Tiberius).

NOTES

1. Museo Nazionale Romano, Rome (276): Giuliano 1987, pp. 171–72, no. R130 (B. Di Leo); Cain 1993, pp. 204–5, no. 82.

2. For earlier portraits of Domitian, see Giuliano 1987, pp. 196–97, no. R149; and Daltrop, Hausmann,

and Wegner 1966, p. 106, pl. 25a–b. For reworked busts of Nerva, see Bergmann and Zanker 1981, pp. 380–403. Compare also Johansen 1994–95, vol. 2, p. 88, no. 31; Daltrop, Hausmann, and Wegner 1966, pp. 47, 110, pl. 40c–d.

## 48

### Bust of a Man

Flavian, ca. A.D. 80–100  
Marble, overall H. 17 in. (43.2 cm), chin to crown 9¼ in. (23.5 cm)  
Rogers Fund, 1912 (12.232.3)

PROVENANCE: Said to have been found in Rome; [until 1912, with Paul Hartwig, Rome]; acquired in 1912, purchased from P. Hartwig.

The subject of the portrait is a middle-aged man, his head turned to his left and his gaze directed upward. His thick lips are immediately apparent. The slightly contracted creases in his forehead are meant to show his concentration. Beneath the eyes are suggestions

of lachrymal sacs. The creases running down from the nose are sharply indented. This part of the face appears to have suffered particularly in the cleaning. Despite the delicate modeling, the surface of the cheeks appears hardened. The sculptor worked only cursorily on the sides of the head; the ears, too, are rendered in simplified form.

The hairstyle indicates that the head dates from the reign of the emperor Domitian (r. A.D. 81–96). As in the emperor's late portraits, the hair is combed forward in long, slightly curving strands. They end at the forehead in a nearly straight line and curl sharply to the sides.

The bust compares especially well with a bust of Emperor Domitian in the Palazzo dei Conservatori in Rome, although the strands of hair on the New York head are rendered with much less detail than on the Domitian portrait.<sup>1</sup>





The present subject was imitating the hairstyle of the emperor, a phenomenon not often seen under Domitian, in contrast to the great popularity that Trajan's hairstyles would have.<sup>2</sup>

The shape of the bust suggests that the work dates from late in the reign of Emperor Domitian or immediately afterward. Compare the small bronze bust of Domitian in the Ny Carlsberg

Glyptotek in Copenhagen, which, however, extends slightly farther at the shoulders.<sup>3</sup>

CONDITION: Part of the nose is missing, and there are larger and smaller losses on the right brow, in the hair above the forehead, and on the tips of the ears. As an old photograph shows, the face, especially, was thoroughly cleaned in the Museum after the work was acquired. Unfortunately, a drastic smoothing of the surface of the face accompanied the procedure.

LITERATURE: Richter 1948, no. 51, ill. (as Neronian); Fittschen and Zanker 1985, p. 37, no. 33 n. 7 (bust shape Domitianic); Cain 1993, p. 181, no. 62 (as late Flavian).

NOTES

1. Musei Capitolini, Palazzo dei Conservatori, Rome (inv. 1156): Fittschen and Zanker 1985, pp. 36–37, no. 33, pl. 37.
2. Zanker 1982; Bergmann 1982.
3. Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek, Copenhagen (768): Johansen 1994–95, vol. 2, p. 38, no. 8; V. Poulsen 1962–74, vol. 2, p. 43, no. 8, pls. XIV, XV.

49

**Portrait of a Cult Servant with Long Hair**

Flavian-Trajanic, ca. A.D. 90

Marble, H. 13½ in. (34.3 cm); chin to hairline, 9½ in. (24 cm)

Rogers Fund, 1913 (13.229.5)

PROVENANCE: Said to have been found in Rome; [until 1913, with Paul Hartwig, Rome]; acquired in 1913, purchased from P. Hartwig.

This highly interesting head must have been fitted with its round dowel for a second, separate display as a very abbreviated bust when it was presumably inserted into a base. At that time the hair, which originally fell to the shoulders, was shortened.

The subject's face has unusually pronounced features: a sharply hooked nose; a mouth with full lips; a strongly





projecting, broad chin; and prominent jaw and cheekbones, beneath which the long, lower part of the lean face is sunken. The straight line of the brows bends sharply to the sides.

Above the low forehead lies a broad, semicircular band of hair that has been combed forward. It is *in gradus formata*, an especially elaborate hairstyle that was not uncommon from Flavian to Hadrianic times. But unlike other subjects with this hairstyle, the present one wears long, wavy hair on the sides and at the neck, where it originally fell to the shoulders. Such a hairstyle first occurs on depictions of *pueri capilati* or *pueri comati*—long-haired boys, probably unfree, employed as servants to be fondled at luxurious feasts.

Older long-haired youths are portrayed beginning in the early Empire as servants (*camilli*) and finally among panel bearers in triumphal processions.<sup>1</sup> That long hair can also be a sign of deliberately extravagant self-display is shown by none other than Emperor Nero, who loved to appear as an artist with a comparable hairdo (see Quintillian I, 12, 44).

The interpretation of the present head must assume a relationship between the extremely sharp, uncommon facial features and the luxurious hairstyle. In addition, there is the unusual pose of the head, turned to the side and expressively tilted upward. Is this a servant highly valued by his master or is it the portrait of a singer or actor?<sup>2</sup>

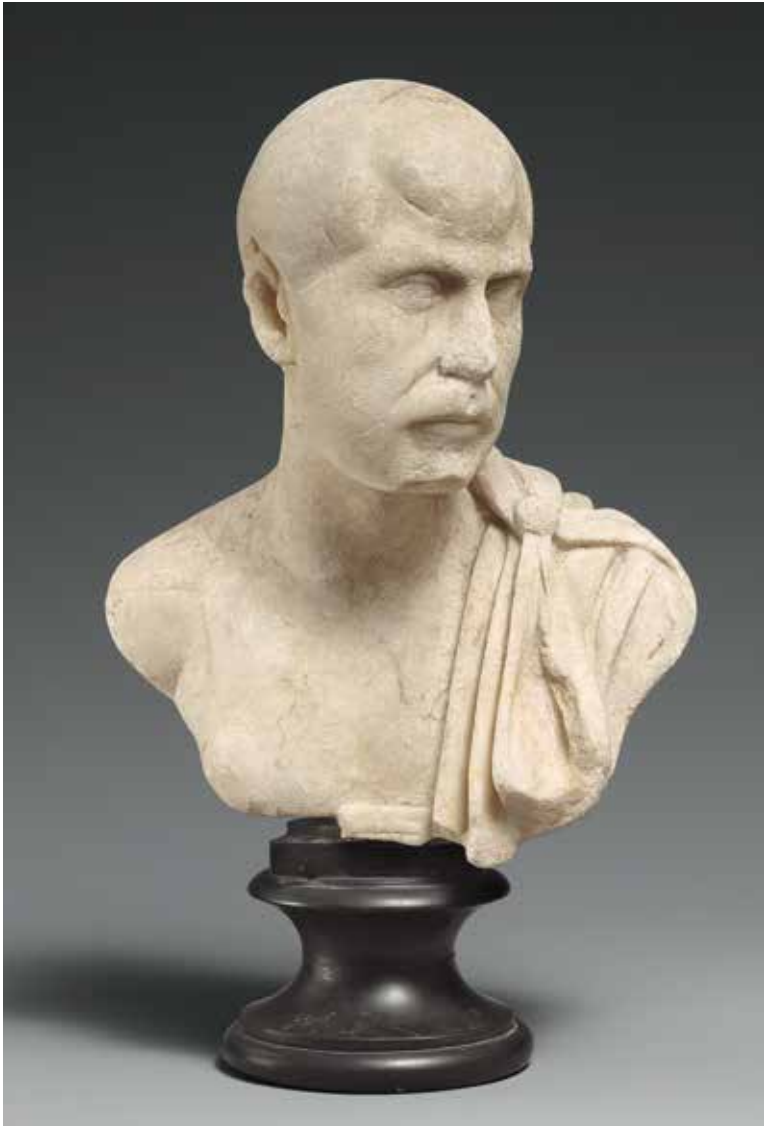
For the dating, Petra Cain rightly referred to the Cancelleria reliefs in Rome, suggesting that the Museum's portrait dates to the last decade of the first century A.D.

CONDITION: The sculpture had broken into two parts and was reassembled at the Museum. Major losses occur on the nose and in the hair above the left ear; smaller areas of damage are found in the face and hair. There are traces of accretion on the face, hair, and neck.

LITERATURE: Richter 1914a, p. 63 (as Trajanic portrayal of a barbarian); Richter 1948, no. 61, ill.; Amedick 1991, p. 391 n. 72; Cain 1993, p. 182, no. 63, pls. 43, 44 (extensive discussion of hairstyle and dating).

NOTES

1. Magi 1945, pls. XIII, XIX, XXII.
2. For a detailed discussion, see Cain 1993, pp. 81–95.



## 50

### Small Bust of a Man Wearing a Paludamentum

Late Flavian-Trajanic, ca. A.D. 90–110  
 Marble, H. 7¾ in. (19.7 cm)  
 Rogers Fund, 1922 (22.139.20)

PROVENANCE: From Rome; [until 1922, with Alfredo Barsanti, Rome]; acquired in 1922, purchased from E. Steinmann.

The small bust, roughly one-third lifesize, could have stood in either a house or a tomb. The interior is well finished, as in a large bust, and includes a post that extends to the small tabula.

Beneath this there must once have been an ancient base. The barely articulated hairstyle is divided into three sections but is finished solely at the edges.

Busts of men clothed only in the military paludamentum (short cloak) were rarer than those whose subjects were adorned with both paludamentum and baldrich, as seen in catalogue 54. Earlier than the latter, this small bust dates from the late Flavian or Trajanic period.<sup>1</sup>

CONDITION: The chin, a piece of the nose, and the edges of the ears are missing. A portion of the hair above the forehead appears to have

been lost in Antiquity. The entire bust is not only discolored and covered with accretions but also badly corroded, so that the original surface is no longer preserved. There are losses to the drapery, mainly at the bottom edge of the bust.

LITERATURE: M.E.P. 1924a, pp. 193–94 (as “Neronian-Flavian period”); Richter 1930, p. 300; Richter 1948, no. 96, ill. as no. 97 (the placement of the text and image is incorrect, which has led to mistakes in later literature).

#### NOTE

1. See the numerous busts with baldrics in Daltrop 1958, figs. 5, 7, 8, 9–12, etc.





## 51

### Portrait of an Older Man

Trajanic, ca. A.D. 90–110

Marble, H. 11<sup>3</sup>/<sub>16</sub> in. (28.4 cm)

Fletcher Fund, 1924 (24.97.93)

PROVENANCE: [Until 1924, with K. Lekas];  
acquired in 1925, purchased from K. Lekas.

The portrait represents an older man with a puffy face and abundant hair. Despite the clear indications of age, the tensed muscles in his forehead give an impression of great will-power. This expression is further heightened by the animated locks of hair above the forehead. The area around the mouth, too, is tensed but less definitively articulated.

The head is slightly over-lifesize, a sign which, along with the powerful expression, could suggest that the subject was an important personage. Since

as yet no other copies are known, this idea remains a conjecture.

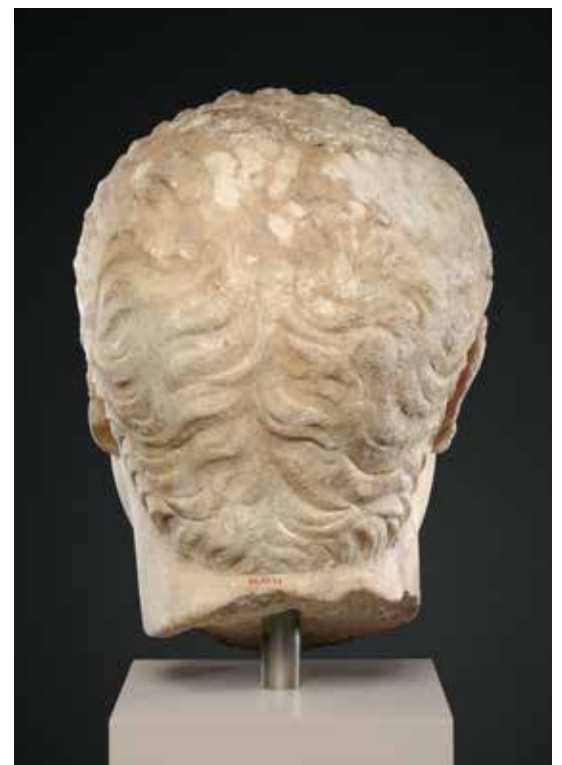
There are good indications for the dating of the work. The shapes of the eyes and, even more, the mouth, compare well with earlier portraits of Trajan. The same is true of the flat, sharp-edged strands of hair on the back of the head. However, the bushy hair at the forehead is reminiscent of portraits of the emperor Nerva.<sup>1</sup>

CONDITION: The nose has broken off, the edges of the ears are missing, and there are numerous smaller losses in the face and hair. The top of the head was only summarily worked, and a smaller piece has broken away.

LITERATURE: Richter 1948, no. 53, ill.

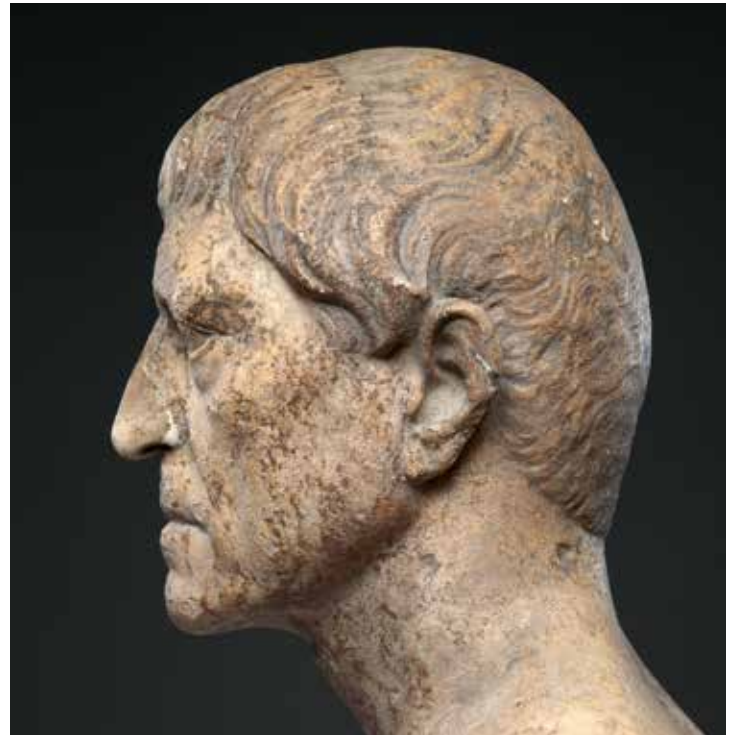
#### NOTE

1. See, for example, the Nerva portrait in Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek, Copenhagen (772); Johansen 1994–95, vol. 2, pp. 88–89, no. 31.









## 52

### Bust of an Older Man

Early Trajanic period, ca. A.D. 100  
Marble, overall H. with base 25½ in. (64.8 cm),  
chin to crown 9¾ in. (24.8 cm), bust 20¼ in.  
(51.4 cm)

Rogers Fund, 1908 (08.258.45)

PROVENANCE: [Until 1908, with A. Simonetti,  
Rome]; acquired in 1908, purchased from  
A. Simonetti.

Despite the work's poor condition, it is evident that this was at one time an impressive portrait of an old man. Thanks to the protruding chin and wide-open eyes, the elongated face seems strained, an impression heightened by the deep circles beneath the eyes and the movement in the high forehead, with its sharp, almost crudely notched creases above the root of the nose. As so often observed in old people, the expression alternates between energetic desire and

uncertainty. Together with the long creases running between the nose and mouth, the corners of the mouth drawn down in resignation underscore the ambivalence of the expression.

The hair, unusually abundant for an old man, is combed forward in long strands in a manner characteristic of the late Flavian and early Trajanic period. Above the forehead the locks form two unruly sections, producing the familiar motifs of “tongs” in the middle of the forehead and “forks” at the temples.

The best-dated comparisons are portraits of Emperor Nerva, but those of the emperor Trajan also provide good parallels. Of the Nerva portraits, a head in the Palazzo Nuovo in Rome and another at the Musée du Louvre in Paris deserve mention.<sup>1</sup> A portrait of Trajan in the Louvre offers a close comparison for the shape of the bust.<sup>2</sup>

The bust extends clear to the shoulders and includes the attachment of the

arms. The small bronze bust of Domitian in the Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek, Copenhagen, is somewhat narrower, but the above-mentioned bust of Trajan in Paris matches the present one quite well.<sup>3</sup>

CONDITION: The bust is extremely poorly preserved. Missing are parts of both ears, a piece on and above the right eye, most of the nose, part of the chin, and the left shoulder. Repairs have been made to additional losses and damage in the face, hair, and bust.

LITERATURE: Richter 1909, pp. 64–65, fig. 6; Richter 1911, p. 90 (correction to Richter 1909); Richter 1930, p. 299; Richter 1948, no. 59, ill.

#### NOTES

1. Nerva portrait, Musei Capitolini, Palazzo Nuovo, Rome (inv. 417): Fittschen and Zanker 1985, p. 37, no. 34, pl. 38. Nerva portrait, Musée du Louvre, Paris (MA 1214): Kersauson 1996, vol. 2, pp. 58–59, no. 20.

2. Trajan portrait, Musée du Louvre, Paris (Ma 1250): Kersauson 1996, vol. 2, pp. 70–71, no. 25.

3. Bust of Domitian, Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek, Copenhagen (768): Johansen 1994–95, vol. 2, p. 38, no. 8.

## 53

### Portrait on a Nude Bust

Trajanic, ca. A.D. 110–20

Marble, H. overall 24 $\frac{3}{8}$  in. (62.5 cm), chin to crown 8 $\frac{1}{2}$  in. (21.6 cm)

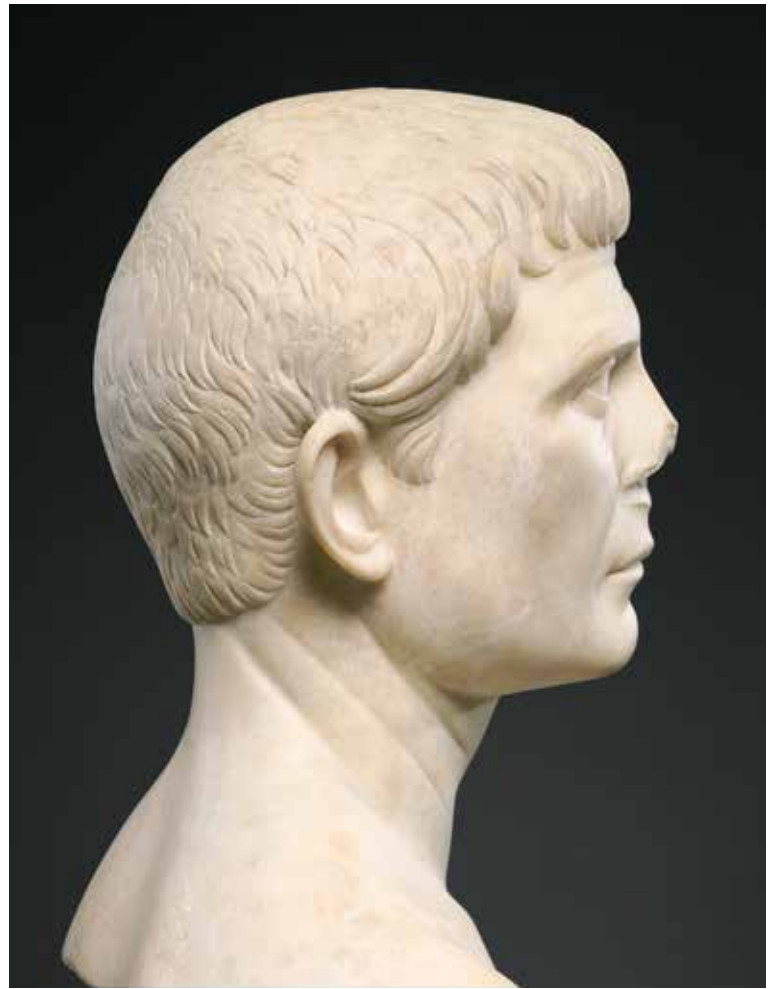
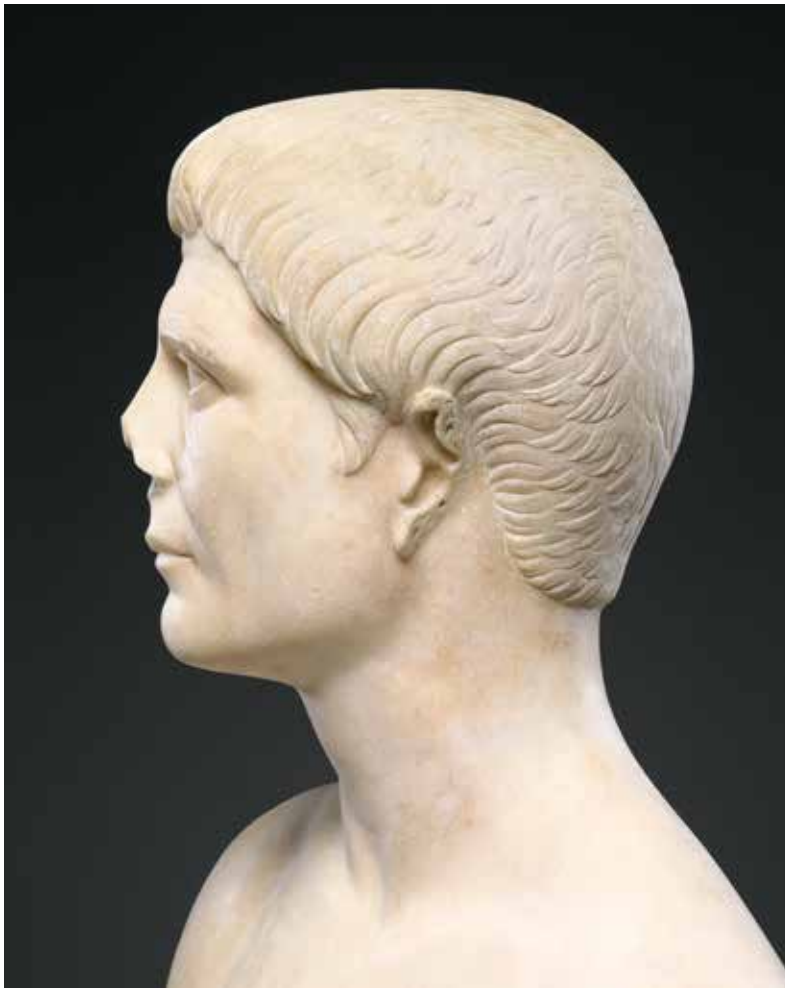
Rogers Fund, 1910 (10.231.2)

**PROVENANCE:** Said to be from the environs of Rome; said to be from a private collection, Villa Gentili, near Rome; [until 1910, with Alfredo Barsanti, Rome]; acquired in 1910, purchased from A. Barsanti.

This nude bust is preserved complete with its base and tabula. On the base, the tori are carefully set off from the concave section. The panel on the tabula, intended for an inscription, is recessed. If there was an inscription, it would have been in paint.

The no-longer-young man turns his head rather emphatically to his right and upward. The creases of his forehead and the slightly recessed cheeks are indicated with restraint, in accordance with Trajanic style. The subject has a wide mouth and strong chin, but





the rest of his physiognomy is not especially characterized.

On the back half of the head, the locks of hair are short, flat, and sickle-shaped. Following a popular fashion in the reign of Trajan, longer strands are drawn forward to end above the forehead, forming the familiar “forks and tongs.” A comparable hairstyle is seen in a portrait type of the emperor Trajan that was presumably created about the year A.D. 104.<sup>1</sup> The present bust must therefore have been produced in Trajan’s time or during the early reign of Hadrian. This dating is indicated especially by the broad bust with the clear suggestion of the arms at the shoulders.<sup>2</sup>

CONDITION: The bust is in excellent condition. Modern repairs of the losses to the nose and left ear have been removed. Damage to the proper right edge of the bust, the right side of the base, and the hair above the forehead dates from 1915, when the head fell from its base in the Museum and broke at the neck. Traces of accretions have been largely removed in repeated cleanings.

LITERATURE: Richter 1911, pp. 90–91, fig. 1; Chase 1924, p. 186, fig. 232; Richter 1948, no. 58, ill.; Daltrop 1958, p. 119 and *passim*, fig. 20.

NOTES

1. This is the Paris 1250 type in the Musée Royal de Mariemont, Morlanwelz, Belgium: Fittschen and Zanker 1985, p. 40, no. 41; see the copies in addenda 18.3–4, 19.
2. Good comparisons are found in Daltrop 1958; see, for example, figs. 17, 22, 23.





## 54

### Bust of a Man with Baldric and Paludamentum

Late Trajanic–early Hadrianic, ca. A.D. 110–20  
Marble, overall H. 22 in. (55.9 cm), chin to crown 9¼ in. (23.5 cm)

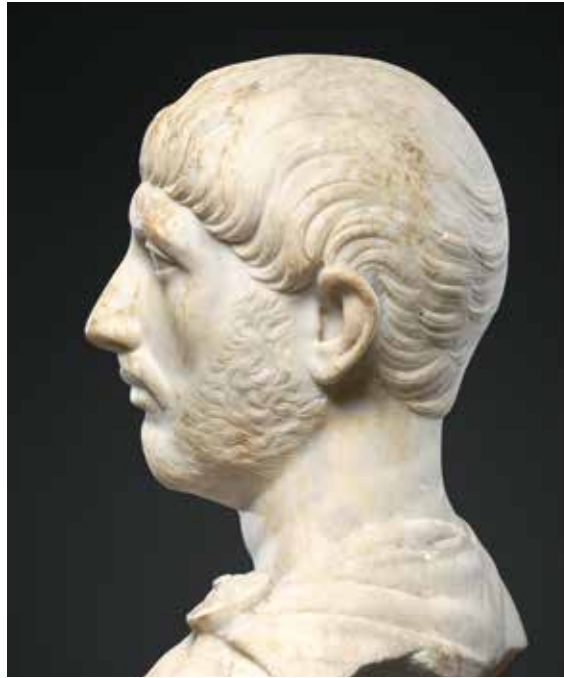
Rogers Fund, 1913 (13.231.1)

PROVENANCE: Said to have been found in Rome; [until 1913, with Paul Hartwig, Rome]; acquired in 1913, purchased from P. Hartwig.

The subject is a young man whose face narrows toward the chin. He has prominent cheekbones, full lips, and a strong, broad nose. He turns his face energetically to his left. His sideburns and mustache are closely trimmed, their hairs delicately rendered. From the back of his head to the ears, his hair lies in flat strands across the crown. Toward the front, the strands are more compact and end low on his forehead in wide locks curled to the right.

Hair extending down on to the forehead in this manner is known from the early portraits of Trajan, whereas there are good parallels for the flat, sickle-shaped strands of hair among the emperor's somewhat later portraits.<sup>1</sup> Nonetheless, the present portrait could have been produced only in later Trajanic or early Hadrianic years, as suggested by the flat, sharply drawn beard, which compares well with earlier portraits of Hadrian.<sup>2</sup> With the comparatively small, narrow bust, the sculptor has kept to a somewhat earlier fashion.

The type of bust with baldric and paludamentum (short cloak), like the bust in a foliate calyx, had already appeared in late Domitianic times, and both types became very popular under Trajan. The bust with baldric was doubtless first used to honor the emperor and officers, but in Trajan's



reign, which glorified warfare and military matters, it rapidly gained general popularity.<sup>3</sup>

Busts resting in a foliate calyx have been extensively discussed by H. Jucker. Yet it seems highly uncertain whether the foliate calyx had allegorical meaning and referred to the dead, as Jucker once attempted to show. It was more likely an ornament specific to the time.

CONDITION: There is a major loss on the back of the left shoulder. Smaller losses occur on the base, the foliate calyx, and the paludamentum. The portrait itself is excellently preserved. There are spots of brown accretions on the face and bust.

LITERATURE: Richter 1914a, pp. 62–63, fig. 6; Hekler 1922–24, p. 173; Richter 1948, no. 57, ill.; Daltrop 1958, p. 119 and *passim*, fig. 7; Hausmann 1959, p. 173 n. 24; H. Jucker 1961, p. 77, St 19.

#### NOTES

1. Early busts of Trajan: Fittschen and Zanker 1985, pp. 39–40, nos. 39, 40, pls. 41–43. The later busts include one of Trajan, Musée du Louvre, Paris (Ma 1250): Fittschen and Zanker 1985, p. 41, no. 41, addendum 18c–d; Kersauson 1996, vol. 2, pp. 70–71, no. 25.

2. For example, the portrait at the Museo Nazionale Romano, Rome (124491): Fittschen and Zanker 1985, p. 44, addendum 23a–d.

3. Zanker 1980; Hallett 2005, pp. 194–97; Fittschen, Zanker, and Cain 2010, p. 67 n. 6.



55

**Fragment of a Paludamentum Bust**

Hadrianic, ca. A.D. 130

Marble, H. 11 $\frac{3}{8}$  in. (28.9 cm), W. 18 $\frac{3}{16}$  in. (46.2 cm)

Fletcher Fund, 1926 (26.60.68)

PROVENANCE: [Until 1926, with Giovanni Fabiani, Rome]; acquired in 1926, purchased from G. Fabiani.

The subject wore the military paludamentum (short cloak) across his left shoulder, secured, as was customary, with a large fibula. Visible on the right shoulder is a bit of the baldric to which the scabbard was attached. Because the



bust included the tops of the arms, it must date from the time of Hadrian, although this heroicizing portrait form was especially popular under Trajan.<sup>1</sup>

The face is very delicately modeled. The cheekbones and the creases at the nose indicate that the subject was no longer young when he was portrayed. His closely trimmed beard is subtly rendered. The irises and pupils were slightly recessed, another indication of a late date.

CONDITION: Christine Alexander (1930, p. 169) observed: "The entire bust is hollowed out to the thickness of half an inch or less, apparently to decrease the weight" (*MMA Bulletin* 25 [1930], p. 169). However, a note in the files of the Department of Greek and Roman Art explains that the hollowing of the fragment, probably carried out in post-Antique times, was done to make it suitable "for use as a gutter spout."

LITERATURE: Alexander 1930, p. 169, fig. 6; Richter 1948, no. 69, ill.; Goette 1984, p. 126 n. 4.

#### NOTE

1. For comparison, see Johansen 1994–95, vol. 2, pp. 146–47, no. 57; Galleria degli Uffizi, Florence (234): Daltrop 1958, p. 114, fig. 28.

## 56

### Bust of a Boy

Late Hadrianic–early Antonine, ca. A.D. 140  
Marble, overall H. with base 26¼ in. (66.7 cm),  
chin to crown 9⅜ in. (23.8 cm), bust 20 in.  
(50.8 cm)

Rogers Fund, 1918 (18.145.11)

PROVENANCE: Said to have been found in Rome; [by 1913 and until 1918, with Giorgio Sangiorgi, Rome]; acquired in 1918, purchased from G. Sangiorgi.

The bust, noticeably small in relation to the head, sits on a kind of cushion in the form of a lion's skin (in place of the more usual tabula) and on a base whose concavity is clearly set off



from its tori. The bust itself is carefully hollowed out and attached to the base with a broad post.

The lion's skin indicates the boy's *deificatio* in a seemingly playful form. One might perhaps imagine that the parents, in view of the boy's early

death, wished to say, "Had he been left with us, we would have had a major protector in the family."

The boy depicted was obviously quite young when he died. His narrow, triangular face and small mouth seem almost childlike. His ears stand out





from his head, and his eyes are strongly set off by the bushy brows. His hair is rendered in precise detail. Long, sickle-shaped strands fan out from the back of his head and extend well down on to his forehead, where they form a wreath of thick locks. They are delicately subdivided and curled around the forehead.

The width of the bust, with its distinct indication of the arms, would date the work to either the late Hadrianic or early Antonine period. The delicate detailing of the strands of hair and the deep indentations between the locks do so as well, as shown in the examples presented by Georg Daltrop.

CONDITION: The bust is essentially quite well preserved; however, the surface has been

subjected to a thorough cleaning. There is some damage to the base. Part of the nose, initially restored in modern times, is missing. The eyes are drilled and the brows fully sculpted. When acquired by the Metropolitan Museum, the bust was heavily covered with accretions from the base to the hair, as revealed by archival photographs and illustrations in the literature. The work was radically cleaned at the Museum in 1984.

LITERATURE: Arndt, Brunn, and Bruckmann 1891–, nos. 1006, 1007 (1912) (showing condition before cleaning); Galerie Sangiorgi 1913, pl. 152; Richter 1921, p. 228, fig. 3; Richter 1948, no. 82, ill. (as early Antonine); Daltrop 1958, p. 119 and *passim*, fig. 60 (as late Hadrianic); H. Jucker 1961, pp. 138, 157, fig. 35 (lion's skin indicates the apotheosis of Hercules); Capecchi, Lepore, and Saladino 1979, p. 64; Wrede 1981, p. 239, no. 123, pl. 18.1 (as A.D. 130–40).





57

**Portrait of Antinous as Dionysus**

Late Hadrianic–early Antonine, ca. A.D. 130–50  
Marble, H. 9½ in. (24.1 cm)

Gift of Bronson Pinchot, in recognition of his  
mother Rosina Asta Pinchot, 1996 (1996.401)

PROVENANCE: [By 1967, with *Münzen und  
Medaillen*, Basel, Switzerland]; [by 1992, with  
Royal Athena Galleries, New York]; by 1994  
and until 1996, collection of Bronson Pinchot,  
California; acquired in 1996, gift of  
Bronson Pinchot.

Throughout the Roman Empire, cults were established for Antinous, the lover of Hadrian (r. A.D. 117–38), after his death in the Nile in A.D. 130. Countless statues of him were erected, of which an astonishing number have survived. In many of these, Antinous was equated with a god—especially with Dionysus, as in the present portrait, which must have been the head of a statue. Here he wears an ivy wreath with large leaves and corymbs. The

wreath is well preserved on the right side of the head; its branches are twisted around each other at the back.

Despite considerable damage, the face has an altogether effective expression. The lips are full, the eyes small, and the forehead is overhung with heavy locks of hair. In this portrait, in contrast to many others of Antinous, the facial features seem almost childlike.

The few drill holes and the “doughy” hair indicate that the head was likely not



from a workshop in the west of the Roman Empire. Similarities to an Antinous head presumed to be from Ephesus and to a portrait from Turkey suggest that it was created in a workshop in Asia Minor in the late Hadrianic period.<sup>1</sup>

**CONDITION:** The chin is missing because of the break at the neck. The face and hair are also heavily damaged. Part of the nose is gone, and large chips are missing in the hair and on the wreath with corymbs on the left side of the head. There is also considerable damage at the back.

The portrait was not reworked from an earlier head of Dionysus, as Hugo Meyer claims, but was conceived as an Antinous-Dionysus from the start, as rightly explained by Hans Rupprecht Goette.

**LITERATURE:** *Münzen und Medaillen* 1967, no. 207, ill.; Bracker 1970, p. 553; H. Meyer 1991, p. 91, no. I69, pl. 81; Sotheby's 1994, lot 132, ill.; *The Metropolitan Museum of Art Annual Report* 1996–97, p. 17; Recent Acquisitions 1997, p. 15, ill. (E. Milleker); Goette 1998, p. 40.

**NOTE**

1. For the Antinous head presumed to be from Ephesus, see H. Meyer 1991, p. 100, no. I78, pl. 90. For the portrait from Turkey, see *ibid.*, p. 94, no. I73, pl. 83.3–5.

58

**Portrait of Antinous**

Late Hadrianic–early Antonine, ca. A.D. 135–40  
Marble, H. 13¾ in. (35 cm)

Gift of Jonathan Kagan, 2010 (2010.453)

**PROVENANCE:** Purchased in London in the middle of 1984 from a private collector, now deceased, by Jean-Louis Domercq, Galerie du Sycomore, Paris; purchased by Morris Pinto, Paris, in the Spring of 1988 from Domercq; sold at auction by Sotheby's New York on June 23, 1989, lot 185; acquired by Mr. Jonathan Kagan from Michael Ward, New York, in 1995.

This portrait comes from an over-lifesize statue. The head turns slightly to its left, its gaze directed downward. Aside from the effects



created by the crudely placed drill holes, the massive bunches of hair above the forehead and on the sides are only minimally articulated. On the back, the hair falls to the nape of the neck, where a long connecting piece indicates that the statue must have stood in front of a wall or other architectural element to which it was attached.

The face is rendered with sensibility, especially around the full mouth. The irises and pupils are slightly recessed, although this is hardly visible because of the losses. Finely rendered hairs lined the edges of the almost horizontal brows.

The head is said to have come from Turkey. The somewhat generalized style

may indicate that this was a piece of architectural sculpture.<sup>1</sup>

After the subject's tragic death in A.D. 130, dedications of cults and statues for Antinous sprang up throughout the Roman Empire. The upper class, especially, endeavored to keep the memory of Hadrian's beloved alive. The depiction of the beautiful youth in the form of various deities probably also reflects an apparently widespread desire for the revival of the old cults of the gods.

**CONDITION:** The over-lifesize portrait is very badly damaged. The nose and parts of the mouth, left cheek, and chin are missing, and there are smaller breaks on the brows and eyes. A large section is missing from the hair



on the right side, and there are major breaks in the locks of hair at the forehead. The marble is very coarse-grained. The damage to the lips indicates that the statue was deliberately destroyed. Hugo Meyer wrongly suspected the head to be a forgery, an opinion that was corrected by Hans Rupprecht Goette.

**LITERATURE:** Sotheby's 1989, lot 185, ill.; H. Meyer 1991, pp. 93–94, no. I72, pl. 83.1–2; Goette 1998, p. 40.

**NOTE**

1. A head of Antinous as Dionysus in a private collection, presumably from Ephesus, provides a good comparison: H. Meyer 1991, p. 100, no. I78, pl. 90.



59

**Portrait of a Young Man**

Late Hadrianic–early Antonine,

ca. A.D. 130–50

Marble, H. 9 $\frac{3}{8}$  in. (24.4 cm)

Rogers Fund, 1915 (15.145)

PROVENANCE: Said to be from near Rome; [until 1915, with Alfredo Barsanti, Rome]; acquired in 1915, purchased from A. Barsanti.

The young man in this portrait wears a mustache and closely trimmed chinstrap beard, which has been allowed to grow longer at the point of his chin so that it forms a kind of Vandyke. In their seeming simplicity, the subject's haircut and beard betray a dandy's self-regard and keen attention to outward appearance. This is particularly evident from the hairstyle.

The hair has been carefully drawn forward on to the forehead, to the sides, and toward the back. The sculptor has gathered it into carefully separated strands arranged in front into broad locks. These fall far over the forehead and end in a line just above and almost parallel to the brows. Some of their ends have been given an additional curl.

Despite his unwrinkled face, the man wears a most distinctive expression. His gaze is not directed to the front but follows the turn of his head toward the left. It is emphasized by the recessed irises and half-moon-shaped pupils. The full and irregularly curving mouth is slightly open and seems to smile almost imperceptibly. In side view, however, the expression seems more contemplative.

The high sculptural quality of the work is also evident from the careful detailing of the ears. The surface of the face has been polished. Comparisons with portraits of Antinous indicate a



dating late in the reign of the emperor Hadrian or in the early years of Antoninus Pius.<sup>1</sup>

**CONDITION:** The portrait is very well preserved. Only the tip of the nose is missing. Apart from this, there are just a few small losses on the neck, in the hair, and on the right ear. As with most of the portraits acquired at this time, the face and hair were thoroughly cleaned. Nonetheless, traces of accretion are still visible in the hair and beard, especially on the left side and the nape of the neck.

**LITERATURE:** Richter 1916, pp. 40–42, fig. 2; Hekler 1938, p. 91, pl. 57.1–2; Richter 1948, no. 62, ill. (as Hadrianic?); Daltrop 1958, pp. 71, 80, 90, 119, fig. 54; H. Meyer 1985, pp. 401–2, pl. 88.3–4 (as early Antonine; comparison with Polydeukion); *Greece and Rome* 1987, pp. 128–29, no. 98 (M. Anderson); Fittschen 1992–93, pp. 482–85, fig. 28.1 (as late Hadrianic, *coma in gradus formata*); Fittschen, Zanker, and Cain 2010, p. 135, no. 131 n. 8b.

**NOTE**

1. Compare, for example, the Antinous heads in the Palazzo Pitti, Florence, and in the Museo del Prado, Madrid (235); H. Meyer 1991, pp. 44–45, no. 121, pl. 22, and pp. 54–55, no. 134, pl. 37.

## 60

### Bust of a Middle-Aged Man

Antonine, ca. A.D. 140–60

Marble, overall H. 22 in. (55.9 cm), chin to crown 11 in. (27.9 cm)

Rogers Fund, 1998 (1998.209)

**PROVENANCE:** Until 1977, collection of Pierre Sciclounoff, Geneva; from 1977, collection of Dr. André Lagneau, Neuchâtel, Switzerland; [until 1998, with Phoenix Ancient Art S.A., Geneva]; acquired in 1998, purchased from Phoenix Ancient Art S.A.

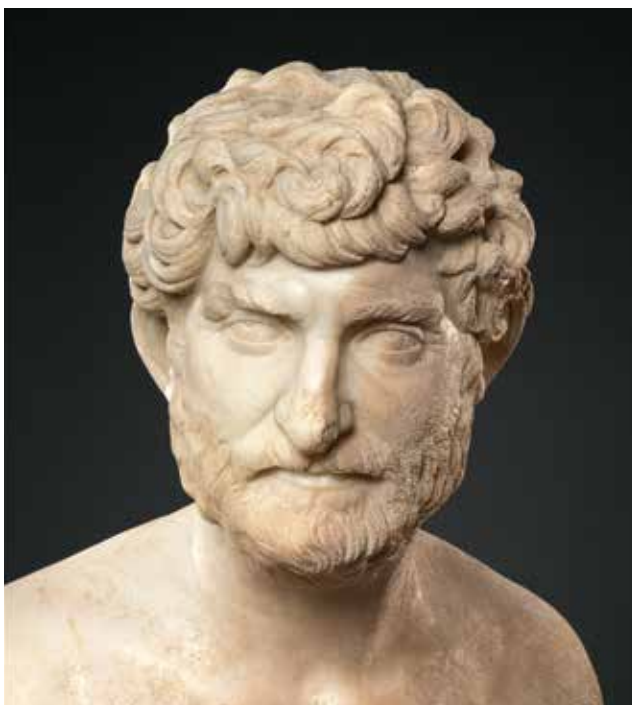
The roughly worked back and the connecting post at the nape of the neck indicate that the bust once sat in a frame (probably a tondo) and was attached to a wall, as is suggested by its high placement in the Museum's display today. This type of presentation suggests that to those visiting the space in which this and presumably other tondo portraits were mounted, the subject represented a figure of authority, perhaps a philosophical counselor. A

comparable presentation, though from Late Antiquity, is preserved in the “Philosophers’ Hall” in Aphrodisias.<sup>1</sup>

At first glance, the man seems to have let his beard and mustache grow freely, but that is not the case. In fact, his hair is deliberately arranged. Comparison with the hairstyle of Emperor Antoninus Pius clarifies the difference.<sup>2</sup> In the latter case, the hair and beard are well groomed and stylized. In the case of the Metropolitan's portrait, the deliberately disheveled subject presents himself to his fellow citizens as a philosophically inclined contemporary.<sup>3</sup>

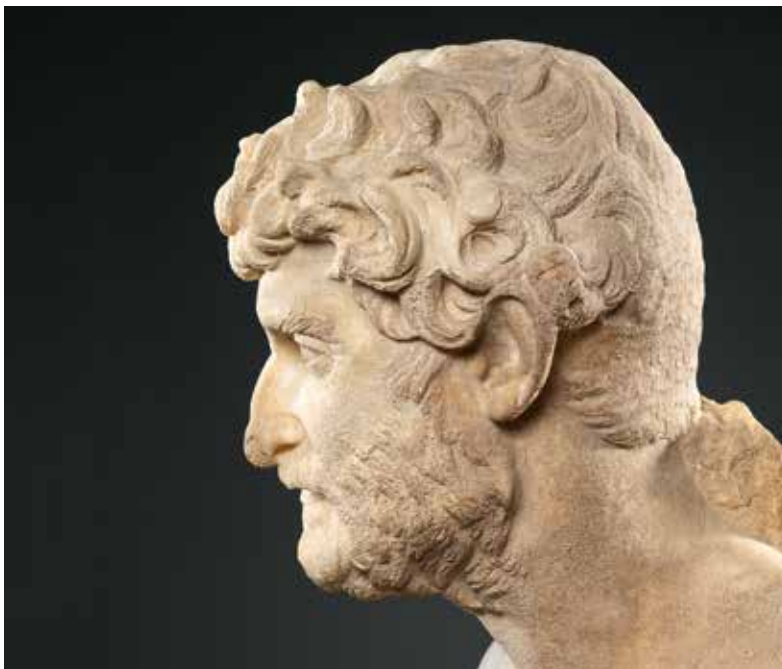
The man looks sharply toward his right, as the sculptor clearly indicates through the low relief of the irises and pupils. The intensity of his gaze is underscored by the contraction of the brow muscles. His arched nose projects well forward.

The dating of this so carefully executed, high-quality portrait is suggested









by comparisons to portraits of Antoninus Pius. Determining where it came from is more difficult, as there is no information. Presumably, the tondo is from Asia Minor.

**CONDITION:** The work is splendidly preserved; the only major losses occur on the bottom right edge and right eyebrow. Nevertheless, the bust is covered with brown accretion in many places. It appears to have been cleaned more heavily on the right side than on the left.

The back is left rough, doubtless owing to its intended placement.

**LITERATURE:** *Recent Acquisitions* 1999, p. 9, ill. (C. Picón); Picón et al. 2007, pp. 384, 493, no. 449.

**NOTES**

1. R. Smith 1990.
2. *Antiquario del Palatino*, Rome: Wegner 1939, pl. 8; Museo Nazionale, Naples (6071): Fittschen and Zanker 1985, addendum 48.
3. Zanker 1995, pp. 311–12, fig. 168.

## 61

### Bust of a Young Man with a Baldric from Greece

Antonine, ca. A.D. 150–70

Marble, overall H. 27 $\frac{3}{4}$  in. (70.2 cm), chin to crown 11 $\frac{1}{4}$  in. (28.6 cm)

Promised Gift of Shelby White and Leon Levy (L.2007.8.12)

**PROVENANCE:** [Until 1988, with Galerie Nefer, Zurich]; 1988, purchased by Shelby White and Leon Levy from Galerie Nefer; from 2007, on loan to The Metropolitan Museum of Art; promised gift of Shelby White and Leon Levy.

This superbly preserved bust of a young man is unquestionably one of the highlights displayed among the Museum's Roman portraits, thanks to its high quality and excellent condition. The subject energetically turns his head to gaze to the side. His uncommonly abundant hair is a mass of curls. He wears a short beard that includes tiny ringlets, and a barely suggested mustache, apparently cultivated only recently. A razor has not yet distinctly differentiated his sideburns from the smooth skin of his cheeks. Clearly, the sculptor wished to indicate that the young man had just arrived at maturity. The wide bust, which includes the tops of the arms, is nude, and the pectoral muscles are fully developed. A gathering of the subject's cloak lies across his shoulder; the remainder of the garment covers his back completely in an unusual draping. The particularly narrow band running diagonally across his chest can only be a baldric. To judge from the careful knot at the shoulder, it is not made of leather, as was customary, but plaited.

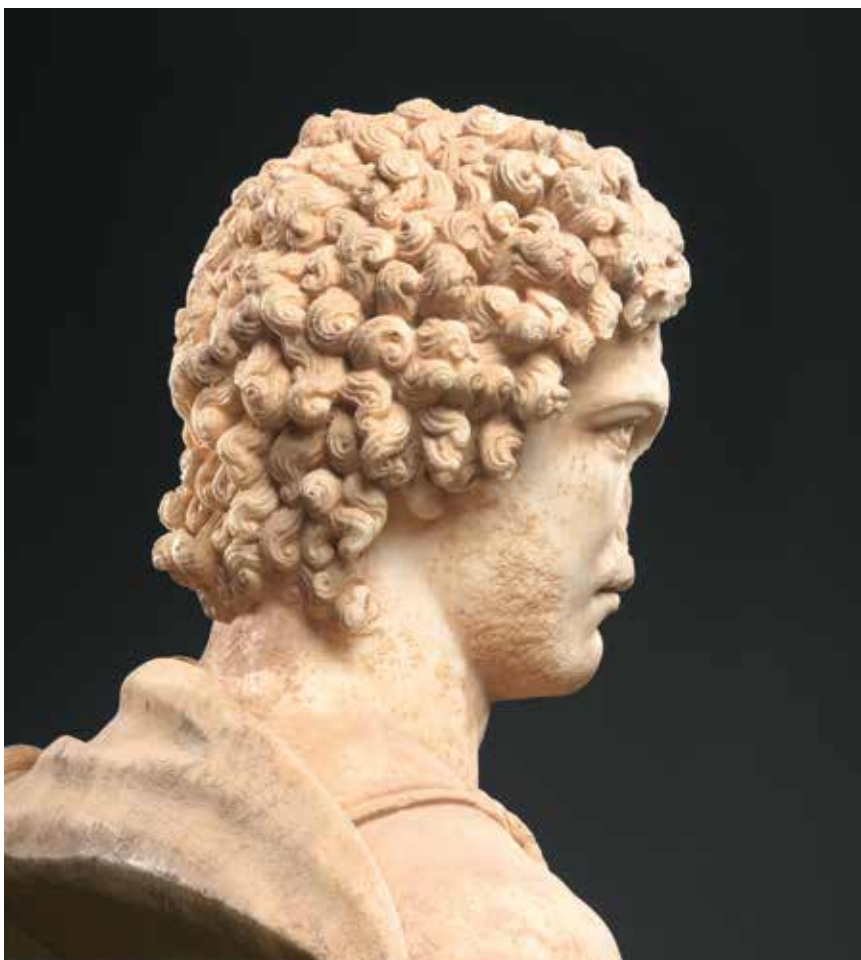
Despite the heroic idealization, this is doubtless a portrait. Seen from the front, the face is broad and flat. The eyes are narrow and relatively small;



their recessed and outlined pupils give firmness to his gaze. The exquisitely modeled forehead and eyebrows give no hint of tension despite the energetic turning of the head. The slightly opened, full lips enhance the impression of serene self-confidence.

Unfortunately, we do not know where or in what context the bust was found. However, the sculptural style and the unusual design of the back indicate that it must have been produced in a Greek workshop, presumably in Athens, for only there was the support inside the hollow back designed like the trunk of a palm branching outward toward the top; in the present case, the support reaches the recessed edge of the bust. The fact that the sculpture was carved in an Attic workshop reveals nothing about where it was actually found; Attic portraits with this same palm-tree support have been discovered elsewhere in Greece and even in Rome.<sup>1</sup>

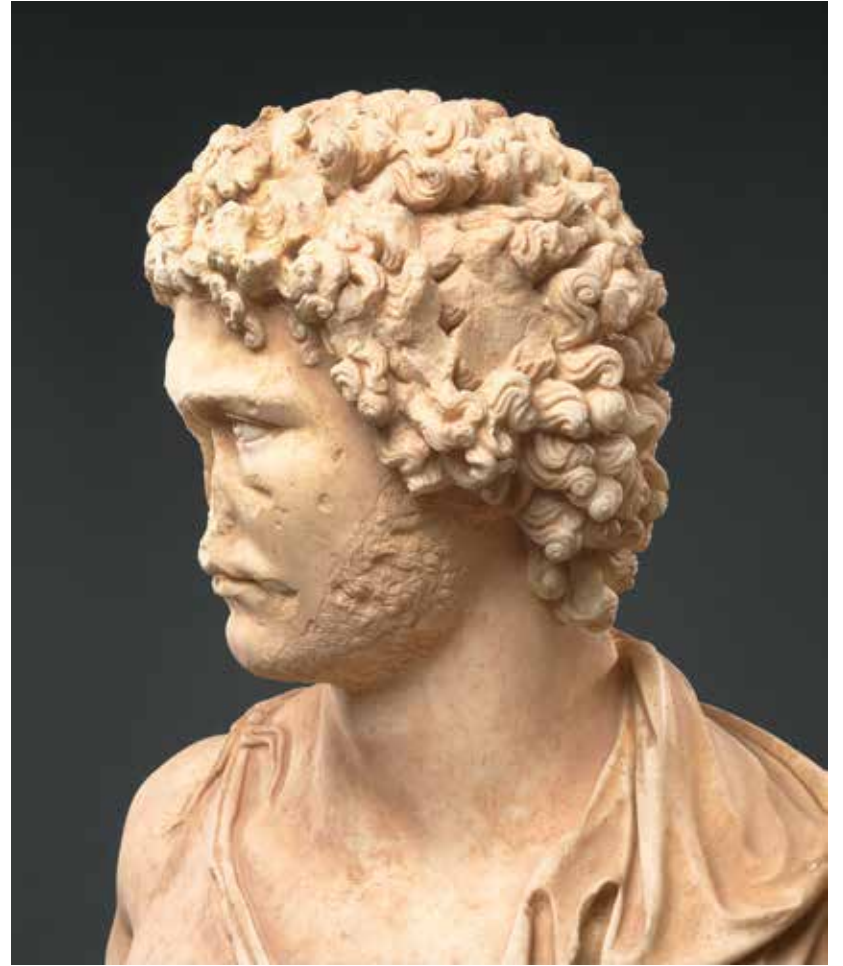
Workshops in Greece and Asia Minor generally followed changes in



fashion and style emanating from Rome. In the present case, the drilled eyes and the wide form of the bust suggest a dating from the late Hadrianic period, at the earliest. Comparison with the hairstyle of the second portrait type of the prince Marcus Aurelius nevertheless suggests a date after A.D. 150. The young man's elaborate and seemingly disorganized curls do not differ markedly from those of Greek portraits of Marcus Aurelius. They have a rather elongated shape and end in small, tight twists, whereas a broader,

rounded shape is characteristic of the locks of the prince and emperor. The rendering of the hair is similar in two portraits found together with a bust of Herodes Atticus (A.D. 101–177): one of Marcus Aurelius, now in the Musée du Louvre, Paris (third type); the other of Lucius Verus, now in the Ashmolean Museum in Oxford.<sup>2</sup> Yet the brilliant technique employed in the present bust is striking and clearly superior to the one used in the two Imperial portraits. The sculptor worked out the seemingly uncontrolled luxuriance of curls in detail, so that each lock is perceived as a palpable, individual form.

At the time the bust was executed, fashionable young people in both the



east and west of the Imperium Romanum had a real predilection for extravagantly curly hair.<sup>3</sup> From their portraits, it almost seems as if there was competition among them to see who could wear the most fantastic hairstyle. The most conspicuous difference between the portraits produced by Roman and western schools, on the one hand, and by Greek masters, on the other, is the indifference shown by the former to the light-dark contrasts that had been fashionable in Rome since about A.D. 140. In Roman workshops, light effects of a wholly new kind were achieved, thanks to the increasingly refined use of the drill. Sculptors were not afraid to abandon clearly defined, individually carved

locks and to present the hair as a nearly amorphous tangle. It is said that the vain emperor Lucius Verus (cat. 26) and his imitators had gold dust sprinkled on their hair once it was shaped in that manner, thereby heightening the desired effect.

In the workshops of the Greek East, this new technique was adopted, but in a clearly diminished form. Generally, they sought to avoid it completely. Sculptors in the region continued to make each lock of hair recognizable, even palpable, as a distinct sculptural form. This was apparently a deliberate adherence to traditional ways, reflecting a desire to maintain cultural identity.

In its proportions, the present bust recalls Classical works from the second half of the fifth century B.C., but its bones and muscles, unlike theirs, are scarcely articulated—hidden beneath a uniformly smooth surface. Nude statues of Antinous, particularly the Greek Doryphoros Antinous in Delphi, are apt comparisons.<sup>4</sup> Here, as in those works, the aim was to make the surface of the body as sensually beautiful as possible. The nipples, shifted to the side and upward from their natural position, are outlined as sharply as metal to contrast with the soft flesh. In this detail, the sculptor was presumably making a deliberate allusion to bronze statues. The same can be said of the

hard-edged folding of the small cloak on the left shoulder, which appears as though formed of metal rather than soft fabric. This intentional simulation of bronze is frequently found in high-quality sculptures from the Hadrianic-Antonine period.<sup>5</sup> It allowed artists to demonstrate their technical skill and at the same time cite Classical bronzes as aesthetic models. That such effects were appreciated by connoisseurs is evident from Dio Chrysostom's characterization of a dead athlete: "He looked like a carefully worked statue, and even his skin resembled bronze" (*Orations* 28.3).

The sculptor here freely employed the baldric, cloak, and distinct turning of the head to create an impression of energy and determination. The cloak and baldric were added as mere accessories, without utilitarian function. The slender band, elegantly knotted at the shoulder, would have been too weak to support a scabbard, and the small cloak draped across the shoulders was meant only to set off the effect of the muscular body. The beautiful young man is meant to be celebrated as both powerful and gentle, as the ideal of physical perfection, as celebrated by Dio Chrysostom once again in his description of young athletes (*Orations* 28, 29).

Although no specific type of statue can be related to the bust, the combination of the nude body, baldric, cloak, and energetic turn of the head allows us to assume that the young man was meant to be characterized as a hero. The best analogies for this identification are the youthful heroes on Attic sarcophagi, above all, Achilles and Hippolytos and their companions. Here, in every case, nudity, the baldric, and small cloak appear as characteristic heroic features. The comparison is

particularly relevant in that these sarcophagi date from the same time as the bust and also originated in Athens. All the heroes on the sarcophagi have curly hair, though the protagonists Achilles and Hippolytos are set apart from their shorter-haired comrades by their longer locks. Long locks can thus be seen to be identified with these ancient heroes, providing another clue to the subject of the bust.<sup>6</sup>

The man's heroic appearance and youth suggest that the work was dedicated to the memory of someone who died young. Comparison with heroes was apparently a common topos in eulogies for young men among the Greeks in the East. In Dio Chrysostom's eulogy for a boxer, for example, we read "that Melankomas was by no means inferior in competence to those ancient heroes everyone praises, neither the warriors from Troy nor the men who in later times defended Greece against the Persians. If he had lived in their time he would have performed the same deeds" (*Orations* 28, 29). Such comparisons not only were celebratory but also had a comforting aspect that orators might exploit. The present bust was presumably meant to function similarly.

The depiction of the young man as hero is directly related to the unique culture of remembrance with which Greeks in the era of the so-called Second Sophistic sought to evoke their cultural heritage. An abundance of practices and rituals gave rise to a culture of self-reflection and self-identification. To the ancient Panhellenic festivals was added an endless number of new events. Every self-respecting city in Asia Minor and in Greece regularly invited contestants to take part in athletic and artistic com-

petitions. Each festival contributed to an awareness of cultural tradition and identification, a phenomenon exemplified by Herodes Atticus.<sup>7</sup> A great number of commemorative practices were carried out in the belief that, with the proper education and spiritual disposition, one might even meet a hero and speak with him, as Herodes Atticus is said to have done. These daydream heroes who suddenly appeared lived virtually in two worlds—their heroic world of long ago and the present—and thus represented a living bridge to the glorious past. Thanks to the combined efforts of numerous contemporaries, that past became present and lent the present radiance and meaning.

CONDITION: The bust is in excellent condition despite the loss of the nose. There is slight damage to the face, and there are greater losses in the hair, especially on the left side behind the temple. Only the base is missing. The small tabula for the name, which served as a transition to the base, appears to have been largely chiseled off in modern times. For an idea of what the lost rectangular or round base looked like, see Fittschen 2001, pls. 11–14.

LITERATURE: Von Bothmer 1990, pp. 214–15, no. 155 (M. Anderson); Fittschen 1999, p. 92, no. 92, pl. 202; Fittschen 2001, p. 73.

#### NOTES

1. Fittschen 2001, pp. 72–73.
2. Portrait of Marcus Aurelius, Musée du Louvre, Paris (Ma 1161); Kersauson 1996, vol. 2, p. 226, no. 99. Portrait of Lucius Verus, Ashmolean Museum, Oxford: Albertson 1983, pl. 18; Tobin 1997, p. 260, fig. 89.
3. Fittschen 1999, pls. 132–202.
4. H. Meyer 1991, pl. 13 (though with less clearly articulated pectoral muscles).
5. Zanker 1974, p. 118.
6. Rogge 1995, Achilles: nos. 19, 21, 24, 28, 43, pls. 26, 43, 44, 61, 68; Hippolytos: nos. 50, 57, 60, 73, pls. 86, 87, 91, 96.
7. See Ameling 1983; Tobin 1997, *passim*; Galli 2002.



62

**Portrait of a Small Boy as Dionysus**

Antonine, ca. A.D. 150

Marble, H. 8¼ in. (21 cm)

Rogers Fund, 1914 (14.105.1)

PROVENANCE: Said to be from Rome; [until 1914, with Ludwig Pollak, Rome]; acquired in 1914, purchased from L. Pollak.

The child is characterized as a young Dionysus by a wreath of vines with grapes. The abundant wreath is knotted at the nape of his neck, and its ends hang down. It weighs heavily on the boy's head. Beneath it,

disheveled long hair hangs from the crown on all sides.

The head probably belonged to a small statue meant to memorialize a deceased child. At the neck, the beginning of the shoulders can still be seen. The sculpted brows are raised as if the boy were gazing upward. Perhaps the work was one of a small group of statues that stood inside an elaborate tomb structure similar to the funerary temple on one of the Haterii reliefs.<sup>1</sup> To judge from the almost babylike, round face, which appears to smile, the subject must have died at a very young age.

Tomb sculptures of children and youths in the guise of Dionysus/Bacchus are not uncommon.<sup>2</sup> A portrait of an even younger child with a Dionysiac wreath is in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.<sup>3</sup> The present instance might also remind the viewer of the young Dionysus riding a lion, a subject popular since the Hellenistic period.

A dating to the Antonine period seems most probable. The eyes, with only slightly recessed irises and half-moon-shaped pupils, and the polished surface of the face would suggest as much. The forceful drilling in the hair



indicates that the sculptor worked swiftly and was not especially interested in carefully executed details.

**CONDITION:** The highly polished head was probably damaged on its discovery. The left earlobe and part of the nose are missing, and there are losses especially on the left cheek and in the hair and wreath.

**LITERATURE:** Richter 1915c, p. 25, fig. 6; Richter 1954, p. 93, no. 176, pl. CXXIIIa–b; *Greece and*

*Rome* 1987, p. 136, no. 104 (M. Anderson); Fittschen 1999, p. 103, no. 139, pl. 192b–e (as time of Emperor Caracalla).

#### NOTES

1. Sinn and Freyberger 1996, pp. 51–59, no. 6 (with literature); Wrede 1978, p. 422.
2. Wrede 1981, p. 260, no. 172, pl. 23.1–4.
3. Museum of Fine Arts, Boston (03.761): Comstock and Vermeule 1976, p. 131, no. 204; Caskey 1925, p. 172, no. 94.

## 63

### Fragment of a Bronze Cuirassed Equestrian Statue

Antonine, ca. A.D. 150–70

Bronze, H. 25 in. (63.5 cm), W. 26½ in.

(67.3 cm), D. 15 in. (38.1 cm)

Bequest of Bill Blass, 2002 (2003.407.7)

**PROVENANCE:** Until 2002, collection of Bill Blass, New York; acquired in 2003, bequest of Bill Blass.

The rider's original pose can be envisioned as similar to that of the equestrian statue of the emperor Nerva (r. A.D. 96–98) (originally Domitian) in the Castello at Baia (fig. 33). The right arm could have been raised to throw a spear; the left arm drew on the horse's reins and was therefore extended well downward and back.<sup>1</sup> The short cloak, secured on the right shoulder by a lost clasp, is pushed upward on the left side by the sword, also lost. Beneath his metal cuirass, the rider wears an additional cuirass of leather whose tassels appear on the right side of the torso beneath the metal armor.

The figure wears a Greek *Röhren-Panzer* (tubular cuirass) ornamented in relief, not a *Muskel-Panzer* (muscle cuirass), like those regularly represented on Roman cuirassed statues. Here, the leather belt generally worn over the cuirass is knotted at the center, as was customary, and its long ends are artfully drawn up beneath the belt and then allowed to hang down. The end on the left side has been lost; the spot where it overlapped the bottom row of ornament was left undecorated.

Two relief friezes were applied to and encircle the cuirass. The upper frieze pictures Arimaspians with Phrygian caps battling against griffins. The Arimaspians were a legendary



Fig. 33 Partially reconstructed equestrian statue of Emperor Nerva (r. A.D. 96–98), originally Domitian. Bronze, H. of original statue approx. 90% in. (2.3 m). Museo Archeologico dei Campi Flegrei, Castello di Baia

people thought to reside in the east behind the Caucasus. In Roman depictions of Imperial date, they frequently kneel humbly, as embodiments of eastern barbarians, before griffins, which generally represented Roman superiority. Here, however, the Arimaspians fight the griffins, though it is unclear which side will win. The lower frieze presents sea griffins, dolphins, and palm branches.

On the right side of the torso, a rosette is indicated on the shoulder guard, and next to it, partly concealed by the cloak, a palm frond(?). On the back, the opening for the arm is decorated with a row of small rosettes.

The quality of the decoration is not particularly fine, suggesting that the statue originated in a provincial workshop, though it is scarcely possible to say where it might have been located—perhaps in a remote part of Asia Minor or in Syria.

No less problematic is a determination of the work's date. A torso from Tenos, from the reign of Emperor Claudius, compares favorably in its overall structure but is of much better quality.<sup>2</sup> The same is true of an Augustan torso in Naxos, which also presents mythological scenes above and below the belt.<sup>3</sup> Closer in style is the above-mentioned cuirass of the





equestrian statue of Nerva, with friezes of sea creatures above and below the belt and a small Hercules throttling the snake on the shoulder plate.<sup>4</sup> Yet in this comparison there is also a great difference in quality. Therefore, the dating remains uncertain, although we think it most probable that the work, with its similarity to the statues from the Sebasteion at Bubon, is from the second century A.D.<sup>5</sup>

**CONDITION:** All that survives of the equestrian statue is the upper part of the body of a cavalryman wearing a cuirass. The head, arms, and lower body of the rider have been violently broken off. Moreover, a large piece of body armor is missing at the right shoulder.

**LITERATURE:** Blass 2002, pp. 138–39, ill.; Recent Acquisitions 2004, p. 8 (S. Hemingway); Picón et al. 2007, pp. 184, 447, no. 211.

#### NOTES

1. Sinn 2010, pp. 151–52, figs. 221, 239a–b; Bergemann 1990, pp. 82–86, no. P31, pl. 56.
2. Laube 2006, pp. 193–94, 236, no. 69, pl. 78.3.
3. *Ibid.*, pp. 186–87, 232, no. 40, pls. 76, 77. The MMA's cuirassed fragment seems comparable also to the bronze statue of a rider wearing a cuirass found in the sea near Kalymnos (Ephorate of Underwater Antiquities, Athens [2009/28]). Judging from available photographs, however, the latter work is considerably finer and could be of the Hellenistic period. The same applies to the statue of a rider with cuirass found in 2006, also in the sea near Kalymnos. See Daehner and Lapatin 2015, pp. 75–77, nos. 5.3, 5.4.
4. Sinn 2010, pp. 151–52, figs. 221, 239.
5. See most recently Inan 1994; see also cat. 28 in the present volume.

## 64

### Small Bronze Bust of a Bearded Man

Ca. A.D. 220

Bronze, H. 8¾ in. (22.2 cm); chin to crown, 4 in. (10.2 cm)

Rogers Fund, 1913 (13.225.1)

**PROVENANCE:** Private collection, Rome (?); [until 1913, with U. Simonetti, Rome]; acquired in 1913, purchased from U. Simonetti.

The small bust presents a man in middle age. He wears a tunic and toga in an “as yet unique style with a layered *balteus* [baldric] and similarly layered *umbo*” (Goette 1990, p. 67). The beautifully modeled beard and mustache and the carefully arranged hair emphasize his cultivated appearance. His hair is abundant, its short locks uniformly framing the forehead.





The portrait is highly individualized. The man has a prominent and distinctly crooked nose. He gazes forward, and, aside from the creases in his forehead, his delicately modeled face, especially around the eyes, shows virtually no movement. The large ears stand well out from his head. The pupils of his eyes are rendered three-dimensionally.

The form of the toga indicates that the exquisite small work dates from the Severan era and was probably created about A.D. 220.<sup>1</sup>

**CONDITION:** Except for minor losses on the edge of the bust, the small portrait is excellently preserved. There are two small holes in the toga and one on the head. A few repairs were made after casting, including the larger patches on the right side of the interior.

**LITERATURE:** Richter 1914b, pp. 92–93, fig. 3; Richter 1915d, pp. 153–54, no. 335, ill.; Richter 1948, no. 98, ill.; Goette 1990, pp. 67, 150, no. L47 (as mid-Severan); Borromeo 1993, pp. 207,

282, no. 100 (as ca. A.D. 238); Dahmen 2001, p. 193, no. 185 (dated too late, ca. A.D. 250–60); Lahusen and Formigli 2001, pp. 266–67, no. 166, ill.

**NOTE**

1. For the dating, see Goette 1990, p. 150, no. L47.

## 65

### Bust of a Man

Bust A.D. 2nd century; head reworked

ca. A.D. 260

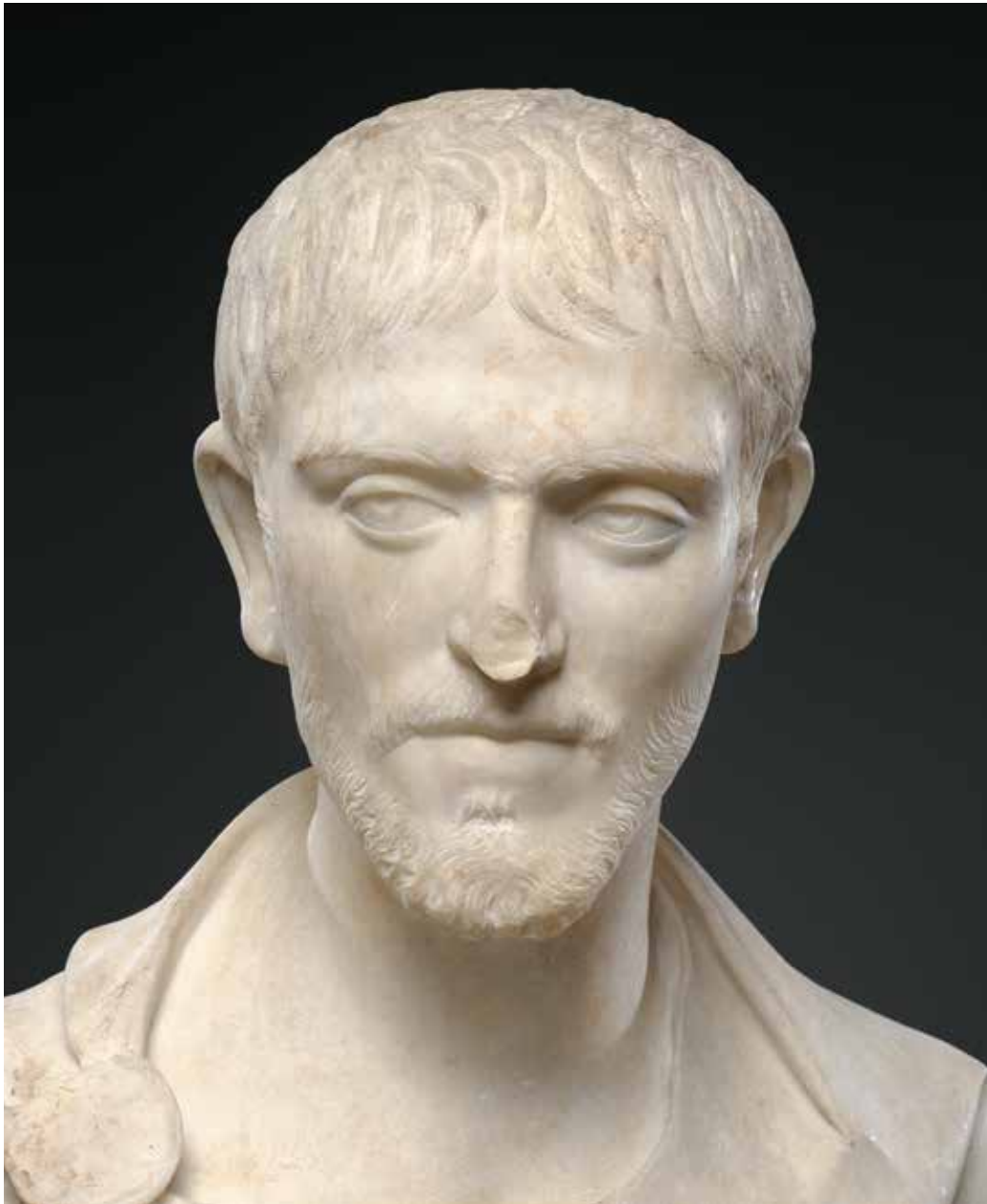
Marble, overall H. 25 $\frac{3}{8}$  in. (65.7 cm), chin to crown 10 $\frac{1}{4}$  in. (26 cm)

Rogers Fund, 1908 (08.258.46)

**PROVENANCE:** [Until 1908, with Alfredo Barsanti, Rome]; acquired in 1908, purchased from A. Barsanti.

This beautiful bust with tabula is so similar to examples from the early Antonine period that it must date from those years.<sup>1</sup> However, the original Antonine portrait head was thoroughly





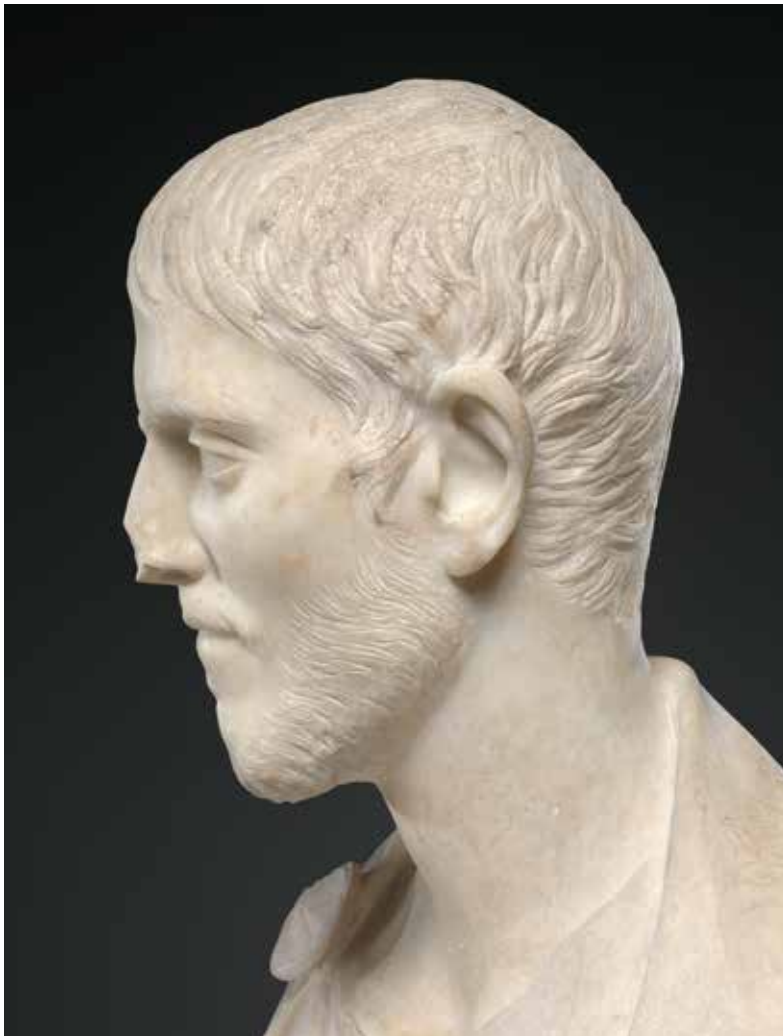
reworked to give the sculpture its present appearance. The very flat forms, which Susan Wood has superbly analyzed, are the result of this reworking. It is evident how deeply the sculptor cut into the original when the portrait is seen from the side: only on the forehead, eyes, and nose are the older forms largely preserved. Through the reduction of volume, the ears now

project excessively and seem uncommonly large. Compared with the much fuller forms of the related portrait in the Museo Nazionale Romano in Rome cited by Wood, it becomes apparent how much must have been carved away from the face of the original head.<sup>2</sup>

The long hair combed forward and the beard in the reworked version are now very shallow. This is clearly seen in

the side view of the beard. From the front, the flatness of the forms is less obvious because of the turn of the head to its right. Here, too, more of the original form has been preserved. Despite the considerable abstraction and geometrization, the head gives the impression of an earnest, severe man.

The slightly curved brows meet at the top of the nose. The beard



appears to be well groomed and, in the curls beneath the lower lip, even slightly foppish.

The reworked version of the portrait most likely dates from the time of Gallienus, as Wood has suggested (1986). The rendering of the hair compares especially well in a reworked portrait from Ostia.<sup>3</sup>

**CONDITION:** The bust with its ancient tabula is well preserved, showing only a few losses to the drapery. All that is missing from the head is the tip of the nose. Because of a mistaken accession number in Richter 1948, the bust is identified several times in the literature as “smaller than lifesize,” which is not the case.

**LITERATURE:** Richter 1909, pp. 64–65, fig. 5; Richter 1948, no. 97, ill. as no. 96 (incorrect placement of text and image); Meischner 1984, p. 343, fig. 43 (dated too early, ca. A.D. 222–35); Wood 1986, p. 106, fig. 73 (as Gallienic, A.D. 250–60); Fittschen, Zanker, and Cain 2010, p. 135 n. 10a, addendum 20g–i (as “perhaps Gallienic”).

**NOTES**

1. Compare, for example, the two busts of the young Marcus Aurelius: Fittschen and Zanker 1985, pp. 67–68, nos. 61, 62, pls. 70, 71, and the later bust of the young Commodus: *ibid.*, pp. 81–83, no. 74, pls. 86–88.
2. Museo Nazionale Romano, Rome (108607): Wood 1986, fig. 72; Giuliano 1988, pp. 396–98, no. R301.
3. Fittschen, Zanker, and Cain 2010, addendum 20d–f.





## 66

### Under-Lifesize Bust of a Man

Gallienic, ca. A.D. 260

Marble, H. 10¼ in. (26 cm); chin to hairline  
5¼ in. (13.3 cm)

Fletcher Fund 1925 (25.78.27)

PROVENANCE: [Until 1925, with Ludwig Pollak, Rome]; acquired in 1925, purchased from L. Pollak.

The subject of this small bust looks to his right with self-assurance and an alert gaze. He is no longer young; his face has lost its tone, and his full cheeks sag. The small mouth has an unusual form: the narrow upper lip projects, and the drawn-in lower lip is hardly articulated. These details provide a first indication that the bust was reworked.

The form of the bust suggests that the original portrait dates to the second century A.D. and that it had a base that was removed during the recutting. At the back, part of the broad support is still discernible. Useful in dating the original is the bust of an older man in the Palazzo dei Conservatori, Rome; the absence of a beard places that work in the early or mid-Hadrianic period



(A.D. 117–38).<sup>1</sup> Also characteristic of the style of that time are the sensitive modeling of the face, particularly below the eyes, and the hair, combed from the back of the head forward in long locks that form curls above the forehead.

The sculptor responsible for the reworking focused on the mouth and chin. In the process, the lower lip receded, the chin was set back, and the loose skin of the neck was modified accordingly. The sculptor also cut the beard into the cheeks and neck with hammer blows and incisions into the skin, as one finds on portraits after A.D. 250. The most likely time of the reworking is the Gallienic period, as Marianne Bergmann has proposed. For a firmly dated example, compare also the somewhat earlier portrait of the emperor Decius (r. A.D. 249–51).<sup>2</sup>

In view of the rounded sides and the removal (or destruction) of the support, the bust may have been attached to a wall, though clear evidence for this supposition is missing.

CONDITION: Part of the nose is missing, and there is slight damage to the left eye, the hair, and the edge of the bust. A large break above the center of the forehead has been filled with plaster. On the forehead there are heavy accretions and large spots of discoloration. The skull has been reworked in several places. The pupils have the shape of small hooks, and the irises are outlined. Accretions are especially heavy at the nape of the neck.

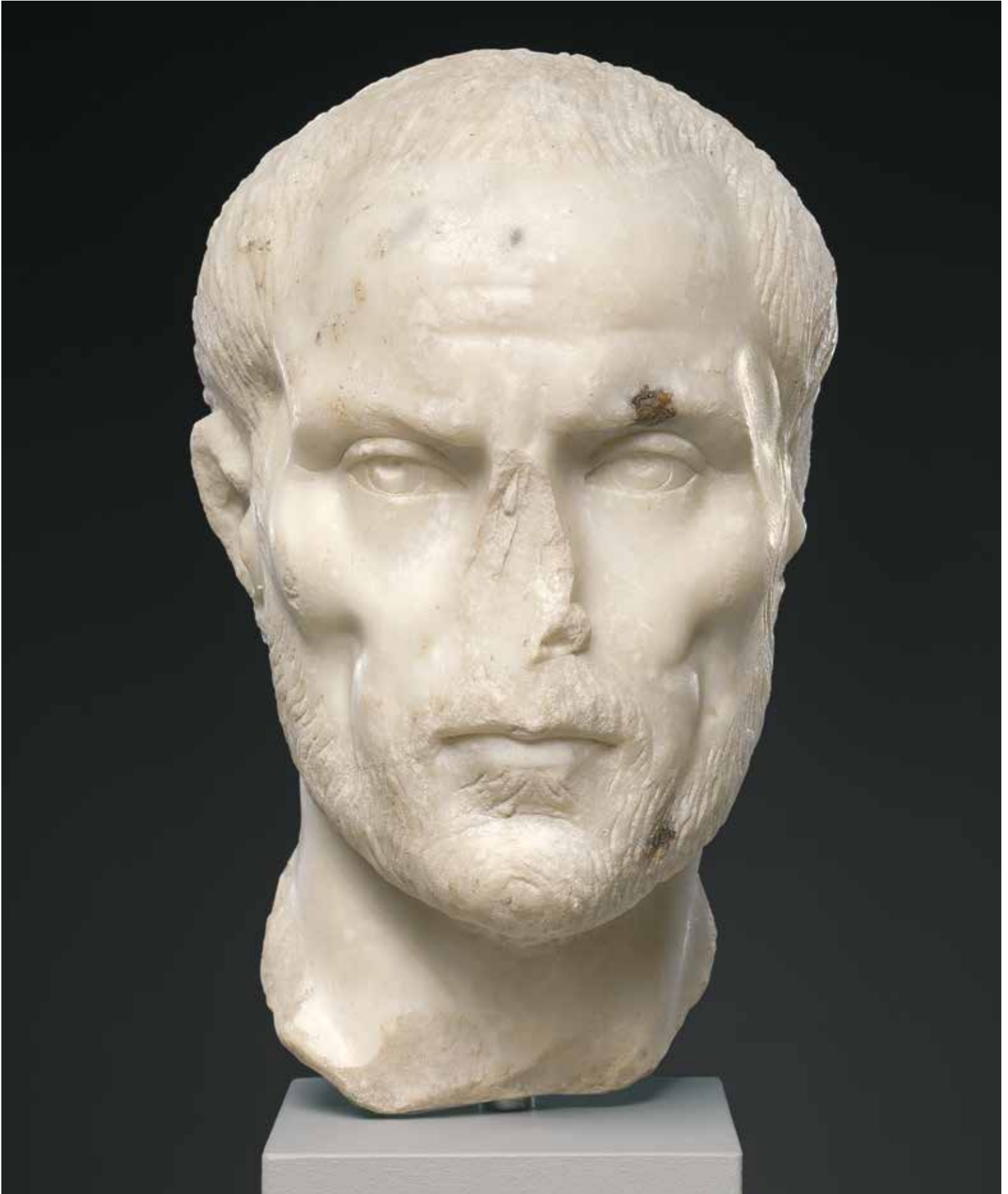
LITERATURE: Richter 1948, no. 99, ill.; Bergmann 1977, p. 93 (Gallienic); Borromeo 1993, pp. 208–9, 283, no. 102 (Gallienic); Dahmen 2001, p. 182, no. 143, pl. 143.

#### NOTES

1. Musei Capitolini, Palazzo dei Conservatori, Rome (inv. 1174): Fittschen, Zanker, and Cain 2010, p. 86, no. 81, pls. 95, 98.

2. Fittschen and Zanker 1985, pp. 130–33, no. 110, pls. 135–37.





## 67

**Under-Lifesize Portrait of a Lean Man**

Ca. A.D. 250

Marble, H. 9 $\frac{1}{16}$  in. (23 cm)

Rogers Fund, 1907 (07.286.112)

PROVENANCE: [Until 1907, with Paul Hartwig, Rome]; acquired in 1907, purchased from P. Hartwig.

That this head was created from an earlier portrait is suggested by reductions in the hair, ears, and face, as well as by the eye sockets, which are extremely deep in relation to the large eyes. The mouth area and the base of the neck also indicate reworking. In addition, the surface of the face is polished only at the highest points, which probably remain from the

original version, presumably of the Antonine period.

The subject gazes slightly toward his left. He has an emaciated face with extremely sunken cheeks, like those of a dead man. The creases of his forehead were registered with simple grooves, and the beard was marked on the surface of the face with crude blows of the chisel. The narrow mouth was presumably created by reducing a fuller one on the original head.

Despite all these changes, we are left with an extremely impressive portrait, whose stern expression was doubtless meant to convey energy and determination. The reworking presumably dates from the middle of the third century A.D. Of the securely dated

emperors' portraits from this period, that of the emperor Decius (r. A.D. 249–51) in the Palazzo Nuovo in Rome, likewise created from an earlier portrait, provides a close comparison.<sup>1</sup>

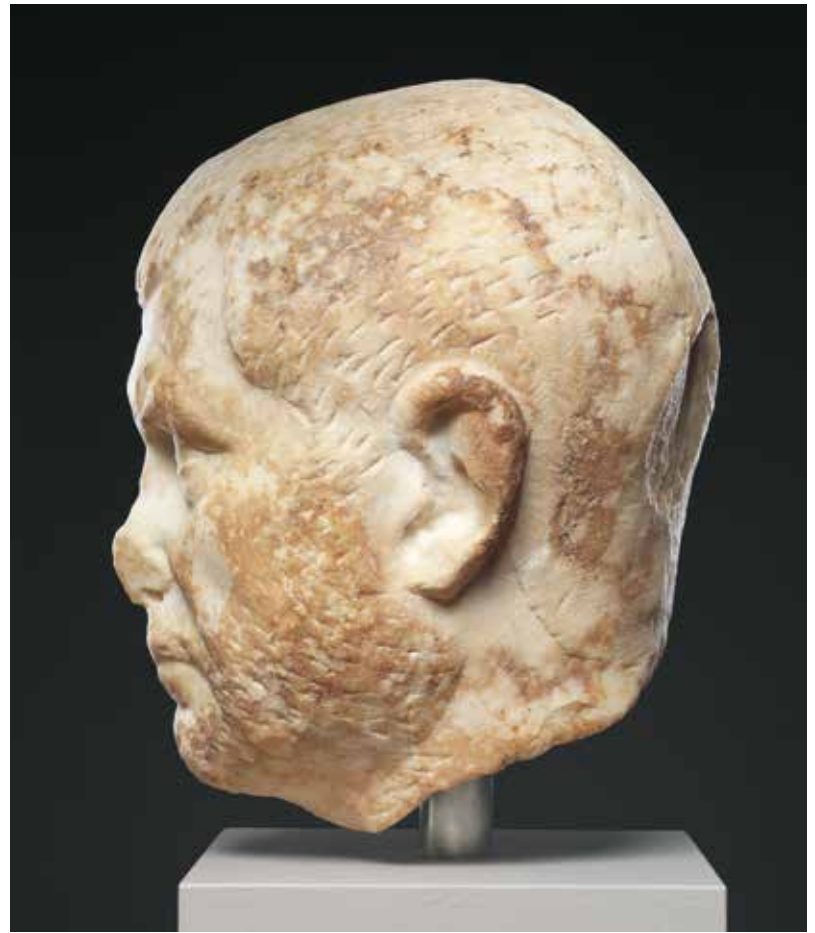
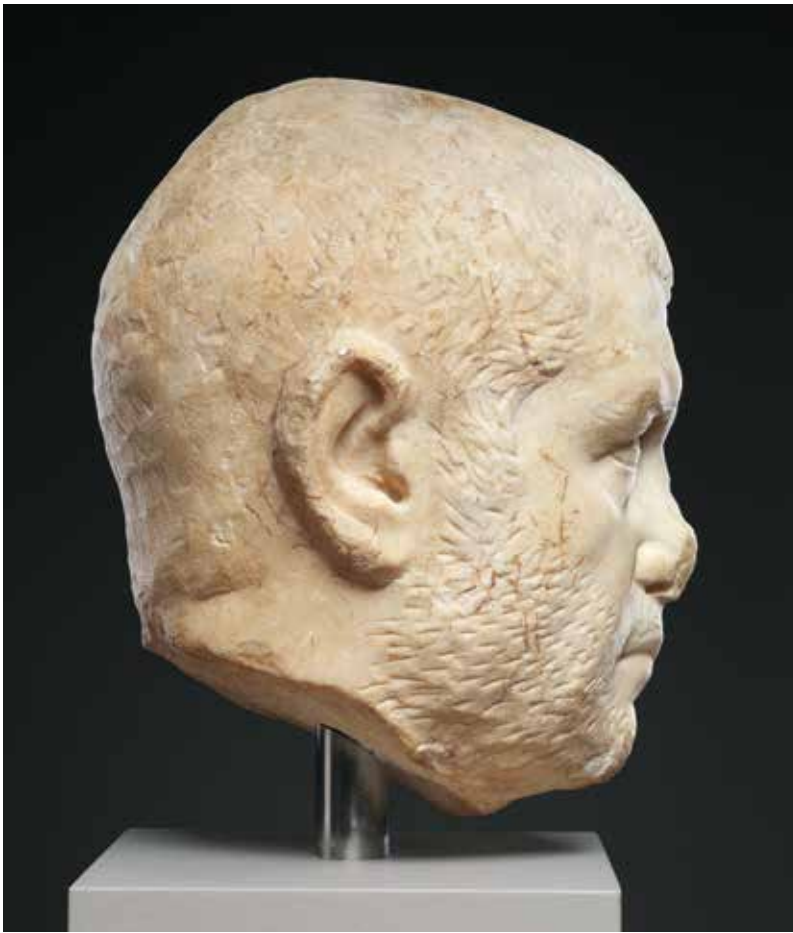
CONDITION: Large parts of the nose and left ear are missing. A portion of the left eyebrow has been lost, and there is considerable minor damage.

LITERATURE: E. Robinson 1908, p. 7, fig. 8; Richter 1948, p. 6, no. 94, ill.; De Franciscis 1968, p. 82, n. 14; Meischner 1977, pp. 78–80, pl. 18.1 (comparison with Decius); *Greece and Rome* 1987, pp. 150–51, no. 117 (M. Anderson: mid-third century A.D.); Meischner 2001, p. 48.

## NOTE

1. Musei Capitolini, Palazzo Nuovo, Rome (inv. 482); Fittschen and Zanker 1985, p. 130, no. 110, pls. 135–37; Bergmann 1977, p. 42, pl. 6.3.





## 68

### Under-Lifesize Portrait of an Older Man

Post-Gallienic period, A.D. 260–80

Marble, H. 8¾ in. (22.2 cm)

Gift of Louise Crane, in memory of her mother, Mrs. W. Murray Crane 1980 (1980.303.1)

**PROVENANCE:** By 1961 and until 1972, collection of Mrs. Murray Crane (née Josephine Porter Boardman), New York; 1972–80, collection of Louise Crane, by descent; acquired in 1980, gift of Louise Crane.

**B**ecause of the reworking, the head seems deformed. The nose and ears are disproportionately large compared to the rest of the face. The discrepancy between the original and reworked versions is especially apparent at the

hairline. The hair and beard of the second version were picked out coarsely, and the chin is scarcely articulated.

The eye sockets are perfectly round, and at the inner corners of the eyes are borelike indentations. To judge from the roughly worked beard and the way the hair is modeled only at the front, the head could have been recut in the post-Gallienic period. However, the shape of the eyes recalls portraits of Emperor Gallienus of the so-called sole ruler type.<sup>1</sup>

**CONDITION:** The head has broken off right below the chin, and portions of the nose are missing. Numerous areas of damage include a spot on the top of the head that has been

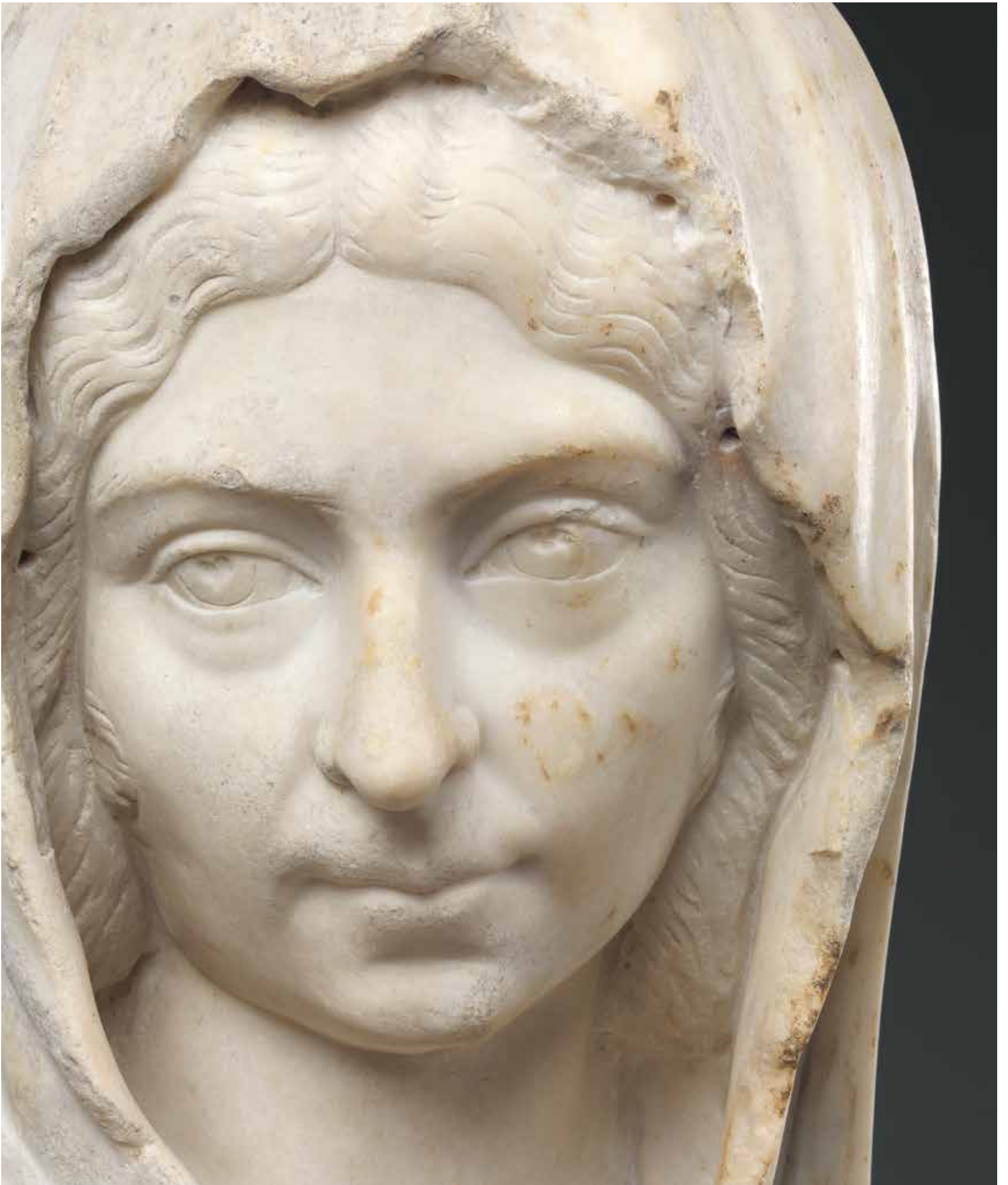
chiseled flat and a major break at the neck that occasioned the loss of part of the back of the head. To judge from the overly large ears and traces of an original hairstyle, the head was reworked from an older portrait. Traces of the earlier furrows are still seen on the forehead.

**LITERATURE:** Von Bothmer 1961, p. 31, no. 121, pls. 39–41; V. Poulsen 1961, pp. 22–23 n. 9; Balty and Balty 1974, p. 33 n. 49; *Notable Acquisitions* 1981, p. 16 (M. Anderson: private portrait from the time of the emperor Balbinus).

#### NOTE

1. Fittschen and Zanker 1985, pp. 137–38, no. 114. Compare also the portraits of the emperor Gallienus in the Museo Nazionale Romano, Rome (644), the Museo Torlonia, and the Royal Museums of Art and History, Brussels: Fittschen and Zanker 1985, addenda 92a–b, 92c–d, and 93a–b.





# PORTRAITS OF WOMEN AND GIRLS

IN THE CITIES OF THE ROMAN EMPIRE, women were not permitted to hold public office. Accordingly, honorific statues of women were reserved for either priestesses or benefactresses whose munificence had found favor with the citizenry. It is estimated that ten percent of the honorific statues placed in the public areas of cities represented women.

There was an abundance of statue types with which women could be commemorated at their tombs—indeed, they far outnumbered those for men.<sup>1</sup> Besides statues of women draped in garments worn outside the house, various types of statues of Greek deities were employed, especially at tombs, to celebrate a subject's specific qualities. Most popular were types that emphasized a married woman's beauty, motherhood, and chastity. In a convention strange to modern eyes, even an older woman might be represented with a nude body of Venus as a way of praising her beauty, for the bodies of goddesses could symbolize specific characteristics while by no means portraying the subjects as deities.

The statue types for nonroyal women are closely related to those for women of the Imperial House, for statues and portraits of empresses and princesses rapidly found their way into every city of the Empire, where they could be imitated and adapted. Thus, statues of royal women played a major role in the dissemination of new statue types, even those originated for nonroyal women.

As yet the Metropolitan Museum owns no complete female portrait statue, but some of the collection's large third-century A.D. busts include almost the entire upper body, from which it is possible to imagine the statue types on which they were based. For example, the bust of a woman from the reign of Emperor Septimius Severus (r. A.D. 193–211) wears a mantle drawn up over her head (cat. 86), corresponding to the type of the so-called Large Herculaneum Woman, and the young woman in the bust shown in catalogue 87 corresponds to the so-called Ceres type. All these types go back to Greek precedents from the later fourth century B.C. and must have lent a distinctly Classical character to the female clothing represented in public statuary.<sup>2</sup>

Among the strict conventions of the Roman Republic was the rule forbidding women to wear jewelry when they went out in public. To judge from statues and busts, this rule continued to be observed under the Empire. But no one prohibited women from styling their hair however they wished; therefore, beginning in the middle of the

first century B.C., a rapid change in coiffures becomes evident and, increasingly, an abundance of interesting and, at times, altogether extravagant hairdos. Examples from the Imperial House provided models that other women modified in many ways.

Late Republican and Augustan hairdos were already highly complicated, with their large loops of hair above the forehead, hair at the temples caught up behind, and buns. The Metropolitan's severe Augustan portrait is representative (cat. 69). Although Livia (58 B.C.–A.D. 29), Augustus's wife, wore at the end of her life a simple, Classical hairdo with a center part, as seen in her portrait (cat. 70), over the course of the first century A.D., increasingly lavish stylings developed. Under Caligula the center part was at first retained, yet above the temples were carefully placed ringlets that emerged from the pinned rolls of hair above and ended at the nape of the neck in a looped braid, as seen on a small bronze portrait (cat. 71).

In the Museum's portraits it is possible to trace the progression of fashions in women's hairstyles into the time of Emperor Hadrian (r. A.D. 117–38). On a late Flavian portrait, rows of large ringlets cover the entire front half of the head (cat. 72). A head



Fig. 34 *The Coiffure*. Attributed to Gottlieb Friedrich Reidel (German, 1724–1784), ca. 1770. Ludwigsburg Porcelain Manufactory (German, 1758–1824). Hard-paste porcelain, H. 4 $\frac{7}{8}$  in. (12.4 cm), W. 3 $\frac{3}{8}$  in. (9.8 cm), D. 2 $\frac{3}{4}$  in. (7 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Gift of Irwin Untermyer, 1964 (64.101.326)



from the late reign of Domitian (r. A.D. 81–96), now atop a statue to which it does not belong, wears a mass of tiny curls—so characteristic of the time—that towers above the head like a raised shield (cat. 74). The locks at the back are woven into many slender braids and twisted into a luxuriant braided knot.

The creation of such a hairdo was a difficult and tedious affair. Ancient sources tell of the numerous hairdressers involved and of hairpieces with permanent curls that could be easily removed and reattached.<sup>3</sup> The famous Fonseca bust in the Palazzo Nuovo in Rome provides a particularly beautiful and elaborate example that was certainly removable and stands out for the meticulously executed curls (fig. 35).<sup>4</sup> (Extravagant grooming of this kind did not end with the Romans, of course [fig. 34].) In one portrait from the collection (cat. 75), this addition is missing, revealing where the hairpiece was meant to be pinned on. The portrait of Emperor Trajan's sister Marciana (A.D. 48–112/114) is distinguished by an especially complicated shield of hair (cat. 78).

Fig. 35 Bust of a Woman (“Fonseca bust”), Roman, early 2nd century A.D. Marble, H. of head with neck 15 $\frac{3}{8}$  in. (39 cm), chin to hairline 6 $\frac{1}{4}$  in. (16 cm). Musei Capitolini, Palazzo Nuovo, Sala degli Imperatori, Rome (inv. 434)



Formed into two rows and pressed into shape, the hair could doubtless retain this artificial arrangement only with the help of a paste. Also Trajanic is the lovely portrait of a young woman with idealized features and a less towering hairdo (cat. 76). Here the abundant hair was first arranged to form two broad, tall waves above the forehead, then drawn back in a flatter wave, where it was caught in a narrow wreath of hair.

Beginning in the reign of Emperor Hadrian, women's hairdos become simpler at the very time that those of the emperor and of ordinary men become more lavish, culminating under the emperors Marcus Aurelius and his son Commodus in the sumptuous curls and beards discussed earlier in this volume. The fine portrait of the princess Matidia the Younger (A.D. 85–161) eschews any such pileup of hair above the forehead; instead, rows of wavy locks lie flat against the forehead (cat. 80). The rest of the hair is woven into braids and taken up at the back of the head in a large bun, now missing. The portrait of a young girl (cat. 81), also from about A.D. 150, presents an even simpler hairdo in which the hair is parted in front and drawn, without the usual interwoven braids, toward the back, where it is caught by a large rope of hair. Finally, in an extremely carefully carved portrait of a young woman, the hair is quite simply combed back from a center part and coiled into a thick loop at the back of the head (cat. 85).

In the third century A.D., competition among varied hairdos appears to have played a lesser role. Of the Museum's two large busts that extend nearly to the hips, the older one (cat. 86) dates from early in the reign of Septimius Severus, and its hair is dressed in much the same way as that of the empress Julia Domna (r. A.D. 193–217). A similar hairdo is found on a portrait that was perhaps the first to enter the collection (cat. 89) and probably dates from the same period. The second portrait with an extra long bust is roughly twenty years younger (cat. 87). Its hairdo resembles that of Julia Mamaea, who was killed along with her son Severus Alexander during the soldiers' revolt in Moguntiacum (Mainz) in A.D. 235. This young woman's hair is simply parted above the middle of the forehead, then falls loosely before being pinned up at the back under simple netting. A contemporary portrait of an older woman (cat. 88), like many of the likenesses created during the time of the soldier emperors (A.D. 235–84), was reworked from an earlier portrait.

The Metropolitan's Department of Medieval Art preserves three Late Antique female portraits whose inclusion in this catalogue the department kindly allowed. The most remarkable is the bust of a woman said to have been found in Istanbul (cat. 91). It dates from the era of the so-called "subtle style" (ca. A.D. 390–400), which produced a series of unusually accomplished portraits, and its high quality presupposes an outstanding sculpture workshop. The work depicts a youthful woman who conspicuously holds a scroll in her right hand, perhaps suggesting that she was honored as a patron or

benefactor. Of special interest is the thin veil that covers her abundant hair (see discussion on p. 237). By contrast, the under-lifesize female portrait with its round braid encircling the head exhibits a common hairstyle from the fourth century A.D (cat. 90). In this case the extra large volume of hair results from the reworking of an original Antonine portrait. The recarving occurred only slightly before or at the same time as the creation of the bust with a scroll. The third of the Late Antique portraits dates from a full century later (cat. 92). Here the forms of the original portrait can hardly be distinguished from those of the reworking, despite the radical changes. The modifications are especially apparent only in the face, which has become quite flat in the recutting. The eyes, at one time inlaid with shiny stones, must have been uncommonly expressive.

#### NOTES

1. Alexandridis 2009.
2. Compare Fejfer 2008, pp. 331–71.
3. Mannsperger 1998; Bartman 2001; most recently Buccino 2011.
4. Fonseca bust: Musei Capitolini, Palazzo Nuovo, Rome (inv. 434). Fittschen and Zanker 1983, pp. 53–54, pls. 86, 87.



69

**Portrait of an Older Woman**

Early Augustan, ca. 30 B.C.

Marble, H. 10¼ in. (26 cm)

Purchase, Philodoroi Gifts, 2000 (2000.38)

PROVENANCE: From ca. 1980s, private collection, Germany; [by 2000, with Ward & Company, New York]; acquired in 2000, purchased from Ward & Company.

The head is broken at the neck. Presumably, it came from a bust. Since the back of the head is simply flat and less carefully worked than the rest of the sculpture, we can assume that it stood next to a wall or in a niche, possibly in a tomb chamber. It was turned slightly to its right, so the left side is flatter and the right side slightly compressed, with a more prominent cheekbone.

The subject's aged face is rendered with great restraint and an admirable mixture of realistic and idealized forms. The eyes lie deep in their sockets. The cheekbones are pronounced. The lines extending from the nostrils and corners of the mouth are emphasized, as is the mouth, which seems pursed. On the cheeks and under the chin, the flesh has slackened; however, the smooth skin, especially on the forehead, moderates these features of age and makes the face more attractive. From the side, the slightly curving nose projects strongly. The left ear especially, which is more easily seen from the front, shows superb articulation of the cartilage and flesh.

The hair above the forehead is drawn back in a flat wave and caught on the sides. From a center part and the nape of the neck, the hair, rendered quite flat, is drawn into strands that are woven into braids placed one



above the other in four layers to form a high, pointed knot.

Based on this hairstyle, the head can be dated rather circa 40–30 B.C. Comparable in coinage are two Roman aurei: one of 41 B.C. with an image of the goddess Victoria; and the other, minted for Antony in 39 B.C., with a portrait of Octavia.<sup>1</sup> On each coin, the hairstyle, with the curl low on the forehead and the way the hair is caught at the sides, is directly comparable to the present portrait, though the knots differ. Examples of portraits with similar coiffures from the same time are found in the Palazzo Nuovo in Rome, in the Vatican's Museo Chiaramonti, and in the supposed Octavia in the Museo Nazionale Romano, Rome.<sup>2</sup> So-called box tomb reliefs indicate how widespread in Rome this hairstyle and its variants were.<sup>3</sup>

In this work, with its sensitive rendering of the face, the Museum owns an especially fine representation from the early years of Octavian/Augustus.

**CONDITION:** Larger losses occur below both eyes and under the chin. Smaller losses are found on the lower lip, the tip of the nose, the left upper eyelid, the margins of the ears, and in the hair at the right temple, among other areas. The marble block was not deep enough to accommodate the back of the head and the knot of hair, therefore the sculptor attached an additional piece of marble with most of the hair knot and part of the hair on the back of the head. The right side of the addition has broken off, so that it now appears too small. Numerous traces of mineral deposits from rootlets, especially on the right side of the head, indicate that this side lay in damp earth.

The remains of color have been thoroughly studied by the Department of Objects Conservation. The iris and black pupil as well as the lashes can still be seen on the

right eye. The reddish tone, of which there are traces here and there, could be a vestige of the underpainting; traces of brown pigment remain in the hair (Roth, see Literature).

**LITERATURE:** Recent Acquisitions 2001, p. 12, ill. (C. Lightfoot); Roth 2002.

#### NOTES

1. Crawford 1974, p. 522, no. 514, pl. 62.8 (Victoria); and p. 531, no. 527, pl. 63.8 (Octavia).
2. Musei Capitolini, Palazzo Nuovo, Rome (inv. 372): Fittschen and Zanker 1983, p. 41, no. 46, pls. 59, 60; Museo Chiaramonti, Vatican City (552): Andrae 1995, vol. 1, pls. 70, 71, no. 552, xv.11, and compare pl. 72, no. 133, xxxix.11; Museo Nazionale Romano, Rome (121221): Giuliano 1979, pp. 340–42, no. 203; Trillmich 1976, pl. 18.
3. Kockel 1993. See, for example, p. 88, no. A8 (wife of the so-called Eurysakes), pl. 7c; p. 109, no. D3 (relief of the Gavii), pl. 23c; p. 126, no. F12 (relief of Epictes), pl. 31c.

## 70

**Fragment of a Portrait of the Empress Livia (58 B.C.–A.D. 29)**

Augustan–Tiberian, ca. A.D. 20

Marble, H. chin to crown 9 $\frac{7}{8}$  in. (25.1 cm)

Rogers Fund, 1918 (18.145.45)

PROVENANCE: [Until 1918, with Cesare and Ercole Canessa, Paris]; acquired in 1918, purchased from Cesare and Ercole Canessa.

Throughout her life, Livia, the wife of Augustus, was represented in ageless youth, like Augustus himself, although she lived to an advanced age. The Museum's portrait shows her coiffed with the classicizing center part known from her later portraits.

Typologically, the portrait belongs to a small group of only four examples that Brigitte Freyer-Schauenburg assembled around a portrait in Kiel.

Characteristic of the empress's physiognomy are the large eyes and

small, thin-lipped mouth, here tightly closed. Whereas her forehead and brows are idealized, around the mouth are softer forms and a suggestion of wrinkles.

The hair above her forehead is drawn in broad waves to the sides and over her ears. The strands are only slightly differentiated, in a manner that occurs especially frequently in the Tiberian period.<sup>1</sup> On the present head and on a portrait in the Archaeological Museum, Chercell, Algeria, they are drawn into a tightly twisted rope of hair behind the ears.<sup>2</sup> As in other fully preserved Livia portraits from this group, this element ended above the neck in a chignon, which has here broken off. In profile, the skull is uncommonly arched toward the back. The very flat and wavy hair on the crown of the head is as unusual as the absence of hair beneath the chignon at the neck.

These deviations from the type are doubtless derived from liberties that the sculptor of the present head allowed himself.

CONDITION: The head appears to have been turned slightly to its right. It cannot be determined whether it sat atop a bust or a statue. A large section of the left side of the head is missing; the break runs diagonally upward from the base of the neck. The tip of the nose and the right earlobe have broken off, and a large piece is missing from the wave of hair above the forehead on the left side. There are smaller chips and damage on the chin, cheeks, lower lip, right eyebrow, and in the hair.

LITERATURE: Freyer-Schauenburg 1982, p. 212, figs. 16–19; Winkes 1995, p. 140, no. 64, ill. (as Tiberian); Bartman 1999, pp. 116–17, 164, no. 41, fig. 148; Wood 1999, p. 117.

## NOTES

1. For the Tiberian dating, see Freyer-Schauenburg 1982, p. 224.

2. *Ibid.*, p. 212, figs. 13–15.



**Small Female Bronze Bust**

Julio-Claudian, ca. A.D. 50

Bronze, H. 9½ in. (24.1 cm); chin to part,  
4 in. (10.2 cm)

Edith Perry Chapman Fund 1952 (52.11.6)

**PROVENANCE:** Said to have been found in Rimini by 1902 (information from Antoine Héron de Villefosse published in Toutain 1913, p. 85); [by 1908 and until 1928, with Edward Perry Warren]; [1928–52, with H. Asa Thomas, inherited as part of the E. P. Warren estate at Lewes House, U.K.]; acquired in 1952, purchased from H. Asa Thomas.

This small bust presumably came from a domestic context. It could have represented a deceased family member and been intended to stand in a domestic shrine together with the lares and statuettes of particularly venerated dieties.

The bust is supported by a very detailed and realistic acanthus leaf as a calyx, its stalk set in a tall base.<sup>1</sup> The base is articulated with only a few lines and bordered with a slight molding. Although the bust widens somewhat toward the bottom, it remains quite narrow at the sides, following the tendency of late Augustan-Tiberian times.<sup>2</sup>

The hairstyle is distinguished by a rather complicated arrangement (the so-called looped-braid hairstyle). A simple center part runs from the center of the forehead to the back of the head. The strands in front, extending far down on to the cheeks on either side, are twisted into extremely precise ringlets. Above these, and just as carefully placed, extend wide tresses that disappear beneath a braid circling the head. It is unclear whether the tresses are actually woven into the braid, for the braid does not appear wide enough to accommodate them. In any case,



the entire mass of hair finally falls into the double loop of braid lying on the nape of the neck and is secured by the end of the braid. Long locks fall loosely onto the shoulders.

The subject is a woman no longer young, although in her face no indications of wrinkles are perceptible. The sharp forms, restless surface, and narrow, compressed mouth suggest her age.

The angular, coarse facial features indicate that the bust cannot have been produced by an especially skilled master. The large eyes with engraved iris and pupils seem fixed, and the perfectly uniform brows heighten the schematic effect. The bust is said to have been found near Rimini and is probably the work of a provincial workshop, which would explain the weaknesses in the modeling.



As for dating, the shape of the bust offers a point of departure. It extends more deeply and broadly than was customary in the Augustan period.<sup>3</sup> The hairstyle, with its treatment above the forehead, recalls that of Agrippina the Elder (14 B.C.–A.D. 33), the mother of Caligula.<sup>4</sup> The finest examples of the arrangement of the coiffure are found in Claudian and early Neronian times. For the forehead ringlets and the braid at the neck, compare an earlier portrait of Agrippina the Younger in Copenhagen.<sup>5</sup> The best examples of overly complex and inventive hairstyles of a similar kind occur at this time.<sup>6</sup>

CONDITION: The small bust is wholly preserved. Traces of corrosion are found in the hair, on the neck, and on the bust. The bust, the shaft of the acanthus, and the base were resoldered for installation in the Museum's new galleries,

inaugurated in 2007. At that time, the excessive tilt of the head toward the front seen in older photographs was corrected. There is a small, ancient hole at the bottom edge of the braid in back.

LITERATURE: Toutain 1913, pp. 85–86; Sotheby's 1933, p. 20, pl. 7; Alexander 1953 (the identification with Livia presumed here was later generally rejected); Furnée-van Zwet 1956, pp. 19–20, figs. 28–30; H. Jucker 1961, pp. 49–51, no. B2, pl. 13 (with detailed description but without personal examination); *Greece and Rome* 1987, p. 101, no. 74 (M. Anderson); Wood 1988, pp. 414–18, fig. 5; Motz 1993, pp. 236–40, no. A20, pl. 48 (with too early a date); Bartman 1999, p. 224 n. 2 (as by no means Livia); Milleker 2000, pp. 55, 206, no. 37 (C. Lightfoot); Dahmen 2001, p. 187, no. 164; Lahusen and Formigli 2001, pp. 135–36, no. 78, ill.; Pollini 2002, pp. 17–23, figs. 72, 73; Ravara Montebelli 2004; Picón et al. 2007, pp. 359, 487, no. 415.

#### NOTES

1. H. Jucker 1961, p. 50.
2. For a similar small bust from roughly the same time, see Christie's 2006, p. 176, no. 238.
3. Compare Johansen 1994–95, vol. 1, p. 178, no. 77; somewhat earlier is the bust cited in note 2.
4. Compare, for example, the head of the statue in Parma from Veleia: Boschung 2002, pp. 25–26, no. 2.7, pl. 18.2.
5. Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek, Copenhagen (755): Johansen 1994–95, vol. 1, pp. 150, no. 63. For the typology of the coiffure, see Boschung 1993b, pp. 73–74. For coiffures in general, see Mannsperger 1998, pp. 47–51, pls. 19–21; Furnée-van Zwet 1956, pp. 17–18, figs. 25–30; Polaschek 1972, pp. 180–82, fig. 11.8.
6. Johansen 1994–95, vol. 1, p. 176, no. 76, p. 190, no. 83; Kersauson 1996, vol. 1, p. 202, no. 95 (MA 1232), p. 204, no. 96 (MA 4518). Hekler (1912b) points to a portrait with a very similar coiffure in present-day Albania. This shows how widespread the fashion for complicated hairstyles was in the Roman Empire.



72

**Portrait of a Woman**

Late Flavian, ca. A.D. 90

Marble, overall H. 12¼ in. (31.1 cm), chin to crown 9½ in. (24.1 cm)

Rogers Fund, 1920 (20.188)

PROVENANCE: [Until 1920, with Alfredo Barsanti, Rome]; acquired in 1920, purchased from A. Barsanti.

The large curls of the woman's coiffure are immediately striking, in part because the sculptor has detailed them precisely. They are aligned in three rows, one above the other, but behind them a hairstyle of a wholly different kind begins. There the hair is plaited into some thirty stiff, thin braids lying close to the skull. At the

neck they are held together with a band of braid below which they originally ended in a loop of braids falling to the shoulders, as we know from other portraits and from coins of Flavia Domitilla, Vespasian's deified daughter (ca. A.D. 49–68/69).<sup>1</sup>

The still youthful woman has a pudgy, round face. Her small eyes are





surrounded by sharply articulated lids, their corners pronounced. They are set beneath protruding brows with delicately suggested hairs. With its precise modeling, the full mouth seems only applied to the face and gives it a slightly melancholy aspect, which may be related to the somewhat hard modeling of the full, fleshy cheeks. The impression is particularly apparent from the sides.

These features, in our opinion, provide a clue to the much debated dating of the head. The stiff forms of the face point to the eighties or early nineties of the first century A.D., and not, as some authors believe, the early Vespasianic or even late Neronian period. Comparison with a well-known late Neronian–early Flavian female portrait makes the point.<sup>2</sup> Similarly rigid forms do occur, however, in the faces of portraits from the time of Domitian (r. A.D. 81–96). Good comparisons are provided by the

posthumous portrait of Flavia Domitilla in Copenhagen and the somewhat later bust of a woman in the Palazzo Nuovo in Rome.<sup>3</sup>

**CONDITION:** The portrait is well preserved. However, owing to the break at the neck, which was later smoothed over, the loop of hair that once hung down onto the back was lost. Otherwise, only the tip of the nose and the edges of the ears are missing. Some of the large curls have been damaged. Brownish incrustations and sinter spots have been removed from the face and at the sides without visibly damaging the surface. They remain in the hair, especially on the left side. The face is lightly polished.

**LITERATURE:** M.E.P. 1924a, p. 194; Richter 1948, no. 54, ill. (as ca. A.D. 50–70); Hausmann 1959, p. 172 (as Neronian or early Vespasianic); H. Jucker 1961, p. 52 (agrees with Richter's early dating); Daltrop, Hausmann, and Wegner 1966, pp. 62, 120 (no identification with Domitilla possible); V. Poulsen 1962–74, vol. 2, p. 45 n. 1 (as Domitilla).



#### NOTES

1. See Daltrop, Hausmann, and Wegner 1966, pp. 123f–24, pl. 53 (portrait of Flavia Domitilla); and *ibid.*, pl. 51a–b (coin portraits of Flavia Domitilla).
2. Fittschen and Zanker 1983, p. 57, no. 75, pl. 93.
3. Portrait of Flavia Domitilla, Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek, Copenhagen (3186); Johansen 1994–95, vol. 2, pp. 40–41, no. 9. Bust of a woman, Musei Capitolini, Palazzo Nuovo, Rome (inv. 436): Fittschen and Zanker 1983, pp. 49–50, no. 63, pls. 79–81.



73

**Fragment of a Portrait of a Woman with Wreath**

Late Flavian, ca. A.D. 80–100

Marble, H. 10¼ in. (26 cm)

Gift of Mrs. Frederick F. Thompson, 1903  
(03.12.11b)

PROVENANCE: From before 1637 and until 1902, in the Giustiniani Collection, Rome; 1902, purchased from the Giustiniani family through Giuseppe Sangiorgi by Mrs. Frederick F. Thompson, New York; acquired in 1903, gift of Mrs. Frederick F. Thompson.

This portrait fragment originally served as the head of a seated statue restored as Hygieia, whose lower body is now separately displayed in the Museum (03.12.11a). The woman wears a rare laurel wreath woven of small leaves into which a flower has been placed above the center of her forehead. The upper edge of a cloak or shawl covers part of the wide knot of hair at the back. It is likely that the subject was identified in this way as a priestess.

The face shows amply modeled forms, and the mouth is slightly open. The small curls laid in careful successive

rows and the soft flesh suggest a dating to the later Flavian period, as does the two-part coiffure beneath the wreath.

The back portion consists of flat strands whose ends are plaited into braids arranged on the back of the head in a wide nest of hair.

The portrait of Julia Titi, daughter of the emperor Titus, formerly in Lugano is a comparable, roughly contemporary work.<sup>1</sup>

CONDITION: Previous restorations to the nose, mouth, chin, and ears have been removed. Portions of the back of the head and the hair are missing. There is damage to the right brow and in the hair. The drilling of the eyes could be modern.

LITERATURE: Arndt, Amelung, and Lippold 1893–, ser. XVIB (1940), nos. 4731, 4732 (M. Bieber); Richter 1948, no. 55, ill.; H. Jucker 1959–60, pp. 274–75; Gorelick and Gwinnett 1987, p. 40, fig. 3, p. 43, fig. 14.

NOTE

1. Daltrop, Hausmann, and Wegner 1966, pl. 43. Among the anonymous female portraits, compare also Musei Capitolini, Palazzo Nuovo, Rome (inv. 245); Fittschen and Zanker 1983, pp. 52–53, no. 68, pl. 85.





## 74

### Portrait Set into a Statue of Fortuna

Late Flavian–early Trajanic, ca. A.D. 100  
Marble, H. chin to top of hairpiece 11¼ in.  
(28.6 cm); H. of statue 75 in. (190.5 cm)  
Fletcher Fund, 1961 (61.82.1, portrait)  
(61.82.2, statue)

PROVENANCE: 1770s, purchased in Italy, probably Rome, by William Fitzmaurice, 1st Marquess of Lansdowne and the Earl of Shelburne; until 1930, collection of the Marquesses of Lansdowne, Lansdowne House, Berkeley Square, London; [March 5, 1930, purchased through Christie's, London, by A. Garabed]; [with A. Garabed, London]; [until 1961, with M. H. Drey Ltd., London]; acquired in 1961, purchased from M. H. Drey Ltd., London.

The Fortuna statue was one of nine ancient statues that stood in niches in the walls of the dining room at Lansdowne House, in London. The portrait, here discussed alone, is doubtless ancient and was presumably placed on the ancient Fortuna statue in the eighteenth century in Rome. Only the top of the neck is preserved; the lower part must be a modern restoration. The woman wears a shield-like coiffure piled up in six or seven rows above her forehead. It reaches to the temples and prevents viewers standing in front of the statue from

seeing the sides of the head. Visible from the sides is a parting that runs from ear to ear, separating the towering hair at the front from the many narrow braids running horizontally, from front to back, down to the nape of the neck. These first lie very close to the skull, then form a thick network twisted at the back of the head so that the nape of the neck remains exposed. The Metropolitan Museum owns two additional portraits and two funerary monuments whose subjects have similar towering coiffures (cats. 73, 75, 96, 97); however, the complicated shield



of curls is fully preserved only in the present example.

This fashion developed over the course of the Flavian era, intensified under Domitian, and reached its most extreme forms in the early Trajanic period. The present head belongs to this last phase, thus in late-Flavian or early-Trajanic times. A portrait in the Musée du Louvre, Paris, presents a very similarly constructed coiffure and corresponds to the present work in its complicated knot of braids. However, its fleshy face is more immediate in its fullness, and its shield of hair is piled

up less steeply.<sup>1</sup> Also, the overly large eyes of the Louvre portrait are clearly reminiscent of portraits of Julia Titi.<sup>2</sup> Closer to the present head, especially with respect to the coiffure, are later portraits of Domitian's wife, Domitia Longina (ca. A.D. 50/55–ca. 130).<sup>3</sup> Still, the steep structure of the shield of hair suggests a later, Trajanic date, which provides the best *comparanda*.<sup>4</sup>

The broad, fleshy face corresponds to the contemporary ideal of beauty, based on the above-named women of the Imperial Household. The original forms of the face can no longer be

recognized clearly, however, owing to the heavy cleaning. Yet details such as the precise edges of the eyelids and the hardened forms around the mouth also suggest the reign of Trajan. The portrait on the Knidian Aphrodite-type Venus statue at the Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek in Copenhagen is very comparable; it is also very similar to the present head in its coiffure, complete with hair knot.<sup>5</sup>

CONDITION: The head and statue do not belong together. The head was presumably placed on the statue in the eighteenth century. At that time the face was presumably severely cleaned, largely removing the original surface. For that reason, only the deeper losses and areas of damage—on the left brow and eyelid, for example—are visible. The front of the nose, a large portion of the upper lip, a repair to the lower lip, and the tip of the chin are restorations. Some of the small curls of the hairpiece have broken away or are damaged. The complicated mass of hair behind the hairpiece appears to have been cleaned only superficially. The thick loop of braids is ancient.

LITERATURE: Michaelis 1882, p. 445, no. 33; A. Smith 1889, pp. 11, 21, no. 33; Arndt, Amelung, and Lippold 1893–, ser. XI (1929), no. 3056 head (F. Poulsen), ser. XVIII (1943), no. 4905 statue (G. Lippold: the body a copy of “a work by the Erechteion Master”); Christie’s 1930, p. 69, no. 106; Vermeule 1955, p. 131; Irwin 1962; Parker 1968, pp. 123–24, fig. 17; Gorelick and Gwinnett 1987, pp. 39–42, fig. 2 (incorrect accession number).

#### NOTES

1. Musée du Louvre, Paris (Ma 1158): Kersauson 1996, vol. 2, pp. 38–39, no. 9.
2. Museo Nazionale Romano, Rome (8638): Giuliano 1983, pp. 32–36, no. 15 (L. de Lachenal); Daltrop, Hausmann, and Wegner 1966, pl. 42; see also formerly Solothurn, *ibid.*, pl. 44.
3. Musée du Louvre, Paris (Ma 1193): Kersauson 1996, vol. 2, pp. 42–43, no. 11; Daltrop, Hausmann, and Wegner 1966, pl. 54a–b.
4. Fittschen and Zanker 1983, pp. 49–51, nos. 63, 64, pls. 79–82. For other examples, see Vostchinina 1974, no. 24, pls. xxxiv, xxxv.
5. Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek, Copenhagen (711): Johansen 1994–95, vol. 2, p. 50, no. 14.

**Bust of a Woman**

Trajanic, ca. A.D. 110

Marble, overall H. 22 $\frac{5}{8}$  in. (57.4 cm), chin to crown 8 $\frac{1}{2}$  in. (21.6 cm)

Rogers Fund, 1914 (14.130.7)

PROVENANCE: Said to have been found in Rome; [until 1914, with Paul Hartwig, Rome]; acquired in 1914, purchased from P. Hartwig.

Given its excellent condition, the bust must have come from a tomb. Noteworthy is the fact that the base and tabula are very carelessly worked in comparison to the bust, and especially to the head. The wide, projecting bust shows a mantle draped over a chiton and over the left shoulder. The folds run along the back, where the sculptor was required to attach a piece to complete the left shoulder, since the marble block was too small.

The woman turns her head slightly upward and to the side. She was originally portrayed wearing the hairstyle much favored in the late Flavian-Trajanic period, with a shieldlike toupee of piled-up rows of curls. Since the stone block was inadequate here as well, the sculptor carved the toupee separately and attached it to the prepared slot above the narrow wreath of hair combed back off the forehead.<sup>1</sup>

What may have been a makeshift sculptural solution here and in a series of other instances was more likely the rule, for obvious reasons, in the daily realization of this hairstyle. Behind the structure of curls, the hair, combed toward the back, is plaited into a mass of slender braids that are then wound into the hair nest and secured at the back of the head.

Despite its classicizing, smooth surface, the elongated, bony face exhibits an astonishingly individualized



physiognomy with a serious expression. The cheekbones and chin are prominent. The face thrusts forward, so that the full-lipped mouth and curved nose predominate. Only the forehead and brows appear idealized beneath the beautiful arch of the hairline.

A dating to the Trajanic period is based not only on the coiffure. The clear, hard forms of the face, too, are characteristic of the style of the time. For the coiffure and the bony face, a

parallel is provided by a portrait of a woman, also no longer young, in the guise of a Venus in the Palazzo Nuovo, Rome.<sup>2</sup> The abundance of little braids twisted into a knot is another frequent feature.<sup>3</sup>

CONDITION: When the work was made, a portion of the bust and a piece of the mantle were carved separately and carefully attached at the back. Portions of the metal clamps that secured them survive, but the pieces themselves are lost. Clamps also secured the portion



of the coiffure that is now missing. Otherwise, the bust is very well preserved. Only the tip of the nose and a piece from the edge of the right ear are lost, along with small chips in the drapery. The large, carefully worked, rectangular depression on the left side of the head appears to derive from a subsequent repair, for it eradicates the previously existing details. For the form of the tabula, Klaus Fittschen points to a bust in the Museo Barracco in Rome.

LITERATURE: Richter 1915c, p. 24, fig. 2; Chase 1924, p. 187, fig. 234; Richter 1930, p. 300,

fig. 211; Richter 1948, no. 63, ill. (as perhaps Plotina); Wegner 1956, pp. 118–19 (as not Plotina); H. Jucker 1961, pp. 72–73 (diverges from portraits of Plotina); Fittschen and Zanker 1983, pp. 55–56, nos. 70 n. 3, 72 n. 1; Herrmann 1991, pp. 47–48, fig. 20; Matheson 2000, p. 73 and n. 31.

#### NOTES

1. See Fittschen and Zanker 1983, p. 56, no. 72 n. 1.
2. Musei Capitolini, Palazzo Nuovo, Rome (inv. 245): see *ibid.*, pp. 52–53, no. 68, pl. 85.
3. Johansen 1994–95, vol. 2, p. 50, no. 14; Kersauson 1996, vol. 2, p. 114, no. 46.



## 76

### Portrait of a Woman

Trajanic, A.D. 100–120

Marble, overall H. 14¾ in. (37.5 cm), chin to hairline 6¾ in. (17.1 cm)

Fletcher Fund, 1927 (27.122.4)

PROVENANCE: Said to be from Greece; [until 1927, with E. Yayas, Athens and Paris]; acquired in 1927, purchased from E. Yayas.

This portrait was once inserted into a statue. To that end, the head, obviously worked separately, had to be chiseled down on the sides and at the back, where the remnants of a garment can be seen. The long, slender neck is accentuated in an almost abstract manner with two parallel flesh folds (“Venus rings”).

The hair rises above the forehead in two tall waves, one above the other, then forms a lower wave, invisible from the front, leading to the back of the

head. There it has been plaited into a great number of narrow braids that, wound into a hair nest, circle the back of the head like a wreath. A small lock in front of each ear was intended to soften the severity of the arrangement. It is difficult to find parallels for waves of hair in this particular form; however there are heads with similar, if somewhat less elaborate, wavy coiffures.<sup>1</sup>

No other Imperial era had so great a variety of complex women’s hairstyles as the Flavian-Trajanic period. It must have been a great concern of the more affluent women of the time to attract attention with a particular variant of coiffure, whether small curls towering atop one another, waves of every kind, or—and especially—complex knots.

The fully idealized face of the Museum’s portrait is dominated by large eyes that, along with the sharp-edged brows, could have come from a

Classical statue. The same is true of the beautifully shaped mouth with its full lips. The only individualized feature in the portrait is the slightly hooked nose.

Judging from the hairstyle and the classicizing, abstract forms of the face, the head belongs to the Trajanic period.

CONDITION: “This piece fell while it was being photographed in 1939 and some chips were broken from the hair and chin. The broken pieces were reattached.”<sup>2</sup>

The tip of the nose and larger sections, especially in the upper wave of hair, are lost. Smaller chips are missing, mainly on the chin, the ears, and in the hair.

LITERATURE: Richter 1948, no. 68, ill.; Kleiner and Matheson 1996, p. 172, fig. 126 (P. Davies).

#### NOTES

1. Compare, for example, the lovely female head in the Museo del Prado, Madrid (141-E): Schröder 1993, p. 176, no. 44.
2. Note in the records of the Department of Greek and Roman Art.





**Over-Lifesize Portrait of the  
Empress Sabina(?)**

Hadrianic, ca. A.D. 120

Marble, H. 14<sup>3</sup>/<sub>16</sub> in. (36 cm)

Rogers Fund, 1922 (22.139.2)

PROVENANCE: [Until 1922, with Alfredo Barsanti, Rome]; acquired in 1922, purchased from A. Barsanti.

The badly damaged, over-lifesize head was carved without particular care or attention to detail. Only in the face and hairline did the sculptor make a bit more effort. The rest of the hair, by contrast, is only cursorily worked. Moreover, only the lower part of the towering shield of hair is preserved. It cannot be determined if there was an ancient repair with a replacement of the shield of hair.

Behind the toupee, the locks run in broad, barely differentiated strands to the sides. Above the neck, the hair is caught up in the Classical bun seen on goddesses; the broad double strands originally fell to the shoulders on both sides. From this part of the coiffure it has been concluded, doubtless correctly, that the subject was portrayed as Venus, for which there is a whole series of examples from the Flavian, Trajanic, and Hadrianic periods.<sup>1</sup> Moreover the shoulder-length locks as well as the cursory carving suggest that the head must come from a statue.

But who was the subject? The head must have been produced in the first years of Hadrian's reign, at the latest. Given its over-lifesize format, it likely portrays some member of the Imperial Household, but there is no truly satisfactory candidate. The thought, repeatedly advanced, that this is Hadrian's wife, Vibia Sabina (A.D. 83–136/137), seems very doubtful, for neither is





there a portrait with a comparable hairstyle among the numerous coins and portraits of Hadrian's wife nor does the physiognomy match Sabina's. Still, the head can hardly be associated with any other empress or princess of the period. For that reason, an identification is impossible at the present time. The hair knot and shoulder-length locks were part of the idealization of the subject as a goddess.

**CONDITION:** The head is heavily damaged. Almost the entire nose and a large part of the hairpiece are missing. In addition, there are losses to the face, especially on the brows, lips, and chin. Major portions of the hair have broken off, and there are many abrasions.

**LITERATURE:** Richter 1948, no. 70, ill.; Wegner 1956, p. 127 (as not Sabina); Hausmann 1959, p. 187 (as Sabina; late version of the wedding portrait); H. Jucker 1961, p. 73 n. 5; Carandini 1969, pp. 149–50, no. 21, pl. v.17–18, figs. 59, 60 (as Sabina, ca. A.D. 125); Wegner 1984, p. 150 (as not Sabina).

**NOTE**

1. See Johansen 1994–95, vol. 2, p. 50, no. 14; Wrede 1981, pp. 306–8.



78

**Portrait of Marciana (A.D. 48–112/114),  
Sister of the Emperor Trajan**

Hadrianic, A.D. 117–38  
Marble, H. 12¼ in. (31.1 cm)  
Rogers Fund 1920 (20.200)

PROVENANCE: [Until 1920, with Yanakopoulos,  
Paris]; acquired in 1920, purchased from  
Yanakopoulos.

The head is striking, thanks to the superb preservation of the subtly polished face. It is very broad at the level of the eyes but then narrows to an elegant, elongated shape. Set beneath strong brows, the eyes are accentuated by the hook-shaped pupils. In contrast to the absolutely smooth forehead, the cheeks seem plump. Together, the nose,

the thin-lipped mouth, and the strong chin indicate clearly that the subject was no longer young.

The very complex hairstyle begins at the temples with a narrow wave that grows wider toward the center of the forehead.<sup>1</sup> Beneath it, an elegant spiral lock hangs down in front of each ear. Above the center of the forehead, the



wave presumably terminated in two tonglike opposing locks, as in other replicas of this portrait type. Above it, the toupee rises in two tiers, one behind the other. The parting is shifted slightly to the right side of the head. Presumably with the aid of some kind of clamp, the hair here was probably pressed into longish standing units that

become progressively shorter toward the sides. Seen from the front, this shield completely obscured the rest of the hairdo. From the sides and the back, the look is entirely different. Behind the shield and around the back of the head, the hair is woven into tight braids. These are gathered above the nape of the neck in two thick bundles

that lie on the back of the head like a nest. Since in this case their ends are indicated, it is possible to see how they were inserted beneath the twisted bundles and secured with the kind of barrette found on other heads.<sup>2</sup>

Despite minor deviations, the head appears to be a copy of the portrait of Trajan's sister, Marciana. Two other



assured replicas come from Ostia and Florence. The head in Ostia is greatly over-lifesize, as is the head on the statue in the Loggia dei Lanzi in Florence.<sup>3</sup> Owing to the divergent physiognomy of the Museum's portrait, we do not consider it an assured replica of the type in Santa Maria Capua Vetere, which Margherita Bonanno Aravantinos identified as another copy.<sup>4</sup> Many portraits exhibit a similar coiffure and similar faces; however, in most cases, they were likely fashionable approximations of the portraits of Marciana.<sup>5</sup>

Marciana was conspicuously honored by her brother, Trajan; he even gave her the title Augusta. After her death in A.D. 112, she was deified and continued to be venerated by Trajan's successor, Hadrian (r. A.D. 117–38). She was the grandmother of Hadrian's wife, Sabina, and is said to have played a part

in Hadrian's designation as Trajan's successor. Hadrian's high respect for her is also indicated by her portraits, for all of them appear to date from his reign.<sup>6</sup> This is at least the case in the present portrait, which, judging from the drilled eyes, must be dated to the later part of Hadrian's reign.

CONDITION: Whether this head belonged to a bust or a statue is unknown. The face and its polish are extremely well preserved; only the nose is heavily damaged. Several pieces are missing from the three-tiered hair construction above the forehead, including, unfortunately, one from the center at the hairline, which would have been important to identify the subject. There are only a few small chips in the hair nest at the back.

LITERATURE: M.E.P. 1924a, p. 194, fig. 2; Wegner 1938, p. 291; Richter 1948, no. 66, ill.; Wegner 1956, pp. 78, 121–22; Felletti Maj 1961; Calza 1964, p. 61, under no. 92; *Greece and Rome* 1987, p. 130, no. 99 (M. Anderson); Bonanno

Aravantinos 1988–89, p. 269 and *passim*, figs. 6, 9, 15, 16, with reviews of replicas (as Marciana); Fittschen 1993, pp. 204–5, pls. 20b, 21a (as Marciana); I. Jucker 1995, pp. 29 n. 1, 30 n. 6 (as Marciana); Fittschen 1996, p. 42, fig. 3 (as Marciana).

#### NOTES

1. For the techniques used in arranging "woven nest" coiffures such as this, see Mannsperger 1998, pp. 67–71, pls. 34–37, especially the reconstruction in pl. 37.
2. For the barrettes preserved on some portraits, see Fittschen 1993, p. 203 n. 7.
3. For the copy in Ostia (Museo Archeologico Ostiense [20]), see Calza 1964, p. 61, no. 92, pl. LIV; Bonanno Aravantinos 1988–89, p. 269, figs. 6, 9, 15, 16; Fittschen 1993, p. 204 n. 13; La Rocca et al. 2011, p. 276, no. 4.23, with additional bibliography. For the copy in Florence, see Gasparri 1979, pp. 530–32, figs. 8–12; Bonanno Aravantinos 1988–89, p. 301 and *passim*, figs. 5, 8, 12.
4. Antiquarium, Santa Maria Capua Vetere: Bonanno Aravantinos 1988–89, pp. 269–301, figs. 1, 7, 10, 13.
5. See the list in *ibid.*, pp. 302–8.
6. As noted in Fittschen 1993, p. 205 n. 21.



79

**Portrait of a Woman**

Hadrianic, ca. A.D. 117–38  
Marble, H. 11¼ in. (28.6 cm)  
Rogers Fund, 1913 (13.229.3)

PROVENANCE: Said to be from Rome; [until 1913, with Paul Hartwig, Rome]; acquired in 1913, purchased from P. Hartwig.

The delicate face of this no-longer-young woman, with its narrow eyes and small mouth, recalls that of the empress Sabina. The features, however, seem “delicate and slack” (Wegner), which may owe partly to the

deterioration of the surface. The rendering of the flesh beneath the chin is more suggestive of age than that of the face. The gaze seems to have been directed slightly upward. Truly individual features are hardly recognizable in the portrait.

The complexity of the coiffure points to the era of high-piled hairstyles under the late Flavians and Trajan (cats. 73, 74, 78). The hair is combed up from the forehead in broad strands and at the bottom is caught by a very thin roll of twisted strands, beneath the ends of which carefully shaped locks hang in front of the ears, which are badly worn. Behind the hair of the forehead, a low shield of hair rises, formed of plaitlike woven strands. On the sides it is possible to trace how the hair is gathered up into wide braids, twisted, and how it becomes thinner as it ends in the large nest at the back of the head.

Because of the similarity in the hair to portraits of Matidia Augusta (A.D. 68–119), Trajan’s niece and Hadrian’s mother-in-law,<sup>1</sup> and in the face to Empress Vibia Sabina (A.D. 83–136/137), Hadrian’s wife,<sup>2</sup> archaeologists have been puzzled and have made various ascriptions. For example, Hans Jucker assumed that a tall shield of hair had once stood above the forehead locks. But that is impossible, for the presumed trace of an attachment would have been far too narrow. Moreover, the low shield of hair lying behind the forehead locks is characterized as a clearly articulated element and must have been visible.



The eyes’ clearly sunken pupils suggest a late Hadrianic dating, which is also suggested by the probably deliberate relationship to the physiognomy of Empress Sabina.

CONDITION: A large portion of the head from the left ear to the base of the neck on the right is missing. The tip of the nose has broken off, and there are large losses on the chin and smaller ones on the lower lip and brows. The edges of both ears are missing. The surface of the entire head is worn.

LITERATURE: Richter 1914a, pp. 62–63, fig. 5; Richter 1948, no. 67, ill.; Wegner 1956, p. 124 (cannot represent Matidia); H. Jucker 1961, p. 72 (as certainly Matidia); Carandini 1969, p. 154, figs. 88, 89 (as Matidia); Herrmann 1991, pp. 47–48, fig. 21.

NOTES

1. For her iconography, not fully clarified, see Fittschen and Zanker 1983, pp. 9–10, no. 8, pl. 10.
2. *Ibid.*, pp. 10–13, nos. 9–12. For the low, second shield of hair, compare Johansen 1994–95, vol. 2, p. 116, no. 43.

**Portrait of Matidia the Younger**  
(A.D. 85–161)

Early Antonine, ca. A.D. 140

Marble, H. 14¾ in (37.5 cm)

Rogers Fund 1921 (21.88.35)

PROVENANCE: [Until 1921, with Alfredo Barsanti, Rome]; acquired in 1921, purchased from A. Barsanti.

The identification of the portrait was based on the statue in the form of the goddess Aura from the theater in Sessa Aurunca (fig. 36). According to numerous inscriptions, Matidia the Younger was especially prominent in this city as a patron and benefactor, for it lay at the center of her numerous praedia (properties) between the cities of Sessa Aurunca, Sinuessa, and Minturno.

Matidia the Younger was the daughter of Matidia Augusta (A.D. 68–119) and thus a granddaughter of Marciana and half sister of Emperor Hadrian's



Fig. 36 Partially reconstructed statue of Matidia the Younger, ca. A.D. 140. Colored marble, H. 8 ft. 6¾ in. (2.6 m). Castello Ducale, Sessa Aurunca (29704)





wife, Sabina. In the embellishment of the theater in Sessa Aurunca, her high birth was celebrated with honorary statues and busts. Of the two cuirassed statues erected there, one represented Hadrian and the other possibly Antoninus Pius, Hadrian's successor and adopted son. Also found in the theater were busts of Sabina and her mother Matidia the Elder, Trajan's niece.

Matidia the Younger wears a very complicated coiffure. From a part above the center of her forehead, broad, undulating strands are carefully drawn back behind the ears and disappear under the tall crown of braids. On the top of her head, they are then drawn into the braids that form the crown. This can be seen most clearly on the replica in the Musée du Louvre, Paris (no. 3 in the list below).

Unlike the other known replicas, the present example does not turn to the side, but rather faces straight ahead, with the head slightly raised. The eyes are directed upward, the slightly

inward-turning pupils presumably meant to lend a sovereign aspect to the expression. The cheeks are full, and the mouth, with small dimples on either side, is fully, elegantly modeled.

Of this type of portrait of Matidia the Younger, five other replicas are known:

1. The descending Aura with the portrait of Matidia the Younger from the theater at Sessa Aurunca. Her robe was carved from dark marble and her exposed flesh from a light, probably Italian marble. This statue appeared to hover above the center door as though descending onto the stage (see the reconstruction in fig. 36 and in Cascella 2013, p. 80). Castello Ducale, Sessa Aurunca (29704)

LITERATURE: Valeri and Zevi 2004 names the portrait type on the basis of the inscriptions: Ruggi D'Aragona 2002, pp. 325–26, no. 23, ill.; Cascella and Ruggi D'Aragona 2012, pp. 85–87.

2. Weathered portrait and traces of the drapery from a bust or statue, also

from the theater at Sessa Aurunca. Castello Ducale, Sessa Aurunca (297044)

LITERATURE: Reggiani 2004a, pp. 138–39, ill. (B. Adembri); Cascella and Ruggi D'Aragona 2012, pp. 85–87.

3. Portrait (broken at the attachment to the neck). Musée du Louvre, Paris (Ma 4882)

LITERATURE: Baratte 1984, figs. 1–4; Kersauson 1996, vol. 2, pp. 142–43, no. 58.

4. Portrait broken at the neck, with major damage to the face. Villa Adriana, Tivoli

LITERATURE: Reggiani 2004a, pp. 104–7; Reggiani 2004b, pp. 11–22; Adembri and Nicolai 2007, pp. 122–25.

5. Portrait broken at the neck and missing the tip of the nose. Muzeum Narodowe, Warsaw (198721) (until 1946 in Schloss Beynühren, Ulianoskoje, Kaliningrad—formerly East Prussia)

LITERATURE: Schweitzer 1929, pp. 187–89, no. XIV, pls. XXI, XXII; Sadurska 1972, p. 38, no. 34, pl. 30.



Compared to the other replicas of this type, the New York portrait—aside from the slight deviation in the position of the head—proves to be a reliable copy.

The dating of the statue from the theater in Sessa Aurunca is provided by the reconstruction of the theater in the first years of the reign of Emperor Antoninus Pius (r. A.D. 138–61). Since the other replicas scarcely differ from that one in style, it can be assumed that virtually all of them were produced early in the reign of Antoninus Pius. Aged fifty-five in A.D. 140, Matidia the Younger was no longer young. However, as with the portraits of the other women of the Imperial Household, she appears ageless and without any wrinkles.

**CONDITION:** A large portion of the tower of hair formed of thin braids was attached as a separate piece at the back, as indicated by the smoothed contact surface with holes for the adhesive. The arbitrary interruption of the strands at the points where the extra piece was attached shows that the head was damaged after it was completed and then restored, presumably with plaster or some similar material.

The tip of the nose and rims of the ears have broken off. There are smaller losses to the brows and in the hair. Discoloration (corrosion) is present on the neck, the right cheek, and the brows, especially on the right side. The head was presumably destined for incorporation into a statue; however, there are no longer any traces of drapery at the neck.

**LITERATURE:** M.E.P. 1924a, p. 194; Richter 1948, no. 84, ill.; Bergmann 1972, pp. 224–25; Sadurska 1972, p. 38, under no. 34; Wegner 1980, p. 191; Fittschen and Zanker 1983, p. 69, no. 90 n. 3; Baratte 1984, pp. 303–4, figs. 5–7; Valeri and Zevi 2004; Wood 2015, pp. 237–41 (concerning the statue, the portrait type, and the hairstyle of the replica in the Louvre, figs. 9, 10).

**LITERATURE ON THE TYPE:** Cascella 2013.



## 81

### Portrait of a Girl

Antonine, ca. A.D. 150  
Marble, H. 10 $\frac{1}{8}$  in. (25.7 cm)  
Rogers Fund 1910 (10.210.22)

**PROVENANCE:** Said to be from South Italy;  
[until 1910, with Paul Hartwig, Rome];  
acquired in 1910, purchased from P. Hartwig.

As Klaus Fittschen recognized, this is a replica of a portrait type that was also the model for a bust in the

Palazzo Nuovo in Rome.<sup>1</sup> The latter work is fortunately preserved complete, with an undamaged bust, head, tabula, and base (fig. 37). There, the girl has turned her slightly lowered head to the left. This position determined the broadened left side of the face, which is evident when the two replicas are viewed from the front, though the main view was from the side. The execution of both heads is so similar that they can



be assumed to come from the same workshop—indeed, to be by the same sculptor. This similarity also indicates that the Museum’s head did not come “from South Italy,” as the art dealer Paul Hartwig claimed. Instead, both portraits presumably came from the same tomb in Rome. It was not unusual for multiple portraits of the same person to be placed in a tomb.<sup>2</sup>

The seemingly simple hairstyle actually proves to be quite complicated. From the straight part above the middle of the forehead, flat strands are combed upward in front of layers of braiding. The ends of these strands are woven into two thin braids and wound around the entire head, each ending behind the ears. The hair from the back of the head is woven into braids and piled up like a turban. Similar hairstyles are frequently seen from the time of Hadrian forward, the large number of variants indicating how much value women placed on this play with towering hairdos and what a great amount of time such arrangements must have taken.<sup>3</sup>

Like the replica in the Palazzo Nuovo, the portrait in the Metropolitan has a strikingly pensive expression. The surface of the cheeks in the girl’s pudgy

face are modeled with great detail and delicacy. The mouth, with its slightly projecting upper lip, also seems highly individualized. The same is true of the broad nose.

The smooth hair at the forehead, the diffuse forms of the face, and the accentuation of the pupils all compare favorably with portraits of Faustina the Elder, wife of Antoninus Pius. It therefore seems appropriate to date the head to or shortly before the middle of the second century A.D.<sup>4</sup>

CONDITION: The tip of the nose and the edges of both ears are missing. There are smaller areas of damage on the lips and in the hair. The face has been partially cleaned. Heavy incrustation is present, especially on the neck and in the hair.

LITERATURE: Richter 1910, p. 275; F. Poulsen 1923, p. 86, no. 70, fig. 53; Richter 1948, no. 79, ill.; Fittschen and Zanker 1983, pp. 76–77, no. 100, pls. 126, 127 (as copy of the same portrait type; illustration of the present portrait at addendum 18a–d); *Greece and Rome* 1987, p. 137, no. 105 (M. Anderson); Johansen 1994–95, vol. 2, p. 180, no. 73 (sees in this portrait a close relationship to the one in the Metropolitan Museum).

#### NOTES

1. Fittschen and Zanker 1983, pp. 76–77, no. 100, pls. 126, 127.

2. *Ibid.*, nos. 118, 119, pls. 149–51, with further examples of portraits of the same private persons. See also the two excellent portraits of the same man in the Glyptothek, Munich, one wearing a toga and the other a short undergarment beneath a military cloak: Wünsche 2005, pp. 148–49, ill.

3. A good overview is in Fittschen and Zanker 1983, pp. 68–78, nos. 89–102, pls. 110–29.

4. Compare, for example, the portrait of Faustina the Elder in the Sala degli Imperatori of the Palazzo Nuovo, Musei Capitolini, Rome (inv. 447): Fittschen and Zanker 1983, pp. 13–14, no. 13, pls. 15, 16.



Fig. 37 Bust copied after the same original as *Portrait of a Girl* (cat. 81), ca. A.D. 150. Marble, H. of the head 9 $\frac{7}{8}$  in. (25 cm). Musei Capitolini, Palazzo Nuovo, Sala delle Colombe, Rome (inv. 201)





82

**Portrait of the Empress Faustina the Younger(?)**

Antonine, ca. A.D. 150–70

Marble, overall H. 15½ in. (39.4 cm), chin to crown 10½ in. (26.7 cm)

Gift of Shelby and Leon Levy, 1986 (1986.40)

PROVENANCE: Until 1985, private collection; 1985, purchased by Shelby White and Leon Levy through Sotheby's London; acquired in 1986, gift of Shelby White and Leon Levy.

The portrait must have come from a statue, which, to judge from the surface, stood outdoors for a long time.

The mantle or veil drawn over the head shows the subject to be a married woman. Her hairstyle matches the first of many worn by Faustina the Younger (ca. A.D. 130(?)–175), the wife of Emperor Marcus Aurelius. Klaus Fittschen devoted a detailed study to the portraits of this empress and showed that at the birth of each of her children, she adopted a new coiffure. The woman in the present portrait wears the first of these coiffures, which Faustina the Younger, then still a princess, wore in the years A.D. 147–49, after the birth of

her first child. The hair on her forehead and temples is looped from a center part toward the back, where it is caught in a nest of hair at the back of her head, here visible only beneath the mantle.

Based on this hairstyle, a dating to these same years would be very probable if we could be certain that the portrait represents Faustina the Younger and not some other woman, who, like many of her contemporaries, imitated the hairstyles of the empress. The person portrayed here could indeed be another woman, for the face is broader than that of the princess and does not narrow toward the chin as hers does. In addition, the subject seems considerably older than Faustina, who would have been only seventeen in A.D. 147.

The portrait very probably comes from Asia Minor; similar heads are found in Aphrodisias.<sup>1</sup> It is conceivable that the atelier did not have a good pattern for the princess's portrait. However, it is more probable that this is a portrait of a bourgeois woman who had copied one of the empress's hairstyles, as often happened, and who was flattered that the sculptor found her face reminiscent of that of the empress. If this was the case, the portrait could, of course, have been produced later than in the years mentioned.

CONDITION: The entire surface of the portrait is weathered. Portions of the veil or mantle drawn over the head have broken off. The oblique break could be from a modern reworking. The nose and a portion of the upper lip have broken away. There is brownish discoloration overall. Some of the losses are modern.

LITERATURE: Sotheby's 1985, no. 142; Recent Acquisitions 1986, p. 8, ill. (M. Anderson: as "perhaps the empress Faustina minor"; see Fittschen 1982, pp. 44–48, Type 1, A.D. 147–49).

NOTE

1. R. Smith 2006, pp. 246–47, no. 143, pls. 102, 103.





83

**Portrait Bust of a Woman**

Later Antonine, ca. A.D. 170

Marble, overall H. 29 in. (73.7 cm), chin to crown 9¼ in. (23.5 cm)

Rogers Fund, 1913 (13.115.2)

PROVENANCE: Said to have been found near Santa Pudenziana, Rome, immediately southwest of the church; [until 1913, with Alfredo Barsanti, Rome]; acquired in 1913, purchased from A. Barsanti

The well-preserved bust presumably came from the tomb of the woman portrayed. She must have died in middle age and appears to have come from a distinguished family, for she wears a stola (long garment worn by women of high rank) beneath her elegantly draped palla (mantle).

The woman has turned her head slightly to her right. Thanks to the pronounced drilling in the eyes, her gaze seems uncommonly earnest, even severe. The wrinkles in the slack flesh of her face indicate that she was no longer young.

Her hairstyle matches almost perfectly one of the many coiffures worn

by the empress Faustina the Younger. Klaus Fittschen has devoted a study to the empress's virtually programmatic changes in hairstyle connected with her numerous childbirths. Her coiffures were imitated in rapid succession by women not only in Rome and Italy, but throughout the Empire. The coiffure in the present portrait was modeled on the fifth type worn by Faustina between A.D. 152 and 166.

Numerous portraits attest to the popularity of this relatively simple coiffure, as compared to those of later types seen in the empress's portraits. The hair is drawn to the sides from a center part in ornate waves and on to the back of the head, covering the ears almost completely. It was gathered above the nape of the neck and pinned up in the now-missing knot.

Dating the work is simple, thanks to the hairstyle adopted from the empress. However, since that the fashion probably endured for some time, the bust could have been created in the A.D. 170s.

CONDITION: The tip of the nose is missing. Obvious dark staining and incrustations occur especially on the forehead and the bridge of the nose and also on the cheeks, neck, and hair. The knot of hair at the back, now lost, was carved separately and attached. Preserved almost without damage, the bust belongs with the tabula and base. When they broke away, a piece at the back was lost and had to be restored.

LITERATURE: Richter 1914a, p. 62; Richter 1930, p. 303; Richter 1948, no. 87, ill.; Fittschen 1982, p. 53 n. 32e.





84

**Fragment of a Portrait of a Girl**

Late Antonine, ca. A.D. 180  
Marble, H. 9 1/8 in. (23.2 cm)  
Rogers Fund, 1911 (11.212.5)

PROVENANCE: Said to have been found in Athens; [until 1911, with C. A. Lembessis, Paris]; acquired in 1911, purchased from C. A. Lembessis.

This fragment has a special importance in the context of the Metropolitan Museum's Roman portraits in

that it certainly comes from Greece, probably from Athens, and of the portraits produced there, it is of unusually high quality.

The forms of the face are delicate and nuanced. The mouth, with its full lips, appears slightly open, and the nose is highly individualized. The large eyes are framed by clearly articulated lids beneath brows with engraved hairs. To judge from the flatness of the left cheek and the eye glancing to the

right, the head turned slightly in that direction.

The hair springs up above the center of the forehead and is combed back in long strands. Such coiffures are occasionally found in works from Athens and Greece but rarely in the west in this form.<sup>1</sup> In addition, the strands are carefully rendered without any trace of drilling—another characteristic of good Attic portraits.

For the dating, we can only go by the features of the face—the eyes, brows, and mouth. These most likely suggest the late Antonine period.<sup>2</sup>

CONDITION: The fragment was broken from the head, presumably to be burned in a lime kiln. Preserved is a portion of the face and of the hair above the forehead.

LITERATURE: "Accessions" 1912, p. 15; Richter 1948, no. 75, ill. (as early Antonine); Fittschen and Zanker 1983, p. 83, no. 112 n. 1b (examples of bristly hair; as late Antonine).

NOTES

1. Fittschen and Zanker 1983, p. 83, no. 112 n. 1b; Rhomiopoulou 1997, p. 97, no. 99, p. 108, no. 109; compare also the lovely Hadrianic head in Kaltsas 2002, p. 352, no. 744.

2. Rhomiopoulou 1997, p. 97, no. 99, p. 111, no. 115; Kaltsas 2002, p. 345, no. 731; Datsoulē-Stauridē 1985, pp. 65–66, no. 525, pl. 81, pp. 75–76, no. 358, pls. 99, 100, pp. 76–77, no. 456, figs. 101, 102.





85

**Portrait of a Young Woman**

Late Antonine, ca. A.D. 170–80

Marble, H. 10<sup>3</sup>/<sub>16</sub> in. (25.9 cm)

Rogers Fund, 1923 (23.160.6)

PROVENANCE: [Until 1923, with Giovanni Fabiani, Rome]; acquired in 1923, purchased from G. Fabiani.

The high quality of this portrait was rightly praised by Ludwig Curtius, who nevertheless overestimated, with fifty, the age of the young woman. The head turns slightly to its right, which is why the sculptor made the left half of the face flatter and broader than the right.

The modeling of the face is extremely nuanced. It is almost as if we can see movement in the ample cheeks and beautifully formed mouth. The eyes are heavily lidded, and their irises and pupils are recessed. Above the eyes, the brows arch elegantly to the sides.





The hairdo is striking for its simplicity. From a center part extending over the entire crown of the head, the hair is combed to the sides, then drawn behind the ears toward the back. There it is caught up in a simple, twisted loop and fastened at the back of the head.

The hairstyle and heavy eyelids so characteristic of portraits of the empress Faustina the Younger (ca. A.D. 130(?)–175) suggest a dating to her time.<sup>1</sup> The same hairstyle, with a heavy loop of hair just above the neck, occurs on coins with portraits of Didia Clara (b. A.D. 153), the daughter of Emperor Didius Julianus, who reigned for only a few months in A.D. 193.<sup>2</sup>

CONDITION: A large part of the nose, restored in Antiquity, is lost; the repair with dowel hole is still visible. There is slight damage to the upper lip and the left eyelid. A major piece of

the hair is missing at the nape of the neck. Otherwise, though broken at the neck, the head and its polished surface are excellently preserved. Incrustations and sinter spots have been removed without damaging the lovely portrait.

LITERATURE: Richter 1948, no. 85, ill.; Curtius 1957, p. 4 (dated too early, as ca. A.D. 150–60); Meischner 1966, p. 126, no. 11, fig. 87.7 (as early Severan); Brilliant 1975, p. 138, pl. 35 (as ca. A.D. 160–70); Meischner 1982, pp. 120, 124, fig. 10; *Greece and Rome* 1987, p. 143, no. 111 (M. Anderson: as end of the second century A.D.).

#### NOTES

1. Directly comparable are the portraits of Faustina the Younger that Klaus Fittschen grouped under his type 5 (Fittschen 1982, pp. 51–53, pls. 19–22). These portraits were produced in the fifties of the second century, to be sure, but the hairstyles they displayed could well have continued to be fashionable into the years A.D. 170–80.

2. Brilliant 1975, pl. 38.4–5.





86

**Portrait Bust of a Woman with Veiled Head**

Severan, ca. A.D. 190–210

Marble, overall H. 26 in. (66 cm), chin to veil 7¼ in. (19.7 cm)

Fletcher Fund 1930 (30.11.11)

**PROVENANCE:** Until 1930, collection of Baron Maximilian von Heyl and descendants, Darmstadt; acquired in 1930, purchased at the Heyl Sale, Galerie Helbing, Munich.

The bust includes nearly half of the subject's body, which the artist used to present the physiognomy, pose, and movement as an expressive unity. The woman has drawn her mantle close around her and over her head. Her right arm and hand remain hidden beneath it, a mark of the demure behavior required of married women since Hellenistic times. Her gesture

might even be understood as a spontaneous attempt to hide the slight décolleté visible below her throat. There, a small part of the chiton worn beneath her mantle is also visible. The woman seems to look to the side deliberately, so as not to meet any foreign glances, to say nothing of returning them.

With all these details, the sculptor deliberately draws the viewer's gaze to



the woman's lovely face, which was further framed by the once-prominent decoration of the mantle's edge (see Condition). Despite the absence of wrinkles in the face, this is not a young woman. In the smooth forms of the forehead and cheeks, the sculptor has discreetly registered signs of the onset of age, especially under the eyes, around the mouth, and beneath the chin. The three-dimensionally articulated eyebrows, with their broad curves, have a highly abstract form that was at one time further intensified by the polychromy. The same is true of the eyes, whose pupils are strongly emphasized by having been drilled twice.

The hairstyle framing the face matches the one worn by the empress Julia Domna (A.D. 170–217) and subsequently propagated throughout the Empire. The hair frames the entire face. It is combed to the sides from a center part and falls to the neck. From there, it is drawn toward the back, where it is bound into a braidlike feature that can be discerned in the present bust only from the swelling in the mantle.

The coiffure suggests a dating early in the reign of Septimius Severus (r. A.D. 193–211). In that period, drapery folds had already taken on a greater degree of abstraction and schematization, as can be seen in the uniform folds beneath the hand, over the breast, and on the rest of the mantle drawn to the side.

The bust form encompassing nearly the entire upper body was a fashion begun in the early third century. Two especially good examples that have rightly been compared to the present one recently surfaced in a German private collection.<sup>1</sup>



**CONDITION:** The tip of the nose has been restored. There are larger and smaller losses related to the drilled holes on the edge of the mantle around the face. Flat losses and splintering caused by weathering also occur on the mantle, especially on the right side and the back, where a large opening exposes the hollowed area and the support. The face is slightly polished. During an investigation prior to conservation of the piece, it was determined that the seven clearly visible holes drilled in the edge of the mantle around the face contain discoloring from iron rust. This suggests that the major losses here resulted from the iron pins inserted in connection with embellishment along the edge of the cloak (report dated February 21, 2006, records of the Department of Objects Conservation).

**LITERATURE:** Galerie Helbing 1930, vol. 1, no. 28 (E. Langlotz); Alexander 1931; Blümel 1933, p. 36, R87 (as late second century A.D.); Richter 1948, no. 88, ill.; H. Jucker 1961, p. 100 n. 5; Meischner 1966, p. 130, no. 16, pl. 13; Wegner 1976, p. 127; McCann 1978, pp. 43–44, fig. 44; *Greece and Rome* 1987, p. 144, no. 112 (M. Anderson); Mlasowsky 2006, p. 126, addendum 48.

**NOTE**

1. Mlasowsky 2006, pp. 124–31, nos. 31, 32, pls. 45–49.





87

**Bust of a Young Woman**

Late Severan, A.D. 230–50

Marble, overall H. 25 $\frac{5}{8}$  in. (65.1 cm), chin to crown 9 $\frac{1}{2}$  in. (24.1 cm)

Rogers Fund, 1918 (18.145.39)

PROVENANCE: [Until 1918, with Alfredo Barsanti, Rome]; acquired in 1918, purchased from A. Barsanti.

This excellently preserved portrait of a young woman sits unbroken atop its large bust, which extends nearly to the waist. Beneath her mantle she wears an undergarment that covers her right arm as far as the hand. The woman extends her forearm almost horizontally, and her fingers grip the folds of the mantle draped over her shoulder. With this effective gesture, the artist enlivens the figure and

produces a counterpart to the head, which is bent downward and to the right. The drapery folds, by contrast, are rendered quite schematically in the style of the time, giving little indication of the forms of the body. This is especially apparent on the left side, where the arm is barely suggested.

The hair has been waved with a curling iron in strictly separated rows. It is parted in the center and drawn

behind the ears on both sides and downward along the neck. At the back of the head it is caught in a narrow mesh of braids.

This hairstyle frames a contemplative face that is only seemingly simple. The curves of the brows extend well to the sides. Corresponding to a fashion that appeared under Julia Domna, they extend to the root of the nose. The narrow mouth, with its upturned corners, contributes decisively to the vitality of the expression. Aside from the full cheeks, the face is barely nuanced. However, the sculptor emphasized the eyes with the deeply drilled irises and pupils and a clear delineation of the lids. For the viewer, the sharp turn of the head is intended to offset the disparity between the two halves of the face.

The portraits of Julia Mamaea (A.D. 180–235) provide a first indication of the date of the work. She was the daughter of Julia Maesa, niece of the

empress Julia Domna, and mother of the emperor Severus Alexander (r. A.D. 222–35), during whose reign she gained great influence. Her portraits exhibit the essential features of the hairstyle of the present bust.<sup>1</sup> Even more closely related are the portraits of Otacilia Severa, the wife of Emperor Philip the Arab (r. A.D. 244–49), which present a similar narrow twist of braid at the back of the head.<sup>2</sup> It is therefore likely that the bust dates about A.D. 240, or not long thereafter.

**CONDITION:** The splendidly preserved bust exhibits only one major restoration, near the right hand. The nose has been excellently restored, and there are several smaller restorations in the upper edge of the mantle. As earlier photographs show, deposits and incrustations have been extensively but carefully removed from the face, though they are still clearly visible on the drapery.

**LITERATURE:** Richter 1921, pp. 228–29, fig. 4 (as from the time of Empress Otacilia, A.D. 244); Richter 1930, pp. 303–5, fig. 213; Richter 1948, no. 89, ill.; Meischner 1966, p. 143, no. 50 (as

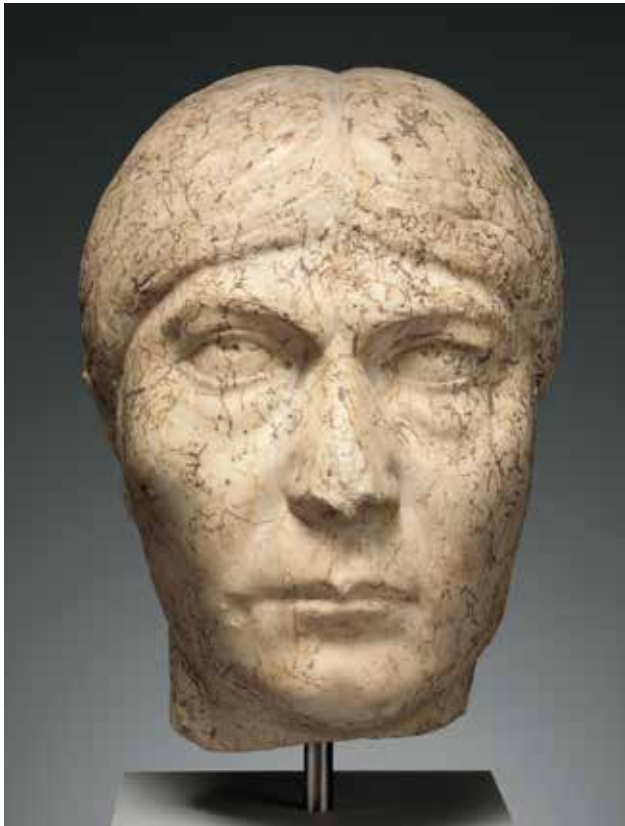
mid-Severan); Wegner 1976, pp. 126–27 (as ca. A.D. 220–30); Bergmann 1977, p. 91 n. 374 (as a good example of rich Severan fashions); Fittschen 1986, p. 245, pl. 42.2–3; Wood 1986, pp. 75–76, fig. 41 (good description); *Greece and Rome* 1987, p. 145, no. 113 (M. Anderson).

#### NOTES

1. Fittschen and Zanker 1983, pp. 30–32, no. 33, pls. 41–42, with list of replicas.
2. *Ibid.*, pp. 34–35, no. 37, pls. 45, 46, with replicas.







88

**Portrait of an Older Woman**

Late Severan, ca. A.D. 220–30

Marble, H. 8 $\frac{3}{4}$  in. (21.9 cm)

Purchase, Lewis M. Dubroff Gift and Marguerite and Frank A. Cosgrove Jr. Fund, 2013 (2013.456)

PROVENANCE: [Until 1955, with Ugo Donati, Molinazzi di Monteggio, Lugano, Switzerland]; May 1955, purchased by Erwin Ott from U. Donati; from 1955 onward, collection of Erwin Ott, Switzerland; acquired by Herman Beyeler by descent; until 2013, collection of Herman Beyeler, Switzerland; acquired in 2013, purchased through Sotheby's, New York.

The strangely elongated shape of the head as well as various details suggest that this portrait was created from an earlier work. The difference in the shapes of the two halves of the face is obvious; the right eye and eyebrow are considerably larger than those on the left. Also suggestive of a reworking are the extremely large ears; the flat, scarcely worked hair at the forehead and crown; and the flattened profile.

Since the entire head was reworked, it is difficult to date its predecessor.

Presumably, it was from the Antonine period. The reworked head is turned slightly to its left and depicts a no-longer-young woman with an unusually earnest expression. She has a lean, elongated face; large eyes; and a wide, thin-lipped mouth. Because of the sickle-shaped, recessed pupils, the eyes, shaded by broadly arched brows, appear to look upward. The deep lachrymal sacs and the creases leading down from the nose give the face a haggard expression.

The thin layer of hair extends far down onto the forehead. It is parted in the middle, and its strands, scarcely differentiated, lie close to the skull. They are drawn behind the ears to the nape of the neck, where they ended in a bun, now lost, that was carved separately and attached to the picked surface, which extends down to the neck. This knot of hair, presumably composed of flat

braids, can be imagined as similar to the one in the coiffure of Julia Mamaea, mother of the emperor Severus Alexander.<sup>1</sup> The Museum's reworked version of the head could accordingly have been produced about A.D. 220–30. There is a female portrait from this time in Copenhagen. It, too, is reworked, and it has the same type of hairdo.<sup>2</sup>

CONDITION: This head was carved from white, probably Luni marble. Only a few pieces are missing from the tip of the nose. Smaller losses are visible near the right corner of the mouth and on the edge of the right earlobe. On the back, the surface is roughened and picked for an attachment, now lost. The entire head is covered with a network of root marks, which have been partially removed from the face.

LITERATURE: Sotheby's 2012, p. 51, lot 33. See Brilliant 1975, pp. 135–42, pls. 25–27.

NOTES

1. Fittschen and Zanker 1983, pp. 30–32, no. 33, pl. 41, with list of replicas.
2. Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek, Copenhagen (812): V. Poulsen 1962–74, vol. 2, p. 159, no. 161, pl. CCLVIII; Johansen 1994–95, vol. 3, p. 92, no. 36.

**Portrait of a Woman**

Late Severan, ca. A.D. 222–35

Marble, H. 8¾ in. (22.2 cm)

Museum Accession (X.125)

**PROVENANCE:** Probably acquired in 1886, gift from the Wolfe Expedition to Assyria and Babylonia.

To judge from the hairstyle, the portrait dates from the later Severan period. The hair, parted in the middle of the forehead, falls downward behind the ears in uniform waves. At the nape of the neck it is caught up in a flat coil of braid drawn upward and secured at the back of the head. This hairstyle was worn by Julia Mamaea, the mother of the last Severan emperor, Severus Alexander (r. A.D. 222–35), and promptly adopted by many women throughout the Empire.<sup>1</sup>

The head was probably turned slightly to its right, for the left half of the face is flatter and broader than the right, as compensation. The woman's mouth has full lips and turns up slightly at the corners. Her eyes stand out because of the drilled holes in their centers, which were at one time inset with pupils of glass or stone. The high-arched eyebrows are articulated with incised hairs. The round, fleshy face is scarcely modeled.

**CONDITION:** The repair to the nose has been removed. There are large losses on the chin and left brow, and there is lesser damage on the right cheek, brow, and in the hair.

**LITERATURE:** Richter 1948, no. 90, ill. (as early third century A.D.); Ingholt 1954, p. 9 n. 3; Meischner 1966, pp. 151–53 (as “mid-Severan”).

**NOTES**

1. For the portraits of Julia Mamaea, see Fittschen and Zanker 1983, pp. 30–32, no. 33, pls. 41, 42; Wiggers and Wegner 1971, pp. 200–217, pls. 57–64a.







90

**Portrait of a Woman**

Late Antique, Theodosian, ca. A.D. 400  
Marble, overall H. 10 $\frac{3}{4}$  in. (27.3 cm), chin to  
crown 7 $\frac{3}{4}$  in. (19.7 cm)

Department of Medieval Art and The Cloisters  
Fletcher Fund, 1947 (47.100.51)

PROVENANCE: Until 1930, collection of Baron  
Maximilian von Heyl, Darmstadt; [1933–38,  
with Hans M. Calmann, London]; [1938–47,  
with Brummer Gallery, Paris and New York];  
acquired in 1947, purchased from  
Brummer Gallery.

**L**ike the portrait of an older woman (cat. 88), this Late Antique work has been chiseled out of an earlier portrait. The sculptor has removed a great deal of the old material. At the roots of the hair on the forehead and especially on the sides above the earlobes, one can clearly see how much he has carved away from the original face. The process can be followed even better at the back: the hair drawn upward at an angle, the surface of the braid, and the smooth surface of the top of the skull—in all these places the reworking is clearly recognizable. Because of these drastic interventions, the head is now considerably smaller than the usual, roughly lifesize portraits.

Nevertheless, the outsize, projecting coiffure provides a good sense of the original form; therefore it is possible to date the underlying portrait approximately to the late Hadrianic–Antonine era. Since at that time there were many variants of the popular, high-piled braid coiffures, comparable if not identical precedents can be enumerated. In them, similar waves of hair are piled above the forehead and on the sides to behind the ears, and a broad braided section is drawn up from the back around the entire front of the head.<sup>1</sup>



Late Antique women's fashion, which referred back to the coiffures of the Hadrianic-Antonine era, started to emerge as early as the Constantinian era. The hairdo chosen for the present portrait—a wreath of hair consisting of two braids, one above the other and placed atop the head like a turban—first appeared on the latest coin portrait of Helena, the mother of Constantine the Great, in A.D. 329 and continued to be popular for a long time.<sup>2</sup> Two late examples of this coiffure, which are comparable stylistically to the present portrait and are also reworked, are in the Capitoline collections in Rome: the famous Pavonazzetto bust in the

Palazzo dei Conservatori, belongs to the period of the so-called subtle style and was likely produced about A.D. 400;<sup>3</sup> the somewhat earlier portrait, which is closer to the present one, comes from the reign of Emperor Theodosius (r. A.D. 379–95).<sup>4</sup>

In the Museum's portrait, the woman's charming, narrow face may initially seem to be that of a specific person. Nevertheless, the individual forms are considerably abstracted and no longer connected organically. The eyes and brows stand out in relation to the long, narrow nose and small mouth. Through the heavy upper lids and slightly crossed eyes, the woman's

gaze seems detached and undirected. The line of the brows runs almost parallel to the upper eyelids. The thin, skinlike lower lids blend gently into the almost immobile surface of the cheeks. Only the lower lip and small chin protrude from the oval of the bottom half of the face. The mouth is shifted slightly to the right in relation to the chin, and the right half of the face is more compressed than the left, perhaps reflecting the structure of the earlier portrait.

The coiffure provides important clues for the dating of the work. Thanks to Kathrin Schade's compilation (2003), it is easy to gain an overview of Late



Antique female portraits. Coiffures similar to that of the Museum's portrait were widespread and frequently, as in the present case, reworked from heads of the second century A.D. It is possible to trace how the abstraction from individualized portrait features progressed to the stage represented by the present head.<sup>5</sup> The point of departure is the late Constantinian portrait of Helena on the statue in the Palazzo Nuovo.<sup>6</sup> The next stage is represented by the interesting portrait of an older woman in Florence, likely produced shortly after the mid-fourth century, followed by the reworked portrait from a statue from about A.D. 370 in the Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek in Copenhagen.<sup>7</sup> Finally, there is the above-mentioned portrait in the Capitoline collections, which was likely produced about the same

time in the Theodosian period as the present portrait, circa A.D. 390.<sup>8</sup>

To judge from the Metropolitan Museum's portrait and its relatives, elaborate hairdos must still have been a prominent feature in the public appearance of aristocratic women—and perhaps others, as well—during the second half of the fourth century. Such women by no means heeded the insistence of Christian preachers and leaders that they cover their hair in public, as was later the case (see cat. 91), when the display of intricate hairdos was decried by churchmen not only as overly luxurious but also as an invitation to pleasure and seduction.<sup>9</sup>

**CONDITION:** Except for the loss of the nose, which was probably restored in Antiquity, the head is in excellent condition. There is some damage to the face, the hair above the forehead,

and the edge of the bust. The face was lightly polished. The dowel at the base shows that the head once sat atop a statue. The light, unweathered sections of the marble are doubtless the results of abrasion or minor modern cleaning.

**LITERATURE:** Galerie Helbing 1930, p. 4, no. 29, pl. XII (E. Langlotz); Arndt, Amelung, and Lippold 1893–, ser. XIII (1932), no. 3741; Delbrueck 1933, pp. 202–3, pls. 99–101; Felletti Maj 1941, pp. 83–84, no. 30, pl. XLVIII.12 (Theodosian classicism); Miner 1947, p. 23, no. 5, pl. VII; Weitzmann 1947, p. 400, pl. CV-A; Harrison 1953, p. 70, under no. 52, pl. 48a; Sydow 1969, pp. 93–95; Heintze 1971, pp. 73–74, no. III.4, pls. 9c, 11c (as ca. A.D. 350); Wrede 1972, pp. 94–95, pl. 62.3 (as A.D. 380–90); Weitzmann 1979, pp. 290–91, no. 269 (J. Breckenridge); Fittschen and Zanker 1983, p. 120, under no. 181; Kiilerich and Torp 1989, pp. 323–25 (on the “hair-wreath coiffure”); Kiilerich 1993, pp. 118–19, fig. 65 (as ca. A.D. 380); Meischner 2001, p. 115, fig. 311; Kalavrezou 2003, pp. 81–83, no. 26, ill. (E. Gittings); Schade 2003, pp. 190–91, no. I31, pl. 41.3–4; Little 2006, pp. 129–31, no. 54 (H. Evans).

#### NOTES

1. Compare, for example, two portraits in the Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek, Copenhagen: Johansen 1994–95, vol. 2, p. 182, no. 74, p. 256, no. 106; and V. Poulsen 1962–74, vol. 2, pp. 94–95, no. 75, pl. CXX, and p. 115, no. 107, pls. CLXXIX, CLXXX.
2. Delbrueck 1933, p. 47, fig. 17, pl. 11. On the “hair-wreath coiffure,” see Kiilerich and Torp 1989.
3. Musei Capitolini, Palazzo Conservatori, Rome (inv. 404): Fittschen and Zanker 1983, pp. 118–19, no. 180, pls. 209, 210, colorpl. in text; Schade 2003, p. 198, no. I39, pl. 48.
4. Musei Capitolini, Palazzo Nuovo, Rome (inv. 679): Fittschen and Zanker 1983, pp. 119–20, no. 181, pls. 211, 212; Schade 2003, p. 191, no. I32, pl. 43.
5. Compare the entries by Marianne Bergmann in Ensoli and La Rocca 2000, pp. 576–80.
6. Fittschen and Zanker 1983, pp. 35–36, no. 38, pl. 48; Schade 2003, pp. 173–75, no. I9, pl. 28.
7. Museo Archeologico Nazionale, Florence (13845): Schade 2003, pp. 183–84, no. I21, pl. 36; Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek, Copenhagen (710): Schade 2003, pp. 181–82, no. I19, pls. 34, 35.3.
8. See note 4.
9. Paulinus of Nola 1975, pp. 248, 399–400.

**Bust of a Lady with a Scroll**

Late Antique, from the period of the "subtle style," ca. A.D. 400

Marble, overall H. 10 $\frac{7}{8}$  in. (27.6 cm), chin to crown 8 $\frac{1}{2}$  in. (21.6 cm)

Department of Medieval Art and The Cloisters  
The Cloisters Collection, 1966 (66.25)

PROVENANCE: Said to have been found in Istanbul; [until 1966, with John J. Klejman, New York]; acquired in 1966, purchased from J. J. Klejman.

Acquired by the Metropolitan Museum in 1966, the bust was said to have been found in the vicinity of Constantinople. With it, the Museum owns one of the finest manifestations of Late Antique portraiture from the Eastern Roman Empire. It is hard to resist the compelling effect of the mysterious face.

The bust's condition poses a difficult problem that has yet to be resolved: the right shoulder and arm and the bottom of the bust were not broken off, but rather, as the traces unquestionably show, they were sawed off together with the lower end of the scroll. The hollowed back of the bust lacks the usual center support; however, near the bottom is a round hole containing the remains of a metal bolt with which the bust was presumably secured (to a wall?) at the back. A possible explanation is that the work was part of a statue that, after a fall, was cut in this way for a new installation. Whether the right shoulder was restored at that time remains unclear, for next to the saw marks there are no indications that an addition was pieced on. Since the head is turned slightly to its right, Elisabeth Alföldi-Rosenbaum considered the possibility that the work was part of a double portrait, the





missing half of which was a bust of the woman's husband. Yet this suggestion does not explain why the bust had to be sawed off at the bottom.

The subject wears a *tunica* and a cloak draped over her left shoulder. The folds of both garments are carefully worked out: the different qualities of the fabrics would once have been indicated by the applied polychromy. The head, with its abundant covered hair and almost expressionless face, sits atop a long, slender neck.

All the hair has been tucked inside a kerchief, with only the earlobes visible beneath it. The details of the hairdo are apparent through the sheer fabric, probably silk. In back, the hair rested on the head in two thick braids, while

the mass of hair in front was drawn to the sides and secured above the center of the forehead with a clasp. The braids are separated from the hair at the forehead by a band drawn tightly around the head; presumably this is formed by the ends of the kerchief, which was knotted beneath the bundle of hair at the back. The carefully recessed folds above the center of the forehead and at the nape of the neck effectively indicate the tightness of the kerchief.<sup>1</sup> The meaning of the totally covered hair will concern us below.

Consideration of the calm face makes evident how greatly the eyes and brows are emphasized.

This is achieved not so much through their large size as through the strong articulation of their individual forms. The upper lids are sharply outlined, and the slightly sloping brows angle toward the sides. In the eyes, the circular, drilled holes once held prominent irises and pupils, presumably of glass in various colors. The lower lids of skinlike delicacy meld gently into the smooth, almost immobile cheeks. The slender nose is elongated, the mouth, with its thin lips, appears to be pursed, and the lower lip and chin are more distinctly articulated. The forms on the right side of the face are more rounded than those on the left as a result of the turned head.

At its acquisition and initial publication by Alföldi-Rosenbaum, the bust was dated to the Justinianic era and

compared to the supposed portraits of the empresses Ariadne and Euphemia. Yet the head coverings in those portraits are rigid and, unlike the kerchief of the present bust, do not reveal the hairdo underneath. Furthermore, the faces of the Justinianic portraits present substantial differences from the face of the *Lady with a Scroll*. For example, on the "Ariadne," the eye area sits in the face altogether abstractly as compared with its counterpart in the present bust. Such differences had been observed from the beginning, to be sure, but only since the stylistic analysis by Hans-Georg Severin has the Museum's portrait been generally recognized as one of the most outstanding works of the so-called subtle style from the time of Emperor Theodosius I (r. A.D. 379–95) or shortly thereafter. For the forms of the face, the statue of the so-called Valentinian II from Aphrodisias and now in Istanbul is especially comparable.<sup>2</sup> A very similar rendering of drapery folds occurs on the two famous busts from roughly the same time in Thessaloniki.<sup>3</sup> In style, the portrait in Istanbul presumably representing Arcadius II (r. A.D. 395–408) shows a comparatively greater abstraction, especially around the eyes.<sup>4</sup> Several scholars have also referred to a portrait in the Musée Saint-Raymond in Toulouse, but that work, too, belongs to a somewhat later stylistic stage and compares well with the presumed portrait of Arcadius II.<sup>5</sup>

The scroll in the woman's right hand was apparently important for her characterization. On sarcophagi from Rome and the West, women holding scrolls in their left hands, generally as indications of learning, are frequent. Elisabeth Walde (1997) has rightly pointed out that beginning in the



second half of the third century A.D., women were entitled to take legal action independently—that is, without guardians. It is thus conceivable that the emphasis on the subject's holding the *volumen* in her right hand instead of her left indicated that she was empowered to dispose of property or make donations of churches and the like.

Finally, there is the issue of the covered hair, for here it is clearly not simply a matter of fashion. With the introduction of Christianity as the state religion, Church teachers and bishops gained considerable influence not only in matters of morals and customs, but also over the way women, especially, might appear in public. To religious leaders, the display of elaborate coiffures seemed not only overly luxurious but also an invitation to pleasure and seduction. In this way the covering of hair, perhaps first among young women such as the one portrayed here, may have taken hold. Yet this example also shows the degree to which women

sought to let the abundance and beauty of their hair show through the sheerest possible covering.<sup>6</sup>

CONDITION: The right side of the bust is missing; like the underside of the bust, it appears to have been sawed off. The lower part of the face with the chin was broken off and reattached. Part of the nose is missing. On the drapery there are chips and only minor damage. The bust is hollow but without the support usual in earlier busts. Near the bottom is a round hole with the remains of a metal bolt. There are traces of accretion.

LITERATURE: Miller 1966; Forsyth 1967, pp. 304–5, figs. 55, 56; Alföldi-Rosenbaum 1968, pp. 19–35, figs. 1–5, 8, 10 (detailed publication, with a dating of ca. A.D. 500); Heintze 1971, p. 90 (suspects the head is a forgery); Alföldi-Rosenbaum 1972, pp. 174–76 (rejects von Heintze's suspicion of forgery); Sande 1975, p. 95 (as ca. A.D. 400); Inan and Alföldi-Rosenbaum 1979, pp. 335–36, no. 268 (as ca. A.D. 500); Weitzmann 1979, pp. 292–95, no. 272, ill. (J. Breckenridge: as Justinianic); Hüfler 1980, pp. 100–101, no. 7, ill. (H. Severin: justifies in detail a dating to the late fourth century A.D.); Fittschen and Zanker 1983, p. 37, under no. 39; Stutzinger 1983, p. 473, no. 76 (as

from the time of the Valentinian II[?]) from Aphrodisias); Özgan and Stutzinger 1985, pp. 255–57, pl. 54.3–4 (as ca. A.D. 400, with good stylistic analysis); Stutzinger 1986, pp. 154–56, pl. 26 (on the covering of the hair); Dresken-Weiland 1991, p. 10; Meischner 1991, p. 405, pl. 93.2; Jesse 1992, p. 234; Kiilerich 1993, pp. 121–23, fig. 68; Rodley 1994, p. 77, fig. 53c; Walde 1997, pl. 70.2; Meischner 2001, pp. 113, 116, figs. 323, 324; Schade 2003, pp. 117, 208–10, no. I49, pl. 56; Little 2006, pp. 131–33, no. 55, ill. (S. Brooks).

#### NOTES

1. For the various forms of head coverings, see Stutzinger 1986, p. 154 n. 31; Schade 2003, p. 200.
2. Archaeological Museum, Istanbul (2264): L'Orange 1933, pp. 73–74, 140, no. 94, pls. 181–83. For this comparison, see the extended discussion in Özgan and Stutzinger 1985, pp. 255–56.
3. Schade 2003, p. 147, pl. 55.1–2.
4. Archaeological Museum, Istanbul (5028): Inan and Alföldi-Rosenbaum 1979, p. 138, no. 82, pl. 74.1–2; Volbach 1958, p. 56, pls. 56, 57.
5. Schade 2003, pp. 199–200, no. I40, pl. 49.1–2; Alföldi-Rosenbaum 1968, pp. 35–38, figs. 22, 25–28.
6. Paulinus of Nola 1975, pp. 248, 399–400. See A. Lippold 1973, p. 947.



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**Portrait of a Woman**

Late Antique, ca. A.D. 500

Marble, H. 11<sup>3</sup>/<sub>16</sub> in. (28.4 cm)

Department of Medieval Art and The Cloisters  
Fletcher Fund, 1947 (47.100.52)

PROVENANCE: [1920s or 1930s, with Piero Tozzi Galleries Inc., Rome and New York]; [1931–38, with Arthur Sambon, Paris]; [1938–47, with Brummer Gallery, Paris and New York]; acquired in 1947, purchased from Brummer Gallery.

Given the style of the portrait, the doubtless highborn lady it depicts must have lived in the second half of the fifth century A.D. She directs her piercing gaze directly forward. Originally, when the irises and pupils were inset with colored glass, her gaze must have been even more intense and penetrating. From this late period, very few portraits are preserved from either the Eastern or the Western Roman Empire. The present head was reportedly purchased in Ravello, but its findspot is unknown.

Interpretation of the work is complicated by the fact that, as with many Late Antique portraits, this one was reworked from an earlier portrait. The original head was turned to its left, as indicated by the top of the bust, the surviving fold on the left side of the neck, and the compressed forms of the right cheek relative to the flattened forms on the left side. Traces of the original version are also found especially clearly on the right side of the head, where the bottom of the ear of the original portrait is preserved. Consideration of the two profiles suggests how much the sculptor removed from the surface of the previous face in his reworking. The original coiffure was so severely reduced and altered that it



is scarcely possible to reconstruct its original arrangement. Presumably, it was one of the towering women's hairdos of the Antonine period.<sup>1</sup>

The unusual, Late Antique coiffure seems complicated and is difficult to understand. This may have to do in part with the presence of individual elements of the original hairdo, as described. Above the forehead are two to three rows of ringlets disposed next to each other in an irregular manner. Behind these is a structure that functions like a headband but on the sides develops into tightly curled locks. Above the neck behind the ears, the hair is drawn upward in three scroll-like rolls, one atop the other. Above these, two braids rolled together at the ends form a projecting, oval nest on the crown of the head.

The lively face is made up of a juxtaposition of unrelated, individual forms. Overly large, protruding eyes dominate the portrait. Their intense effect is further heightened by the brows, with their nearly parallel arcs. The short nose and protruding, extremely small mouth are similarly effective. In contrast to the perfectly

smooth forehead, the cheekbones are evident. The right half of the face appears swollen, the left half stretched. Presumably, this too goes back to the direction of the original head to its left.

Based on the area around the eyes, the present version of the head must have been produced in the late fifth or at the turn of the sixth century. For a work dated slightly earlier, compare the emperor portrait in Copenhagen (Leo I?).<sup>2</sup> The further abstraction of the Metropolitan Museum's head and the isolation of its individual features suggest a somewhat later date of about A.D. 500, represented by the three portraits known under the name of Empress Ariadne (ca. A.D. 450–515).<sup>3</sup> These show a similarly abstract rendering of the large eyes and brows. A correspondingly small mouth embedded among seemingly mobile, realistic features occurs in heads in the Palazzo dei Conservatori, Rome, and in the Musée du Louvre, Paris.<sup>4</sup> Comparison with those heads makes evident that the subject of the New York head was a younger woman, for which reason the lacrimal sacs so clearly articulated in the "Ariadne" heads are absent.

CONDITION: The reworked head is well preserved but presents numerous larger and smaller areas of damage, mainly on the tip of the nose, the chin, beneath the left eye, on the left brow, and in many places on the neck. Presumably, the lower part of the head was reduced in modern times. Since the portrait has been carved out of an earlier portrait, it is unclear whether the second version was part of a statue or bust. The head has been subjected to an all-too-thorough modern cleaning, which produced the shiny surface of the face.

LITERATURE: Sambon 1931, p. 30, pl. 30; Miner 1947, p. 24, no. 12, pl. VII (as "5th cent."); Schade 2003, pp. 224–25, no. I64, pl. 65.2–4; Little 2006, p. 134, no. 56, ill. (H. Evans).

#### NOTES

1. Comparable hairdos that could have resembled the coiffure carved away here are found, for example, in the Palazzo Nuovo of the Musei Capitolini, Rome: Fittschen and Zanker 1983, pp. 69–76, nos. 91–99, pls. 112–25.
2. Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek, Copenhagen (3162): Johansen 1994–95, vol. 3, p. 182, no. 80.
3. Illustrated together in Schade 2003, pl. 63.
4. For the head in the Musei Capitolini, Palazzo dei Conservatori, Rome (inv. 865), see Fittschen and Zanker 1983, pp. 36–38, no. 39, pls. 49, 50. For the head in the Musée du Louvre, Paris (R.F. 1525), see Bresc-Bautier 2006, p. 24; Alföldi-Rosenbaum 1968, p. 24, figs. 13, 14; better illustrations of this portrait in Delbrueck 1913, pp. 324–26, pls. XVI, XVII.

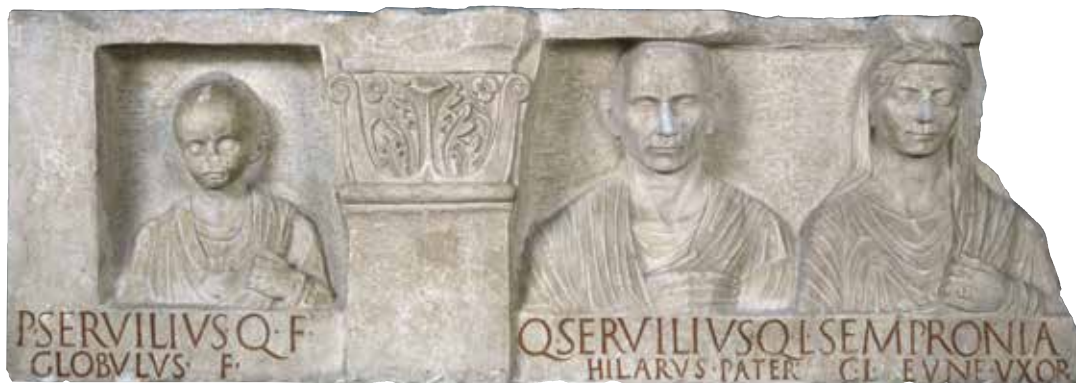




# RELIEFS AND TOMB ALTARS WITH PORTRAITS OF THE DECEASED

THE MUSEUM OWNS ONLY A FEW reliefs and altars with portraits of the deceased and their relatives. To John Marshall, who worked in Rome in the first decades of the twentieth century as the Museum's purchasing agent, and to the Museum directors, they were apparently less attractive than fully three-dimensional portraits. At the time, ancient works of art were more of a priority than documents of everyday life.

Four of the Museum's relief portraits come from tombs. They were attached to tomb facades, generally with inscriptions. In Rome two such facades of houses like tombs are still visible in the Via Statilia.<sup>1</sup> Only one of the Museum's tomb reliefs is nearly fully preserved (cat. 95). It shows the two deceased in ennobled form as busts. Generally, the portraits in these grave-reliefs include at least a portion of the upper body, and their subjects are represented clothed. Since most of the deceased depicted in this way were



freedmen, it was important for the men to be presented as Roman citizens wearing the toga. As a rule, the name of the Roman whose slaves they had been was inscribed as *patronus* next to their own names. Their sons, unlike themselves, enjoyed full Roman citizenship and were often proudly depicted with the *bullula* (locket containing an amulet) around their necks, identifying them as freeborn *cives romani*. The tomb relief of the Servilii family now in the Vatican Museums shows this especially clearly in the bust of young Globulus, at the far left (fig. 38).<sup>2</sup>

For older men it was often important to be portrayed on tomb reliefs with extremely realistic faces marked by age and long labor. Note the features of the energetic old man in catalogue 93, whose portrait comes from a relief on which, as was

Fig. 38 Grave relief of the Servilii family, ca. 20 B.C. Marble. Vatican Museums, Museo Gregoriano Profano, Vatican City (10491)

usual, several members of the subject's family were presumably also presented. Doubtless, here too they attested to his achievement and success. By contrast, even older women frequently appear with unlined faces and elaborate hairdos, as exemplified by one of the two portraits from another relief (cat. 94a).

The custom of placing portraits of deceased couples on the facades of tombs, often with their children and other relatives, arose in Rome in the last years of the Republic and rapidly spread to other cities of Italy. Similar tomb reliefs appear in certain Roman provinces as well. Macedonia, for example, was probably the source of the tomb relief on which an older woman is depicted, presumably with her son (cat. 99). He appears as a young soldier, with a still skimpy beard and a short paludamentum (military mantle). Perhaps he had been killed, and his mother commissioned the relief on which she had herself depicted wearing a hairdo popular in the years A.D. 140–50. A second relief takes the form of a tondo and once crowned a pillar (cat. 100). Similar reliefs come from northern Greece, probably the source of this one as well. The portrayal of the family seems livelier than other reliefs of this kind, thanks to the two boys, who gaze down at the viewer. One of them appears to be smiling.

The Museum's two well executed tomb altars remain to be mentioned. As a rule, such altars did not serve for offerings from the living but were tomb monuments in the form of altars, their religious character emphasized by dedicatory inscriptions to the deceased's tutelary gods and manes, *dis manibus* (to the spirits of the dead). Such inscriptions are seen on the tomb altar for Cominia Tyche, where an offering bowl and pitcher depicted on the narrow sides give further indications of the tomb monument's sacral nature (cat. 96). The deceased herself is presented in a bust with a splendid, shieldlike hairpiece.

Of the second tomb altar, only the top is preserved, presenting portraits of three members of a family (cat. 97). The woman on the front is especially emphasized. She wears an extremely intricate Trajanic coiffure. Her thin garment, striped at the side, alludes to the goddess Venus, implying that, with her feminine beauty and maternal nature, she possessed the gifts of Venus (see pp. 250–51). The other two busts presumably represent her husband and her son. The husband, on the left side, wears his hair in the manner that was fashionable in the late Flavian era. He had probably died earlier, which is why he was portrayed with an outmoded hairstyle. The son, by contrast, wears the typical Trajanic hairdo and slight side-whiskers.

#### NOTES

1. Kockel 1993, pl. 1; Zanker 1973a, pp. 271–72.

2. Kockel 1993, pl. 51b.

**Portrait of an Old Man, Fragment  
of a Tomb Relief**

Late Republican, ca. 40 B.C.

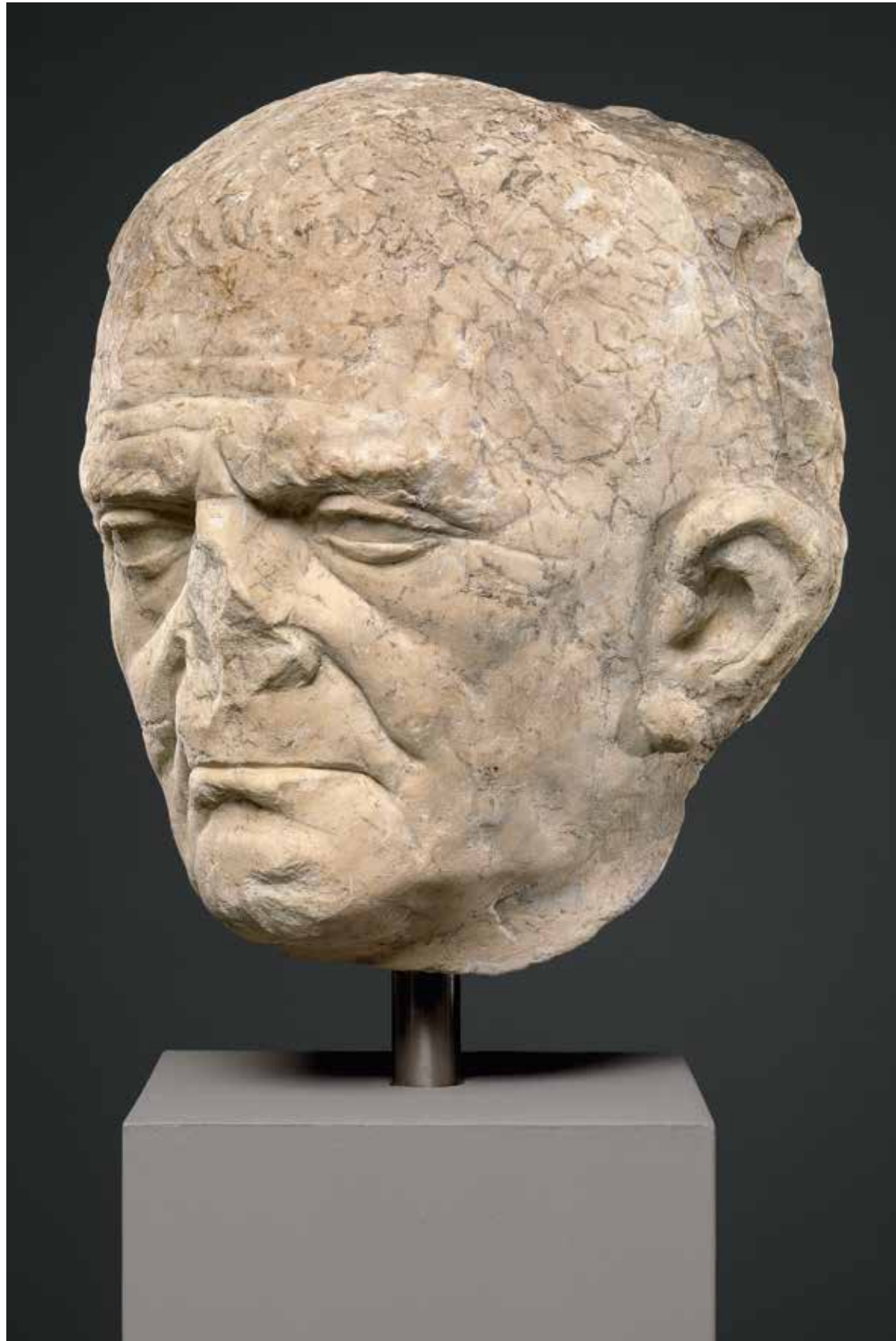
Marble, H. 9 $\frac{1}{2}$  in. (24.4 cm)

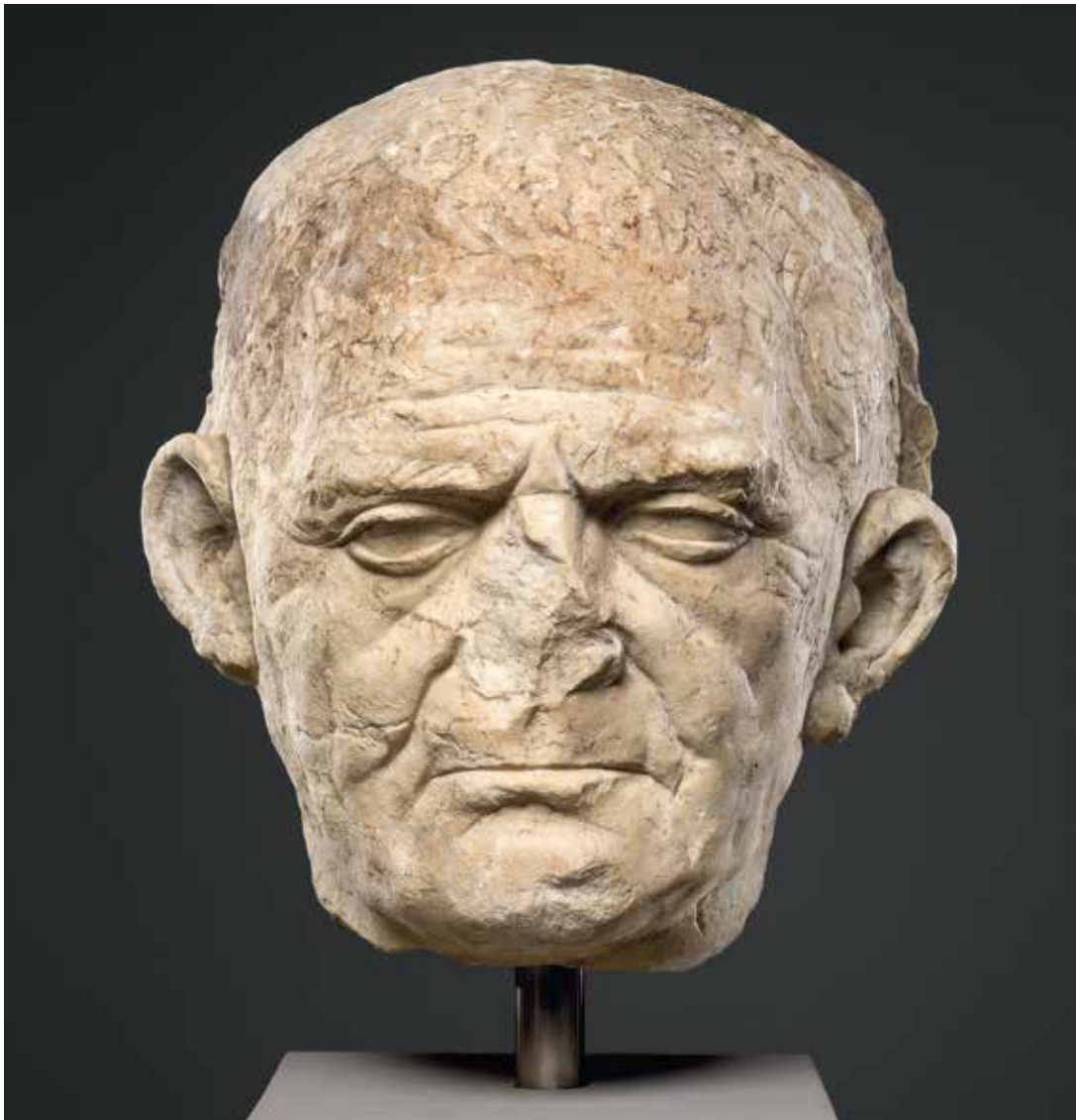
Rogers Fund, 1917 (17.230.133)

PROVENANCE: Said to be from Rome; [until 1917, with Giovanni Fabiani, Rome]; acquired in 1917, purchased from G. Fabiani.

This imposing head of an old man comes from one of the numerous box tomb reliefs that were frequently placed like windows on tomb facades, as one still sees today on two tombs on the Via Stalilia in Rome. The old man was presumably depicted with his wife or even several members of his family. This form of commemorating the dead was especially common among freedmen in the last two decades of the Republic and in the early Empire. The tombs as well as the portraits were often executed during the subject's lifetime, for in addition to commemorating the deceased, they were a way for the family to display its economic and social success.

The man's age was here represented with the greatest possible realism, as was typical in this genre at this time. The broad, angular face shows tense features and deep creases around the nose and mouth. The bushy eyebrows are contracted, forming a triangle of folds at the top of the nose. The small eyes appear to be squinting, as in someone with difficulty seeing. The lips are compressed to an extent possible only for people who have lost their teeth. The carving is cursory on the sides, which would have been scarcely visible. Even the ears are crudely realized. The fact that the left ear sits lower than the right indicates that the unsophisticated but conscientious sculptor





concentrated solely on what would be seen from the front.

All that is seen of the hair are the strands along the forehead. On the right side of the head, they form a small “fork” but otherwise are uniformly combed to the man’s left. This feature should not mislead one to assume a late dating of the relief to the Augustan period. A very similar hairstyle and an altogether comparable, though much more sophisticated, expression occur in the portrait type that probably represents the triumvir

Marcus Licinius Crassus, who died in 53 B.C. in the Battle of Carrhae against the Parthians.<sup>1</sup> In my opinion, comparison with the reliefs presented by Valentin Kockel (1993) justifies a dating to the 40s of the first century B.C.

CONDITION: This head comes from a so-called *Kastengrabrelief* (box tomb relief). Remnants of the background are still visible behind the ears. On the right side, a large portion of the cheek, partially restored, and the entire back of the head are lost; only the ear still projects. On the left side, the losses begin only behind the ear. In the face, the nose has broken off, chips are

missing from the chin and brows, and there is also lesser damage. The sculpture’s smoothed back appears to be original.

LITERATURE: Richter 1948, no. 7, ill.; Gazda 1973, p. 867 n. 42 (3); Frenz 1977, p. 196, no. M17; Gazda 1977, p. 10, no. 1; McCann 1978, pp. 19, 21, fig. 10; *Greece and Rome* 1987, p. 92, no. 66 (M. Anderson); Kockel 1993, p. 106, no. C6, pls. 19e, 20b; Milleker 2000, pp. 31, 205, no. 11 (E. Milleker).

NOTE

1. For the portrait type and identification, see most recently Megow 2005, pp. 75–80, pls. 34–38.



94a, b

**Two Portraits from a *Kastengrabrelief*  
(box tomb relief)**

Augustan, ca. 10 B.C.–10 A.D.

**a. Portrait of an Older Woman**

Marble, H. 8 $\frac{3}{8}$  in. (21.3 cm); chin to crown  
7 $\frac{1}{2}$  in. (20 cm)

Rogers Fund, 1918 (18.145.16)

**b. Portrait of a Girl**

Marble, H. 7 $\frac{7}{8}$  in. (19.4 cm), chin to crown  
7 $\frac{1}{2}$  in. (19 cm)

Rogers Fund, 1918 (18.145.17)

PROVENANCE: [Until 1918, with Evangelos P. Triantaphyllos, Athens and Paris]; acquired in 1918, purchased from E. P. Triantaphyllos.

The execution and condition of the two relief heads suggest that they come from one and the same relief.

Both gaze straight ahead, but they were turned slightly—the older woman to her right, the girl to her left. Presumably, there were other heads in the composition, perhaps portraying the father or a son. The excellent quality of the carving suggests that the relief came from a Roman workshop.

Individualized features in the lower part of the woman's face are seen particularly in the pointed chin and small mouth. It was probably owing to the





head's frontal position on the relief that the sides of the face turn back abruptly and consist primarily of the prominent cheekbones and chin. The right eye is larger than the left, probably owing to the turn of the head. The hairs of the heavy eyebrows are carefully modeled.

The woman wears a very precisely rendered, complicated coiffure with a braid at the center of the forehead, a style seen only in the Augustan period. The hair in the center is caught up in a three-strand braid that projects above the forehead. On either side, the hair is combed to the left and right and rolled into three broad waves that lead back above the ears, presumably to be caught up in a loop or knot at the nape of the neck. Also typical of the Augustan era are the individual thin strands that fall onto the forehead and are meant to lighten the severity of the arrangement. Valentin Kockel points to a very similar coiffure on a head in the Munich

Residenz.<sup>1</sup> The hairdo is also comparable to that of a middle-aged woman on a relief in Boston from the mid- to late Augustan period.<sup>2</sup>

The young girl has a plump, U-shaped face with childlike, full cheeks, a low forehead, and large eyes beneath thick, wide eyebrows. Her extremely simple hairdo heightens her earnest expression. Her hair is combed to the sides from a center part and drawn back across the tops of her ears. It must then have been caught up in a knot. The asymmetry in the face and eyes was doubtless related to the way the head was turned. Ready parallels for the girl's hairdo are found on Roman box tomb reliefs of the Augustan period, such as the relief with the well-known Gratidii couple in the Vatican Museums' Sala dei Busti.<sup>3</sup>

The precise execution of the details suggests a dating in the later Augustan period.

CONDITION: The two relief heads, broken at the neck, most probably come from the same relief. On the woman's head, the left ear, the tip of the nose, and a small piece of the right ear are missing. There are small chips from the face. The girl's head has lost part of the nose and small chips from the mouth and the right ear. At the back of both heads, a strut and the start of the relief's upper frame survive. There are traces of accretions.

LITERATURE: Richter 1921, pp. 226, 227, fig. 1; D. Robinson 1939, p. 253; Richter 1948, nos. 34, 35, ill.; Polaschek 1972, p. 161; Frenz 1977, p. 199, no. M27 (as mid-Augustan); McCann 1978, pp. 19, 20, fig. 9; Fittschen and Zanker 1983, under no. 50; Kockel 1993, pp. 194–95, no. L26, pls. 107d–e, 110a–b.

#### NOTES

1. Head in Munich: Weski and Frosien-Leinz 1987, pp. 154–55, no. 28, pl. 67.
2. Museum of Fine Arts, Boston (1972.918): Kockel 1993, p. 169, no. K4, pl. 81b.
3. Vatican Museums (388): Kockel 1993, pp. 188–90, no. L19, pls. 104a–b, 105a.



95

**Tomb Relief of a Married Couple**

Augustan, ca. 10 B.C.–A.D. 10

Marble, H. 20 in. (50.8 cm), W. 28 $\frac{3}{8}$  in.

(71.4 cm), D. 5 $\frac{3}{8}$  in. (13.7 cm)

Rogers Fund, 1909 (09.221.2)

PROVENANCE: Said to be from Rome; until 1909, collection of Joachim Ferroni, Rome; acquired in 1909, purchased through Jandolo and Tavazzi.

The relief was restored after it was acquired by The Museum. It is unquestionably ancient; however, it

appears that before or during its restoration, small “beautifications” were undertaken. Such treatment on the woman’s mouth, for example, could have produced the unusual half smile. The bust portions are very abbreviated, suggesting a dating from the early Augustan period. The two figures, presumably a married couple, turn toward each other.

The man exhibits features of advanced age. His angular face is characterized by prominent cheekbones,

the gaunt shapes of the lower part of the face, and a pronounced chin. Yet his full, broad mouth seems more youthful, and his forehead and eyebrows are sensitively modeled. His hair is cut in short strands: those on the right side of his forehead form a small “fork”; those on the left, a pair of “tongs.” He thus appears to have adopted a restrained form of the new hairstyle of the Imperial House.

The woman, by contrast, appears to have been young or at least is so



depicted. The sculptor has attempted to give her an individualized appearance, with full cheeks and a small, pointed chin. Her face is characterized by her narrowed eyes and minimal upper lids. Her hairdo is well rendered despite the cursory carving. To the sides of a center part, the hair is drawn toward the back with the suggestion that it is caught up in the barely indicated knot.

The prominent ears on both heads seem unusually awkward, but protruding ears occur on other tomb reliefs of this kind as well, such as one in the Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek, Copenhagen.<sup>1</sup> There are also numerous heads with bony faces similar to that of the man.<sup>2</sup> His “courtly” hairstyle is seen in a somewhat less restrained form in the relief mentioned above.<sup>3</sup> There are good parallels for the woman’s hairdo in Augustan reliefs.<sup>4</sup>

CONDITION: The left edge and part of the background have been restored. The noses of both figures are damaged or broken. At the time of purchase, there were distinct traces of red pigment on the background, and the relief had not yet been restored. Fragments of the inscription on the upper frame are probably modern (as Kockel agrees).

LITERATURE: E. Robinson 1910, pp. 236–37, fig. 4; Chase 1924, pp. 175–76, fig. 210; McClees 1924, p. 130, fig. 156; Richter 1948, no. 6, ill.; Frenz 1977, p. 63, no. 352, p. 169, no. H3 (“late Augustan”); Kleiner 1977, pp. 208–9, no. 22, fig. 22; Erhart 1980, p. 120, fig. 7; Volpi 1986–87, pp. 241–82; Kockel 1993, pp. 216–17, no. O6, pl. 127e.

#### NOTES

1. Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek, Copenhagen (591): Kockel 1993, pp. 151–52, no. I6, pl. 65a–b; see also *ibid.*, p. 122, no. F4, pl. 34d.
2. For example, *ibid.*, pp. 133–34, no. G10, pl. 46a.
3. *Ibid.*, pp. 151–52, no. I6, pl. 64d.
4. *Ibid.*, pp. 157–58, nos. J2, J3, pls. 68b–c.

## 96

### Tomb Altar of Cominia Tyche

Late Flavian–early Trajanic, A.D. 90–110

Marble, H. 40 in. (101.6 cm)

Gift of Philip Hofer, 1938 (38.27)

INSCRIBED BENEATH BUST: *DIS MANIBUS / COMINIAE TYCHE SANCTISSIMAE / L. ANNIUS FESTUS CONTUGI / CASTISSIMAE SIBIQ AMANTISSI / MAE VIXIT ANNIS XXVII / MENSIBUS XI DIEBUS XXVIII / ET SIBI POSTERISQ SUIS*

(To the departed spirits. To most pious Cominia Tyche, most chaste and loving wife. She lived 27 years, 11 months, 28 days. Lucius Annius Festus made this for her and for himself and his descendants)

PROVENANCE: From Rome (see CIL 1886, p. 1822, no. 16054); by the late 1560s, recorded in a house formerly owned by Angelo of Capranica, near the church of San Sebastiano in the parish of Sant’Eustachio, Rome; from before 1677, collection of Cardinal Francesco Barberini, Rome (according to Joseph Maria Suarez, bishop of Vaison: Suesius, Vatican, codex 9140 f. 120); in 1882, still in the Barberini Collection, Palazzo Barberini, Rome; [until 1937, with Jandolo, Rome]; [1937, purchased from Jandolo by Joseph Brummer, New York]; [1937–38, with Joseph Brummer, New York]; 1938, purchased by Philip Hofer from Joseph Brummer; acquired in 1938, gift of Philip Hofer.

This bust of Cominia Tyche, who died young, sits in an oval niche. Both her hair and the acanthus chalice out of which she rises project beyond the niche, considerably heightening the visual effect. The woman wears an undergarment and a cloak draped across her shoulders. The garments appear to have been deliberately flattened so as to enhance the effect of the face and the towering hairdo. The head turns slightly to its right, and the woman gazes not at the viewer but earnestly into space.

She has a round face with prominent cheekbones, a strong chin, and a distinctly arched nose. Her mouth, with its thin lips, seems pursed and intensifies her earnest expression. At twenty-seven, still very young to our thinking, the woman nevertheless has the appearance of a middle-aged mother.

The massive hairdo rising in a large arch above the forehead makes the face beneath it seem almost small. The uniformly curled locks of hair accentuated by drilling lie in six or seven well-organized rows, one above the other. As a rule, coiffures of this type were created with removable hairpieces. They served to give women an expensively fastidious and imposing appearance. The fashion gained prominence in the early Flavian period and gradually became more extreme until it culminated, during the late Flavian and early Trajanic era, in forms like the one seen on Cominia Tyche.

It has been suspected that the chalice of acanthus leaves on which the bust rests expresses a symbolic meaning for the dead. But this theory, advanced by Hans Jucker, has not found general acceptance. Perhaps the motif is simply a lovely ornamental form that contributes to the bust’s life-like effect.

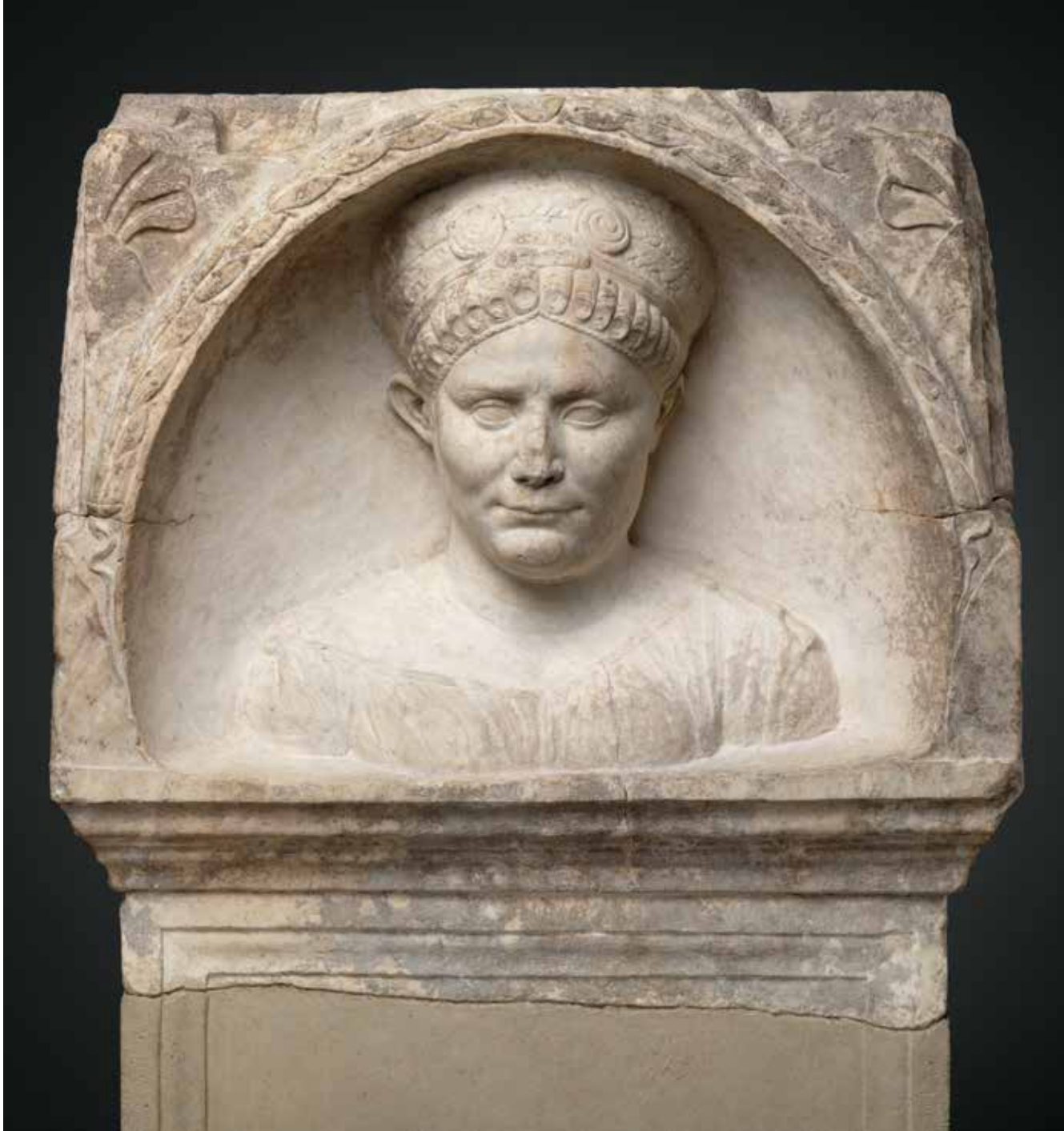
The inscription was obviously of great importance to the subject’s husband, for he had it carved beneath the portrait in uncommonly large letters. In the last line he dedicates the altar to Cominia Tyche, himself, and his progeny. One of the altar’s narrow sides shows a patera (offering bowl), and the other, an urceus (offering jug). Other altars perhaps stood in the tomb precinct as well. Generally, as in this case,



such altars served not so much for the presentation of offerings as to invoke memories of the deceased.

CONDITION: There are small chips, mainly along the altar's edges. On the portrait itself, the tip of the nose has been damaged, and there is a hole in front of the left ear. On the acanthus chalice, the projecting leaf on the left is missing.

LITERATURE: Matz and von Duhn 1881–82, vol. 3, pp. 187–88, no. 3912; CIL 1886, p. 1822, no. 16054; Altmann 1905, p. 213, no. 274, fig. 171; Richter 1938a, ill.; Richter 1948, no. 56, ill.; H. Jucker 1961, p. 21, no. G6, pl. 3; McCann 1978, p. 19, fig. 8; Boschung 1987, pp. 75, 113, no. 941, pl. 13; *Greece and Rome* 1987, pp. 120–21, no. 90 (M. Anderson); D'Ambra 1989, pp. 395–96, fig. 5; Kleiner and Matheson 1996, p. 199, no. 149, ill. (S. Cormack); Picón et al. 2007, pp. 365, 488, no. 424.



97

**Crowning Portion of a Funerary Monument**

Late Trajanic–early Hadrianic ca. A.D. 110–20  
Marble, H. 24½ in. (62.2 cm); H. of the woman's head 14⅞ in. (37.8 cm)  
Rogers Fund, 1914 (14.130.8)

PROVENANCE: Said to be from Rome; [until 1914, with Paul Hartwig, Rome]; acquired in 1914, purchased from P. Hartwig.

The niches of the three portrait busts are framed with laurel garlands, which were perhaps ornamented with a flower, possibly of metal, at their highest points. The garlands end in ribbons and are therefore to be thought of as wreaths for the three subjects. Palmettes rise upward on the corners of the stone.

The woman on the front is undoubtedly the primary figure, for the two men on the sides turn their heads toward her. The clearly older man on

the left could be her deceased husband, the younger one on the right, her son. She is dressed in a thin chiton that appears to slip from her shoulder. This detail indicates that she was probably meant to be characterized as Venus, suggesting not only beauty but also maternal care.<sup>1</sup> Beginning in the Flavian-Trajanic period, identification with Venus was especially popular among freedwomen, who imitated a portrait style presumably introduced by empresses and princesses. Women

from more affluent families were even depicted nude, with bodies of the Classical Venus.<sup>2</sup> Such identifications are to be understood as allegorical, celebrating the subject's particular virtues—in the present case, beauty and love.

The woman's neck is circled by two "Venus rings." She has a plump face with a double chin, as was favored in the Flavian period. Her small, compressed mouth forms dimples at the corners. Her gaze, directed at the viewer, seems self-assured. The sculptor took particular care in the rendering of her elaborate coiffure. Above her forehead, on either side of a short part and above a fine line of tightly coiled strands, lie carefully curled, flat, spiral locks. Above these are two large, probably metal spirals of a tiara that holds together the luxuriant hair. Behind is a massive mesh of braids circling the entire head. Such an intricate hairdo was, of course, an expression of the family's status.

The woman's presumed husband, to her left, wears a stubbly beard. The creases beneath his eyes, next to his nose and mouth, and on his forehead identify him as an older man. His hair is cut in short tufts. The deep grooves on his forehead could represent scars from wounds, included as personal features. As noted below, the roughly picked hair of the beard may derive from a reuse of the funerary monument in the third century A.D. The younger man, to the woman's right, has a smooth, youthful face. His small, narrow eyes and mouth, with its full lips, resemble those of the older man, probably his father. He wears a short beard like the one familiar from portraits of Hadrian; however, his hair falls onto his forehead in broad strands



and forms a small “fork” at the center, as in portraits of Trajan of the decennalia type.<sup>3</sup>

To judge from the features, the young man’s beard, and the heavy braids on the back of the woman’s head, the tombstone was probably created in the early years of Hadrian’s reign. The wide busts with fully executed shoulders provide further support for this supposition.

CONDITION: Only the upper part of the tomb monument is preserved; its inscription would have been on the base, now lost. On the rounded back are three dowel holes. To judge from the toolmarks on the surface, some other element must have risen above the curved portion; the size of the dowels inserted here would indicate that it was heavy. A major portion of the arch on the right side has broken off. Presumably, this was a tomb altar.

The noses of all three figures are partially missing. A piece is also missing from the forehead of the older man. Otherwise, there is only minor damage. The monument was probably reused in the third century A.D., for the face of the older man has a coarsely picked beard worked quite differently from the way the cheek had been worked. The cuts on the forehead may have occurred during the same reworking.

LITERATURE: Richter 1915c, pp. 24–25, fig. 7; Chase 1924, pp. 187–88, fig. 236; Richter 1948, no. 65, ill.; Kleiner 1987, pp. 220–21, no. 86, pl. XLVIII.2–4; Herrmann 1991, p. 42, fig. 15; Kleiner and Matheson 1996, pp. 201–2, no. 152, ill. (S. Cormack).

#### NOTES

1. For a catalogue of private Roman Venus deifications, see Wrede 1971, pp. 157–63; Wrede 1981, pp. 306–8.
2. An especially beautiful statue of the Capitoline Venus type in the Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek, Copenhagen (541), bears the portrait of an older woman. See V. Poulsen 1962–74, vol. 2, pp. 48–49, no. 14, pls. xxv–xxvii; and Johansen 1994–95, vol. 1, pp. 50–53, no. 14.
3. For the decennalia type of Trajan portrait, see Gross 1940, pp. 85–86; Fittschen and Zanker 1985, pp. 41–42, no. 42, pls. 45–47.



## 98

### Portrait of a Woman from a Tomb Relief

Hadrianic–early Antonine, ca. A.D. 140  
Marble, H. 12 in. (30.5 cm)  
Museum Accession (X.248.14)

PROVENANCE: Acquired before 1940.

The head comes from a relief. A piece of the background surface (probably chiseled down in modern times) is preserved at the back, below the coiffure and along the nape of the neck. This explains why the back

sections of the coiffure, difficult for the sculptor to reach and not visible from the front, were left unfinished or only cursorily suggested. The work is one of the few tomb reliefs that were still being produced in the second century A.D. in the manner of the familiar *Kastengrabreliefs* (box tomb reliefs) of the late Republic and early Empire. Whether they were still placed on the facades of tomb structures cannot be determined.

Presumably, the woman was not depicted alone but rather with her



husband and possibly other family members, as in the examples illustrated by Valentin Kockel.<sup>1</sup> She lifts her head slightly and turns to the side, lending the portrait a certain immediacy. The large eyes and curving mouth are altogether formulaic. The two creases above the nose and the sharp folds between the nose and mouth suggest the woman's advanced age, as do the sunken cheeks. The bulbous and slightly double chin was meant to individualize the portrait. The sculptor

concentrated exclusively on the front of the head, which was the part most likely seen by the viewer.

The hairdo serves as a clue to the date of the work. The hair above the forehead and on the sides is uniformly drawn to the back in two large waves and then caught in the center of the crown. The rest of the coiffure, which was not executed in detail, must be imagined in the form of narrow braids ending in the large knot that is merely blocked out. Comparison with similar

hairdos suggests a dating to the Hadrianic or early Antonine period.<sup>2</sup>

**CONDITION:** Only a small fragment of the body and drapery survives at the neck. The head shows considerable damage. The nose is completely missing, and there are numerous chips (some modern) in the face and hair. A major portion of the hair is missing behind the left ear.

**NOTES**

1. Kockel 1993, pp. 207–13, pls. 121–26.
2. Fittschen and Zanker 1983, p. 61, no. 81, pl. 101.



**Tomb Relief from Macedonia(?)**

Early Antonine, ca. A.D. 150

Marble, H. 9 $\frac{3}{8}$  in. (23.8 cm), W. 15 in. (38.1 cm),

D. 3 in. (7.6 cm)

Rogers Fund, 1918 (18.145.47)

PROVENANCE: [Until 1918, with Evangelos P. Triantaphyllos, Athens and Paris]; acquired in 1918, purchased from E.P. Triantaphyllos.

This relief doubtless comes from a tomb. The figured area is framed by a flat molding that cuts off the image immediately above the figures' heads. The strip above it may have served to attach the relief to the tomb. The two figures are rendered in very flat relief, despite their frontality.

The sculptor clearly emphasized the different ages of his subjects. The woman could be the mother of the young man. The area around her mouth, with its creases, and her prominent cheekbones are particularly indicative of her age. She wears her hair in a style worn by Faustina the Elder (ca. A.D. 105–140) in the early Antonine period.<sup>1</sup> From a center part, the hair is drawn along her forehead in a few broad waves to the side, then toward the back, almost completely covering the ears. We imagine it pulled together at the back of her head in a broad chignon, the top of which can be seen. The woman wears a palla (cloak), of which only the portion around the neck is visible.

The young man wears a paludamentum (short cloak) secured on his right shoulder with a broad brooch, and beneath it probably a short chiton. Whereas the woman looks straight ahead, he turns his head slightly to the right; possibly another figure was

represented next to him (his father or wife?). His hair is combed forward on to his forehead, a style from the reign of Trajan that was perpetuated long after the emperor's death. He wears a short, downy beard. Only his very long, narrow nose, the upward curl of his upper lip, and the deep cleft in his chin function as individualized features. The shapes of the brows, eyes, and eyelids are nearly identical in the two figures. As was customary in this period, the irises and pupils were recessed and the eyebrows emphasized in relief.

The execution of the portraits is routine; in the hair and the carving of the frame, the work is perfunctory. To judge from its style, the relief presumably does not come from Rome, for there, as a rule, the heads of figures in "windows" are rendered considerably more three-dimensionally. Valentin Kockel (1993) surmised an origin in Macedonia. Unfortunately, the Museum's acquisition notes provide no indication of where it was found.

CONDITION: What survives is the upper right-hand section of a relief that was originally wider and taller. The marble exhibits a brownish discoloration, and the surface is partially incrustated.

LITERATURE: M.E.P. 1924b, p. 243; Richter 1948, no. 86, ill.; Frenz 1977, p. 201, no. M33 (dated too early: as Hadrianic); Kockel 1993, p. 208, no. N4, pl. 121c (as early Antonine).

## NOTE

1. Compare, for example, the coiffure of the woman in the Musei Capitolini, Palazzo Nuovo, Rome (inv. 376): Fittschen and Zanker 1983, p. 68, no. 89, pl. 110.





## 100

### Tomb Relief from Northern Greece

Antonine, ca. A.D. 150–70  
Marble, H. 25¼ in. (64.1 cm)  
Fletcher Fund, 1949 (49.69.5)

PROVENANCE: [Until 1929, with Kalebjian Frères, Paris]; [1929, purchased by Joseph Brummer from Kalebjian Frères]; [1929–49, with Joseph Brummer, New York]; acquired in 1949, purchased through Parke-Bernet Galleries, New York, at the Brummer posthumous sale.

The tomb relief comes from Macedonia or a neighboring region. As with comparable round reliefs, the Museum's carving presumably sat atop a pillar identifying the grave. Most of the related tomb reliefs, by now well published, are found in the Archaeological Museum of Thessaloniki.

The relief shows a man and wife with their two sons. As in all reliefs of this kind, the figures gaze straight ahead as though presenting themselves to visitors or passersby. The one exception is the boy on the left, who looks downward with interest—an attempt by the sculptor to enliven his work a little. The woman is portrayed with a veil or cloak over her head, as is customary on Macedonian reliefs and

related examples. This head covering indicated that she was married and the mother of the children standing in front of her.

The father and two small sons have their hair combed forward in the simplest manner, a fashion first encountered in Rome under Trajan. In Thrace, Macedonia, and the neighboring northern Danubian provinces, this simple hairstyle seems to have been worn for a long time—at least well into the Antonine period. In any case, the man's closely trimmed beard makes clear that the relief cannot have been produced before the Hadrianic period.

Along with tomb reliefs that are square, elongated, or rounded only at the top, shieldlike tomb reliefs on shafts are found in the three regions named above—most of all in Macedonia.<sup>1</sup> A large number are in the Archaeological Museum in Thessaloniki.<sup>2</sup> The earliest of these reliefs date from the Julian-Claudian period,<sup>3</sup> but most are from the second and third centuries A.D. The Metropolitan Museum's work is one of the higher-quality examples. A very comparable relief of about the same time from Thessaloniki is now in Istanbul.<sup>4</sup> Other related reliefs are in Thessaloniki, Kilkis, Serres, and Kavala.<sup>5</sup>

CONDITION: The noses and portions of the brows have broken on all four figures. There are also breaks on the frame of the relief. The surface is weathered.

LITERATURE: Parke Bernet 1949, no. 556.

#### NOTES

1. See especially Lagogianni-Georgakarakos 1998. A first compilation of the Macedonian material was provided in Rüsçh 1969, pp. 184–91.
2. Despinès, Stephanidou-Tiveriou, and Voutyras 1997, 2003, and 2010.
3. Despinès, Stephanidou-Tiveriou, and Voutyras 1997, pp. 146ff., nos. 116–20, figs. 316–20.
4. Archaeological Museum, Istanbul (234): Lagogianni-Georgakarakos 1998, p. 86, no. 100, pl. 43.
5. *Ibid.*, p. 64, no. 63, pl. 31; p. 96, no. 119, pl. 53; p. 99, no. 124, pl. 56; p. 104, no. 134, pl. 58.

# DISPUTED PORTRAITS



101

## Small Bust of a Middle-Aged Man

Late Republican, with modern alterations,  
ca. 40 B.C.

Marble, H. 7 in. (17.8 cm)

Rogers Fund, 1921 (21.88.11)

PROVENANCE: Until 1910, collection of Count Grigoriy Sergeyeovich Stroganov, Palazzo Stroganov, Rome; from 1910–20, with his descendants, Palazzo Stroganov, Rome; [ca. 1920, sold to Giorgio Sangiorgi, Rome]; acquired in 1921, purchased from G. Sangiorgi.

Because of the heavy cleaning of the face and the reworking of the eye area, the portrait has taken on a strange expression, yet there can be no doubt that this is an ancient work. The surface had apparently already suffered in Antiquity. The head appears to have been carved as a bust; perhaps it was originally placed in a tomb niche.

The portrait depicts a man who is likely over forty years old, as suggested by the creases on the forehead and beside the nose as well as by the lachrymal sacs beneath the eyes. The sculptor appears to have captured the physiognomy of the long face, with its prominent chin, broad, full mouth, small eyes, and prominent cheekbones. However, the hair, parted toward the front and with its smooth locks swept to the right, was only cursorily executed.

The head turns strongly to its right. This and the highly individualized features suggest that it dates from the pre-Augustan period. The physiognomy



can also be compared with replicas of the type of an unknown man in the Palazzo dei Conservatori in Rome and the Musée du Louvre in Paris, though both are executed with much greater detail.<sup>1</sup> Another under-lifesize and similarly narrow bust from roughly the same time is in Boston.<sup>2</sup> In style it resembles the present bust and can possibly suggest the original appearance of the eye area of the head.

**CONDITION:** A piece now lost was added on at the back of the head. The crude depressions in the otherwise smooth surface could have helped to cement it to the crown of the skull.

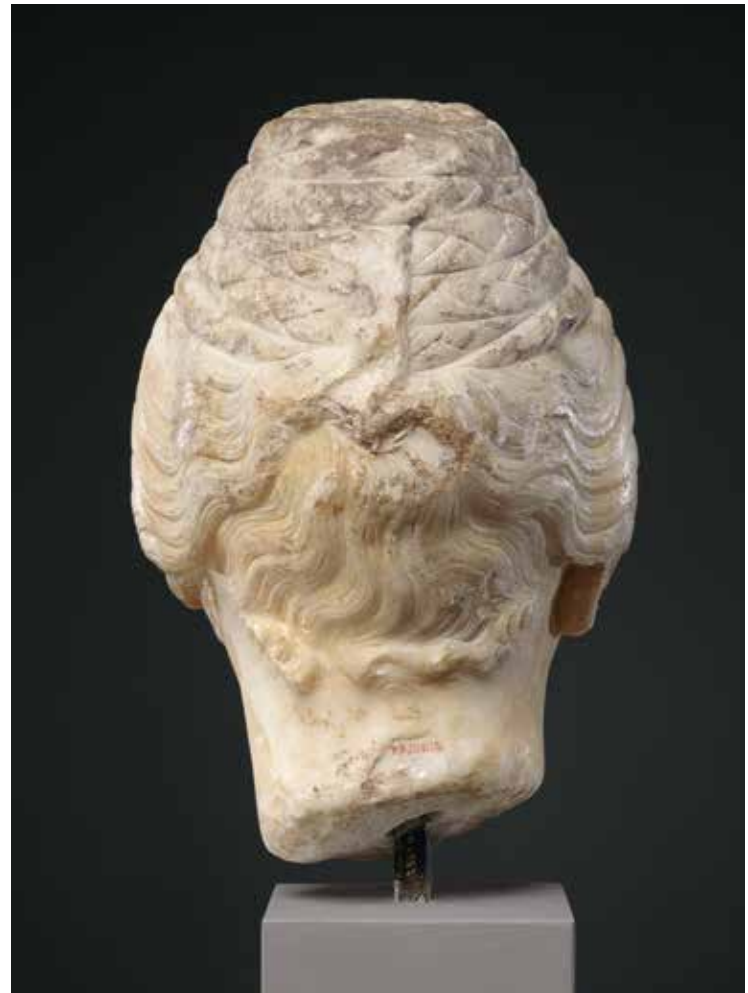
Two pieces also appear to be missing from the right edge of the small bust. The edges of the ears are damaged, and there are large chips in the forehead and the hair. Otherwise, there is only minor damage. A highly invasive modern cleaning of the face has removed accretions and incrustation and exposed the light, coarse-grained marble. When the cleaning was carried out, the original forms were retraced and changed, mainly around the eyes.

**LITERATURE:** Pollak and Muñoz 1911, p. 13, pls. xvii, xviii; Richter 1921, p. 226; Arndt, Amelung, and Lippold 1893–, ser. xii (1931), no. 3503a–b (G. Lippold); Richter 1948, no. 4, ill.

#### NOTES

1. Fittschen, Zanker, and Cain 2010, pp. 26–28, no. 14, pls. 18, 19; Kersauson 1996, p. 14, no. 3. For the portrait type, see Megow 2005, pp. 131–38, pls. 68–75.

2. Museum of Fine Arts, Boston (13.230): Comstock and Vermeule 1976, p. 214, no. 338.



## 102

### Woman's Head

Early Antonine, with modern reworking,

ca. A.D. 150

Marble, H. 10 $\frac{3}{8}$  in. (26.4 cm)

Anonymous Gift of Ernest Brummer, 1949

(49.101.12)

PROVENANCE: Until 1949, private collection, Paris; acquired in 1949, anonymous gift.

A note in the records of the Department of Greek and Roman Art suggests that this portrait of a woman is a “forgery”; however, it is an ancient work. To be sure, it was considerably reworked after it was discovered, presumably because it was heavily

damaged both front and back. The changes were probably intended to falsify the work. In the face, the eyes, eyebrows, and mouth were completely reshaped. Remains of the original end of the eyebrow are visible above the left eye. In his reworking, the “restorer” availed himself of a style reminiscent of early Imperial portraits. His transformations are most obvious on the back, where he left the edges of the recess somewhat rough. The new hair bears no relation to the original hairdo. It is combed downward in the form of waves and ends in ringlets.

The original portrait dates from the early Antonine period and depicted a woman with a towerlike hairpiece, a coiffure that was very popular at the time. The hair was first parted in the middle, then drawn across the forehead to the sides and back in broad waves, half-covering the ears. Before the modern reworking, the hair was then gathered at the neck, wound upward, and divided into braids that were integrated into the towerlike addition.

The Antonine portion of the hairdo on the reworked head is known from numerous portraits and in a



wealth of variants, ranging from fairly simple to highly complex. The present coiffure is one of the simpler examples. Portraits with very similar hairdos are found, among other places, in the Sala delle Colombe of the Palazzo Nuovo, Rome, and in the Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek, Copenhagen.<sup>1</sup>

**CONDITION:** The portrait was presumably subjected to a radical reworking after its discovery. The reworking is particularly noticeable on the face and the hair at the nape of the neck. The left ear was carved off in the process, and part of the surface of the hair swept to the back was destroyed when the accretions were cleaned off. The places where the “restorer” worked are easy to detect by

their light color. Where the ancient surface survives, the marble is darker and partially covered with accretions.

#### NOTES

1. Musei Capitolini, Palazzo Nuovo, Rome (inv. 376): Fittschen and Zanker 1983, p. 68, no. 89, pl. 11. Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek, Copenhagen (1533): Johansen 1994–95, vol. 2, p. 246, no. 101; V. Poulsen 1962–74, vol. 2, p. 112, no. 102, pls. CLXXI, CLXXII.



## 103

### Portrait of Gaius Caesar

(20 B.C.–A.D. 4)

Replica of an ancient portrait type, early 19th century(?)

Gypsum alabaster, H. 9 $\frac{7}{8}$  in. (25.1 cm)

Gift of George P. Tetzl, 2011 (2011.376)

PROVENANCE: June 1958, purchased by Joan Tetzl and Oskar Homolka from Marcello Sestieri, Rome; from 1958, collection of J. Tetzl and O. Homolka, California; by 1975, given to George P. Tetzl by J. Tetzl and O. Homolka; until 2011, collection of George P. Tetzl, Hampton Bays, New York; acquired in July 2011, gift of George P. Tetzl.

The portrait represents Gaius Caesar, the older of Augustus's two grandsons. Together with his brother, Lucius Caesar (17–2 B.C.), he was designated by Augustus as his successor, but both brothers died young.

After much discussion, there is now general agreement among scholars about the identification of this portrait type, known in numerous variants, with Gaius Caesar. A continuing matter of dispute—and this is important for the head in the Metropolitan Museum

as well—concerns whether the Gaius Caesar head in the Vatican Museums' Sala dei Busti actually came from Ostia, as was generally assumed shortly after it was acquired in 1818, or whether it was a contemporary work. In any case, the Vatican head was certainly polished in modern times and provided with a modern bust, as was then usual.

There are thirty or more very precise and generally well-preserved replicas of this portrait that are certain to date from the early nineteenth century.



They were extremely popular at the time as modern copies of an ancient work. The suspicion that the underlying image for these replicas, the head in the Vatican, is itself a modern work was first expressed by Paolino Mingazzini.<sup>1</sup> To be sure, two definitely ancient portraits of the same basic type are known that agree in the stylization of the hair at the forehead with the head in the Vatican Museums and its replicas. However, the ancient works differ from them in the shape of the face and also in the hair on the sides and back of the head.<sup>2</sup> Interestingly, the face of the Vatican head is very similar to that of the Augustus of the Prima Porta type, only younger. Therefore, it is tempting to consider the head in the Vatican a modern work, as Mingazzini, German Hafner, and other scholars do. As yet, there is no real proof.

The present head is deliberately exhibited in the Metropolitan Museum's study collection. With its

considerable damage and surface discolorations, it differs from the other nineteenth-century portraits acquired as modern copies and, at least at first glance, appears to be ancient. However, the suspicion remains that this, too, is a nineteenth-century copy later made to look like an ancient original. Since both the popularity of the portrait in the nineteenth century and the suspected modern presentation of such a replica as an ancient portrait are interesting phenomena of cultural history, the head is not only displayed but also included in this catalogue.

**CONDITION:** Carved from gypsum alabaster (X-ray fluorescence analysis), the portrait is broken at the neck. Pieces are missing from the nose and the edges of the ears. There are further losses, including chips from the right cheekbone and left brow. The head is made up of two parts that were pieced together: the break runs from the neck across the crown of the head and ends in front of the left ear. In some places, the break lines have been filled with a white, plasterlike material. In addition,

there are straight surface fissures extending from the tips of the hair to the brows and a kind of crack from the forehead to the left corner of the mouth and chin. The surface exhibits unusual yellow, red-brown, and dark brown spots, some of which could be discolorations from lying in the ground and in proximity to iron. They could also have been produced artificially in modern times (detailed analysis presented in a Metropolitan Museum interdepartmental memorandum).

**LITERATURE ON THE PORTRAIT TYPE:** Calza 1964, pp. 29–31, no. 29, pl. XVII (publication of the replica in the Vatican Museums; discusses provenance and dates the head to the Augustan period); Hafner 1964 (excellent juxtaposition of the nineteenth-century copies with the head in Mainz, which Hafner considers modern); Frenz 1982 (with numerous illustrations); Pollini 1987, pp. 45–49, 96, no. 5, pl. 7 (considers the replica in the Vatican to be ancient); Frenz 1992 (on the replica in the Altertumsmuseum [now the Landesmuseum] Mainz and the type).

#### NOTES

1. Mingazzini 1949–50.
2. Portrait from Velia: Pollini 1987, no. 7, pl. 9; portrait in a private collection: *ibid.*, no. 8, pl. 10.



# CONCORDANCE

ACCESSION NUMBER	CATALOGUE NUMBER	ACCESSION NUMBER	CATALOGUE NUMBER	ACCESSION NUMBER	CATALOGUE NUMBER
91.8	4	14.130.7	75	32.100.471	44
03.12.1	24	14.130.8	97	33.11.3	25
03.12.8b	7	15.144	46	38.27	96
03.12.11b	73	15.145	59	40.11.1a	27
04.15	38	17.230.133	93	47.100.51	90
05.30	30	18.145.11	56	47.100.52	92
07.286.112	67	18.145.16	94a	49.69.5	100
07.286.115	16	18.145.17	94b	49.101.12	102
08.258.45	52	18.145.39	87	52.11.6	71
08.258.46	65	18.145.45	70	61.82.1	74
08.258.47	15	18.145.47	99	66.11.5	45
09.221.2	95	20.188	72	66.25	91
09.221.4	14	20.200	78	67.107	32
09.221.5	47	21.88.11	101	1980.303.1	68
09.221.7	18	21.88.14	35	1986.40	82
10.210.22	81	21.88.35	80	1989.281.80	28
10.231.1	11	21.88.94	17	1993.342	6
10.231.2	53	22.139.2	77	1996.401	57
11.90	10	22.139.20	50	1998.209	60
11.212.5	84	23.160.6	85	2000.38	69
12.232.1	43	23.160.23	22	2001.443	3
12.232.3	48	23.160.78	19	2002.66	2
12.233	42	24.73	13	2003.407.7	63
13.115.2	83	24.97.32	5	2003.407.8a, b	33
13.225.1	64	24.97.93	51	2003.407.9	34
13.227.1	26	24.243	8	2010.453	58
13.229.3	79	25.78.27	66	2011.87	29
13.229.4	36	25.78.35	23	2011.376	103
13.229.5	49	26.7.1428	20	2012.479.9	9
13.231.1	54	26.60.3	41	2012.479.10	1
14.37	21	26.60.68	55	2013.456	88
14.40.696	37	26.229	31	X.125 1	89
14.105.1	62	26.269	12	X.248.14	98
14.130.1	39	27.122.4	76	L.2007.8.12	61
14.130.2	40	30.11.11	86		

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