

DIETRICH BOSCHUNG

EFFIGIES

Ancient Portraiture as Figuration of the Particular



MORPHOMATA

This volume shows how the portraits of the Greeks and Romans gave shape to and reinforced the perceptions of the particular character of a person. These considerations are based on intensive archaeological research, which in recent decades has successfully addressed questions of typology, identification, and historical classification of ancient portraits.

Three aspects are examined in the interweaving of case studies and general reflections: the preconditions for the creation of portraits; the medial conditions of the creation processes; the efficacy of the created form.

BOSCHUNG - EFFIGIES



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DIETRICH BOSCHUNG

EFFIGIES

Ancient Portraiture as Figuration of the Particular

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INTRODUCTION

APPROACH, OBJECTIVE, AND STRUCTURE OF THE BOOK

This volume does not offer a history of the ancient portrait. Rather, it attempts to show how the portraits of the Greeks and Romans gave shape to and reinforced the perceptions of the particular character of a person. These considerations are based on intensive archaeological research, which in recent decades has successfully addressed questions of typology, identification, and historical classification of ancient portraits. At the same time, catalogs of important collections have significantly increased the material corpus, and aspects of display and reception contexts have also been dealt with in detail. On the basis of such preparatory work, it can be shown here how ancient portraits shaped, altered, and reinforced ideas of the specific character of an individual. The book follows a morphomatic perspective by asking how artifacts (in this case ancient portraits) make epistemic achievements (impressions or accounts of a particular person) concrete in a sensually perceptible form.

Three interrelated aspects are examined: the *genesis* of portraits as materializations of intellectual achievements, the *medial conditions* of the development processes, and the *efficacy* of the developed form. Such an investigation is called *morphomatic*, based on a concept developed in 2009. An artifact that is examined as a sensually perceptible materialization of an epistemic achievement and thus is the object of a morphomatic experimental set-up is called a *morphome*. This approach, some of its key terms (artifact, intellect, materialization, potency, monument), and its application to the material culture of antiquity have been explained in more detail in connection with archaeological case studies (Boschung 2020). The present volume takes the concept outlined there and applies it to ancient portraits. It also complements the earlier publication in numerous points in terms of content. By interweaving case studies and general reflections, this book shows how the morphomatic approach can be fruitful in the humanities.

In its second funding period (2015–2021), the International Center Morphomata focused its research on *biography* and *portrait as figurations of the particular*. The present book can thus be connected with a number of earlier studies. It starts with the presentation of some key terms (Chapter I), which sets the framework for the following chapters. In keeping with the Latin term for a portrait, *effigies* (I.1), attention is paid to both the conceptual and the material design. A portrait can include an entire group of people, depict a person's physical appearance, or refrain from both. Special attention is often paid to the head and face, but some forms of representation intentionally do not reproduce these. The word *figuration* (I.2) denotes the conceived as well as the materially manufactured form, since it is derived from *figuratio*, the Latin equivalent of the Greek μὀρφωμα. So a portrait turns out to be a special case of figuration, namely the figuration of the individual. The *particular* (I.3) is always included in the general, and as a product of a process of differentiation is also in opposition to it. The mechanisms that lead to the perception of something exceptional can be observed in the example of Socrates (I.3.2), where we find both self-selected and externally determined forms of marking difference.

Portraits were not the only visual designation of the particular. An individual can be represented by an image that is very different from him and that does not reflect his appearance (II.1). Seal impressions (II.1.1) were considered personal and clearly identifiable signs of the person who expressed consent and certified statements with them. Generally, they do not show a portrait of their bearer, but freely chosen, sometimes inherited, depictions of scenes, figures, or objects. Recognition of individual names could provoke pictorial associations that are transcribed visually and thus evoke a person (II.1.2). In other cases, a portrait is supplemented by additional, carefully modeled figurations of the particular. Using Augustus as an example, we can see how different media were used in a targeted manner to explicate and illustrate the uniqueness of an individual (II.2). One way of expressing a person's complementary qualities (II.3) was through multiple displays that visualized different, immediately adjacent aspects (II.3.1). Likewise, the person portrayed could be supplemented by additional figures associated with him to show different idiosyncrasies that could not be represented in a single figure (II.3.2). Biographical image sequences visualize in narrative scenes the particularity of the main figure (II.3.3).

Chapter III is comprised of archaeological case studies. It is the most extensive portion and thus occupies a key position of the book.

The selection may seem arbitrary, but this is largely due to the state of the sources and of research. The examples are all well studied and there is broad consensus on their assessment. This allows us to forgo further discussion of typological questions, identifications, and dating. Even though this may still be necessary for specific aspects, it does not play a role in the context addressed here. In addition to portraits of some prominent individuals, discussion of portraits of historically insignificant people is integrated into more general considerations about the image as an identifier (Chapter II.1.2) and portrait as a mass phenomenon (Chapter IV.3). Of the many men, women, and children depicted, we know only the details in their epitaphs, but their representations are important testimony to the need for an appropriate rendering of what is significant about an individual, and in many cases to the search for their own form of description.

The case studies (Chapter III) illustrate different concerns and requirements for the realization of a portrait. The portrait of Homer (III.1) was created at a great distance from his lifetime to give an idea of the appearance of the celebrated poet and at the same time to secure his existence as a historical personality. The posthumous portrait of Socrates offers the opportunity for an exemplary investigation of the genesis, medial conditions of its creation, and its potency (III.2). In spite of all the complexities of its transmission, the portrait of Alexander shows how a striking and significant feature was used already during the Macedonian king's lifetime to identify depictions of him unambiguously (III.3). Pompey's portraits can be understood as an expression of his efforts to appear exceptional in an environment of violent political rivalries by defying contemporary expectations (III.4).

In the Roman Empire, portraits of rulers and their relatives were used as a medium for directed and consistent strategies of political legitimization. In various phases of his life, Augustus had new versions of his portrait created in response to recent developments (III.5). Even if these had to take into account very different situations and moods, they ensured the recognizability of the person depicted by retaining significant features. His successors (III.6) used their portraits to demonstrate political continuity or change by aligning or visually distinguishing them from earlier portraits.

If the aim of portraiture was a concise visualization of the individual, the results achieved in many cases later lost their individuality (Chapter IV.1). For example, as portraits of the political leaders of the late Republic and the emperors were regarded as representations of the exceptional,

they set aesthetic standards and became models for the portraits of their contemporaries. In the first and second centuries A. D., the portrayal of the particular was primarily reserved for portraits of the emperor himself, while the representation of his contemporaries was shaped by the respective portrait of the ruler. This assimilation made individuals appear interchangeable. It was important as an expression of cultural belonging and political loyalty. It is also clear in private portraits that the presentation of their own characteristics was not granted to all groups equally. Thus, the physiognomy of women is more idealized and more standardized. Deviations from the norm (and thus originality) are in most cases only indicated by the extravagance of their hairstyles (IV.1).

Small-format representations in particular can lose their similarity to identifiable templates, so it is not clear if a portrait was actually intended. This ambivalence made it possible to designate ideal types of figures as individual persons (IV.2). Especially in grave reliefs, portraits appear as a mass phenomenon (IV.3), in which small heads are hardly distinguishable, but individually named by inscriptions and produced in large numbers.

The research history of ancient portraits has sought special and exemplary persons of the past, of whom Greek and Roman historians give accounts (V.1). Representations of historical figures could either be invented based on one's own ideas or developed through a combination of literary sources and distinctive features in existing sculptures (V.2). With the increase of the material corpus in the past decades the model of the portrait type has proven a suitable instrument to analyze the tension between the general of the formal template and the exceptionality of individual sculptures (V.3).

FREEDOM FOR RESEARCH, OR: WHAT WAS MORPHOMATA?

This book is the result of 12 years of work in and with the International Center *Morphomata* at the University of Cologne. *Morphomata* was funded from April 1, 2009 to March 31, 2021 by the German Federal Ministry of Education and Research (BMBF) as part of the "Freedom for Research in the Humanities" program as a Käte Hamburger Center and comprised both a program for international guest researchers ("fellows") and diverse opportunities for interdisciplinary scientific events and publications. At the conclusion of its work, it could itself be seen as a *morphome* of concepts of scientific cooperation in its genesis, dynamics, and mediality.

The focus here is on the part of the center that was important for the preparation of this book.¹

Genesis: Like any other morpheme, Morphomata took existing concepts and gave them concrete form, changing and stabilizing them at the same time. The starting point was previous interdisciplinary collaboration, for which the former Center for the Ancient Cultures of the Mediterranean (Zentrum für die antiken Kulturen des Mittelmeerraums, ZaKMiRa) at the University of Cologne provided the framework. One of its conferences, which was organized with Werner Eck in 2004, offered contributions from ancient history, Classical philology, archaeology, numismatics, and papyrology (Boschung/Eck 2006), using the tetrarchy as an example to examine the medial presentation of an ancient system of government. The next event, organized with the art historian Susanne Wittekind and the Center for Medieval Studies in 2006, examined the lasting effects of antiquity during the Middle Ages and included archaeology and art history as well as history, Jewish studies, Medieval Latin, and philosophy.² Discussions with linguist Claudia Riehl led to a joint workshop on historical multilingualism in 2008, with contributions from Egyptology, ancient history, Byzantine studies, German as a foreign language, and historical comparative linguistics.³ Discussions with the Germanist Erich Kleinschmidt resulted in a colloquium on the reception of antiquities in the Early Modern period in February 2009, conceived together with the Center for Modern Studies which included Classical philology, art history, musicology, Dutch studies, and Scandinavian studies, in addition to archaeology and German studies.⁴ This networking of numerous disciplines became visible to a larger audience when an exhibition on images of writing and pictorial formulae in antiquity and the Middle Ages was shown in 2007 as part of the “Year of the Humanities” in conjunction with the Roman-Germanic Museum

1 On the question and the concept of the morpheme: Boschung 2020, 17–30.

2 Boschung, D. / Wittekind, S. (eds.): *Persistenz und Rezeption. Weiterverwendung, Wiederverwendung und Neuinterpretation antiker Werke im Mittelalter. ZAKMIRA 6.* Wiesbaden 2008.

3 Boschung, D. / Riehl, Cl. (eds.): *Historische Mehrsprachigkeit. ZSM-Studien, Schriften des Zentrums Sprachenvielfalt und Mehrsprachigkeit der Universität zu Köln 4.* Aachen 2011.

4 Boschung, D. / Kleinschmidt, E. (eds.): *Lesbarkeiten. Antikerezeption zwischen Barock und Aufklärung. Forum, Studien zur Moderneforschung 6.* Würzburg 2010.

of the City of Cologne (Hansgerd Hellenkemper, Friederike Naumann-Steckner).⁵

It was the experience of the then regular and reliable interdisciplinary collaboration within the Faculty of Arts and Humanities that provided the impetus to elaborate the concept and the proposal for the International Center Morphomata with Günter Blamberger. The center was founded on April 1, 2009; and *Pretest Morphomata*, the first public event that made the scientific concept publicly known, was held December 1–3, 2009.

Dynamics: Morphomata was conceived as an international, interdisciplinary laboratory of ideas—a place where ideas could be discussed, developed, and tested. Appropriate formats had to be found first that would ensure the regularity of the meetings as well as the freedom for individual research. Some forms of exchanging ideas that seemed sensible to us were incompatible with the purpose of the grant and had to be abandoned. This left four tried and true types of events. In the *Morphomata Lectures Cologne* (MLC), fellows presented their research publicly and discussed it the next day with the Morphomata team in an internal colloquium. One-day workshops and two-day colloquia with external speakers examined clearly focused aspects of the research program. “Encounter” events allowed individual fellows to invite guests from the arts and sciences to discuss their projects. In addition, there were individually designed events and informal meetings that provided frequent stimuli for further collaboration.

Suggestions and ideas from the 144 fellows, who worked with Morphomata for a semester or for a whole year during the lifetime of the program, provided important stimulus for the further development of the concept and for the design of the research program. Members of the advisory board, the team of staff members, and external cooperation partners also contributed with suggestions and ideas. They led to numerous joint conferences and publications, many of which were also important for this volume. The medial capability of statues to embody individual qualities was examined in an event conceived together with the archaeologist Christiane Vorster and organized with the Staatlichen Kunstsammlungen in Dresden (Boschung/Vorster 2015). The ruler’s charisma, which makes him appear extraordinary and special and thus

⁵ Boschung, D. / Hellenkemper, H. (eds.): *Kosmos der Zeichen. Schriftbild und Bildformel in Antike und Mittelalter*. ZAKMIRA 5. Wiesbaden 2007.

legitimizes his power, was the subject of an event conceived by Jürgen Hammerstaedt as an alumnus of Morphomata (Boschung/Hammerstaedt 2015). Collaboration with the fellow Thorsten Fögen offered the opportunity to use the example of the emperor Caligula to examine in detail the self-portrayal and external perception of a historical figure (Boschung/Fögen 2019).

The collaboration with François Queyrel and the École Pratique des Hautes Études (EPHE) in Paris was particularly intensive and productive, and as a result a number of rarely noticed aspects of the ancient portrait could be discussed. One of the first joint events explored how the forms of individual portraits developed in the Greek world were adopted by other cultures and used for their own purposes (Boschung/Queyrel 2017). As a result, the focus turned to the serial use of small-format portraits in funerary art of different periods and regions, with which the subject's individuality could be shown despite fewer options for display (Boschung/Queyrel 2019). Other conferences dealt with the connection between format and function (Boschung/Queyrel 2021) and with portraits as a means of social distinction (Boschung/Queyrel 2020).

Two publications undertaken by staff of the center contributed to clarifying the concept of the portrait. The volume *Figurationen des Porträts* brought together essays by the Morphomata team examining the many different ways of reproducing what is special about a person based on different disciplines and forms of presentation (Greub/Roussel 2018). In addition, a conference organized by Thierry Greub dealt with non-mimetic concepts of the portrait (Greub 2020).

In a broader sense, every visual representation of an individual can be understood as a portrait. These possibilities were investigated by an event on architects' houses, carried out together with the Werner Oechslin Library Foundation in Einsiedeln and Julian Jachmann.⁶ Buildings constructed by architects for their own needs are materializations of theories and opinions, and at the same time visual expressions of their own personalities, their special skills, and their lifestyles. The same applies to the elaborate graves of rulers, with which the exemplary achievements and qualities of dominating figures could be expressed permanently. In this case, it was the cooperation with the Romano-Germanic Museum and the collaboration with Marcus Trier and Alfred Schäfer that made

⁶ Boschung, D. / Jachmann, J. (eds.): *Selbstentwurf. Das Architektenhaus von der Renaissance bis zur Gegenwart*. Morphomata 38. Paderborn 2018.

an interdisciplinary conference on this topic possible, with case studies from Southeast Asia and the ancient Mediterranean.⁷

These examples may suffice to illustrate the importance of the intensive collaboration between fellows, the Morphomata team, and external partners such as the École Pratique des Hautes Études and the Romano-Germanic Museum for the creation of this book. But the cases listed are only the most obvious results. In many instances, there were hints and suggestions in unexpected places that opened up new perspectives.

I am very grateful for their help of the fellows and the Morphomata team who supported me in completing this book. Ralf von den Hoff, Jörn Lang, Michael Squire, Günter Blumberger, Thierry Greub, Cathalin Recko, and Martin Roussel read the text and gave important suggestions for corrections and additions. Torsten Zimmer and Philipp Groß provided original images; Semra Mägele took care of the organizational and financial tasks. The German text was translated by Ross Brendle, and the volume designed by Andreas Langensiepen and Kathrin Roussel, who also attended Morphomata for many years.

The second funding phase brought a deep reduction to successful interdisciplinary collaboration, because the number of events had to be drastically reduced for the years 2015–2021. Additional conferences could be held with funds from the Fritz Thyssen Foundation, the Mommsen-Gesellschaft, and the École du Louvre, but many suggestions from fellows and external partners could not be implemented. Some collaborations that had had excellent results in the first funding phase came to a complete halt, such as the collaboration with the *a.r.t.e.s.* Graduate School of the Faculty of Arts and Humanities.

Mediality: Conceptions of interdisciplinarity were most concretely expressed in the architectural design of the Morphomata center. Its location on a courtyard near the university not only signaled organizational independence, but also the desire for intensive cooperation with the disciplines of the Faculty of Arts and Humanities. The placement in a former printing house from around 1900 corresponded to the desired straightforward way of working. A separate lecture hall provided the setting for the numerous lectures, workshops, conferences, internal colloquia, and meetings. It turned out to be notably communicative, because broad, intensive discussions always developed there. These discussions

7 Boschung, D. / Schäfer, A. / Trier, M. (eds.): *Erinnerte Macht. Herrschergräber in transkultureller Perspektive*. Morphomata 50. Paderborn 2021.



1 Conrad Gessner, *De rerum fossilium, lapidum et gemmarum*. Zürich 1565, 159: Illustration of an ammonite and explanation according to Pliny.



2 Signet of the Internationales Kolleg Morphomata, 2009–2021. Designed by Kathrin Roussel, 2009.

could be continued after the events at the receptions in the lounge, which also served as a place for shared dinners and parties, informal meetings, and chance encounters. The individual workspaces were an expression of the appreciation of the academic projects by fellows and employees. In the hallways, posters of previous and upcoming events brought to mind the work program, and finally the small library offered suggestions and inspiration from all areas of the humanities.

The Morphomata team, which included colleagues from numerous areas of the humanities, was always an expression of interdisciplinarity. In many cases, their own focuses and interests were linked to the research program of the center, and numerous publications are the result of this extremely fruitful collaboration. Other media from Morphomata were the developed formats of the scientific events and the volumes of its own series *Morphomata* and *Morphomata Lectures Cologne*. In these series, research results are recorded in a uniform, straightforward, but also aesthetically mature manner, where the changing colors and cover illustrations reflect the richness of the scholarly program.

And finally, the signet of the center was and remains an expression of its peculiarity. Built up in four concentric circles, it expresses the complexity and at the same time the unity of the program: the staggered text references the flexibility of the concept and the words express the fundamental research question of the college. Its shape is reminiscent of an ammonite, a fossil of an animal species that died out 65 million years ago (figs. 1–2). Pliny considered it a particularly valuable gem that

promised to bring prophetic visions.⁸ In geology, it is the index fossil for a past epoch in the history of the earth. While the vision of fruitful scientific collaboration was long realized through Morphomata, the center may indeed one day appear to be the index fossil of a lost phase in the history of science.

⁸ Plin. *NH* 37.60: “hammonis cornu inter sacratissimas aethiopiae, aureo colore arietini cornus effigiem reddens, promittitur praedivina somnia repraesentare.”

I PRELIMINARY NOTES

1. PORTRAIT

1.1 FOCUSING THE NOTION

In a narrow sense, *portrait* refers to the pictorial and mimetic representation of a specific person and his or her idiosyncrasies. Since the 17th century, the word has denoted the recognizable image of a certain person, according to Ernst Buschor's often-repeated definition: "representations of certain people who have lived life on earth."¹ There is no exact equivalent in either Greek or Latin. Rather, there are various terms that bring to the fore different aspects: εἰκών/*imago* ("image"); ἀνδριάς/*statua* ("statue"); *simulacrum* ("likeness"); *effigies*. All of these terms apply to representations of both mythological figures and humans.²

The Latin word *effigies* is related to the verb *effingere*. Its root word *fungere* can mean not only "form" or "fashion" but also "contrive" or "invent." If *effigies* primarily means the representation of a certain person, the Latin word echoes both the material process of *shaping* as well as the process of *imagining*, that is, the intellectual achievement of conception. Based on its etymology and the echoes of meaning it implies, *effigies* appears to be a morphomatic concept. It connotes both the underlying conception of a certain individual as well as technical craftsmanship and its medial and material conditions. Pliny illustrates this connection when he discusses portraits that come about not through tradition but through invention (*NH* 35.9–10).³

1 Buschor, E.: *Das Porträt*. Munich 1960, 7.– von Lexer, M. in Grimm, J. / Grimm, W.: *Deutsches Wörterbuch* 13. Leipzig 1889, Sp. 2006–2008. Online version (http://woerterbuchnetz.de/cgi-bin/WBNetz/wbgui_py?sigle=DWB&mode=Vernetzung&lemid=GPo6419#XGPo6419) accessed 07/07/2018.

2 On the Greek terminology cf. Vorster, Chr. in: *Bol II* 2004, 383.– Keesling 2017, 41–43.

3 While the Latin word has been adopted in several European languages ("effigy" in English, "effigie" in French), it remains uncommon in German.

According to Buschor's definition, portraits can depict not only contemporaries of the artist, but also those of earlier times. In the ancient understanding, this also included the heroes of the distant past like Achilles and Diomedes. The historicity of the Trojan War was beyond question for Greek historians like Herodotos (2.145; 7.171). Eratosthenes calculated the destruction of the city to have taken place in 1184/3 B. C.⁴ That would also be the year of Achilles' death, and his birth could then be assumed to have been shortly before 1200 B. C. Greek heroes have genealogies and biographies, which were sometimes edited in literature and represented in pictures and thus also systematically processed.⁵ Plutarch wrote biographies of Herakles, Theseus, and Romulus, who appear as historical figures just as Alexander and Caesar.⁶ Evidence of their deeds could be found in many places, like the cities they founded or the dynasties traced back to them. Their graves, which could be located and were visited by devotees, were indisputable proof of their historical existence.⁷

Therefore, for the ancient viewer, the Hellenistic Achilles and Penthesilea group⁸ (fig. 3) could be understood as a representation of a precisely determinable historical event as much as the Tyrannicide group in the Athenian Agora⁹ or the Attalid monument for their victory over

4 Jacoby, F. (ed.): *Die Fragmente griechischer Historiker* 2. Berlin 1929, no. 241 F1.– Other calculations suggest the year 1334 B. C., see also Ameling, W.: *Achilleus und Alexander. Eine Bestandsaufnahme*. In: Will, H. / Heinrichs, J. (eds.): *Zu Alexander dem Großen*. Festschrift G. Wirth. Amsterdam 1988, 673 n. 80.

5 *The Achilles cycle*: Raeck, W.: *Modernisierte Mythen. Zum Umgang der Spätantike mit klassischen Bildthemen*. Stuttgart 1992, 122–138.

6 Plutarch's *Life of Herakles* is lost, cf. Plutarch, *Theseus* 29.

7 Cf. for example Hartmann, A.: *Zwischen Relikt und Reliquie. Objektbezogene Erinnerungspraktiken in antiken Gesellschaften*. Berlin 2010, 221–222, 274–275, 282 on the tomb of Achilles.

8 Berger, E.: *Der neue Amazonenkopf im Basler Antikenmuseum. Ein Beitrag zur hellenistischen Achill-Penthesileagruppe*, in: *Gestalt und Geschichte*, Festschrift K. Schefold. 4. Beih. *Antike Kunst*, Basel 1967, 61–75 pls. 16–19.– Berger, E.: *Achill und Penthesilea*, *Numismatica e antichità classiche. Quaderni ticinesi* 28, 1999, 113–143.– Vorster, Chr. in: *Bol III* 2007, 315–316, 414 figs. 316–320.– Gensheimer, M. B. / Welch, Katherine E.: *The Achilles and Penthesilea Statue Group from the Tetrastyle Court of the Hadrianic Baths at Aphrodisias*, *Istanbul Mitteilungen* 63, 2013, 325–377.– Dorka Moreno, M.: *Imitatio Alexandri?* *Rahden* 2019, 86–90.

9 *Boschung* 2020, 197–199 fig. 110.



3 Skulpturenhalle Basel. Achilles and Penthesilea; Hellenistic statue group. Reconstruction after Ernst Berger.



4 Rome, Museo Nazionale Romano 8608. Victory monument of Attalos I; Gaul killing himself. H. 2.11 m.

the Gauls (fig. 4).¹⁰ It was part of the chronologically definable course of events that led to the conquest of Troy. The event was many generations before them, but for an ancient historian it could be precisely fixed. In this perspective, the head of Achilles (fig. 70) is the portrait of a young man who had “lived life on earth” and had accomplished great deeds.¹¹ In this portrait, conceptions of an exemplary, youthful warrior are materialized, which could be based on a broad literary tradition, ultimately going back to Homer. But contemporary concepts of a youthful victor over eastern barbarians have also seeped in, because the head, with smoothly shaved cheeks and loose forelock was influenced by the iconography of Alexander the Great, who saw himself as the successor of Achilles.

10 Mandel, U. in: *Bol III 2007*, 167–173, 396 figs. 168c–d, f–g, j–k.– Queyrel, F.: *La sculpture hellénistique I. Formes, thèmes et fonctions*. Paris 2016, 21 pl. 6; 53–54 fig. 27; 335–336.

11 Cf. the heads in Madrid and Malibu: Berger, E. in: *Gestalt und Geschichte, Festschrift K. Schefold*. 4. Beih. *Antike Kunst*, Basel 1967, pls. 26.1–2; 27, 28.

1.2 CHANGING SIGNIFICANCE OF PORTRAITS

Portraits of the Roman Imperial period shaped likenesses of later periods in manifold ways¹² and were therefore held to be the norm. In contrast, variation in the frequency and function of portraits in different periods, such as the widespread disappearance of the genre in Late Antiquity,¹³ show that every form of portrait-use is specific to a particular time and culture. All the more important are cross-cultural and diachronic studies on figurations of the individual, which can show which characteristics were considered significant and constitutive of an individual person and how corresponding ideas were implemented.¹⁴

The effect of portrait statues relies upon their three-dimensional, physical presence and the organic nature of their representation. Even though the viewer knows that statues are artifacts made of lifeless matter, they can always produce for a brief moment the illusion that they are living indeed bodies. The values and idiosyncrasies they articulate are conveyed emphatically and evocatively. They can be experienced tangibly through their physical presence, and naturalistic details and organic movement make them appear as living actors (Boschung 2020, 75–80). Plutarch (*Alexander* 74.4) tells of the shock that Kassander suffered in Delphi when he saw a statue of Alexander: “He was trembling all over and could hardly recover, such a dizziness gripped him at the sight.”

This makes the statue the preferred form for portraits because it can reproduce not only facial features, but also a person’s bodily appearance and characteristic gestures or movements. Reactions to portraits and especially to portrait statues are therefore often the same as to a living person—curiosity, sympathy, perhaps pity or admiration, but sometimes also rejection, fear, or hatred.

It is these qualities that have made portrait statues a widespread phenomenon again in recent decades. In many countries, larger-than-life and imposing statues are considered a suitable medium to properly represent national heroes and autocratic rulers. In many places there are

12 Cf. Keller, H.: *Das Nachleben des antiken Bildnisse von der Karolingerzeit bis zur Gegenwart*. Freiburg im Breisgau 1970.– Kohl, J. / Müller, R. (eds.): *Die Büste in Mittelalter und früher Neuzeit*. Berlin 2007 with contributions from Rebecca Müller, Victoria Avery, and Christina Riebesell.

13 Kovacs 2014, summarized at 18–19, 253–258.

14 Cf. for example the contributions in Krems, E.-B. / Ruby, S. (eds.): *Das Porträt als kulturelle Praxis*. Berlin 2016.

also numerous life-sized figures that have been set up in recent years for musicians, actors, and athletes. Subjects appear with a characteristic gesture or pose. New technologies such as 3D-printers have also opened up surprising possibilities for the production of portrait figures.

1.3 PORTRAIT DETAILS

Three different sections could be selected for a portrait: a full-length figure, a reduced excerpt focused on the head, or an expanded scenic group. The last option could reproduce a significant event, including representations of other people.¹⁵ For example, a sculptural group at Delphi showed Philopoimen killing the Spartan ruler Machanidas in an equestrian duel during the Battle of Mantinea in 207 B. C. (Plutarch, *Philopoimen* 10.1–8). The monument was thus a double portrait glorifying the courage and military power of the victor by the assigned roles and undoubtedly also by the characterization of the two individuals. The qualities of the person honored are revealed in the actions depicted, and since his enemy could also be named, the authenticity of the image and the historical significance of the event were all the more evident.

An expanded scene was also chosen for the depiction of Aeneas in the Forum of Augustus. The statue group showed him fleeing Troy together with Anchises and Ascanius, proving not only his exemplary *pietas*, but also setting into motion the events leading to the founding of Rome (Boschung 2020, 348–352). The narrative (like the killing of Penthesilea, fig. 3) was displayed alongside precisely datable events and thus appeared historically attested.

A narrower excerpt covers the bodily appearance of those depicted. In the first half of the fourth century B. C. Chabrias wanted his honorific statue in the Athenian Agora to show him in a pose of victory over the Spartans—his shield pressed to his left knee and his spear pointed forward, ready to thrust. His biographer, Cornelius Nepos, reports that this led to a convention in honorary statues: “Hence the custom of later athletes and artists to preserve in statues their pose at the moment of victory.”¹⁶ Likewise, grave reliefs of gladiators of the Imperial period from

15 von den Hoff, R.: *Handlungsporträt und Herrscherbild. Die Heroisierung der Tat in Bildnissen Alexanders des Großen*. Göttingen 2020.

16 Cornelius Nepos, *Chabrias* 1.3: “ex quo factum est, ut postea athletae ceterique

the Greek East often show the deceased in a characteristic fighting pose.¹⁷ C. Popilius Laenas, one of Cicero's killers, also wanted his deed to be immortalized in a statue. So that it could be attested "by being seen, not just by report," he had a statue erected that showed him wearing a wreath and holding the severed head of Cicero.¹⁸ An inscription explained the scene.

When David the Invincible mentions Socrates as an example of a special individual, a *ἄτομον* or *individuum*, he notes that only the entire undivided being is Socrates, but not its parts such as hands, feet, or head (ch. I.3.2). This equates with the Greek conception of the visualization of an individual, which always includes the somatic appearance. A certain way of turning the head or a hand gesture can be recorded and interpreted as a personal characteristic.¹⁹ This was especially true for body language in public appearances, where gestures and posture could be calculated for their effect on the viewer and implemented accordingly.²⁰

In contrast, it becomes clear in the statue galleries of the early Imperial period that body and habitus were not individually designed; rather, it is inscriptions and heads that identify an individual. In the early Tiberian group from the basilica at Veleia, five togati are made according to the same pattern in terms of size, standing pose, position of the arms, and drapery (Boschung 2002, 25–35 pls. 12–13). The consistency extends to the pattern of folds of their garments created by their movement; even the rhythm of movement is uniform for all five men. The same gestures and postures are reproduced in the five statues depicting Divus Augustus, Tiberius, Germanicus, Drusus Minor, and the urban prefect L. Calpurnius Piso.

This lack of interest in distinctive physicality and an individual way of moving in Roman portraits not only contradicts modern methods of

artifices iis statibus status ponendis uterentur, quibus victoriam essent adepti."— See also Keesling 2017, 130–131 fig. 43 (suggested reconstruction).

17 Flecker, M.: Ausgrenzung, Abgrenzung, Angleichung: Gladiatoren-Identitäten zwischen West und Ost. In: Boschung/Queyrel 2020, 333–372.

18 Cassius Dio 47.11.1–2: "μη ἀκούμενος μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ ὀρώμενος."

19 On Alexander the Great's much discussed turn of the head: Kiilerich, B.: The Head Posture of Alexander the Great. *Acta ad archaeologiam et artium historiam pertinentia* 29, 2017, 1–22.— On Demosthenes' folded hands as an expression of his incorruptibility: Plutarch, *Demosthenes* 31.

20 Raeck, W.: Die "Oinomaos-Pose." Zur Interpretation körpersprachlicher Elemente in der antiken Kunst. In: Müller, R. / Rau, A. / Scheel, J. (eds.): *Theologisches Wissen und die Kunst. Festschrift Martin Büchsel. Neue Frankfurter Forschungen zur Kunst* 16. Berlin 2015, 81 n. 1.

identification, which look specifically for unchanging somatic peculiarities, but also stands in stark contrast to other ancient figurations of the individual. From the fifth century B. C. on, and increasingly during the Hellenistic period, Greek art registered biographically determined changes in the human body, thus treating the body as an archive of its experiences and a distinctive characteristic of a person. Peculiarities could be noted, interpreted, and represented even in animals. Suetonius reports (*Iul.* 61) that one of Caesar's horses had peculiar hooves that resembled human feet. After it was prophesied based on this oddity that Caesar would come to dominate the world, he dedicated an exact representation of the mount in front of the temple of Venus Genetrix in his forum: the statuary portrait of a horse.

The uniformity of the bodies in the statue group from Veleia is all the more striking since Suetonius describes the builds of Augustus, Tiberius, and Germanicus differently. The somatic idiosyncrasies and differences of prominent people were clearly recorded and handed down. According to Suetonius, Augustus was rather short and his left leg was weaker than his right; Tiberius was taller than average and broad-shouldered; and Germanicus had quite slender legs.²¹ In the statue group from Veleia, however, the bodies do not show any differences or peculiarities, but rather the consistency of values, actions, and thus also harmony between the founder of the dynasty, the ruling emperor, the probable successors, and the city patron. The uniformity of the bodies in the early Tiberian portrait gallery at Veleia was no exception, as the five extremely similar togati from the theater peristyle of Mérida and numerous other examples show (Boschung 2002, 79–82, 192–195 pls. 64–65).

The statues of the chief Vestals (*Virgines Vestales Maximae*) from the *Atrium Vestae* at the Forum Romanum provide a notable contrast.²² The heads of the portrait statues are marked as a homogeneous group by the attributes of the priestesses, *infula* and *vittae*, but also by a distinct hairstyle. On the other hand, the bodies of the statues differ, following different figure types. This does not reflect any somatic peculiarities of the women honored, but rather they were distinguishable through the choice of different models for pose and drapery. While in this case the portrait heads with given attributes and hairstyles visualize their shared status, it is the statue types that individualize them.

²¹ Suet. *Aug.* 73, 79–80 (according to Julius Marathus); *Tib.* 68; *Calig.* 3.1.

²² Schantor, A.: Zwischen Distinktion und Integration: Die Statuen der Vestalinnen aus dem Atrium Vestae. In: Boschung/Queyrel 2020, 259–282.

The closest view of an ancient portrait is concentrated on the head. So, despite the opinion of David the Invincible, in the Imperial period Socrates could easily be represented by a herm or a bust, with his head shown completely, but with only a small part of the body. Herms in Berlin and Naples bear the name inscription ΣΩΚΡΑΤΕΣ, so the partial figure is understood, as in many other cases, as a representation of the entire personage.²³

Every face is initially determined by the anatomical structure that is common to all people. Size and shape are provided by the bone structure of the skull and the jaw, which also determine the position of the eyes, nose, ears, and mouth. Muscle fibers shape the area around the eyes and cheeks and also make physical movement possible. The surface is defined by the smoothness and elasticity of the skin and the areas where hair grows are also determined. The general features determined thereby characterize human beings and distinguish them from other living beings. Since the cyclops Polyphemos deviates from this with an eye in his forehead, he proves to be a monster outside the human community.

Within the context of general anatomical conditions, every face shows nuances and details that are perceived as special and individual. According to Plutarch (*Alexander* 1.3), ancient portrait painters achieved likeness between their work and the person depicted by reproducing the face and especially the eyes, which show a person's character, while paying less attention to other parts. Conversations Socrates is said to have had with painters and sculptors according to Xenophon (*Mem.* III.10.1–8) emphasize the importance of the face and especially the eyes for the representation of feelings and moods.²⁴ Also for Cicero (*De leg.* 1.9 [26–27]) it is the face (*vultus*) that indicates the character (*mores*) of a person.

1.4 FACELESS PORTRAITS

On the other hand, there are not just individual examples, but entire groups of representations of individuals who deliberately refrain from depicting their faces. The uncarved anthropomorphic stelae from the Black Sea region indicate a human silhouette by making the upper end

²³ Scheibler 2004, 215–216 no. 13 (Naples, Museo Archeologico Nazionale 6415); 226–228 no. 22 (Berlin, Antikensammlung SK 391).

²⁴ Cf. also Preimesberger, R.: Xenophon: Seelenmalerei bei Sokrates. In: Preimesberger, R. / Baader, H. / Suthor, N. (eds.): *Porträt*. Berlin 1999, 80–89.



5 Kerch, Museum. Grave stele of Eudia. H. 1.26 m.



6 Kerch, Museum. Grave stele of Mousa, 1st c. A. D. H. 80 cm.

circular and offsetting it from the vertically defined shaft.²⁵ This corresponds to a person represented through drawing the outline of his or her shadow, which Pliny believed to be the origin of painting (*NH* 35.15). A stele in Kerch, one of many examples, bears the name Eudia and describes her as the wife of Menodotos, combined with the greeting χαίρε (fig. 5).²⁶ The outline created on the tombstone is unmistakably linked to a named person whose status is indicated. But beyond that, such stelae, which appear from the fourth century into the Hellenistic period, do not give any clues as to the appearance of the deceased and do not attempt to reproduce his or her physiognomy or physical details. The stele of

25 Kreuz, P. A.: Individuum und Bild in den Nekropolen des bosporanischen Reichs. Eine nordpontische Perspektive. In: Boschung/Queyrel 2019, 201–227.– Kreuz, P.-A.: Die Grabreliefs aus dem Bosporanischen Reich. Leuven 2012, 658 cat. no. 516 fig. 45; 818–819 cat. no. 894 fig. 102.

26 Εὐδία γυνή | Μηνοδότου | χαίρε : Kieseritzky, G. / Watzinger, C.: Griechische Grabreliefs aus Südrussland. Berlin 1909, 138 no. 757 pl. 56.

Musa, also from Kerch (fig. 6), shows that this abbreviated rendering was sometimes considered inadequate. A veiled female figure holding a boy in her arms is added in a flat rectangular niche in the round upper part of the stele.²⁷ The qualitatively modest relief complements the testimony of the stele form and the inscription by telling us the deceased had given birth to a male child, that she complied with female norms, and that she was a caring mother. This was undoubtedly an important message for the donor, as it revealed the extent of the loss that the death of Musa had meant for her relatives. The woman's face was the only part of the relief destroyed and was therefore targeted. The figural representation appears to have been later perceived as problematic.

Similar grave monuments made of limestone, basalt, and marble were set up in Pompeii in large numbers from the second century B. C. until the destruction of the city. They may have replaced older grave markers made of wood.²⁸ The basalt stelae in particular are sometimes left without an inscription, but many are inscribed with the name of the deceased, establishing a connection with a named individual. They are often set up above the urn and behind the associated libation tube that received offerings for the dead. Like the anthropomorphic stelae from the Pontos region, they do not give any anatomical details, only a silhouette with an offset disc to indicate the head. But tombs for male and female deceased are differentiated by making the back of the upper section of women's grave markers a hemisphere with a summarily worked hairstyle (figs. 7a–b). The gender of the dead, an important social distinction, is not expressed by their corporeality, but by the contemporary hairstyle, that is, by an isolated and conventional symbol of their status. Stelae of this type were sometimes set up near funerary statues that depicted the

27 Μουσα | Ἔρωτο<υ>ς | χαίρε : Kieseritzky/Watzinger op. cit. 138 no. 762 pl. 56.– Kreuz, P.-A.: *Die Grabreliefs aus dem Bosporianischen Reich*. Leuven 2012, 658 cat. no. 516 fig. 45.

28 Kockel, V.: *Die Grabbauten vor dem Herkulaner Tor in Pompeji*. Mainz 1983, 16–18; where there is evidence of similar monument groups; 90 Süd 19 II finds.– Kockel, V.: *Im Tode gleich? Die sullanischen Kolonisten und ihr kulturelles Gewicht in Pompeji am Beispiel der Nekropolen*. In: von Hesberg, H. / Zanker, P. (eds.): *Römische Gräberstraßen. Selbstdarstellung – Status – Standard*. Munich 1987 esp. 188. Many other examples from the necropolis outside the Porta Nocera: D'Ambrosio, A. / De Caro, St.: *Un impegno per Pompei. Fotopiano e documentazione della necropoli di Porta Nocera*. Milan 1983.



7a-b Pompeii, Necropolis of the Herculaneum Gate. Basalt grave stele of a woman. H. 75 cm.

deceased in a life-size, three-dimensional figure.²⁹ This made obvious the possibilities and limitations of both types of funerary monuments.

The assignment to an individual is less clear in the case of the “divinités funéraires” from Cyrene, which Luigi Beschi discussed together with anthropomorphic stelae.³⁰ The robed female figures stood on bases at graves, each bearing the name of a deceased person, with both women and men being named. While the bodies, clothing, and hairstyles are carefully worked out in detail, in many examples the faces were intentionally omitted. Instead of the head and neck, there is a solid cylinder with a plain surface (figs. 8–9).³¹ This is a deliberate violation of the expectations of the viewer, who expects to find between the shoulders and hair of a high-quality female figure a face that expresses the character of the individual portrayed. While only the shadow of the dead remains vis-

²⁹ D’Ambrosio/De Caro op. cit. 7OS, 11OS, 23OS.

³⁰ Belzic, M.: Des “divinités funéraires” aux portraits funéraires. In: Boschung/Queyrel 2019, 75–106 esp. 77–80.– Beschi, L.: Divinità funerarie cirenaiche, *Annali della Scuola Italiana di Atene* 47–8, 1969–1970, 133–341 esp. 326–336.

³¹ Beschi op. cit. 221–222 no. 15 fig. 64.



8 Cyrene, Museum. Grave sculpture of a woman.



9 Cyrene, Museum. Grave sculpture of a woman.

ible on the grave stelae, the body of the deceased is preserved in Cyrene, but the facial features and thus also personality are lost.

On Roman sarcophagi there are numerous examples where the heads were intended for portraits but were left unfinished in a rough form. Stine Birk's investigation has shown that on almost a third of all sarcophagi with portraits, at least one head has not been finished.³² It is usually the main figure in the center of the scene (fig. 10).³³ This is all the more conspicuous as the other reliefs and even portrait figures are carefully worked out including the head. There were likely several reasons for this strange feature. On the one hand, the production processes in workshops played a role, and high-quality portrait heads were done by specialized sculptors. Simpler stone sarcophagi were made in advance and finished with the exception of the portraits and the epitaph, so that

32 Liverani, P.: *Nomen e Imago. Presenza e assenza nei ritratti sui sarcofagi romani*, RM 125, 2019, 323–343.– Birk, St.: *Depicting the Dead. Self-Representation and Commemoration on Roman Sarcophagi with Portraits*. Aarhus 2013, 55–58.– Huskinson, J.: “Unfinished portrait heads” on later Roman Sarcophagi. *Some new perspectives*, *Papers of the British School at Rome* 66, 1998, 129–158.
33 Berger, K.: *Fragment eines Clipeus-Sarkophags*, *Kölner Jahrbuch* 28, 1995, 120–121 fig. 233.



10 Cologne, Archaeological Institute. Fragment of a sarcophagus with unfinished portrait of a woman. Early 3rd c. A. D. H. 40 cm.

they were readily available when needed. The elaboration of the portrait heads could then have been omitted for various reasons. But in other serially produced types of funerary art, such as the stelae of the *equites singulares*, the heads are always worked out (ch. IV.3.2). Here, the more modest quality did not require a specialized division of labor, so they could be executed by one sculptor. The iconographic repertoire of the genre was limited to a few scenes. In addition, they were intended for a clientele largely homogeneous in age and gender and the smaller format offered little room for physiognomic details. To give the appearance of a portrait, it was sufficient to design the hair and beard of the main figure in a contemporary fashion.

The heads are also always worked out on tomb altars with portraits in Rome (ch. IV.3.2). In this genre, the portraits were added at the request of the customer. Some of them were custom made, and some of the portraits were later chiseled into prefabricated pieces, so that the inscription plaque or areas of the relief decoration had to be sacrificed. Hairstyles and faces are always given in detail appropriate to the different formats. A deliberate abandonment of portrait-like reproduction is found here just as rarely as in the stelae of the *equites singulares*.



11 Malibu, J. Paul Getty Museum 83.AA.275. Sarcophagus of Maconiana Severiana (detail). c. A. D. 210. H. 41 cm.

On the other hand, roughed-out heads can also be found on elaborate sarcophagi, where lack of money, lack of specialists, or lack of time should not have played a role. It cannot be determined in each case whether the head was deliberately omitted or whether it was meant to be elaborated at a later point in time and was no longer possible after the sarcophagus was set up in the tomb. In any case, the frequency of such cases makes it clear that the unfinished heads were not perceived as a flaw or an aesthetic deficit.

The front of the sarcophagus of Maconiana Severiana (fig. 11)³⁴ shows the discovery of Ariadne by Dionysos, accompanied by Pan, Papposilenos, satyrs, and maenads. The relief is finalized in every detail, with the exception of the head of Ariadne. It is precisely the unfinished head of the reclining woman that sets her apart from the other figures and makes it clear that she is the main character who will receive special treatment. From the inscription, the interpretation as a portrait of Ma-

34 Dimas, St.: Dionysischer Sarkophag. In: Dimas, St. / Reinsberg, C. / von Hesberg, H.: Die Antikensammlungen von Hever Castle, Cliveden, Bignor Park und Knole. MAR 38. Wiesbaden 2013, 105–108 He 43 pls. 44–46.



12 Aquileia, Museo Archeologico. Grave stele of the gladiator Q. Sossius Albus. H. 98 cm.

coniana Severiana, the deceased daughter of a senator, is obvious. She, like Ariadne, will be awakened from her sleep by a god and taken as his wife. The head, left in its raw form, draws attention to the nude torso, framed by her garment. So it is not the facial features, but the graceful demeanor and youthful beauty that should be remembered as qualities of the deceased.

On the gravestone of the gladiator Q. Sossius Albus in Aquileia (fig. 12), the face is deliberately omitted.³⁵ The detailed depiction of his armor, with the guard on his right arm, the sword, shield, belt, the greave on his lower left leg, and especially his helmet with its towering crest, was more important. Through the image and the inscription, the frontal figure with his strong, bare torso is clearly a *murmillio*, one of a certain group of gladiators. The relief shows him ready to fight, with sword drawn. Instead of his face, the viewer sees the helmet's visor, a metal plate with many holes. Other tombstones of gladiators, who are listed as individuals in inscriptions with their names, depict the deceased fighters in a similar way.³⁶ In contrast to the Roman grave stelae of the *equites singulares*, whose fashionable beards and hairstyles mark participation in

35 Flecker, M.: Ausgrenzung, Abgrenzung, Angleichung: Gladiatoren-Identitäten zwischen West und Ost. In: Boschung/Queyrel 2020, 333–372.

36 Junkelmann, M.: Gladiatoren. Das Spiel mit dem Tod. Mainz 2008, figs. 31, 32, 320, 356.

Roman society and loyalty to the emperor, the gladiator reliefs emphasize belonging to a distinct group in which survival was only possible through one's own fighting ability and the quality of one's armor.

1.5 THE SPECTRUM OF PORTRAITURE

An *effigies*, a pictorial and mimetic representation of a certain person, could be realized in many ways. If it reproduced the entire figure, it could emphasize outstanding deeds, bodily peculiarities, and characteristic gestures, or—as in the statue group from Veleia—suppress them in favor of stressing commonality with others. In extreme cases, as with the aforementioned stelae from the Black Sea region and from Pompeii, the *effigies* was limited to the silhouette and negated the spatial presence of the body. Herms and busts focus attention on the head of the person portrayed and thus on the peculiarities of hairstyle and physiognomy. They confirm the importance of the face and eyes in characterizing a person, as emphasized by ancient authors like Xenophon, Plutarch, and Cicero. In contrast, some high-quality and intricate works completely abstain from elaborating the face—because of the production processes of sculpture workshops with sarcophagi, because of the emphasis on armor and weapons in depictions of gladiators, and as a conscious abstraction at Cyrene. In these cases it is the body, clothing, and arms that express the suprapersonal qualities of the people depicted. These different modes of representation are partly regional and limited in time and sometimes specific to a certain social group, but always indicative of the conception of what makes a person unique and how it should be articulated.

2. FIGURATION

2.1 “ΜΟΡΦΩΜΑΤΑ ... QUAS NOS FIGURAS SIVE FIGURATIONES POSSUMUS DICERE”

Like *effigies* (ch. I.1.1), the Latin word *figuratio* is also related to the verb *ingere*, which can mean “to form (plastically)” or “to fashion,” as well as to “to contrive” or “to invent.” The product of this action is *figura*, the imagined or materially manufactured “figure” (Varro, *De lingua latina* 6.78). The derived Latin word *figuratio* denotes “*et actionem figurandi et figuram effectam*,”¹ that is, both the process of fashioning and its result. According to Jerome the term corresponds to the Greek μὀρφωμα: “μὀρφώματα ... quas nos *figuras* sive *figurationes* possumus dicere,” “*morphómata*, which we can call *figures* or *figurations*” (Jerome, *Epistulae* 29.6). In the original sense of the word, figuration thus encompasses designing, that is, the intellectual development of a conception of a certain feature, and at the same time its materialization in a sensually perceptible form.

The term *figuration* is defined and applied theoretically differently in individual scientific disciplines.² For the study of material culture, however, the ambivalent meaning of the Latin word offers two different approaches. It allows for the examination of design processes and their requirements and diverse conditions, but also the resulting product with its impact and the implications of its content. This corresponds thoroughly with the morphomatic approach as laid out in the Introduction.

Using the example of morphomes of time, it can be shown that materialization in visual artifacts was preceded by intellectual achievements that had developed in several steps over a long period (Boschung 2020, 119–164). Conceptions of the seasons arose from observations and

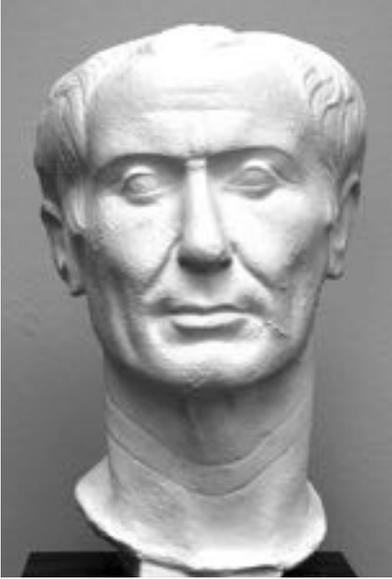
¹ Thesaurus Linguae Latinae VI 1. 1987, 739.

² Boschung 2020, 27–28.– Knape, J.: Figurenlehre B, Theorie der Figuration. In: Ueding, G. (ed.): Historisches Wörterbuch der Rhetorik 3. Tübingen 1996, 291–302.

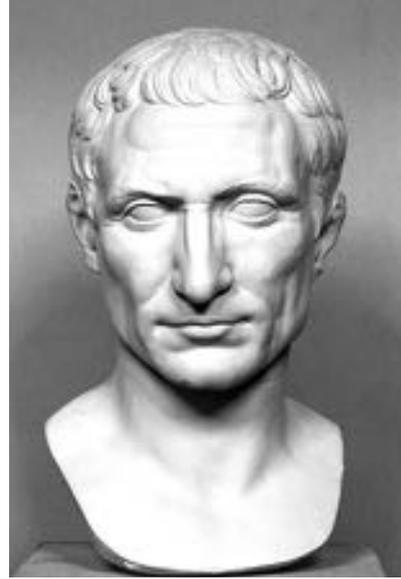
experiences combined and expressed in language. Their development can first be traced in literary texts before they were transcribed into images (Boschung 2020, 41–43). In contrast, the intellectual prerequisites on which portraiture is based are less clear. At best only a small proportion of direct perceptions and experiences or accounts that shaped conceptions of individual personalities are passed down to us and this is often with certain biases. For historical figures, for example, there is a parallel transmission in literary texts in addition to portraits, but in most cases, these are written later and with knowledge of the portraits. Plutarch (*Sulla* 2) notes that Sulla's appearance can be recognized from his statues.

In the case of Homeric portraits, that is, portraits of the poet himself and his characters (ch. III.1), earlier precursors can be perceived in other media which were taken up and further developed in pictorial representations. Accounts that were taken as self-description were particularly important. The assumption that there was once a nameable person who composed the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* as well as some other works was crucial. This premise was confirmed and defined in the portrait. The first portrait of Socrates, created posthumously (ch. III.2), was an answer to earlier, critical descriptions of his personality, as seen in the comedies of Aristophanes. It was created at the same time and in the same intellectual milieu as literary accounts of his students in his defense. They passed down comments from their teacher in which he described and commented on his own appearance. As with Homer, an updated version of the portrait of Socrates was created later, which matched changed expectations of a poet or a philosopher.

For Alexander (ch. III.3) it is recorded that he entrusted only select artists with creating his portrait. The leading men of the late Republic (ch. III.4) and the Roman emperors (ch. III.5–6) could immediately influence the design of their portraits. They were a means of self-expression and thus political agitation. They were intended to influence the conceptions of the people portrayed and emphasize desired aspects among both their contemporaries and for posterity. The portrait of Julius Caesar, of which two types are known, is informative. The first (ch. III.4.2; figs. 13, 89a–b) was created during his lifetime. It is the self-representation of a politician who, in contemporary conflicts and controversies, bids for the loyalty of his followers and the approval of important agents. The second (fig. 14) was created posthumously during the Augustan period and expresses conceptions of his person that had since changed. Raised by the Senate to the status of a god in the state religion, *divus Iulius* was



13 Turin, Museo di Antichità 2098; Plaster cast Freie Universität Berlin. Portrait of C. Julius Caesar type 1.



14 Rome, Musei Vaticani 713; Plaster cast MfA Munich. Portrait of C. Julius Caesar type 2.

the key to legitimizing Octavian's claims (ch. II.2; III.5.1). His posthumous adoption secured the loyalty of soldiers and clients; revenge for his murdered adoptive father justified the Civil Wars; and the direct relationship as *divi filius* gave him a unique, sacred aura. The new portrait of Caesar carries over from the older version the wrinkles of the cheeks and forehead, the two short horizontal lines at the bridge of the nose, the two short vertical folds between the brows and the two raised, downward sloping eyebrows above. At the same time the expression is changed. The face looks strained, and due to the indication of crow's feet and the emphasis on the wrinkles on the cheeks, it also looks older. The hair is also noticeably changed, because it falls into the forehead in thick strands, forming a horizontal border. This ignored Caesar's baldness, a well-known feature of his appearance that had been the target of lewd mockery (Suet. *Iul.* 51). For a god, the indication of age and stress might seem inappropriate, but it shows that *divus Iulius* had been a historical person, even though he may now have risen to the stars. The changes in physiognomy also aimed at assimilating with portraits of Octavian and thus testifying to the direct relationship between *divus Iulius* and *divi filius* (Hölscher 2018, 180–182).

There were contrasting figurations for the conception of the individuality of some people. Caligula's portrait (ch. III.6.2), which was created during his lifetime and with his approval, showed the emperor as a young man with full hair and relaxed facial features, and in doing so emphasized his relationship to his extremely popular father, Germanicus, and stressed the legitimacy of his rule. Literary texts that were written after his death and his condemnation portray him as a mad tyrant who violated all values and norms (Boschung/Fögen 2019). Antiquarians of the Early Modern period, who knew both sources, did not perceive this contradiction, but rather transferred the defamatory details in the texts to the coin images and sculptures without hesitation, although these show fundamentally different traits (ch. V.2.4).

The realization of ideas in a work of art did not happen inevitably or regularly, but always happened with intentions based on the conditions of the time. On the one hand, the realization of a portrait of Socrates in the Platonic Academy around 380 B. C. can be understood as an attempt to assert a positive image of the philosopher against other views. Depictions of politicians from the Late Republic and later emperors were created as instruments of power and designed accordingly (ch. III.4–7). In contrast, it is unclear why a portrait of Homer had to be created around 460 B. C. (ch. III.1) after his works had been prized for centuries and the deeds he sung of had long since been depicted in art. In the case of private individuals, erecting funerary monuments often gave led to the creation of portraits. They were meant to ensure the memory of the buried beyond their death in a desirable manner. In other cases, it was uncommon accomplishments that led to the dedication of portraits. This could happen immediately or after some period of time. In the second case it is unlikely, sometimes even impossible, that the sculptor's own perception could have played a role in the design of the details. Instead, traditional, usually previously selected accounts about the appearance and conceptions of the character of who was being depicted had to form the basis of the representation.

The central intention of ancient portraits was to honor the people portrayed, who were meant to be remembered in perpetuity. The aim was to highlight aspects considered positive and to avoid elements that were understood negatively. They therefore follow the conventions and aesthetic norms of their time of origin, so that they are always more or less strongly idealized.³ This required an established iconography with which the meaning of visual elements could be reliably conveyed. Their assessment depended on the political conditions and could fundamen-

tally change over time. While, for example, Caligula's clothing and shoes, studded with pearls and precious stones, were considered an expression of tyrannical hubris in the early empire, almost three hundred years later in the Tetrarchic period they are positive symbols of the prominent position of the emperors (Boschung 2020, 258–260). Reassessment could also happen much faster, as the events following the death of Nero show. At that time in Rome, Mithridates of Pontus mocked Galba, who had been proclaimed the new emperor by the military. The Romans would soon regard it disgraceful to have him as emperor because of his baldness and wrinkles (Plutarch, *Galba* 13.4). It is understandable that Galba's appearance was said to disqualify him as ruler in the eyes of his opponents when set against the background of the portraits of Julio-Claudian emperors and, above all, portraits of Nero (ch. III.6.2, figs. 108, 109). They all appear ageless and always with a full head of hair. But in the Late Republic, wrinkles and baldness were quite common and were viewed positively as evidence of experience and achievement (ch. III.4.1–2). And two years after the mockery of Mithridates—who had in the meantime been executed by Galba—Vespasian ruled Rome, and his portrait confidently and programmatically displayed the maligned features of old age (ch. III.6.2, fig. 114). What would have been unthinkable for an emperor only a short time previous now appeared as a sign of his personal qualities.

2.2 MODALITIES OF SHAPING

As artifacts, portraits are products of human craftsmanship (*ars*), made (*facta*) from natural materials such as clay and stone or from artificially processed substances such as bronze and glass (Boschung 2020, 31–40). Various materials and production techniques offered different possibilities for figuratively transcribing conceptions of what is unique about a person. Anyone who made a portrait statue out of bronze using an indirect casting method could take any number of castings of their model and process them further (Boschung 2020, 48–54). Sculptors, on the other hand, had to chisel the figure from marble as a single piece, but they had the option of copying a model down to the last detail by using

3 Raeck, W.: Über die Ähnlichkeit antiker Porträts. In: Şahin, M. / Mert, İ. H. (eds.): Festschrift Ramazan Özgan. Istanbul 2005, 291–295.

the pointing process.⁴ And while the mint produced extensive series of identical portraits of the emperors, a cameo cutter had to adapt each piece individually to the specifications of the stone.

Different types of portraits are neither preserved with the same frequency nor studied with the same intensity. So, the picture is determined by freestanding marble sculptures. Most have lost their original paint, which was an important element of the original representation, but can no longer be reconstructed for most sculptures.⁵ On the other hand, painted portraits have survived almost exclusively from Egypt (plate 1).⁶ Painted portraits on glass and in wall painting are even rarer (plate 2).⁷ They make the different potential of the genres clear. For example, painting can indicate the complexion and color of hair and eyes, mentioned in literature as special features of a person, but missing in marble portraits after the loss of paint.⁸ Color made painted faces appear alive and created the illusion of an immediate encounter.

On the other hand, the material of the sculptural portraits, mostly marble or bronze, makes the images stable and ensures their constant, unchanging presence. The quality of materials contributed to the attraction to and appreciation of monuments (Boschung 2020, 48–54). The materials selected could have their own meaning if they signaled certain attributes through their color or quality such as “permanence,” “hardness,” or “costliness.” Portrait statues and busts made of porphyry or colored stone were spectacular exceptions, which required access to restricted resources and special production techniques. Some portraits

4 Pfanner 1989, 157–257.– Nolte, S.: Steinbruch - Werkstatt - Skulptur: Untersuchungen zu Aufbau und Organisation griechischer Bildhauerwerkstätten. Göttingen 2009.

5 On the corresponding reconstruction: Brinkmann, V. / Wünsche, R. (eds.): Bunte Götter. Die Farbigekeit antiker Skulptur. Munich 2003, 186–215.

6 On the type: Parlasca, K.: Repertorio d'arte dell'Egitto greco-romano B I. Ritratti di mummie. Rome I 1969, II 1977, III 1980, IV 2003.– Borg, B.: Mumienporträts. Chronologie und kultureller Kontext. Mainz 1996.

7 E.g. Kraus, Th.: Lebendiges Pompeji. Pompeji und Herculaneum. Antlitz und Schicksal zweier antiker Städte. Cologne 1973, 166 figs. 213–214.– Thompson, D. L.: Painted Portraiture in Pompeii. In: Pompeii and the Vesuvian Landscape. Washington 1979, 78–92.– Le collezioni del Museo Nazionale di Napoli. Rome 1986, 156–157 no. 231–234, 236.– Pl. 2: Kovacs 2014, 237 fig. 145.1.

8 Plutarch, *Alexander* 4.2: white skin and reddish face of Alexander; *Cato maior* 1: red hair and green eyes of Cato the Elder; *Sulla* 2: blue-gray eyes and white/red spotted face of Sulla.

were made of alabaster and hollowed out on the inside so that the translucent material would achieve an aura-like effect under appropriate lighting.⁹

In the first half of the first century B. C. we hear of two portraits that caused a sensation due to their singular material. In 78 B. C., “a rather large image” made of incense and cinnamon was carried in the funeral of Sulla, showing the deceased and a lictor.¹⁰ According to Plutarch’s choice of words (εἶδωλον), it must have been a two-dimensional representation. Sulla was shown with a lictor as a sign of the dignity of his office. It is unclear how incense and cinnamon could be used in such a way as to produce a recognizable image. In any case, the portrait was spectacular and memorable because of the cost that was put into the use of these precious and exotic materials for something beyond their intended purpose.¹¹

A portrait of Pompey shown during his triumph over the pirates and dated to 61 B. C. was similarly ambitious and strived for originality. It was made of pearls and showed the swept back curls characteristic of the subject (ch. III.4.3).¹² The material used, a rare and exotic product of the sea, was entirely appropriate for the occasion that celebrated the securing of sea routes. The pearls were likely fitted together to form a two-dimensional image, and here too the value lay in the costliness of the material and the originality of the idea. As far as we know, both experiments, the incense portrait of Sulla and the pearl image of Pompey, were never emulated. When an ivory statue was made for Caesar, this was in keeping with the tradition of cult images. This special portrait of Caesar was said to have been carried together with the gods in the procession on the occasion of the circus games of 45 B. C.¹³

9 Grenier, J.-C. / Liverani, P.: “Special effects in der hellenistischen Porträtkunst.” *Betrachtungen zum Alabasterporträt einer hellenistischen Königin in Privatbesitz*, *Antike Welt* 33, 2002, 551–555.

10 Plutarch, *Sulla* 38: “εἶδωλον εὐμέγεθες αὐτοῦ Σύλλα, πλασθῆναι δὲ καὶ ῥαβδοῦχον ἔκ τε λιβανωτοῦ πολυτελοῦς καὶ κινναμώμου.”

11 Müller, W. W.: *Weihrauch*, *RE Suppl.* 15. Munich 1978, 699–777.– Olck, (F.): *Casia* 1, *RE III*. Stuttgart 1899, 1637–1650.

12 Pliny, *NH* 37.14 (6.4): “erat et imago Cn. Pompei e margaritis, illa relicino honore grata.”

13 Cassius Dio, 43.45.2.– Lapatin, K. D. S.: *Chryselephantine Statuary in the Ancient Mediterranean World*. Oxford 2001, 124–125.

Portraits of the emperors were later made in gold and silver.¹⁴ The written sources leave no doubt that the examples that have survived (plate 3) represent only a small and randomly preserved remnant of a once important genre.¹⁵ Small-format sculptural portraits made from precious stones represented a similar honor.¹⁶ The extraordinary, precious material lent a suitable presence to the ruler and his relatives.

Different scales offered another method of creating emphasis. If an ancient portrait aimed for a mimetic likeness of the person portrayed, then a life-size representation was an obvious choice. However, installation in a given context and for a specific function required a different scale in many cases (Boschung/Queyrel 2021). The size of coin portraits was determined by their monetary value, which required a certain weight and thus indirectly a certain diameter. Since the Hellenistic period, coins had shown the images of the rulers and sometimes those of distinguished relatives.¹⁷ They had to be reduced to about a tenth of their natural size, but the reduction opened up new possibilities. The technical process of production provided large quantities of uniform representations, which could be identified with inscriptions and clearly named. Their use as a means of payment ensured widespread and long-term circulation, which made the embossed portrait present in everyday life.

Larger than life and colossal figures were spectacular. In a project proposed by Deinokrates, Mount Athos was to be reworked into a portrait of Alexander the Great, which would have made the world conqueror visible from far across the Aegean.¹⁸ Nero's colossal statue was actually realized in Rome.¹⁹ His arrogance was so scandalous that after

14 de Pury-Gysel, A.: Die Goldbüste des Septimius Severus. Gold- und Silberbüsten römischer Kaiser. With contributions from Alessandra Giumlia-Mair. Basel/Frankfurt 2017.

15 de Pury-Gysel op. cit. 63–68.– Pekáry, Th.: Das römische Kaiserbildnis in Staat, Kult und Gesellschaft. Dargestellt anhand der Schriftquellen. Das römische Herrscherbild III. Berlin 1985, 72–80.

16 Paolucci, F.: *Piccole sculture preziose dell'Impero Romano*. Modena 2006.

17 Pangerl, A. (ed.): *Portraits. 400 Jahre hellenistische Porträts*. Munich 2020.– *Idem* (ed.): *Portraits. 500 Jahre römische Münzbildnisse*. Munich 2017.

18 Azoulay, V.: *Un fantasma monumental: La statue-monde d'Alexandre le Grand*, *Cahiers du Centre Gustave-Glotz* 27, 2016, 229–261.

19 Bergmann, M.: *Der Koloss Neros, die Domus Aurea und der Mentalitätswandel im Rom der frühen Kaiserzeit*. 13. Trierer Winckelmannsprogramm. Mainz 1993.

the fall of Nero, the colossus did not receive the head of his successor, but was reworked into a figure of the sun god. It was less objectionable when over-life-sized figures of the Hellenistic kings, and later the Roman emperors, dominated sanctuaries and public buildings, but here too the difference from cult statues of the gods was blurred.

2.3 IN SEARCH OF LOST FORM

The portraits discussed as case studies in Chapter III are invariably lost, but we are able to reconstruct them from preserved copies. In the case of the Classical, Hellenistic, and late Republican examples, these were prominently placed statues that had been created for a specific installation context and in a specific historical situation. They were not copied until a long time later. We cannot determine whether the model retained its original location or whether it had just become accessible through a change of location. Copies even further changed the context and thus the perception of portraits. As a rule, only the heads or, at most, sections of the upper body were transferred to copies. Though the bodily appearance of the person with his or her characteristic gestures and poses may have previously been an expression of particularity, now interest focused on the head with the peculiarities of physiognomy and hairstyle. Sometimes dimensions were so drastically reduced that details were lost. The product could be placed in any desired location and in combination with any other artifacts. The form remained consistent in details, but its meaning changed in new contexts (Boschung/Jäger 2014). The copied statues, whose fame had grown after their reproduction, were destroyed as material artifacts at a point in time that we cannot determine. The form, designed as a reproduction of a special person, had lost its meaning, so that the value of the bronze or marble as raw material could be utilized. In the case of imperial portraits, it was the authoritative models of these portrait types that were copied in large series. They too can only be reconstructed from the preserved copies.

The recovery of lost models can only be approximated. For many Greek and late Republican portraits (ch. III.1–4) it is unclear what the associated bodies looked like (Zanker 1995, 9–14). The severity of this loss is shown by examples like the portraits of Anakreon, Demosthenes, and Chrysisippos (fig. 172), in which the entire somatic appearance is known. It is all the more important when, as in the case of Menander, not only the association of head and body, but also the location and context can

be secured.²⁰ But even with portrait heads, which have come down to us in numerous and reliable copies, uncertain details and areas that can only be vaguely defined remain because sculptors did not reproduce all of the elements with the same care. Initially, a reconstruction is only possible mentally. Every materialization, for example by identifying a single copy as a representative of the original model, leads to new inaccuracies and must be put into perspective. Thus, the study of replicas (ch. V.3.3) proves to be a morphomatic procedure in the exchange of ideas and media. If conceptions of a person in a portrait have been shaped and made more precise and stabilized by this materialization, the later copies changed the visual form found with it so much that the original portrait can only be recovered in the imagination. When this result is clarified in a drawing or mock-up, the result in turn acts as a detailed definition and fixing of the intellectually achieved conception.

20 Fittschen, K.: Zur Rekonstruktion griechischer Dichterstatuen 1. Die Statue des Menander, *AM* 106, 1991, 243–279. – Papastamati-von Moock, Ch.: Menander und die Tragikergruppe. Neue Forschungen zu den Ehrenmonumenten im Dionysostheater von Athen, *AM* 122, 2007, 273–327 pls. 36–45.

3. PARTICULARITY

3.1 *SEMPER SPECIALIA GENERALIBUS INSUNT*

According to this principle of Roman law (*Digest* 50.17.147), the particular is always contained in the general. Nevertheless, as something unique it is differentiated from the general and opposed to it. Because it is determined by specific peculiarities that belong exclusively to it, this difference sets it in opposition to all the rest, even though they may be otherwise similar. The procedure for determining the particular is comparison, the selective or systematic contrasting of two or more individuals, as used by Plutarch in his parallel biographies of famous Greeks and Romans. Features and qualities are mentioned and compared with one another so that not only their similarities become clear but also their differences.¹ Thereby idiosyncrasies which only one person exhibits and which make them distinctive are made conspicuous, such as Pyrrhus' odd teeth and the healing power of his big toe (Plutarch, *Pyrrhus* 3). Comparison establishes the general by showing commonalities and makes the particular visible by noting differences. The selection of the points of comparison, the intensity of the comparison, and the assessment of the results are at the discretion of the observer. He or she can consider similarities and differences to be significant or insignificant and evaluate them accordingly. The character of the comparison is therefore an expression of current value systems and discourses that direct our attention to individual qualities and ascribe meaning to them.

The deviation from the general which comparison registers constitutes the particular and always represents a violation of shared cultural, aesthetic, or social norms. It is more noticeable than the adherence to authoritative values, which is expected and assumed. The particular can result from expectations being met or even exceeded in an exemplary

¹ On Plutarch's rationale see, *Demetrios* 1.

way. In such cases it is usually acknowledged by the community with praise, honor, or reward. A violation of a norm that is considered positive can in turn become normative by prompting imitation (ch. IV.1.1). In such cases, something special becomes exemplary, setting new standards and showing new possibilities of positive behavior. On the other hand, there are cases of violation of norms that are rejected with ridicule, reprimand, punishment, and stigma. This sanctioning serves as a warning for others and thus also acts as an example, confirming the binding nature of these norms.

In ancient societies, politically and socially known people had to distinguish themselves from their fellow citizens if they wished to gain prominence and authority. Of course, it was not always clear from the outset whether a deviance would be perceived by the community positively as a commendable over-fulfillment or negatively as a threatening violation of authoritative values. In the fifth century B. C. the Athenians used ostracism (ὄστρακισμός) to send some of their particularly successful leaders such as Aristides, Themistocles, and Kimon into exile.²

3.2 AN EXEMPLARY INDIVIDUAL: SOCRATES

Socrates of Athens is cited by Aristotle and his successors as the example of a particular individual, a ἄτομον or *individuum*.³ In Aristotle's *Metaphysics*, the relationship between matter and form is explained several times using the Socrates as an example, for example with the question of whether Socrates and being Socrates are the same (VII.6h = 1032a). Like Kallias, Socrates is an example of the concrete whole (VII.8b = 1033b: τὸ ἅπαν); as "such a form provided this flesh and these bones" they are "different in substance (ὕλη), because this is different, identical in type-form (τὸ εἶδος), because the type is indivisible (VII.8c = 1034a: ἄτομον)." Furthermore, Socrates is given as an example for the

² BNP s. v. Ostrakismos (Rhodes, P. J.).– Brenne, S.: AM 106, 1991, 147–161.– Siewert, P. (ed.): Ostrakismos-Testimonien 1. Die Zeugnisse antiker Autoren, die Inschriften und Ostraka über das athenische Scherbengericht aus vorhellenistischer Zeit (487–322 v. Chr.). Historia Einzelschriften 155. Stuttgart 2002.– Forsdyke, S.: Exile, Ostracism, and Democracy: The Politics of Expulsion in Ancient Greece. Princeton 2005 esp. 144–204.

³ Goulet, R. (ed.): Dictionnaire des philosophes antiques VI de Sabinillus à Tyrsénos. Paris 2016, 399–438 no. 98 (Michel Narcy, Danielle Alexandra Layne).

individual (VII.10f = 1035b) to illustrate the question of whether the soul and the living human being are twofold (VII.11g = 1037a). Socrates and being artistic are only accidentally the same (VII.11i = 1037b) and Socrates can only be a single being (VII.13c = 1038b).

This was followed up by philosophers of Late Antiquity. Plotinus sets Socrates as an individual in opposition to humans in general (Plotinus V.9.12 [46]). In his *Introduction to Categories*, Porphyry mentions Socrates several times as an example of the single individual (ἄτομον),⁴ who is distinct from Plato.⁵ In the Latin translation by Boethius and in the notes by David the Invincible, Socrates is the example of a particular individual.⁶ He combines qualities that can only be found in this combination,⁷ and so only the undivided whole is Socrates, but not his head, his hands, or his feet.⁸

This distinguishes Socrates from other individuals—from Kallias, Koriskos, and Kleon in Aristotle; and later from Plato and Alcibiades.⁹ These juxtapositions are not explained, but it is clear that prominent contemporaries are named whose contrast to Socrates was obvious. The contrast chosen by Aristotle between Socrates and Kleon is most powerful. As a prominent politician and general in the time of the Peloponnesian War, Kleon had to frequently appear in public, assert himself in conflicts of opinions with rivals in the popular assembly, and win approval.¹⁰ The

4 Busse, A. (ed.): *Porphyrii Isagoge et in Aristotelis Categorias commentarium*. Berlin 1897, see for example 7.19 (2b, 46–47); and similarly 2.18–3.1 (= 1a.41–1b.11); 7.10–12 (= 2b.37–39).

5 Porphyry (as n. 4) 8.10 (= 3a.15); cf. 4.21–25 (= 2a13–17); 5.4 (= 2a.28).

6 Porphyry (as n. 4) 2.17 (1a.41).– Boethius, *Commentarium in Porphyrium II* Migne, J.-P. (ed.): *Patrologiae Latinae* 64. Paris 1891, 93, 98A.– David, *In Porphyrii Isagoge commentarium* 98.3–25.

7 Porphyry (as n. 4) 7, 19–27 (2b.46–3a.6).– Busse (as n. 4) 33.3–14 (translation of Boethius).

8 David (as n. 6) 98.5–7: “καὶ γὰρ Σωκράτης διαιρούμενος εἰς χεῖρας πόδας καὶ κεφαλὴν οὐ σώζει τὸ οἰκτεῖον εἶδος. οὐ γὰρ ἡ χεῖρ κατ’ ἰδίαν λέγεται Σωκράτης οὔτε ὁ πούς οὔτε ἡ κεφαλὴ, ἀλλ’ ἅμα πάντα τὰ μέρη.”

9 Aristot. *Metaph.* VII.8b (= 1033b); VII.8c (= 1034a): Socrates and Kallias; VII.15c (= 1040b) and X.5a (= 1055b): Kleon and Socrates; VII.1g (= 1037a): Socrates and Koriskos.– Porphyry (as n. 4) 2.17 (1a.41): Socrates and Plato.– David (as n. 6) 98.3–25: Socrates, Plato, Alcibiades.– Boethius (as n. 6) II.95–96, III.114A: Socrates and Plato.

10 BNP s. v. Cleon [1] (W. Schmitz).– Traill, J. S.: *Persons of Ancient Athens* 10. Toronto/Athens 2001, 483–486 no. 579130.

Aristotelian *Athenian Constitution* judges his actions pernicious. In his speeches to the people he girded up his clothing contrary to custom, and he ranted and screamed.¹¹ These emotional and unconventional performances evidently had a divided reception. They were initially politically successful, so they must have achieved the desired effect in the popular assembly. At the same time, however, they were noted and remembered as violations of the rules. In any case, they got him attention that made him the subject of comedy writers.¹² The mention of Kleon thus gives a sharp contrast to the level-headed and modest Socrates.

The other people named next to the individual Socrates come from his circle of students and successors. Kallias, mentioned by Aristotle as a counterpart, was one of his dialogue partners who had come to be known for his way of life and was also mocked in comedy.¹³ Koriskos was a Socratic philosopher close to the Academy.¹⁴ Plato, who has been quoted many times since Porphyry and Boethius, can be considered the most important philosopher after Socrates, but as a man of letters he developed a different method for spreading his teaching. Alcibiades, whom David mentioned in the sixth century, was considered a friend and dialogue partner of Socrates, but despite his philosophical instruction he embarked on a problematic political and military career and caused great damage to the Athenian community (Xen. *Mem.* I.2.12–28).

In Medieval and modern representations of the *arbor Porphyriana*, which illustrates Porphyry's model of categories,¹⁵ Socrates is the example of the individual who is gradually determined by a sequence of key differences. Thus, on a fresco in the Schussenried monastery (plate 4) physical substances (*corporea*) are distinguished from incorporeal substances; animate bodies (*animatum*) from inanimate ones; sensually perceiving, living beings (*sensitivum*) from those incapable of sensing, and finally the rational human being (*rationale*) from animals without reason. Socrates is an exemplar of rational people who can be distinguished from all other individuals.

11 Fehr 1979, 94 n. 102.– Aristot. *Ath. pol.* 28.3.– Plutarch, *Nikias* 8.3.– Plutarch, *Tiberius Gracchus* 2.

12 Dover, K. J.: *Aristophanic Comedy*. London 1972, 89–100.

13 BNP s. v. Callias [5] (W. Will).– Traill op. cit. 10, 64–67 no. 554500.

14 BNP s. v. Coriskus (K.-H. Stanzel).

15 Verboon, A.: Einen alten Baum verpflanzt man nicht: die Metapher des porphyrianischen Baums im Mittelalter. In: Reichle, I. / Siegel, St. / Spelten, A. (eds.): *Visuelle Modelle*. Munich 2008, 251–268.

3.3 BECOMING PARTICULAR: COMPLIANCE AND DEVIANCE

It can be shown which peculiarities and which social mechanisms made Socrates an example of the particular. First of all, it should be noted that in many respects he fulfilled the expectations of his contemporaries for an Attic citizen.¹⁶ He was married and the father of three sons, one of whom was called Sophroniskos and thus, as was customary in Athens, bore the name of his paternal grandfather.¹⁷ In this way, Socrates had made his contribution to the continued existence of the state. He closely followed political developments in Athens and in 406 he was a member of the *Boulē*, the citizens' council. The philosopher fought for his home city as an armed hoplite on at least three campaigns. In the *Apology*, Socrates recalls his military service several times and his perseverance and following of orders despite the present dangers. A comparison with his contemporaries in Athens would have shown that Socrates fully met the norms of his polis. In other respects, however, he defied expectations and must have attracted attention. In 406 he was the only one to vote against the death sentence for the commanders of the Battle of Arginusae and shortly afterwards he refused to allow the new rulers to participate in the execution of Leon of Salamis (Diog. Laert. II.24; Pl. *Ep.* 7.324d–325a). Some aspects of his behavior also appeared strange and striking. During a campaign, to the astonishment of his comrades, he stood in contemplation for a whole day and night (Pl. *Symp.* 220c–d). This made him the subject of comic poets no later than 423, while Socrates was still fulfilling his civic duty according to norms as a hoplite. In his comedy *The Clouds*, Aristophanes caricatured the eccentric demeanor and the bizarre studies of a philosopher named Socrates. The scholar determined the size of flea feet by making wax prints of them.¹⁸ His outward appearance

16 Goulet (as n. 3) 399–438 no. 98 (Narcy, M. / Layne, D. A.).– Traill (as n. 10) 16, 2007, 483–486 no. 579130.– BNP s. v. Socrates [2] A Biographie (K. Döring).– Patzer, A.: Der historische Sokrates. Darmstadt 1987.

17 Cf. Jones, F.: *Nominum ratio*. Aspects of the Use of Personal Names in Greek and Latin. Liverpool 1996, 42.

18 Aristoph. *Nub.* 143–152.– Patzer, A.: *Studia Socratica*. Zwölf Abhandlungen zum historischen Sokrates. Tübingen 2012, 32–53.– Dover, K. J.: *Aristophanic Comedy*. London 1972, 101–120; esp. 103–105 on the (incomplete) revision of the play.– Dover, K. J.: *Aristophanes Clouds*. Oxford 1968 esp. Introduction XXX–II–LVII.

is unkempt, long haired, barefoot, and dirty.¹⁹ The play pretends that he denies the existence of the gods and teaches the youth how to turn the wrong into the right. In a debate, the advocate of the just argument (ὁ δίκαιος λόγος) accuses the opposition (ὁ ἄδικος λόγος)—and thus also Socrates—of perverting aesthetic norms. It not only makes the bad appear as the good, but also the ugly as the beautiful and the beautiful as the ugly.²⁰ At the end of the debate, the disgusted Athenians set fire to the philosopher's house and leave him to die in the blaze.²¹ Aristophanes ignores the similarities that a comparison of Socrates with his fellow citizens revealed and drastically sharpens the differences.

Even if the play was not victorious, the performance in the Theater of Dionysos must have shaped the public perception of Socrates. An anecdote handed down by Aelian reports that Socrates pointedly revealed himself in the theater when he was mocked on the stage.²² At least following his representation in comedies, he was seen as a notorious eccentric who questioned religious and legal conventions. His contemporaries, witnesses to the performance, would have recognized the distinctive features of his behavior even more precisely than before. In Plato's *Apology*, Socrates counts comedy and especially Aristophanes among his accusers, who would have given the Athenians the wrong picture of his character and his actions. They gave rise to the lasting impression that he wanted to make the wrong into the right (Pl. *Ap.* 18b–e).

The oracle at Delphi confirmed his special status in another way. In response to a question from Chairephon, the Pythia assured that no one surpassed Socrates in wisdom (Pl. *Ap.* 21a, Diog. Laert. II.37). Ultimately, however, his behavior and his teachings were so irritating that his fellow citizens sentenced him to death in 399 and had him executed. But even in his death, Socrates showed a unique prudence that impressed contemporaries and posterity alike.

19 Aristoph. *Nub.* 103, 363, 836–837.– *Aves* 1282.

20 Aristoph. *Nub.* 1020–1021: “τὸ μὲν αἰσχρὸν ἅπαν καλὸν ἠγεῖσθαι, / τὸ καλὸν δ’ αἰσχρὸν.”– See also Dover, K. J.: *Aristophanes Clouds*. Oxford 1968, LVII–LXVI.

21 This conclusion goes back to the revision of the play, so like the *agon* between the just and the unjust *logos* in the traditional version, it did not belong to the performance of the year 423: Patzer (as n. 18) 34.

22 Aelian, *Varia historia* II.13.– Also Dover, K. J.: *Portrait-Masks in Aristophanes*. In: Westendorp Boerma, R. E. H. (ed.): *Komoidotragemata, Studia Aristophanea* (Festschrift W. J. W. Koster). Amsterdam 1967, 16–28, esp. 26–28.

3.4 INDIVIDUUM / DIVIDUUM

The designation of the human being as *individuum*²³ (as Cicero's translation of the Greek ἄτομον)²⁴ has been criticized many times. In the traditional view, the individual is understood as an indivisible, self-contained, and externally-delimitable unit, whereby social relationships and interactions are ignored. Friedrich Nietzsche and Bertolt Brecht contrasted the concept of a human individual (*Individuum*) with the opposite term, *Dividuum*.²⁵ The ethnologist Marilyn Strathern uses the concept of the *dividuum* to show how, in Melanesian societies, personal identity is not thought of as primordial, but as a composite of different social identities that result from interaction with others and are thus anchored outside of the self.²⁶

The individual does not have to be understood in a substantialistic way, but can be considered the result of a process of individualization that takes place over and over again. From such a perspective, the perceptible uniqueness of an individual human being lies in the combination of characteristics, most of which are shared with numerous other people. These include gender, age, language, contemporaneity, family relationships, social role, education, occupation, achievements, failings, merits, and honors. The selection, emphasis, and assessment of the features considered distinctive can change and are both historically and culturally significant.²⁷ The visualization in a portrait emphasizes, as the case studies will show, some of these aspects and at the same time perpetuates a certain idea of the uniqueness of an individual.

23 Ritter, J. / Gründer, K. (eds.): Historisches Wörterbuch der Philosophie IV. Basel 1976, 300–323 s. v. Individuum, Individualität.

24 On the translation, see Plutarch, *Cicero* 40.2.

25 Nietzsche, F.: Kritische Studienausgabe in 15 Bänden.² edited by Colli, G. / Montinari, M. Munich 1988, vol. 2: Menschliches, Allzumenschliches, 76 (A57): "In der Moral behandelt sich der Mensch nicht als *individuum*, sondern als *dividuum*." ["In morality, man does not conduct himself as an *individuum* but as a *dividuum*."]. On Brecht cf. for example Burckhardt, W., Brecht-Jahrbuch 44, 2019, 165–166.

26 Strathern, M.: The Gender of the Gift: Problems with Women and Problems with Society in Melanesia. Berkeley 1988, 12–15.

27 See also Reckwitz, A.: Das hybride Subjekt. Eine Theorie der Subjektkulturen von der bürgerlichen Moderne zur Postmoderne.² Weilerswist 2010, 48–50. Cf. Porphyry (as n. 4) 7.19–27 (2b.46–3a.6) on Socrates.

3.5 DESIGNATING PARTICULARITY

From early on, the visual media of antiquity used a system of signs to mark distinct groups and individuals, but only gradually differentiated and developed this to denote the particular. This system initially marked key social differences. Even the earliest, hardly elaborated statuettes made of clay, bronze, and ivory are identified as male or female by the indication of genitals or breasts. In figural painting of the early and middle eighth century B. C. social roles are indicated with distinctive attributes. Weapons, like girded swords in mourning scenes and shields, lances, helmets, and bows and arrows in battle scenes, denote warriors. Women can be distinguished from other figures by their long skirts, and children by their reduced size. Since the early seventh century, Zeus was the first individual to be clearly identified by an exclusive attribute, the lightning bolt. With the expansion of the possibilities of representation, especially in the sixth and fifth centuries, a significant iconography developed for individual gods and heroes, which assigned them a certain age, distinct attributes, and a specific habitus (Boschung 2020, 309–325).

Visual elements such as clothing also served as distinguishing features in social practice. In the early Imperial period, the toga indicated a Roman citizen (fig. 15),²⁸ a purple edge on the robe an official, and the stole a married woman (fig. 16).²⁹ The *flamines maiores*, priests for Jupiter, Quirinus, Mars, and the divus Julius, were identified by a cap (*galerus*) with a high metal tip (*apex*), a special cloak (*laena*), and a rod (*commoetaculum*) (fig. 17); and the Vestals with their distinctive headdress (Boschung/Queyrel 2020). The high priesthoods differed from one another through significant attributes, and patricians from other senators and other citizens through their distinctive footwear, the *calcei patricii* (fig. 17; Zanker 1988, 120–125, 162–166). Asinius is said to have taken advantage of the confusing situation after the murder of Caesar to make himself senator by changing his *calcei* (Cic. *Phil.* 13,28).

Since these distinctive features were generally accepted and understandable to everyone, deviation from them demonstrated self-confident

28 Also and for the following: Stein-Hölkeskamp, E.: Die feinen Unterschiede. Kultur, Kunst und Konsum im antiken Rom. Berlin/Boston 2019, 71–92.– Fig. 15: Johansen, F.: Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek. Roman Portraits I. Copenhagen 1994, 182–183 no. 79.

29 Raeder, J.: Die antiken Skulpturen in Petworth House. Mainz 2000, 173–176 no. 61 pls. 77–78.



15 Copenhagen, Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek 707. Togatus statue of C. Fundilius Doctus; Tiberian. H. 1.83 m.



16 Petworth, Petworth House. Statue of Agrippina minor with tunic, stola, and mantle. A. D. 50–59. H. 1.92 m.

idiosyncrasy. Julius Caesar, who could demonstrate that he belonged to the highest social class with his *calcei patricii*, wore purple footwear in the style of the former kings of Alba Longa (Cassius Dio 43.43.2). This caused a stir and demanded explanation. Caesar was referring to his relation to the kings of the mother city of Rome, and thus also to the old age of his family and to their services to Rome since the city's founding. Likewise, his rival Cato, whom contemporaries considered strange because of his behavior,³⁰ knew how to make his own political stance clear through eye-catching dress accessories. In contrast to his contemporaries, he wore dark red instead of light red-purple to mark his esteem of

30 Plutarch, *Cato minor* 8.2: “ἀλλόκοτος ἐδόκει.”



17 Rome, Ara Pacis Augustae, south frieze; *flamines maiores* with *galerus* and *apex*, *laena*, *commoetaculum*, and *calcei patricii*. 13–9 B. C. H. 1.55 m.

traditional values. In this case, too, the shade of the color was striking, but only obtained a precise meaning with additional explanation. To the amazement of onlookers, Cato also markedly rejected the luxurious lifestyle of his peers by appearing barefoot and without a tunic under his

toga, even at official occasions.³¹ This matches the statues of Romulus and Titus Tatius on the Capitol and Camillus on the Rostra, who were all depicted without a tunic (Plin. *NH* 34.22–23). The claim of this ostentatious self-styling was obvious and hardly needed explanation. With his way of life, Cato embodied the values of the founders and saviors of Rome. Sextus Pompey marked his very differently aligned ambitions in a similar way. When he declared himself the son of the sea god Neptune after his naval victories, he underscored this claim with a dark blue robe (Cassius Dio 48.48.5).

In addition to clothing, badges and insignia could identify a person. Some Hellenistic military leaders were distinguished by their conspicuous headgear. In the battle, Krateros wore a *kausia* which made him recognizable to the Macedonians from a distance and which must therefore have had a special, unmistakable shape or color (Plutarch, *Eumenes* 6). King Pyrrhus could be identified by a helmet with ram's horns and a magnificent crest, which must have been just as striking and unique (Plutarch, *Pyrrhus* 11). At the Battle of Mantinea, Philopoimen recognized the enemy general, Machanidas, not only by his purple cloak, but also by the ornaments on his horse (Polybios 11.18.1).

Scars are an individual's unchangeable somatic attributes. According to the Roman legal scholar Ulpian (*Digest* 11.4.1.8a), search notices for fugitive slaves should contain in the description (*notae*) not only their names, but also indicate any scars (*cicatrices*). If scars came from an injury in battle, they were not regarded as a disfigurement but as honorable proof of bravery and service to the state. They were often exhibited to certify one's reputation as a capable warrior (ch. III.4.1).

Moles and birthmarks were also distinctive for those who bore them. Augustus, for example, was said to have had several birthmarks on his chest that together formed the constellation of Ursa Major (Suet. *Aug.* 80).³² Marks on the skin could predict the future of those who bore them,³³ and sometimes they even served as proof of divine legitimation. King Seleukos I was said to have had a mark in the shape of an anchor on his thigh that identified him as the son of Apollo and which he

31 Plutarch, *Cato minor* 44, 50; also Stein-Hölkeskamp, E.: *Diesseits und Jenseits der Grenzen des Tolerablen: Die Togati und die Kunst der Transgression*. In: *Boschung/Queyrel* 2020, 181–204.

32 Dasen, V.: *Bodymarks – Birthmarks. Body Divination in Ancient Literature and Iconography*. In: *Boschung/Shapiro/Wascheck* 2015, 153–175.

33 Dasen op. cit. 154–175.

adopted as a seal image. His sons and grandchildren could be identified by showing the same characteristic (Justin 15.4.2–9). Later, a birthmark on the body of Atia in the shape of a snake was considered evidence that Augustus was a son of Apollo (Suet. *Aug.* 94.5).

Visual marks could be used to exclude individuals or entire groups. A particularly drastic measure was stigmatization, by which a punished person was given a mark of shame on his or her body indelibly for life. The process itself was already degrading and painful.³⁴ In order to separate them from free citizens, prisoners of war were marked with brands or tattoos. In the war against Samos, for example, the Athenians tattooed an owl, the symbol of Athens, on the forehead of prisoners. This marked the defeated soldiers as the property of the victorious polis for life. When the tides of the battle later turned, the Samians tattooed a Samaina, a ship of special construction that is characteristic of Samos, on the forehead of the captured Athenians.³⁵

The victorious Syracusans acted similarly in 413 B. C. with captured Athenians, tattooing a horse on their foreheads before they were sold as slaves (Plutarch, *Nikias* 29). Until the end of their lives the vanquished bore for all to see the stain of defeat and the shame of having lost their freedom through their weakness. Escaped Roman slaves were also marked in this way (Cassius Dio 47.10.4). In contrast, in the vision of John, the servants of God are to be marked on their foreheads with a seal (“signum,” “σφραγίς”) so that those who are designated (“signati,” “ἐσφραγισμένοι”) can be recognized and spared at the Last Judgment (Revelation 7:2–8). Here, too, marking a conspicuous area of the body makes a group of people special. In this case it is not a disgrace, but a distinction that protects against destruction.

34 Jones, C. P.: Stigma. Tattooing and Branding in Graeco-Roman Antiquity, *JRS* 77, 1987, 139–155. Bernsdorff, H.: Schmerz und Bestrafung in der hellenistischen “Tätowierelegie.” In: Boschung/Shapiro/Wascheck 2015, 119–136.– Bremmer, J.: Stigmata: From Tattoos to Saint’s Marks, *ibid.* 137–151.

35 Thus Photios, s. v. Σαμίτων ὁ δῆμος, after Douris of Samos: Jacoby, F.: Fragmente griechischer Historiker II A. Berlin 1926, 76 fr. 71.– Aelian, *Varia historia* II.9. Obviously confused by Plutarch, *Perikles* 26.

II COMPLEMENTARY FIGURATIONS OF THE PARTICULAR

1. IMAGE AND INDIVIDUAL

In addition to portraits in the sense of *effigies* (ch. I.1.1), there are a variety of other possible ways to visually indicate a certain person and their idiosyncrasies while dispensing with mimetic representation. In magical rituals, figurines made of wax, lead, or clay represent targeted individuals who are meant to be controlled or harmed by demons (plate 5a–b).¹ Two common forms of pictorial, but non-portrait representations of an individual will be examined more closely here. Further complementary figurations of the particular are discussed in the following sections (ch. II.2–3).

1.1 SEAL EMBLEM AND SELF

Images on seals and ring stones are directly linked to their owner, as they are carried on the hand. Their small-format images are intended for up-close viewing. The wearer can view them at will, show them to others, or hide them. Pressed onto clay or wax, the image is reproduced and at the same time detached from the wearer, so that it can represent him even where he is not physically present.

Seals are meant to certify letters and official documents such as contracts or deeds and to prevent forgery.² To this end, a document would be sealed and marked with the impression of the ring stone in a small

1 Berndorff, H.: Schmerz und Bestrafung in der hellenistischen “Tätowier-
elegie.” In: Boschung/Shapiro/Wascheck 2015, 119–136, esp. 129–131.– Curbera,
J. / Giannobile, S.: A “Voodoo Doll” from Keos in Berlin’s Antikensammlung, *ib.*
123–126, with earlier sources.

2 Zwierlein-Diehl 2007, 6–13.– Lang 2012, 99–101.– Grüner, A.: Antike Repro-
duktionsmedien. Siegel und Münze zwischen Serialität und Authentizität. In:
Cupperi, W. (ed.): *Multiples in Pre-Modern Art. Bilder und Diskurs*. Zürich
2014, esp. 63–81.

lump of clay. If control over a personal seal was lost, its validity had to be revoked before potential recipients to prevent misuse (Plutarch, *Demetrios* 51). Surviving specimens show settings, objects, figures, and heads—often of mythological figures, but sometimes meant to be portraits. The remains of private and public archives show that the practice was widespread in antiquity.³ It is assumed that each writer had his or her own distinctive seal, because an impression had to be clearly associated with a person. In a letter to the emperor Trajan, Pliny the Younger mentions that he had sealed it with the image of a quadriga (Pliny, letter X.74.3). In the fourth century B. C., Timoleon was able to use the signet rings of his officers to draw lots to decide which division should attack first (Plutarch, *Timoleon* 31); each of the gem images could identify a specific individual. In Cicero's speeches against Catiline, certified seals are one of the pieces of evidence of the participation of individual conspirators in the plan to overthrow the Republic.⁴ Together with handwriting, they were considered proof of the undeniable authenticity of a letter.⁵

Usually, we do not know why someone chose a particular motif for their seal, but in some cases, it can be shown that this choice was conscious and meaningful. The Spartan Klearchos used a ring with dancing caryatids (Plutarch, *Artoxerxes* 18), which may have been a reference to his homeland, near the city of Karyatai. Cicero notes that the followers of Epicurus' teachings wore the image of their master in their rings (Cic. *Fin.* 5.1.3; figs. 18–19).⁶ In this case, the philosopher's portrait carried on one's finger could be used not only as a seal, but also serve as a reminder of the teachings of Epicurus, attest to belonging within a group of intellectuals, and serve as a declaration of one's own understanding of the world. Some Roman politicians carried the portrait of a famous ancestor on their signet rings. In doing so, they demonstrated the merits and achievements of their families for the Roman state, as well as their claim to a corresponding social and political role. This led to the possible comparisons that were not always in the favor of the seal's owner. Cicero (*Catil.* 3.5 [10]) recognized in the seal of the conspirator P. Cornelius

³ Boussac, M.-F. / Invernizzi, A. (eds.): *Archives et sceaux du monde hellénistique*. Paris 1996, with numerous examples.

⁴ Cic. *Catil.* 3.5 (10, 12–13); 3.7 (17); 4.2 (4).

⁵ Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* V.8.2; 10.3, according to which L. Iunius Brutus recognizes letters of the conspirators as genuine by the seals and handwriting (χειρογράφοις).

⁶ Lang 2012, 151 G Ep1, Ep6; figs. 19, 23.



18 Bloomington, Indiana University Art Museum 64.70.42; Gem with portrait of Epicurus. Mid-1st c. B. C. H. 2 cm.



19 Providence, Rhode Island School of Design 25.099; Gem with portrait of Epicurus (impression). Mid-1st c. B. C. H. 2.2 cm.

Lentulus the portrait of his grandfather of the same name, and thus made it clear how far his descendants had distanced themselves from the moral values of their ancestors. Lucius Cornelius Scipio's relatives are even said to have taken away a ring with the portrait of his father, Scipio Africanus, because of Lucius' undignified behavior (Val. Max. III.5.1).

In the Late Republic, the seal emblems of some leading politicians caused such a stir that historians discuss their motifs. Sulla's seal showed one of his early successes—the delivery of the Numidian king Jugurtha by Bocchus in 105 B. C. Plutarch and Valerius Maximus consider this choice of motif an expression of Sulla's vanity and lust for glory (*cupiditas gloriae*) and a reason for his enmity with Marius.⁷ According to Plutarch, it depicted “Bocchus handing over Jugurtha and Sulla receiving him.” In 91 B. C. the Mauritanian king Bocchus had set up a group of statues on the Capitol in Rome depicting victories with trophies and next to them gilded figures of Jugurtha “as he was handed over to Sulla.”⁸ The two representations of the event, the miniature of the seal used by Sulla himself and the monumental erected on the Capitol in his honor by a foreign king, complemented and reinforced each other. In 56 B. C.

⁷ Pliny, *NH* 37.9.—Plutarch, *Sulla* 3.4; *Marius* 10.5.—Val. Max. VIII.14.4.

⁸ Plutarch, *Sulla* 6.1–2; *Marius* 32.2–3. Cf. also Reusser, Ch.: Der Fidestempel auf dem Kapitol und seine Ausstattung. Rome 1993, 135–137 with earlier literature.

Sulla's son Faustus minted the scene on Roman coins (fig. 20). In the center Sulla sits on a raised podium, identified by the inscription "Felix." He takes a branch from Bocchus, who kneels in front of him. On the other side, the captured Jugurtha kneels, his hands tied behind his back.⁹ The dimensions and composition of the group suggest that Sulla's seal provided the model. Because the victories from the Bocchus monument are missing, it was therefore probably not the template. Like many other mint magistrates of the Late Republic, Faustus based his political claims on his ancestors' achievements for the Roman state. But unlike most of his colleagues (Boschung 2020, 206–211), he could fall back on an established iconography, which had already been given a suitable format in a seal.

Cassius Dio (42.18.2) knew of yet another seal of Sulla engraved with three tropaia. According to him, Sulla probably had the earlier signet ring with the surrender of Jugurtha replaced or supplemented after his victories over Mithridates in 86 B. C. The motif of three tropaia was also used by Pompey. This seal ring was sent to Rome to verify reports of his death (Cassius Dio 42.18.2). For him, the three victory monuments referred to his three triumphs, which justified his prominent position. Faustus also had this image struck on his coins in 56 B. C. (fig. 21). In this case three breastplates are shown mounted on posts along with swords, a helmet, a shield, spears, and greaves. Michael Crawford connects this coin image with Pompey's ring and his achievements, as Pompey's daughter was betrothed to Faustus.¹⁰ In this case, too, the ring image could be transferred to the coin dies without any changes in format. The three triumphs had been won against different opponents: in 79 B. C. officially *ex Africa*, but in reality against opponents in the Civil War; in 71 B. C. against Sertorius in Spain and against the slave revolt of Spartacus; and in 61 B. C. *ex Asia* (Plin. *NH* 7.98).¹¹ The different significances of these victories

⁹ Crawford 1974, 449–451 no. 426/1 pl. 51.– Hollstein, W.: Die stadtrömische Münzprägung des Jahre 78–50 v. Chr. zwischen politischer Aktualität und Familienthematik. Munich 1993 esp. 279–281.

¹⁰ Crawford 1974, 449–451 no. 426/3 pl. 51.– Hollstein op. cit. 284–286. On Sulla's signet ring, Crawford 1974, 373–374 no. 359 pl. 47: Sulla's seal only showed two tropaia (after the Battle of Chaironeia).

¹¹ See also Bellen, H.: Das Weltreich Alexanders des Großen als Tropiaon im Triumphzug des Cn. Pompeius Magnus (61 v. Chr.). In: Will, H. / Heinrichs, J. (eds.): Zu Alexander dem Großen. Festschrift G. Wirth. Amsterdam 1988, 865–878.



20 Denarius of Faustus Cornelius Sulla. Reverse: Bocchus hands over the captured Jugurtha. 56 B. C.



21 Denarius of Faustus Cornelius Sulla. Reverse: Three tropaia. 56 B. C. Diameter 1.8 cm.

and the differences between the opponents are not clear in the picture; rather, the three uniform tropaia suggest three equal victories over equal opponents. This meant upgrading the two earlier triumphs, because the third, which was celebrated over two days, significantly surpassed them in prestige and pomp. Pompey described it himself in his *Acta triumphorum* and thus provided his own interpretation.¹² But the first triumph was also memorable because Pompey wanted to use an elephant quadriga, but this failed because the *Porta Triumphalis* was too narrow (Plin. *NH* 8.2.4.– Plutarch, *Pompey* 14.6).

The seal of Pompey's that Caesar received after his assassination showed a lion with a sword (Plutarch, *Pompey* 80.5). The conflicting account of Cassius Dio leaves uncertain whether Pompey used his two seals one after the other or at the same time, perhaps for letters to different groups of recipients. While the first seal referred to his three triumphs, and thus to specific military successes and the honors resulting from them, the second illustrated the courage and power of its bearer more generally. Philip II of Macedon had used a seal with an image of a lion (Plutarch, *Alexander* 2.4–5). Alexander the Great also had different seals—his own for correspondence with Macedonians and Greeks and that of Darius for recipients in former Persian territories.¹³

On Caesar's signet ring was engraved an image of an armed Venus (Cassius Dio 43.43.3), indicating his divine ancestry. In this respect, he used a different strategy of self-expression than Sulla and Pompey, who

¹² Girardet, K. M.: Der Triumph des Pompeius im Jahre 61 v. Chr.: Ex Asia?, *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik* 89, 1991, 201–215.

¹³ Curtius VI.6.6. See also Baldus, H. R.: Die Siegel Alexanders des Großen. Versuch einer Rekonstruktion auf literarischer und numismatischer Grundlage, *Chiron* 17, 1987, 395–447.

had recalled their extraordinary military successes. Caesar's seal may also have been reflected in coinage. Venus with a shield and Victoria appears on the reverse of coins of the year 44 B. C. Later his adoptive son, Octavian, as *divi filius*, had an image made of Venus with helmet and shield. As Erika Zwierlein-Diehl has shown, this later coin image, which recurs on numerous gems, was likely copied from Caesar's seal.¹⁴

Augustus' successors continued to use his seal (see ch. II.2), even though they also certified their documents with other images (Zwierlein-Diehl 2007, 12). In contrast, after the end of the Julio-Claudian dynasty, the emperor Galba used an example inherited from his ancestors. With this he unmistakably marked a break with the rule of his predecessor, Nero, who had been declared an enemy of the state. Galba's seal showed the bow of a warship and a dog above it (Cassius Dio 51.3.7; fig. 22). Hans Jucker and Jean Krier have shown that this image refers to the naval victory of Q. Lutatius Catulus over the Carthaginians in the Aegadian Islands in 241 B. C. and to his cognomen, *Catulus* ("puppy"). Galba was related to this Catulus through his mother (Plutarch, *Galba* 3).¹⁵ The seal illustrated the name of its first bearer and at the same time visualized his personal success. As a result, it became a family emblem used by other relatives. Galba referred to his prominent relatives and the military successes of his ancestors in much the same way the mint magistrates of the late Republic had (Boschung 2020, 206–211).

1.2 IMAGE AS NAME

The most common figuration of the particular is the name that usually accompanies an individual throughout their existence.¹⁶ According to Homer (*Od.* VIII.552–554), each person is given their name by their parents. Herodotos (4.184.1) was amazed by the Atarantes, a North African people whose individuals remain unnamed. For Pliny (*NH* 5.45) this was a sign of their depravity: "*degeneres sunt humani ritus.*"

¹⁴ Zwierlein-Diehl, E.: Die antiken Gemmen des Kunsthistorischen Museums in Wien II. Munich 1979, 198–199 no. 1460 pl. 142.

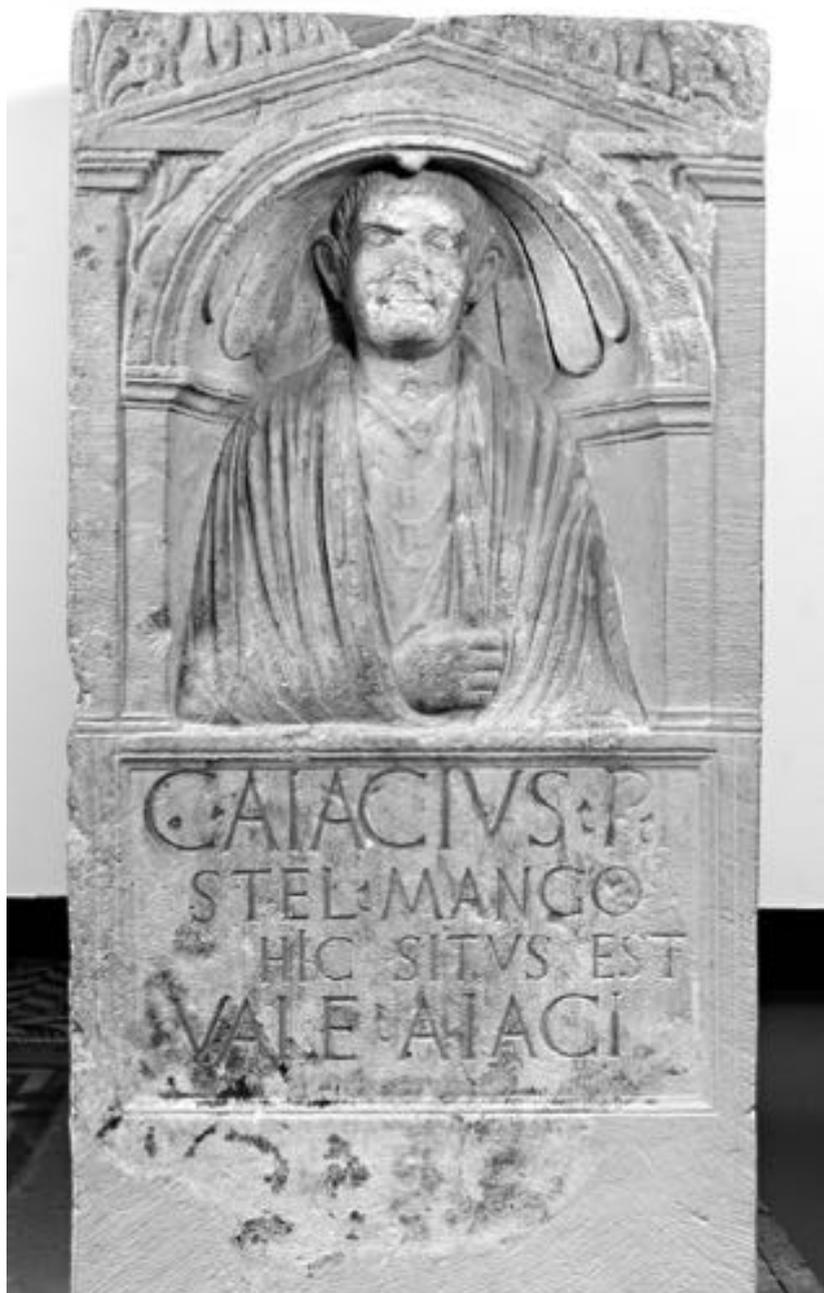
¹⁵ Jucker, H.: Der Ring des Kaisers Galba, *Chiron* 5, 1975, 349–364.– Krier, J.: Grab 36 aus Lamadelaine und die altitalische Familie der *Lutatii Catuli*, *Archaeologia Luxemburgensis* 4, 2017/18, 96–118.

¹⁶ Jones, F.: *Nominum ratio. Aspects of the Use of Personal Names in Greek and Latin.* Liverpool 1996, esp. 37–47.



22 Berlin, Antikensmuseum; and Luxembourg, Musée national d'histoire et d'art: 2 glass pastes with ships' prows and puppies.

A name is constitutive for a certain individual if it remains constant through crises and existential upheavals. However, a change of name can mark a fundamental change in social position. When Arsikas became great king of the Persians, he took on the name Artoxerxes on his accession to the throne (Plutarch, *Artoxerxes* 1–2). When captured, slaves lost their personal names and were renamed by their owners (Strabo 7.3.12); they could be given a different name if they were sold. The slaves of Herodes Atticus were named after the letters of the alphabet to make learning easier for his son (Philostratus, *Lives of the Sophists* 2.1.23 [558]). In contrast, a change of name for a Roman citizen was a sign of his adoption, through which he was taken into another family. In some cases, the change of name signaled political claims. Valerius Maximus (IX.15.1) reports that an equine veterinarian (*equarius medicus*) or an eye doctor (*ocularius medicus*) named Herophilus adopted the name *C. Marius*, impersonating the grandson of the seven-time consul of the same name and thus gaining numerous followers among the cities and among veterans as well as great popularity with the people of Rome. The assumed name and alleged biography associated with it made him a temporary factor in Roman domestic politics in the years 45 and 44 B. C. Of course, neither was acknowledged by his opponents, who gave his actual name as either *Amatius* or *Chamates* and denied his lineage from the charismatic



23 Cologne, Römisch-Germanisches Museum 37.18. Grave stele of C. Aiarius.
c. A. D. 20. H. 1.47 m.

general.¹⁷ A few years later, Octavian was to have greater success with his name change (ch. II.2).

Names individually denominate not only people but also animals like horses and dogs; military units; geographical features like rivers, towns, mountains, and roads; as well as nations; months; festivals; stars; and ships.¹⁸ Of course, personal names are usually not unique, and are shared with other individuals, for example with older or younger members of the same family. However, each person can have several, sometimes different names.¹⁹ The soldiers named Gaius, the young son of Germanicus, “Caligula” after his little soldiers’ boots, showing their emotional connection (Suet. *Calig.* 9). The nickname later came to be his proper name, still common today, which distinguishes him from many other *C. Iulii Caesares*.

Multi-part Roman personal names could express both social participation and individual characteristics.²⁰ This naming system was already conspicuous in antiquity and the subject of scholarly commentary. A Late Antique text on this subject could rely on a number of earlier authors.²¹ Plutarch also gives several explanations of Roman names. The first name for men is the *praenomen*, which is usually given in abbreviated form. On a grave stele in Cologne (fig. 23), for example, *C.* stands for Gaius.²² Women have no praenomen. For men the number of praenomina used was strictly limited. It was a remarkable exception when Sulla gave his son the first name *Faustus* (Plutarch, *Sulla* 34). Later the Senate gave Julius Caesar and his descendants the praenomen *Imperator* (Cassius

17 Cf. also Malitz, J.: Nikolaos von Damaskus, Leben des Kaisers Augustus. Darmstadt 2003, 123–124 n. 110; 125–126 n. 118.– Meijer, F. J.: Marius’ Grandson, *Mnemosyne* 39, 1986, 112–121, considers the claim justified.

18 BNP s. v. Onomastics (G. N[eumann]).

19 On the different names of Pompey, cf. ch. III.4.

20 Syme, R.: *Roman Papers I*. Oxford 1979, 361–368.– Jones op. cit. 38–48.– BNP s. v. Personal names III. Rome and the Italic language area (H. R[ix]).

21 Preserved as an appendix to the work of Valerius Maximus: Kempf, K. (ed.): *Valeri Maximi Factorum et dictorum memorabilium libri novem cum incerti auctoris fragmento De praenominibus*. Berlin 1844, 741–750; on the dating, 60–67. The anonymous author refers to the late Republican authors Varro, Q. Scaevola, and Valerius Antias.

22 BNP s. v. Praenomen (H. R[ix]).– Cf. Plutarch, *Quaestiones romanae* 103.– Fig. 23: Galsterer, B. / Galsterer, H.: *Die römischen Steininschriften aus Köln, IKöln²*. Mainz 2010, 352–353 no. 423.

Dio 43.44.2–3).²³ The text *De praenominibus* seeks to interpret the more unusual first names. Most of them were originally derived from the circumstances or the time of birth, for example *Gaius* from the parents' joy (*gaudium*) at birth, *Marcus* for a birth in the month of March, *Publius* for an orphan (*pupillus*), and *Tiberius* for birth on the Tiber.²⁴

In the second position is the family name (*nomen gentile*; e.g. *Aiacius*), which was passed from father to children and from slave owners to their freedmen.²⁵ In the third position follows the filiation, that is, the indication of ancestry, e.g. *P. filius* (son of Publius). In the case of freed persons, the indication *libertus* with the first name of their former owner or *Ἰ* for *mulieris*, if they had received freedom from a woman. For Roman citizens, the full name also includes an indication of the *tribus*, the district in which he was entitled to vote (e.g. *Stel[latina tribu]*; from the tribe Stellatina).

This system was limited in its ability to unambiguously identify individuals. Rather, it was an explicit expression of membership in a family (*nomen gentile*), position within that family (*praenomen*), descent (indication of father's name), as well as political participation and thus legal privilege through the indication of tribe. At first, a further part of the name was added occasionally to distinguish outstanding personalities, the *cognomen*.²⁶ In the Republic, distinctive surnames could be given by the popular assembly, as recorded for *Coriolanus*, who was honored for conquering the city of Corioli, and as happened for L. Cornelius Sulla, who received the name *Felix* ("fortunate").²⁷ Sulla, for his part, made sure that Pompey got the name *Magnus* (Plutarch, *Pompey* 13; *Sertorius* 18). Later, his sons Gnaeus and Sextus Pompeius took it on as well, but they used it in different ways, like a praenomen or a family name.²⁸ The prestigious and exclusive titles of victorious generals, like *Asiaticus*, *Africanus*, *Macedonicus*, or *Creticus*, and later *Germanicus*, *Britannicus*, and the like, were listed as additional names (*agnomen*).

²³ Suet. *Tib.* 26.3: Tiberius declined the praenomen *Imperator* and the cognomen *Pater patriae* in A. D. 14.

²⁴ Kempf op. cit. 741–750.

²⁵ BNP s. v. Gentile (H. R[ix]).

²⁶ BNP s. v. Cognomen (H. R[ix]).

²⁷ Plutarch, *Gaius Marcius* 11.– Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* VI.94.2.– Plutarch, *Sulla* 34; *Marius* 1.

²⁸ Syme op. cit. (as n. 20) 364–365.

The additional parts of the name were given by default from the early Empire. As the greatest wealth of variations were found there, the cognomen was most suitable for the distinct identification of a person. It could be acquired personally, inherited, or assigned and could refer to special achievements, but could also be derived from physical peculiarities. Cicero inherited his nickname from an ancestor. He is said to have received it because of a shallow indentation on his nose, which was reminiscent of the shape of a chickpea (*cicer*) (Plutarch, *Cicero* 1) or because of his success in horticulture (Plin. *NH* 18.10). After their release, former slaves kept the previous names given to them by their owner. In some cases, members of distinguished families carried the same cognomen for generations, so that it was substituted for the family name, to designate different branches of large families. Further surnames can then be added to the individual denomination. If someone were adopted, he could convert his previous family name into an additional cognomen and thus attest to the bond with his original *gens*.

Together with portraiture, the name was intended to keep alive the memory of a person for posterity. This was seen to in particular with honorary statues and their inscriptions, but grave monuments also often connected the names and portraits of the deceased. One of the punishments taken posthumously against an overthrown Roman emperor, and sometimes against other members of the imperial family, was the removal of their portraits and the simultaneous erasure of the name in the official inscriptions.²⁹ This was intended to negate the historical existence of a person. But a name could also be deleted later from private grave monuments if the person in question should no longer be mentioned in this context.³⁰

When names are articulated linguistically, they can still be associatively descriptive,³¹ allowing conclusions to be drawn about their bearers and to be translated into images. Members of widely ramified *gentes*, such as the *C. Iulii* or the *Lutatii*, could carry the emblem of a particularly prominent namesake in their signet rings and thus demonstrate pictorially their *nomen gentile* (ch. IV.1.3). A distinctive cognomen is often illustrated. Plutarch (*Cicero* 1.4; *Moralia* 204e) reports that M. Tullius Cicero referred to his cognomen by depicting a chickpea (Latin: *cicer*)

²⁹ Varner, E. R.: *Mutilation and Transformation. Damnatio Memoriae and Roman Imperial Portraiture*. Leiden/Boston 2004, esp. 1–12 and passim.

³⁰ Jones op. cit. 32–33; cf. Boschung 2020 fig. 148.

³¹ See also Jucker as n. 15, 360–361.



24 Rome, Necropolis under St. Peter's; from grave H. Sarcophagus of Pomponia Maritima with sea creatures. Late 3rd c. A. D.; overall H. 74 cm.

in the donation inscription on a silver cup. Even if this anecdote does not seem credible, the practice is well attested by other sources for both Greek and Roman antiquity.³²

During the Roman Empire, onomastic images can be found on grave monuments from the necropoleis of the city of Rome (Ritti 1977, 255–398). Allusions to the proper name can be associative and noncommittal. The sarcophagus of a Pomponia *Maritima* (“belonging to the sea”) depicts sea creatures (fig. 24).³³ This example shows that onomastic images are not simple name tags but can imply certain ideas and interpretations of a name and its bearer. The sea evoked on the sarcophagus of Pomponia and to which she belongs according to her name is obviously no profane water, because it is ruled and protected by Neptune and is populated by exotic, fantastic creatures, some of which are harmless while others are dangerous, but all align themselves harmoniously and peacefully with the attribute of the sea god.

The visualization of the personal name on the gravestone erected by M. Laberius Daphnus and Flavia Horaea for their daughter Laberia Daphne is clear and distinctive (figs. 25–26). The front has a relief showing the transformation of a nude woman into a tree. She stands frontally,

32 Ritti, T.: L'uso di “immagini onomastiche” nei monumenti sepolcrali di età greca. Alcune testimonianze epigrafiche, archeologiche e letterarie, *Archeologia Classica* 25/26, 1973/74, 639–660.– Ritti 1977.

33 Meinecke, K.: Sarcophagum posuit. Römische Steinsarkophage im Kontext. *Sarkophagstudien* 7. Ruppolding 2014, 298 no. 5. Cf. Rumpf, A.: Die Meerwesen auf den antiken Sarkophagreliefs. *ASR* V 1. Berlin 1939, 134.



25 Urbino, Palazzo Ducale. Funerary altar of Laberia Daphne. 2nd c. A. D. H. 63 cm.



26 Fabretti, R.: *Inscriptionum antiquarum... explicatio* 1702, 186: as fig. 25, unrestored.

with raised hands. Her lower legs turn into a tree trunk, and from her head, arms, and legs grow branches with lanceolate leaves.³⁴ The depiction refers to the myth of the nymph Daphne, who fled from Apollo and turned into a laurel tree (Greek: δάφνη, *daphne*; *Ov. Met.* I.452–567). The iconographic realization of the motif is unusual and is otherwise only found in this form in mosaics.³⁵ The image must have been transferred to the tombstone at the request of the donors. They found a prefabricated tombstone in the sculptor's workshop with an undecorated round pedi-

34 Urbino, Palazzo Ducale; the right section is reconstructed. Fabretti, R.: *Inscriptionum antiquarum quae in aedibus paternis asservantur*. Rome 1702, 186–187 no. XXXVII with image of the unrestored piece.– Ritti 1977, 268 no. 4 pl. 1.– Backe-Dahmen, A.: *Innocentissima aetas. Römische Kindheit im Spiegel literarischer, rechtlicher und archäologischer Quellen des 1. bis 4. Jhs. n. Chr.* Mainz 2006, 150–151 pl. 12.3 A 10.– CIL VI 20990: D(is) [M(anibus)] / Laberia[e] / Daphnes v(ixit) a(nnis) [---] / M(arcus) Laberius Daph[nus] / [F]il(avia) Horaeae parente[s] / fil(iae) dulcissi[mae].

35 Palagia, O.: *Daphne*, LIMC III 1986, 344–348 pls. 255–260. Similar to a mosaic from Marino: Müller, V.: *Die Typen der Daphnedarstellungen*, RM 44, 1929, 62–63 fig. 4.



27a-c Florence, Uffizi 990. Funerary altar of Elpis. 2nd c. A. D. H. 1.10 m.

ment, which was meant to be inscribed on the front, as on a comparable piece (Boschung 1987, 91 no. 436). The desire to remember their dear daughter with a unique picture represented a new task for the *marmorarius*, which required a unique formal solution. The relief could be worked into the already dressed front side of the stone, of which narrow strips are left at the sides. The parents accepted that the inscription would be moved from its intended place on the front of the altar body to the pediment and the upper molding. A simpler solution was found for a woman by the name of Caesia *Daphne*. To visually translate her name, a row of laurel leaves and branches were integrated into the grave stele below the inscription. Additionally, laurel leaves were used to separate words and two small laurel trees are incorporated into the acroteria of the round pediment.³⁶ Here, too, the deceased is associated with the plant of the same name, but there is no reference to mythological events.

Buried by her parents, Laberia Daphne, who likely died young, received as her cognomen the feminine form of her father's name (Daphnus). This was primarily to express the connection between fa-

³⁶ Ritti 1977, 297 no. 49 pl. 10.2.– CIL VI 37317.– Bertinetti, M. / Micheli, E. M.: Stele funeraria di Caesia Daphnes. In: Giuliano, A. (ed.): Museo Nazionale Romano. Le sculture I.7.1. Rome 1979, 133–134.

ther and daughter. The pictorial representation hides this reference and concentrates on the mythological aspect, which of course is interpreted one-sidedly. Because there is no indication of the nymph's bond with Artemis or to Apollo and his essential role as the cause of her transformation; there is certainly no allusion to Augustus' laurel trees, which Ovid (*Met.* I.561–562) integrated into his version of the myth. The relief only shows the girl's metamorphosis into a tree, through which Daphne lives on. The name and its visual realization offer an interpretation for the death of the child as a mythical process elevated above other, banal deaths in everyday life. The extraordinary beauty of Daphne had awakened Apollo's love, but as Diana's companion she had to preserve her virginity and was transformed at her own request. Like Apollo once had, the grieving parents could find their beloved Daphne in a laurel tree and thus remain connected to her by hugging its branches and caressing its trunk (*Ov. Met.* I.555–556).

A grave altar from Rome belonging to the freedwoman Elpis (Ἐλπίς, "hope") evokes the deceased by depicting the goddess of the same name, shown on the right side (fig. 27c).³⁷ She appears as an archaistic kore with a diadem, long curls falling over her shoulder, a gathered chiton and a diagonal mantle, its bulging edge with a zigzag pattern. She holds a flower in her raised right hand. She thus matches the iconography of the goddess Spes, who was first depicted on coins of Claudius and is named there in the legend *Spes Augusta* (fig. 28).³⁸ About a quarter of a century earlier (A. D. 17), Germanicus, the brother of Claudius who had been designated by Augustus to be the heir to the throne after Tiberius, had rededicated the temple to the goddess (*Tac. Ann.* 2.49). It can be assumed that Claudius chose this cult statue as a model for his coin image because his relationship with Germanicus ultimately legitimized his own rule.

The goddess appears with the same name on coins of the Flavians (fig. 29) and also on the coins of emperors of the second and third cen-

37 Mansuelli, G.: Galleria degli Uffizi. Le sculture I. Rome 1958, 217 no. 225 figs. 234a–c.– Boschung, 1987, 92 no. 515.– Ritti 1977, 272–273 pl. 3.1.– *Inscriptiones Graecae* XIV 1572: Θ(εοῖς)Ἡ(ρωσι) / Ἐλπίδι Ἐψος / καὶ Κηνσω/ρεῖνα τεῖμ/ωτάτη ἀπελευθέρᾱ / ἀνέθηκαν.

38 von Kaenel, H. M.: Münzprägung und Münzbildnis des Claudius. Berlin 1986, 22–23, 27, 32–33, 241 pls. 20–24, 39–40, 51.– Hamdorf, F. W.: Spes, LIMC VII 1994, 804–806 pls. 574–575.– Fullerton, M. D.: The Archaistic Style in Roman Statuary. Leiden 1990, 103–126.



28 Sesterce of Claudius; Reverse: *Spes Augusta*. A. D. 41/42; Diameter 3.5 cm.

29 *As*, minted for Domitian; Reverse: *Spes*. A. D. 79; Diameter 2.8 cm.

turies A. D. In Alexandria, the figure is depicted under Domitian with the same iconography and named as Ἐλπίς Σεβαστή.³⁹ While the figural scheme is maintained, the Latin name has been translated to Greek. The name of the goddess is missing on the Alexandrian issues of later emperors as well as from other mints.⁴⁰ The statue on which these typologically-fixed representations are based must therefore have been created in Rome and initially embodied the hope associated with the imperial family for a regular succession to the throne within the ruling dynasty.

In contrast to Daphne's tombstone, here the sculptor worked from a set model, probably the corresponding coin images, and this made the figure clearly nameable. The drapery of the mantle has been changed, but the diadem, the hand gesture, and pose have been adopted and the mantle hems emphasized, so that this figure appears archaistic as well. Since the funerary inscription with the name of Elpis is written in Greek, it made sense to interpret the relief accordingly and to translate the Latin name *Spes*, familiar from coins, into Ἐλπίς.

The portrait of a two-year-old girl named *Spes* on a grave stele (fig. 30) is also based on the iconography of *Spes Augusta*, but it is taken more freely.⁴¹ The deceased is shown frontally from the chest up. She holds a flower in her right hand like the goddess. But the bulge running diagonally across the chest is not meant to be an archaistic diagonal mantle, as the characteristic zigzag folds are missing. The diadem and the falling curls are omitted from the hairstyle. Instead, the hair is cut

39 Geissen, A.: *Katalog Alexandrinischer Kaisermünzen der Sammlung des Instituts für Altertumskunde der Universität zu Köln I*. Opladen 1974, 126–127 no. 422.

40 Hamdorf, F. W.: *Elpis*, LIMC III 1986, 722–725 pls. 550–551 no. 4–6, 8–10, 12.

41 Fittschen, K. in *Fittschen/Zanker IV* 2014, 116–117 no. 112 pl. 123.– Cf. also the statue of *Spes* with a Trajanic portrait head, Rome, Casino Borghese: Wrede, H.: *Das Mausoleum der Claudia Semne*, RM 78, 1971, 136–137 pl. 85.1.



30 Rome, Musei Capitolini NCE 1686. Grave relief of Spes (detail). 1st c. A. D. H. of the bust 8 cm.

short. Despite the unsophisticated execution, the head is meant to be a portrait, so that the deceased child merges with the goddess of the same name.

If, on the altar of Elpis, the goddess on the right side is explained as a visualization of the name, the inscription gives no explanation for the figure on the left side. Through her attributes—wings, griffin, and whip—it is clear that she is meant to be the goddess of revenge, Nemesis. She appears several times in connection with Elpis on other monuments.⁴² In addition there is an epigram that mentions the consecration of statues of the two goddesses (*Anth. Gr.* 9.146): “that one (Elpis), so that you hope for something, this one (Nemesis), so that you get nothing.” Here, Nemesis embodies loss and disappointment that are contrary to hope. If the young woman embodied the hope of the founders with her name, her death was a bitter and incurable disappointment.

The funerary altar of Ti. Octavius Diadumenus (fig. 31) also uses well-known iconography to visualize the name of the deceased.⁴³ The

42 Karanastassi, P. / Rausa, F: Nemesis, LIMC VI 1992, 733–770 esp. 753 no. 204; 754 no. 213; 767.

43 Ritti 1977, 313 no. 74 pl. 12.2.– Boschung 1987, 115 no. 975.– Boschung, D.: Opera nobilia. Zur Wirkungsgeschichte griechischer Meisterwerke im kaiserzeitlichen Rom, *Antike Kunst* 32, 1989, 8–9 pl. 2.1.– Kunze, Ch.: Kontextwechsel. Zur Interpretation antiker Skulpturen in unterschiedlichen Aufstellungskontexten. In: Boschung/Vorster 2015, 72–76.



31 Rome, Musei Vaticani, Belvedere 1142. Funerary altar of Ti. Octavius Diadumenus. H. 87 cm.



32 Athens, National Museum 1826. Diadoumenos. Copy c. 100 B. C. after 5th c. original. H. 1.95 m.

connection has long been known (Winckelmann 1764, 335 n. 2) and has been appreciated as evidence of the statue's fame. However, the question of what the representation says about the deceased has not yet been addressed. The combination of the Roman *nomen gentile* and the Greek cognomen in the epitaph suggests that he was a freedman, that is, a former slave named by his owner. Christian Kunze has shown that the name *Diadumenus* was used several times, for example in Martial, for boys who were objects of the lust of Roman men. The association evoked by the relief leads, however, somewhere else: the deceased is represented by an idealized figure of the same name, which, as a work of Polykleitos, carried the highest aesthetic value. It shows a standing, nude youth wrapping a fillet around his head with both hands. The fifth-century original may have shown a victorious athlete. A late Hellenistic copy from Delos (fig. 32) is marked as Apollo by an added quiver. But writers on ancient

art did not refer to the famous statue by its original name, but rather as *Diadumenus* (“adorned with fillet/diadem”) after the action shown.⁴⁴

The relief not only repeats the descriptive motif, which is a pictorial representation of the name of the deceased, the sculptor has also tried to translate the characteristic formal elements of the Polykleitan statue: the hip swinging out over the supporting leg; the relaxed foot of the free leg; the distinctly structured abdominal muscles; the clearly indicated costal arch; the head turned to the right with sharp, inset eyelids and full lips. This attention to detail was aimed at experts in Greek art, who were able to appreciate not only the statue, but also the particular style of Polykleitos and who knew of the exemplary status of the artist and his work. This claims for the deceased freedman the qualities of the High Classical Greek statue: timeless beauty, strength built through athletic training, and balanced self-control. The head is not a portrait with an individual physiognomy or a contemporary hairstyle but follows the standard of the masterpiece.

In the three cases discussed, the deceased is not visualized by his or her portrait, as in many other grave monuments (ch. IV.3.2), but by an ideal figure of the same name. With their hairstyles and habitus, portraits would have shown those portrayed as contemporaries following the conventions and norms of their era. Their reproduction as an ideal figure, however, makes them appear unique and timeless. Even if names like Daphne or Elpis were quite common in the Roman Empire, there was only one Daphne who had turned into a laurel tree and only one goddess Elpis. The Polykleitan-styled *Diadumenus* was also unique and unmistakable.⁴⁵

44 DNO no. 1222–1225. On the Statue: Kreikenbom, D.: *Bildwerke nach Polyklet. Kopienkritische Untersuchungen zu den männlichen statuarischen Typen nach polykletischen Vorbildern*. Berlin 1990, 109–140, 188–203 pls. 247–348; on fig. 32 see esp. 188 no. V 1 pls. 247–249.– Gagliano, E.: *Heracles, Theseus and Apollo anadoumenos ten komen*. Three “Forgotten” Statues from the Athenian Agora, *AM* 133, 2018, 110–113.

45 Solin, H.: *Nomi greci nel mondo romano*. In: Caffarelli, E. / Poccetti, P. (eds.): *L'onomastica di Roma. Ventotto secoli di nomi*. Rome 2009, 78, 82, knows 110 examples for the name Daphne, 479 for Helpis.

2. STRATEGIES OF DISTINCTION: THE EXAMPLE OF AUGUSTUS

The possibilities of many diverse media to express convincingly and permanently the particularity of his personality and his historical significance were masterfully put to use by the man then known as Augustus. The consistent interplay of complementary figurations can be seen in his example, which aimed to describe his uniqueness and set him apart from his predecessors and contemporaries. His strategy incorporated both linguistic and visual elements: the directed modeling of his portrait (ch. III.5), autobiographical texts, the transformation of his name, programmatic seal images, the pictorial presentation of singular honors, the visual evocation of his divine appointment, and the creation of monumental memorials.

At least twice the emperor recorded in writing his life and deeds in order to defend his actions against hostile allegations, to assert his view of events, and to establish permanently his role in history. The first time he undertook this was at the age of 40 (23 B. C.) with the 13-book *De vita sua* ("On His Life"), which is preserved in a few fragments and in one part in the work of Nikolaos of Damascus.¹ In doing so, he followed the example of late Republican politicians like Lutatius Catulus, Sulla, Caesar, and Cicero, who had all written about their own achievements.² Judging from the surviving fragments, Augustus wrote about his ancestry; the dream of Cicero, who saw him resolving the Civil Wars; the reading of Caesar's will; the comet that signaled the deification of Caesar; and especially about the events of the Civil Wars. He also justified his familial relationships, writing that after his hasty marriage to Livia in

1 Malitz, J.: Nikolaos von Damaskus, Leben des Kaisers Augustus. Darmstadt 2003.

2 Bringmann, K. / Wiegandt, D.: Augustus. Schriften, Reden und Aussprüche. Darmstadt 2008, 191–215.– Malitz op. cit. 10–12.



33 Ankara, Temple of Roma and Augustus, inner wall of the pronaos with copy of the *Res gestae*.

38 B. C., he handed her son Drusus over to his biological father (Cassius Dio 48.44.4).

Until the end of his life, Augustus kept up to date the *Res gestae*, his account of his accomplishments. The text was deposited in the Temple of Vesta together with his will and provisions regarding his burial, so that it could neither be falsified nor become known prematurely (Suet. *Aug.* 101.1, 4). It was read in the Senate after the emperor's death. At this point in time it was no longer a matter of publicly justifying actions during the Civil War and establishing his position of power. Rather, it was meant to record his extraordinary merits and achievements, as well as the honors received for them, permanently and from the desired perspective. The account obscures all private matters and mentions neither his birth parents nor his adoption by Julius Caesar. It begins with the first military experience of Caesar's then nineteen-year-old heir and gives a systematic compilation of his achievements and merits up to the last year of his life in brief formulations. Augustus wrote the text in Latin and Greek, so that it could be distributed throughout the Roman Empire as he wished. At least three copies come from Asia Minor, where they were carved on

temple walls (as at Ankara, fig. 33) and on the bases of imperial statues (as at Apollonia in Galatia).³

As the son of Gaius Octavius, Augustus was called *C. Octavius C. filius* from his birth until his adoption.⁴ He had also gained the cognomen *Thurinus* in his youth,⁵ which was likely based on his father's victory over rebelling slaves at Thurii in 60 B. C. Later, when he was fighting Marc Antony for sole rule, Antony used this old nickname as proof of the rumor that his great-grandfather was a released slave from Thurii (Suet. *Aug.* 2.3). Similarly unfriendly was Marc Antony's attempt to give his opponent the name *Spartacus* and thus denounce him as the leader of an rebellious slave army (Cic. *Phil.* 3.21).

After being adopted in the will of his great-uncle, C. Octavius C. filius called himself *C. Iulius Caesar* from the year 44 (fig. 34).⁶ The name change revealed a political program that sought revenge for the murder of Caesar and claim to his power. The renaming had the desired political effect, as his opponents had to admit.⁷ So it was only consistent that his enemies like M. Junius Brutus continued to call him *Octavius* and thus negated the adoption.⁸ His actual nomen gentile, *Iulius*, is omitted from coins, so that the prominent cognomen *Caesar* takes the place of the more common family name. Following the usual model, the name *Octavianus* (as in "born of Octavius") could be used as a second cogno-

3 Weber, E. (ed.): *Res gestae divi Augusti*.⁵ Darmstadt 1989.– Mitchell, St. / French, D.: *The Greek and Roman Inscriptions of Ankara I*. Munich 2012, 66–138 no. 5.1.1.– Eck, W.: *Res gestae – Die Königin der Inschriften*. In: Baltrusch, J. / Wendt, Ch. (eds.): *Der Erste. Augustus und der Beginn einer neuen Epoche*. Darmstadt 2016, 17–30.– Botteri, P. (ed.): *Progetto Ancyra. Il tempio di Augusto e Roma ad Ankara*. Trieste 2018.

4 Syme, R.: *Roman Papers I*. Oxford 1979, 361–377. Cassius Dio 45.1.1 reports the cognomen Καίπιας or Caepias, but the passage is probably corrupt: Kienast, D.: *Augustus, Princeps und Monarch*. Darmstadt 1982, 8 n. 42a.

5 Suet. *Aug.* 7.1: Hadrian venerated the bronze bust of a boy with the barely legible name *Thurinus* in his lararium.

6 Crawford 1974, 499 no. 490/1.

7 Cic. *Phil.* 13.24–25: "Et tu, o puer, qui omnia nomini debes" (And you, boy, who owe everything to your name...).

8 Plutarch, *Brutus* 29.7.– Cic. *Att.* 14.10.3 (19 April 44); 14.11.2 (21 April 44); 14.12.2 (22 April 44: "His people address him as 'Caesar,' [his stepfather] Philip does not, and neither do I."); 14.20.5; 14.21.3 (11 May 44); 15.3.3 (18 May 44).



34 Denarius (Crawford 490/1). Obverse: Head and name of *C. Caesar imp.*; Reverse: Equestrian statue. 43 B. C.



35 Denarius (Crawford 540/2). Obverse: Head and name of *Imp. Caesar divi f.*; Reverse: Temple of divus Iulius. 36 B. C.

men.⁹ Only his contemporaries who wanted to avoid the powerful name *Caesar* and remember his less prominent origins called him *Octavianus*.¹⁰ Nevertheless, the use of the name has gained acceptance among historians because the name *Octavianus* prevents any confusion with the older Caesar. So the very name that Caesar's heir carefully avoided later became his distinctive appellation for the years between 44 and 27 B. C.

After the Roman Senate declared the murdered Caesar a divinity of the state (*divus Iulius*) in 42, his adopted son added the appropriate filiation to his name. While Cicero had called him *C. Caesar Gai filius* in the Senate on January 1, 43 (Cic. *Phil.* 5.46), Octavian was now *divi filius*, son of the deified (fig. 35).¹¹ This actually made the name a figuration of the particular and the singular, because there was only one legitimate son of Divus Iulius. The stars had attested to Caesar's divinity, because in the year 44 a comet appeared for everyone to see, which was taken as proof that he had ascended to heaven. The Senate enacted the divinization in 42 and thus made it legally incontestable. Cleopatra gave her son and co-regent, Ptolemy XV, the name *Kaisar* to present him as the biological son of the deified Caesar. The claim remained contentious, even though Octavian's opponents were happy to acknowledge it.¹² In contrast to these dubious claims, Octavian's descent from the new state god was incontestable. The posthumous adoption of C. Octavius by his

9 Jones, F.: *Nominum ratio. Aspects of the Use of Personal Names in Greek and Latin.* Liverpool 1996, 30.

10 E.g. Cic. *Att.* 15.15.2 (10 June 44); 16.9.1 (2/3 November 44); 16.11.6 ("sed est plane puer," 5 November 44). Different from the *Philippics*, which always speak of C. Caesar, and several times also of Caesar as his father, *Phil.* 13.25; 13.46.

11 Crawford 1974, 538 no. 540/2.

12 Suet. *Iul.* 52.1-3; *Aug.* 17.5.- Cassius Dio 47.31.5.- Plutarch, *Antonius* 54.6; 81.4.

great-uncle had been carried out publicly and legally without objection in a *lex curiata* of the Roman popular assembly.¹³

Only a short time later, Octavian changed his name again by replacing the praenomen Gaius with *Imperator* (fig. 35).¹⁴ The word denoted the holder of the highest military command, but it was at the same time an honorary title that was bestowed on a victorious general by his soldiers on the battlefield—in Octavian’s case in the years 43, 42, 40, and 36; a total of 21 times until his death. On earlier coins, the designation *Imperator* is after his name, as proof of his military success. No later than 38 B. C. it appears as the first part and thus firmly integrated into his name. In 45 the Senate had decided that Julius Caesar could use the title *Imperator* as a name and that this authorization should also apply to his descendants (Cassius Dio 43.44.2–3). As Caesar’s heir, Octavian was the only one who was allowed to legally use the honorary title as a praenomen. He thus marked his permanent claim to the highest military command.

The victor of the Civil Wars received a singular cognomen from the Senate, which was to become his actual individual name: *Augustus*.¹⁵ Suetonius and Florus describe the process; it is related to the complicated negotiations over the distribution of power after the end of the Civil Wars in 27 B. C., which were declared the “restoration of the Republic.”¹⁶

Following an initial suggestion, Octavian was almost given the name *Romulus*, because Octavian “was, in some manner, the founder of the city” (*quasi et ipsum conditorem Urbis*). L. Munatius Plancus, a confidante of Octavian, requested the name *Augustus* be given instead, and so it was actually chosen. This choice undoubtedly matched the wishes of the honoree. A decisive argument was made that the name *Augustus*

13 Acceptance of Caesar’s inheritance before the city praetor C. Antonius: App. *B Civ.* 3.14.1 [49]; *lex curiata* 43 B. C.: App. *B Civ.* 3.94.1 [389].— Kienast op. cit. 23, 31. On the attempts of M. Antonius to hinder the *lex curiata*: Cassius Dio 45.5.3–4.

14 Biedermann, D.: Ein verkanntes Porträt Octavians. In: Schwarzer, H. / Nieswandt, H.-H. (eds.): “Man kann es sich nicht prächtig genug vorstellen.” Festschrift Dieter Salzmann. Marsberg/Padberg 2016, 1–12 pl. 1.1–6.

15 Boschung, D.: Heroische Aspekte im römischen Kaiserporträt. Der Fall des Augustus. In: von den Hoff, R. et al. (eds.): *Imitatio heroica*. Heldenangleichung im Bildnis. Würzburg 2015, 87–88.

16 Augustus, *Res gestae* 34.— Suet. *Aug.* 7.2.— Florus, *Epitome of Roman History* 2.34.66.— Ovid, *Fasti* I.607–616. Cf. also Mommsen, Th.: *Römisches Staatsrecht* II. Leipzig³ 1888, 771–774.— Zanker 1988, 98.— Kienast, D.: Augustus. Princeps und Monarch, Darmstadt 1982, 79–80.

was *sanctius et reverentius* (“holier and more venerable”),¹⁷ as well as new and broader (*amplior*), “because places that are sacred and places where something has been consecrated after taking the auguries also bear this name” (Suet. *Aug.* 7.2). Additionally, a verse by the poet Ennius could be cited describing the extremely favorable omen for the founding of Rome as *augustum augurium*.¹⁸

The possible negative associations made the difference in the rejection of the name *Romulus*. Octavian had noted that the acceptance of the name would be understood as an aspiration toward kingship (Cassius Dio 53.16.7–8) and it was precisely this suspicion that had to be avoided.¹⁹ Romulus had been the founder of the monarchy in Rome, and the explosive nature of monarchical ambitions was, as is well known, dramatically displayed in the case of Caesar. Additionally, the city founder was said to have murdered his brother and kidnapped women,²⁰ and was murdered by the senators in their meeting house because of his tyrannical behavior (Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* II.56.3–4). His fate served as a warning to ambitious politicians like Pompey (Plutarch, *Pompey* 25). There were also some rather chilling precursors for the connection with Romulus. Marius was welcomed as the new founder of the city after his victories over the Teutons and Cimbri, before he had established his gruesome regime in Rome (Plutarch, *Marius* 27), and the Romulus comparison was used to accuse Sulla of cruelty (Sall. *Hist.* I fr. 55.5). Ovid later stated that Augustus not only surpassed Romulus by far, but also made up for his offenses (*Fasti* II.133–145).

The honorary title *Augustus* avoided a substantive definition. Although it could be linked (via what Ennius called *augustum augurium*)

¹⁷ Florus, *Epitome of Roman History* 2.34.66.

¹⁸ Ennius, *Annalium fragmenta* (E. H. Warmington, *Remains of Old Latin* I [1961]) 468–469: *Septingenti sunt paulo plus aut minus anni / augusto augurio postquam inclita Roma est.*—Recorded in Varro, *De re rustica* 3.1.2 and in Suet. *Aug.* 7.2 (only the second line; in connection with the awarding of the honorary name).

¹⁹ von Ungern-Sternberg, J.: Romulus-Bilder. Die Begründung der Republik im Mythos, in: Graf, F. (ed.): *Mythos in mythenloser Gesellschaft. Das Paradigma Roms.* Stuttgart / Leipzig 1993, 88–108.

²⁰ Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* II.56.3 cites the cruel and tyrannical character of Romulus as the reason for his murder. Christian writers emphasize the negative traits, as in Augustine, *De civitate Dei* 3.5 (*stuprum* of Rhea Silvia), 3.6 (*parracidium*), 3.13 (rape of the Sabine women; murder of Titus Tatius). Caligula cites Romulus and Augustus as models (*exemplum*) for his scandalous marriage to Livia Orestilla, Suet. *Calig.* 25.1.



36 Ephesos, Mithridates Gate. Inscription with name *Imp. Caesar divi f(i)lius Augustus*. 4 B. C.

with the omens of the founding of Rome and thus ultimately also with Romulus, this association remained non-binding and also focused exclusively on the founding of the city. After all, twelve vultures also appeared to Octavian during his first consulate, just as when Romulus founded the city.²¹ Most significantly, the chosen honorary title was unprecedented and unique; no one had held it before (Ovid, *Fasti* I.592), and the sound of it evoked a sacred aura for the living ruler, reminiscent of temples and the rituals of the priesthoods.²² The Greek version, *Κεραστός*, which was chosen by the Senate at the same time, also described the honoree as a venerable divine being.

From that point on, his full name was *Imp. Caesar divi f. Augustus*; shortened to *Caesar Augustus* or *Augustus*. Monumental honorary inscriptions (fig. 36; Boschung 2002, 95–97) spread the name throughout the

²¹ Suet. *Aug.* 95.– Cassius Dio 46.46.2–3.– App. *B Civ.* 3.94.1 (388).

²² Ovid, *Fasti* I.609–610: *sancta vocant augusta patres, augusta vocantur / templa sacerdotum rite dicata manu*: “Holy things are by the fathers called august: the epithet august is applied to temples that have been duly dedicated by priestly hands” (trans. James G. Frazer).– Florus, *Epitome of Roman History* 2.34.66: (*nomen Augusti*) *ut scilicet iam tum, dum colit terras, ipso nomine et titulo consecraretur*: “the name of Augustus was deemed more holy and venerable, in order that, while he still dwelt upon earth, he might be given a name and title which raised him to the rank of a deity” (trans. E. S. Forster).



37 Florence, Museo Archeologico. Ring stone with sphinx. Diameter 2 cm.



38 Private collection. Ring stone with sphinx. Diameter 1.8 cm.

empire in its full form, and coins mostly in the shortened form. Each element of the name was carefully selected and exploited politically. Every part was aimed at designating the bearer of this name as unique and incomparable.

After Caesar's death, his adopted son, Octavian, began using his seal with the armed Venus. According to Cassius Dio (47.41.2) he wore this ring during the first battle at Philippi as a kind of talisman and also used it later. Roman historians mention three of Augustus' own seals that he used at different times.²³ At first, he used the image of a sphinx. There are quite a number of surviving ring stones that can give an idea of this image (figs. 37–38).²⁴ The motif might have seemed appropriate because the sphinx, as an oracular being, is connected to Apollo, Octavian's patron god;²⁵ and it might also recall that the young Caesar was a son of Apollo. Pliny (*NH* 37.10) reports that Octavian "found two of

23 Suet. *Aug.* 50.– Cassius Dio 51.3.6. Instinsky, H. U.: *Die Siegel des Kaisers Augustus. Ein Kapitel zur Geschichte und Symbolik des antiken Herrschaftssymbols.* Baden-Baden 1962.

24 Fig. 37: The gold ring supposedly found in the mausoleum of Augustus in the 17th century was (hardly plausibly) suggested to be the ring of Augustus: Becatti, G.: *Oreficerie antiche dalle minoiche alle barbariche.* Rome 1955, 116, 214 no. 514 pl. 145; Milani, L.: *L'anello-sigillo di Augusto con la sfinge, Studi e Materiali di archeologia e numismatica II.* Florence 1902, 172–180.– Fig. 38: Platz-Horster, G.: *Die Antiken Gemmen aus Xanten III, Xantener Berichte* 15, 2009, 151–152 cat. no. 25 color pl. p. 172.

25 Zanker 1988, 48–53. According to Asklepiades of Mende, Octavian was the son of Apollo, who came to Atia in the form of a snake: Suet. *Aug.* 94.4.



39 Berlin, Antikensammlung FG 1090. Glass gem with portrait of Alexander the Great. H. 2 cm.



40 Paris, Cabinet de Médailles 234. Cameo with portrait of Augustus. H. 8.3 cm.

indistinguishable likeness” among the rings of his mother who had died at the end of 43 B. C.²⁶ It is unclear if Octavian had used Caesar’s ring as a seal up to this point. He used one of the two sphinx seals at least until the Battle of Actium (Cassius Dio 51.3.6); the other he left with his delegates in Rome, who could use it to authorize letters and decrees in his name. This caused confusion among the recipients, so Octavian later, probably after the conquest of Alexandria, used the portrait of Alexander the Great (Plin. *NH* 37.10), which may have looked similar to a glass gem in Berlin (fig. 39).²⁷ It seems likely that it was previously in the possession of the Ptolemies and was perhaps a work by Pyrgoteles, who was said to have worked for Alexander the Great (Plin. *NH* 37.8). The youthful conqueror of the world, Alexander, was a professed role model for ambitious generals of the Roman Republic. By using his portrait as a seal, Octavian placed himself among the ranks of prominent precursors like Scipio Asiaticus, Lucullus, Pompey, and Caesar, articulating his far-reaching goals and claims.

After a short time, this must have appeared inappropriate, because Augustus had the famous gem-cutter Dioskourides make a seal with his

²⁶ According to Cassius Dio 51.3.6, Octavian had the seals made himself.

²⁷ Zwierlein-Diehl, E.: *Antike Gemmen in deutschen Sammlungen 2*. Staatliche Museen Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Antikenabteilung, Berlin. Munich 1969, 98–99 no. 227 pl. 48.

own portrait.²⁸ Unlike the ring stones used previously, this one was not found or acquired, but rather was new and undoubtedly created according to conceptions of the emperor. The timing is unclear. It was most likely made in connection with the adoption of the name Augustus and the redesign of his sculptural portrait in the year 27 B. C. or soon after. The choice of gem-cutter guaranteed the highest quality. A whole series of his signed works have survived, as well as those of his sons and students.²⁹ A cameo with a portrait of Augustus, which M.-L. Vollenweider ascribed to Dioskourides (fig. 40), may give an idea of his work.³⁰ After consolidating his power, Augustus no longer needed any role models, but rather was himself the object of emulation and the benchmark. A solution was found that no longer needed to be improved and that was used not only by Augustus until his death, but also by his successors.

At the same time as the honorary name *Augustus* and in thanks for the restoration of the Republic, the Senate awarded the princeps several other tokens of honor: the door of his house was adorned with two laurel trees; an oak wreath was hung over its entrance as thanks for the rescue of Roman citizens;³¹ and a gold shield was placed in the Curia on which his virtues were listed: *virtus, clementia, iustitia, pietas*. This may seem unspectacular, but Augustus gave great significance to these honors. They are presented again and again on his coins—sometimes individually, sometimes combined, and consistently together with the new name of *Augustus* and with the new version of his portrait created at the same time (fig. 41). The representations reproduce these tokens of honor emblematically, by removing them from their context and placing them in an axially symmetrical composition, making them clear and easy to understand. Great care is taken to ensure that the trees are recognizable as laurel by the shape of the leaves and fruit, and the foliage of the wreaths as oak. The inscription, *S. P. Q. R.*, indicates that these are the honors awarded by the Senate. The oak wreath is accompanied by the reason for the award: Augustus received it *ob civis servatos*, for the rescue of Ro-

²⁸ Suet. *Aug.* 50.– Plin. *NH* 37.8.

²⁹ Vollenweider, M.-L.: Die Steinschneidekunst und ihre Künstler in spätrepublikanischer und augusteischer Zeit. Baden-Baden 1966, 56–80.– Megow, W.-R.: Dioskurides (IV) in: Vollkommer, R. (ed.): *Künstlerlexikon der Antike I*. Munich/Leipzig 2001, 182–183.– Zwierlein-Diehl 2007, 117–119.

³⁰ Vollenweider, M.-L. / Avisseau-Broustet, M.: *Camées et intailles II*. Les portraits romains du Cabinet de médailles. Paris 2003, 49–51 no. 52 pl. 51.

³¹ Ovid *Tristia* 3.1.47–48: *ob cives servatos*.



41 Coins with the insignia bestowed in 27 B. C.: laurel trees, *corona civica*, and *clipeus virtutis*; associated with the honorary name *Augustus*.

man citizens. The shield is repeatedly referred to as *cl(upeus) v(irtutis)*, specifying its meaning. The letter sequence *cl. v.* was probably not immediately self-explanatory and was made clear by official announcements. At the same time, it abbreviates the acknowledgement of the ruler's four virtues to his military capabilities. But here, too, it was the consistent condensation of the statement that made the picture memorable. In this way, the honors became singular insignia of the emperor that could emblematically designate his person.³² On altars of the Lares, which also served the cult of the Genius of Augustus, laurel trees, oak wreaths, and shields appear in different combinations and contexts (figs. 42–43). They represent the emperor as the indirect recipient of cultic veneration.³³

32 Alföldi, A: Die zwei Lorbeerbäume des Augustus. Bonn 1973.– Zanker 1988, 89–98. On the wreath: Bergmann, B.: Der Kranz des Kaisers. Genese und Bedeutung einer römischen Insignie. Berlin/New York 2010, 202–205.

33 Boschung 2020, 233–236, 242.– Fig. 42: Fless, F.: Vatikanische Museen, Museo Gregoriano Profano. Historische Reliefs. MAR 40. Wiesbaden 2018, 110–124



42 Rome, Vatican; Museo Gregoriano Profano 1115. Altar for the *Lares Augusti*, 7–2 B. C. Reverse: Victoria with *clipeus virtutis*; laurel trees. H. 95 cm.



43 Florence, Uffizi 972. Altar for the *Lares Augusti*, 2 B. C. Reverse: *Corona civica*, laurel trees, sacrificial implements. H. 1.10 m.

Suetonius (*Aug.* 94) reports on a variety of signs that presaged before the birth of C. Octavius that he was closely connected with the gods and destined to rule the world. His mother, Atia, is said to have dreamed that she was impregnated by Apollo in the form of a snake. This vision was attested at one time by the shape of a snake on her body. Both Q. Lutatius Catulus and Cicero are said to have dreamed of a boy who was pointed out by Capitoline Jupiter and who later, to their astonishment, they recognized in the young C. Octavius. Above all, his horoscope was seen as a guarantee that he was destined by the stars to rule the world. This was said to have been recognized already on the day of his birth by the astronomer and senator P. Nigidius (Cassius Dio 45.1.3–5) and later in Apollonia the astrologer Theogenes confirmed the auspicious hour of his birth.

For Octavian, his horoscope, with Capricorn as its defining constellation, was confirmation of his divine destiny (Plutarch, *Antonius* 33.2). So in the year A. D. 11 he made know publicly the position of the stars under which he was born (Cassius Dio 56.25.5). Augustus used his zodiac sign, an expression of his uniquely fortunate horoscope, many times in his self-representation. During the Civil Wars, his supporters wore glass gems with the image of Octavian and Capricorn in their rings as

no. 7.– Fig. 43: Boschung, D.: Grabaltäre mit Girlanden und frühe Girlandentaltäre. In: Koch, G. (ed.): Grabeskunst der römischen Kaiserzeit. Mainz 1993, 38 pl. 12.4.



44 Aureus of Augustus (RIC 125).
Obverse: Head of Augustus; Reverse:
Capricorn with rudder, globe, and
cornucopia; name of *Augustus*.



45 Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum
IXa.79. “Gemma Augustea” (cast);
Detail with head of Augustus, oak
wreath, sidus Iulium, and Capricorn.

an expression of their conviction that the world domination of the *divi filius* was predetermined according to the stars. Capricorn also appears on coins together with the portrait and name of Augustus.³⁴ It carries a cornucopia, a symbol of abundant material prosperity; the celestial globe, the symbol of world domination; and a rudder (fig. 44). His singular horoscope was the guarantee that Augustus, referred to by name and image, was the ruler of the universe preordained by the heavens and thus by the cosmic order and the gods, who would guarantee everlasting prosperity (fig. 45).³⁵

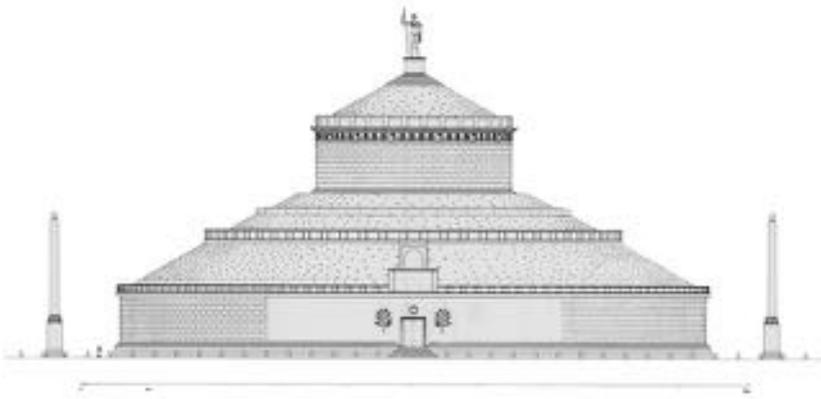
There were numerous memorial sites for Augustus. In addition to the monuments that commemorated his military victories, the house where he was born in Rome and the room where he died in Nola were considered holy places.³⁶ The most important place of remembrance in Rome was his tomb, erected during his lifetime (fig. 46).³⁷ It is a multi-level rotunda with a diameter of about 90 meters. Earth fill was laid over a circular wall 10 meters high, over which rose another circular wall 30

34 Schütz, M.: Der Capricorn als Sternzeichen des Augustus, *Antike und Abendland* 37, 1991, 55–67.

35 Gemma Augustea: Zwierlein-Diehl, E.: *Magie der Steine. Die antiken Prunkkameen im Kunsthistorischen Museum*. Vienna 2008, 98–123 no. 6.

36 Hartmann, A.: *Zwischen Relikt und Reliquie. Objektbezogene Erinnerungspraktiken in antiken Gesellschaften*. Berlin 2010, 393–397, 399–400.

37 von Hesberg, H. / Panciera, S.: *Das Mausoleum des Augustus. Der Bau und seine Inschriften*. Munich 1994.– von Hesberg, H.: *Das Augustus-Mausoleum in Rom und die Verehrung der römischen Herrscher*. In: Boschung, D. / Schäfer, A. / Trier, M. (eds.): *Erinnerte Macht. Antike Herrschergräber in transkultureller Perspektive*. Morphomata 50, Paderborn 2021, 137–174.



46 Rome, Mausoleum of Augustus. Reconstruction by Henner von Hesberg.

meters in diameter. The monument supports a colossal statue of Augustus that towered over the Campus Martius with its monumental buildings and the Via Flaminia. The construction of the huge complex was already begun in 32 B. C., in the decisive phase of his struggle against Mark Antony. It by far surpassed all the graves of earlier military leaders and thus made evident the prominent rank of its builder. At the same time, it showed the builder's lasting connection to the city of Rome. However, the decoration of the complex underwent several significant extensions during Augustus' lifetime. After the victory over Cleopatra and the conquest of Egypt, two obelisks were erected in memory of this greatest military success of Rome. Next to the entrance were two marble reliefs, each showing a laurel tree (fig. 47) and echoing the decoration on Augustus' house. A round shield was depicted above the entrance, with an inscription that named the *clipeus virtutis* (fig. 48).

Immediately after Augustus' death, his statement of his accomplishments was made public in front of his tomb. It reports on the writer's achievements from the age of 19 and the singular honors he had received (see note 3). The grave, its decoration, and the *Res gestae* supplemented and confirmed each other. The report listed the achievements and successes that made a tomb of this size not only possible, but necessary. The obelisks were visible proof of the conquest of Egypt reported in the *Res gestae*. The depiction of the laurel trees and *clipeus virtutis* once again attested to the extraordinary honors awarded by the Senate as thanks for the restoration of the Republic, which the account also mentioned.



47 Rome, Mausoleum of Augustus. Relief fragment with laurel tree.



48 Rome, Mausoleum of Augustus. Relief fragment with *clipeus virtutis*.

It is precisely at the mausoleum of Augustus that it becomes apparent how much the elements of his special strategy—the portrait statues; the progressive forming of his name; the repeated presentation of his tokens of honor; the creation of monumental places of remembrance; and, finally, the careful editing of his record of his achievements—worked together and mutually strengthened one another. Everything aimed to present him in an overall coherent picture as unique, incomparable, and unapproachable.

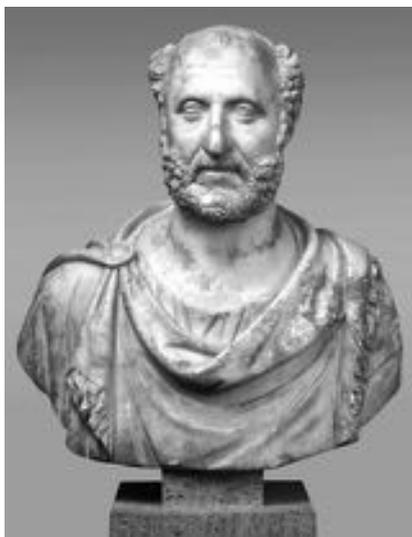
3. EXTENSIONS OF THE PORTRAIT

In many cases the characterization of an individual was not limited to his or her representation in a single figure. In figural scenes, the primary figure shown as a portrait can take up the meaning of formally independent companions in an osmosis of content. This makes it possible to bring together complementary or contradictory claims that could not be adequately represented in their complexity in a single person. This happens, for example, by multiplying the same portrait in different contexts, through scenic contexts, by outsourcing characteristics to accompanying figures, as well as through narrative image sequences.

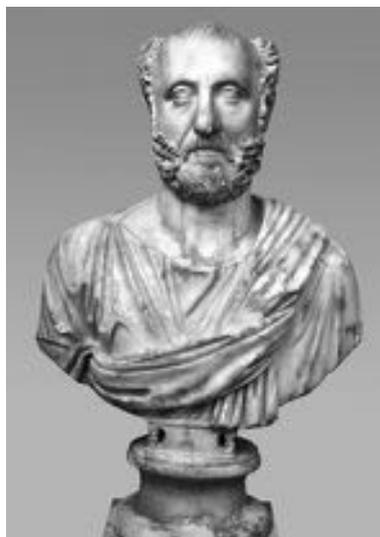
3.1 MULTIPLICATION OF LIKENESSES

Sometimes the person portrayed was shown several times in the same context. This made it possible to illustrate different qualities at the same time. Around A. D. 200, for example, a Roman was depicted in two busts that are now in the Munich Glyptothek (figs. 49–50).¹ Their ancient display context is unknown, but their common provenance suggests that they were found together. The heads match very closely in details of physiognomy and hairstyle, even if the craftsmanship is different. They show the same slight turn of the head, the same hair and beard, and the same quiet, reserved facial expression, as well as the same wrinkled forehead and cheeks and the same shape of the nose, eyes, brows, and ears. This clearly signals the identity of the representations; both show the same man at the same age. But while the portrait head has been du-

1 Boschung, D. / Pfanner, M.: *Antike Bildhauertechnik. Vier Untersuchungen an Beispielen in der Münchner Glyptothek.* *Münchner Jahrbuch der bildenden Kunst* 39, 1988, 20–23.– Knauß/Gliwitsky 2017, 278–281 figs. 6.23–25, p. 391 cat. 113, 114 with figures.– Fejfer, J.: *Roman Portraits in Context.* Berlin / New York 2008, 315–321 pls. 36, 37.



49 Munich, Glyptothek 382.
Paludamentum bust. Early 3rd c.
A. D. H. 64.5 cm.



50 Munich, Glyptothek 383. Bust
of a man in toga. Early 3rd c.
A. D. H. 85 cm.

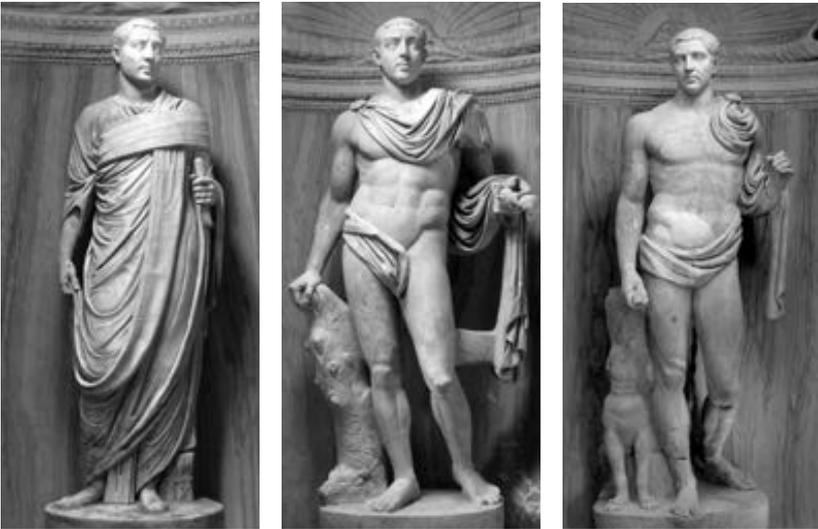
plicated, the busts reference different qualities and achievements through a fundamental difference in design. One wears the toga in a contemporary fashion and thus signals his commitment to traditional Roman civic values. The second bust is clad in a general's mantle, the fringed paludamentum, and attests to the military qualities of the honoree. In connection with a (lost) inscription, the costume could simultaneously visualize the assumption of high offices and positions of responsibility.

In a statue group in the Villa Doria Pamphili, a Roman man from around A. D. 260 is depicted in three different statues (figs. 54–56): in a toga as one who values Roman tradition, with the paludamentum as a victorious general, and accompanied by a dog as a hunter.² In this group, too, the portrait head is duplicated unchanged (figs. 51–53). In all three cases the hairstyle has small curls pushed together on the right corner of the forehead and, on two of the heads, an isolated point of hair pulled

2 Heintze, H.: Drei spätantike Porträtstatuen. *Antike Plastik I*. Berlin 1962, 7–32 pls. 1–21 (father and two sons).– Fittschen, K.: *Bonner Jahrbücher* 170, 1970, 546–547 no. 20.– Calza, R. (ed.): *Antichità di Villa Doria Pamphili*. Rome 1977, 299–303 no. 372–374 pls. 207–212.– Goette, H. R.: *Studien zu römischen Togadargestaltungen*. Mainz 1990, 60.



51-53 Heads of statues in figs. 54-56.



54-56 Rome, Villa Doria Pamphili. Three portrait statues of a Roman man. c. A. D. 260. H. 1.83, 2.00, 1.98 m.

out on the left,³ while the turn of the head is varied according to the different figure types. They all have the same beard, shaved below the lower lip. Also, physiognomic details like the asymmetrically sloping folds between the brows are repeated. As with the pair of busts from Munich, the reproduction of the same portrait head emphasizes the subject's identity, making their ideal fulfillment of norms evident by statues in three different spheres.

³ Heintze op. cit., pl. 4 (togatus), 10 (hunter), 16 (warrior; the hair over the left half of the forehead is reconstructed).



57 Naples, Museo Archeologico Nazionale 6603. Roman sarcophagus, c. A. D. 260. H. 1.17 m.

On the grave of Claudia Semne, from the Hadrianic period, the deceased is represented in three statues, showing her in the form of the goddesses Venus, Spes (“hope”), and Fortuna (“fortune/luck”), as well as a bust in relief on the pediment and as a reclining figure on a *kline*.⁴ This can be inferred from the inscriptions. The statues themselves are lost, but iconographic parallels give a reasonably reliable idea of them. Hennig Wrede has shown that the triple deification of the woman reflects her relationship with her husband, who commissioned the grave. “For him she was and is his Venus, all his hope, and his happy fortune even after her death.”⁵

Likewise, a person can be represented several times and in different situations on Roman sarcophagi. For example, a sarcophagus in Naples (fig. 57)⁶ shows a young man taking up a high office in contemporary official dress with the banded toga (*toga contabulata*), accompanied by other officials and lictors. In the middle scene he is shown twice, as a

4 Wrede, H.: Das Mausoleum der Claudia Semne und die bürgerliche Plastik der Kaiserzeit, RM 78, 1971, 125–166.– Bignamini, I. / Claridge, A.: The Tomb of Claudia Semne and Excavations in Eighteenth-Century Rome, Papers of the British School at Rome 66, 1998, 215–244.

5 Wrede, op. cit. 148.

6 Ewald, B. Ch.: Der Philosoph als Leitbild. Ikonographische Untersuchungen an römischen Sarkophagreliefs. Mainz 1999, 54–59, 200–201 G 9 pl. 88.1.– Reinsberg, C.: Die Sarkophage mit Darstellungen aus dem Menschenleben 3. Vita romana. ASR I 3. Berlin 2006, 142–144, 203 no. 36 pls. 78.3; 83.4–6; 84–87.4.

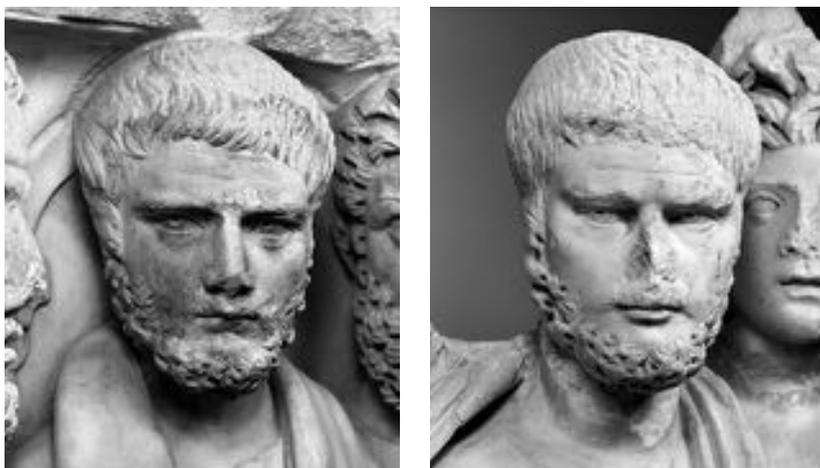
philosopher in the pallium and again in a toga of the Antonine period. He is shown a fourth time again in a toga, but now in the early Imperial form, in a wedding scene with a veiled woman. Here, too, the four portrait heads of the young man are not differentiated, but always show him in the same way and at the same age (figs. 58–61). In all of them, the hair is rendered as a compact cap with voluminous, but clinging strands. This clearly distinguishes the main figure from all of his companions, whose curls are separated by drilled channels, making them easily discernable.

The relief illustrates the exemplary behavior of the person portrayed, who served in political offices while also entering into a legal marriage to produce offspring as befitting his status, and he cared for the welfare of the state with both actions. The middle scene shows that he studied both Greek and Latin literature and philosophy. The three variants of the toga in particular show that he always appears in the appropriate style. In the sacrifice scene he is dressed in the early Imperial form and thus according to the Augustan formula for depicting *pietas*. As a man of letters, he wears the Antonine variant, which corresponds to the Second Sophistic. And as a civil servant the toga is in the contemporary official dress of the years around A. D. 260. There is no mixing of areas; rather, the individual roles are clearly separated from one another. The dutiful Roman fulfills his obligations and the expectations of his peers in an exemplary manner in all situations.

3.2 ACCOMPANYING FIGURES AS CHARACTERIZATION

In other monuments in which the same person appears several times, a biographical sequence is suggested by the series of events and the depiction of different-aged figures. A sarcophagus in Mantua from around A. D. 170 (fig. 62) shows on the front the same man in three scenes.⁷ In the middle he performs a libation in front of a temple facade as a beardless, young officer. A sacrificial attendant with a libation jug and a flute player assist, while to the right of them two attendants bring up the main sacrifice. While the first kneels on the ground in front and pushes the head of a bull down, the second strikes a powerful blow with the sacrificial ax.

⁷ Reinsberg op. cit. 20–21, 202 cat. no. 33 pls. 1.2; 4–5; 8.2–3; 51.1; 124.1.– Wrede, H.: Senatorische Sarkophage. MAR 39. Mainz 2001 passim with n. 68 pl. 2.

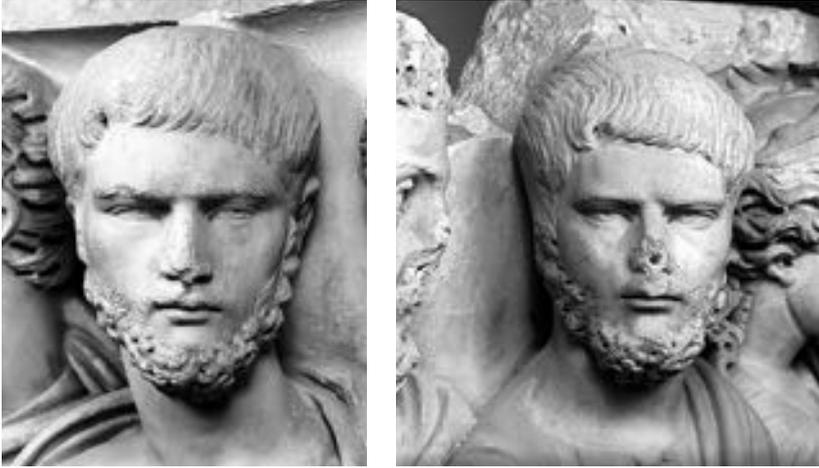


58-59 as fig. 57; Head of the youthful main figure in toga at left and right.

The scene on the left demonstrates the deceased's military achievements, with the standards and the head of a barbarian forming the background. The main figure, now bearded and therefore older, stands on a low pedestal in the muscle cuirass of a general. His companion, *Virtus*, the personification of bravery, steps up onto the podium and holds up the standard (*vexillum*) of a military unit. *Victoria*, the goddess of victory, flies to the left. At the moment she lands, with her right foot still floating above the ground and her robe flapping in the wind, she grabs hold of *Virtus*. The immediate and tangible result of the general's bravery and victoriousness is the submission of a barbarian people, whose representatives the Roman soldier brings forward.

The same Roman also appears with a beard to the right of center in a wedding scene. Dressed in a toga, he extends his hand to a veiled woman. The gesture is a traditional expression of a close and trusting relationship between two people, between allies, friends, relatives, and spouses;⁸ here it denotes the bond between a married couple. Four other figures complete and supplement the scene. *Concordia*, the personification of unity, appears in the background and has her hands on the couple's shoulders. Her counterpart is the wedding god, Hymenaeus,

⁸ Reinsberg, C.: *Concordia. Die Darstellung von Hochzeit und ehelicher Eintracht in der Spätantike*. In: *Spätantike und frühes Christentum. Exhibition catalog Frankfurt 1984*, 312-317.- Reinsberg, C. as n. 6, 39-45.



60–61 as fig. 57; Head of youthful main figure; central figures.

shown as a boy with a torch. A dignified, elderly Roman stands behind the bridegroom, behind the bride a young woman.

The main figure's hairstyle consists of long, straight strands. It does not conform to contemporary Antonine hairstyles and also differs significantly from the more flowing curls of the accompanying male figures; thus the deceased, depicted three times, is clearly set apart from his companions. On the other hand, the portrait of the bride remains without any individualized features, because the veil drawn down over her face makes the rendering of any significant physiognomy or a distinctive hairstyle impossible. The head of the older companion in the wedding scene is a portrait-like portrayal, with bald head, beardless cheeks, and deep wrinkles, but it does not correspond to contemporary portraits. Rather, it recalls late Republican portraits, like the head of Cicero (figs. 88a–b).

For the sarcophagus in Mantua and related monuments, the reliefs have been connected with the four “Roman cardinal virtues” since the essential study by Gerhart Rodenwaldt. *Virtus* (bravery) is represented by a personification or a hunting scene; *clementia* (clemency) by a scene of submission, which would precede a pardon; *pietas* (piety) through a sacrifice; and *concordia* (unity) through a wedding scene and personification.⁹ This may also have been a possible reading for ancient viewers.

⁹ Rodenwaldt, G.: Über den Stilwandel in der antoninischen Kunst. Berlin 1935.– Wrede op. cit. 24–35.– On the difficulties that arise from this, see Muth, S.: Drei statt vier. Zur Deutung der Feldherrensarkophage, AA 2004, 263–273.



62 Mantua, Palazzo Ducale 186. Roman sarcophagus, c. A. D. 170. H. 77 cm.

But unlike on coins, where inscriptions often provide an interpretation of images, sarcophagus reliefs remained without explanation and thus open to different interpretations.

The images on the Mantua sarcophagus follow the common strategy of Roman art of outsourcing individual idiosyncrasies and traits being portrayed and visualizing them with additional figures, for example through personifications like *Virtus* (“bravery”) and *Honos* (“honor”).¹⁰ Of the 19 figures on the front, only the main figure, shown in three portraits, is autonomous and active; all the others are attributively assigned to him in different ways and describe his qualities. This is most evident in the central sacrifice scene, where all the other people act on the instructions of the main figure or are at his disposal. He ensures the ritual is carried out perfectly, performed in the right place and in the correct manner by carefully selected and well-trained sacrificial attendants.¹¹

In the wedding scene, the composition, the clasping of hands, and the pair’s joining by *Concordia* make the bride appear coequal. But the veil, which obscures any individual traits, shows that it is not about the personality of a certain woman, but exclusively about her role as a wife and thus as the future mother of children as appropriate to her class.

¹⁰ Lochin, C.: *Honos*, LIMC V 1990, 498–502 esp. no. 14, 19–25.– Vollkommer, R.: *Victoria*. LIMC VIII 1997, 237–269, esp. no. 312–342, 363–369.– Ganschow, Th.: *Virtus*. LIMC VIII 1997, 273–281, esp. no. 31–38, 53–59, 61, 65–69.

¹¹ Fless, F.: *Opferdiener und Kultmusiker auf stadtrömischen historischen Reliefs*. Mainz 1995, 72–77.

Her companion, turning her head and holding her arm, with long wavy hair, a wrinkle-free face, uncovered shoulder and chest, bare arm, and exposed contour of the buttocks, demonstrates the beauty and erotic attraction that could only be hinted at in the bride under her heavy robes. These qualities of the wife are outsourced to her companion and thus made visible. The older companion of the man can be recognized by the toga as his peer. With his features reminiscent of Cicero, he represents the tradition of Roman values. He attests that this union takes place in a traditional and socially accepted context, which at the same time characterizes the main figure as a Roman committed to traditional customs.

The dramatic submission scene is also about success and the qualities of the main figure. In three figures it is made clear that the opposing barbarian people are completely subjugated and at the mercy of the victor. They are brought forth effortlessly by a single Roman officer. A strong, adult man walks hunched over, hands tied behind his back, with downcast gaze. A woman falls on her knees in front of the general and looks up at him, while at the same time she reaches out her hand to him. Her loose hair and clothing slipping down show that she is defenseless against the victor. Like the bride's companion, the barbarian with her youthful features and bared shoulders is beautiful and erotically appealing, but the general's gaze passes over her and demonstrates that *continentia* (self-control) that was counted among the virtues of Roman generals (Val. Max. IV.3.1–3 ext. 1–3). The boy she takes with her also looks up at the victor, raising his hands pleadingly. The general clasps his sword and demonstrates the power to decide between life and death. He still does not reveal whether he will actually show clemency (*clementia*) or impose severe punishment (*severitas*). In any case, it is the general's *Virtus* that made his success possible, because she stands behind the victor in order to receive submission with him. And this success is as significant as the great victories of the past because *Victoria*, who embodies it, follows a traditional iconography that had been used for centuries for victory monuments. The two personify the qualities and achievements of men in the bodies of young women and visualize them in aesthetic perfection.

3.3 BIOGRAPHICAL SEQUENCES

The sarcophagi in Naples and Mantua, like numerous other grave monuments, show the deceased in several portrait-like figures. But they do not depict a career with successive points; rather, the complementary images show the realization of different qualities. Additionally, there have been since the late sixth century B. C. image series that reproduce chronologically-successive actions of a person and can thus be understood as biographical sequences. Beginning around 510 B. C., Attic vase-painters combined the deeds of Theseus together into a larger series on their vessels, showing in particular the dispatching of murderous villains on his way from Troizen to Athens.¹² Although their order was set by the hero's itinerary and had already been recorded in literature in the early fifth century by Bakchylides (*Dithyramb* 18.19–30), the painters arranged their pictures in different ways. Obviously, the interest was not in a chronological sequence, any more than in the case of the compilation of the labors of Herakles.¹³ A pictorial biography is not what is intended. Rather, the Theseus and Herakles cycles attest to their enduring heroic character and consistent drive with a multitude of meritorious acts. It is not exhausted in a solitary exploit, but repeatedly brings to fruition great achievements.

In contrast, the reliefs of the Great Altar of Pergamon show the life of the city's founder, Telephos, in a chronological sequence. Even though the 58-meter-long frieze surrounding the inner altar courtyard has survived only in fragments, the sequence of scenes can still be reconstructed at important points.¹⁴ They showed the life of the hero, beginning with the oracle of Apollo to King Aleos announcing the future of his grandson, and the meeting of his parents, Herakles and Auge. This is followed by the exposure of Telephos and Auge, the suckling of the child by a

12 Neils, J.: Theseus. LIMC VII 1994, 922–940, esp. no. 32–60.– von den Hoff, R.: Die Pracht der Schalen und die Tatkraft des Heros. Theseuszyklen auf Symposionsgeschirr in Athen. In: Heilmeyer, W.-D. (ed.): Die griechische Klassik. Idee oder Wirklichkeit. Berlin/Mainz 2002, 331–337.

13 Boardman, J.: Herakles Dodekathlos. LIMC V 1990, 5–16.

14 Heres, H.: Telephos 1. LIMC VII 857–862.– Heilmeyer, W.-D.: Der Pergamonaltar. Die neue Präsentation nach Restaurierung des Telephosfrieses. Berlin 1997, 146–169 cat. 17–32; p. 194–195.– Lenz, D.: “So viele Rätsel wie Figuren.” Neues zu den Platten 49 und 50 vom Telephosfries des Pergamonaltars, Jahreshefte des Österreichischen Archäologischen Instituts 87, 2018, 301–328.

lioness, the arrival of mother and son in Mysia and their admission by the local King Teuthras, then, in scenes that are sometimes difficult to interpret, the further fate and the deeds of the hero. The depiction of the laying out of a dead body, probably Telephos himself, completed the frieze.

The Telephos frieze as a comprehensive pictorial representation of a complete life has no known predecessors. The scenes may have followed lost literary biographies of the hero, like those later written by Plutarch for Herakles, Theseus, and Romulus. The state of preservation does not show whether the hero's development was reflected in his portrait beyond the change in age. It must be left open whether Pergamon's founder was distinguished from other people by attributes, habitus, physiognomy, or hairstyle and was represented as a special figure.

The Telephos frieze remains an isolated case. No other ancient monument depicts the life of a personality in such completeness. On the other hand, a number of monuments were created during the Roman Imperial era that depict historical events in a chronological sequence and repeatedly depict the presence and acts of the emperor. The intended sequence is clearest in the war narratives on the column monuments for Trajan and Marcus Aurelius in Rome because the winding of the friezes provides a clear reading direction. Standard scenes such as marches, sacrifices, and speeches are inserted again and again, but also clearly identifiable and historically attested events are depicted such as the death of Decebalus on the Column of Trajan¹⁵ or the rain miracle on the Column of Marcus Aurelius.¹⁶ Not in all, but in many events, the emperor appears as the main character, emphasized by the portrait head and especially by the composition.¹⁷ The scenes depict his piety, bravery, prudence, and providence in striking detail. As with the sarcophagus in Mantua, the achievements, successes, and qualities revealed are ascribed to the main figure, who is thus vested with those corresponding qualities. Superficially, these monuments may appear as pictorial chronicles with a

15 Stefan, A. S.: *La colonne Trajane*. Paris 2015, pl. 56 (scenes CXLV–CXLVII).

16 Coarelli, F.: *La Colonna di Marco Aurelio – The Column of Marcus Aurelius*. Rome 2008, 140–142 (scene XVI).

17 Trajan appears on the Column of Trajan 60 times: Boschung, D.: *Bildnisse des Trajan*. In: Schallmayer, E. (ed.): *Traian in Germanien – Traian im Reich*. Bad Homburg 1999, 137–139.

large number of actors, but at the same time they are expanded portraits of the emperor.¹⁸

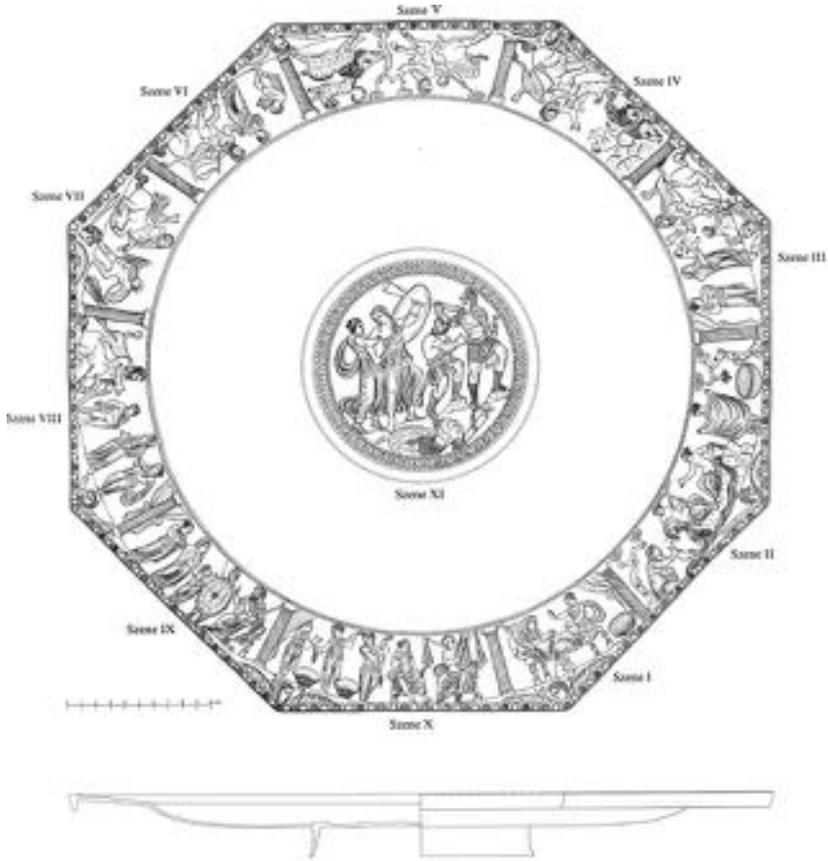
While the emperor is portrayed on the Column of Trajan through his established portrait types, this is not the case for the main figure of the Achilles plate from Kaiseraugst. His identification is solely by context and from the sequence of the scenes depicting the birth, upbringing, and youth of the hero (fig. 63, plate 6).¹⁹ The image field of the frieze around the edge of the plate, separated by columns, shows Thetis after giving birth; the hero's bath in the Styx and the caring for the newborn; the child entrusted to the wise centaur Cheiron; the boy feeding on the marrow of wild animals; the ride into the hunt; instruction in reading and discus throwing; the return of the grown youth to his mother, Thetis; Achilles handed over to King Lykomedes disguised as a girl; and finally Achilles playing the lyre among the king's daughters. In contrast to the sarcophagus from Mantua, the scenes illustrate qualities of the protagonist that are not complementary. Rather, they show how Achilles, whose unique heroic character is revealed in the action portrait of the middle field, gained his particular qualities through his ancestry, care, upbringing, and diet (see ch. I.1.3). At the sound of the war trumpet, the hero throws off his women's clothing and takes up the weapons laid out before him, even though he thereby made his early death inevitable.

A Late Antique embroidery (*orbiculus*) of a tunic from the seventh or eighth century A. D. depicting events from the life of Joseph (Genesis 37) in several images is formally similar. The central motif shows Joseph dreaming; around it, in a counterclockwise direction, there are images depicting the conflict with his brothers and his sale in Egypt (plate 7).²⁰ The representations are not intended to visualize the achievements and qualities of the main figure, and the topic is not the development of

18 Baumer, L. E. / Hölscher, T. / Winkler, L.: Narrative Systematik und politisches Konzept in den Reliefs der Traianssäule. Drei Fallstudien, *JdI* 106, 1991, 261–295.

19 von Gonzenbach, V.: Achillesplatte, in: Cahn, H. A. / Kaufmann-Heinimann, A. (eds.): *Der spätromische Silberschatz von Kaiseraugst*. Derendingen 1984, 225–307 no. 63 pls. 146–307; with compilation of additional Late Antique image cycles of the life of Achilles.

20 Schrenk, S.: *Textilien des Mittelmeerraums aus spätantiker bis frühislamischer Zeit*. Riggisberg 2004, 336 with n. 55–56.– Color pl. 7: Trier, Stadtmuseum Simeonstift inv. VII.52: Nauerth, C.: *Die koptischen Textilien der Sammlung Rautenstrauch im Städtischen Museum Simeonstift Trier*. Trier 1989, 68 pl. 35.



63 Augst, Römermuseum 62.1. Silver plate of the 4th c. A. D. with scenes from the life of Achilles; drawing. Diameter 53 cm.

a particular personality. Rather, it is about his unique biography. The format and the manufacturing technique did not allow for portrait-like representations. The image sequence is only understandable to viewers familiar with the biblical story of Joseph. They would also know that the center medallion not only indicates the cause of the brothers' hatred, but also presages the deliverance and exaltation that would be bestowed upon Joseph with God's help.

Biographical sequences of images may be rare and isolated, but they occur over a long period of time, from the late sixth century B. C. to the seventh century A. D. They always visualize the particularity of the main figure in narrative scenes. This can be done in connection with identifiable portrait heads, such as on the Column of Trajan and on Roman

sarcophagi. The identification can also be guaranteed by attributes, as in the case of the Herakles cycles, but more often it comes from context. Only the Hellenistic Telephos frieze visualizes an entire biography, from the meeting of the parents to the death of the hero. More often it is in certain excerpts where the particularity of the main figure becomes clear—overcoming dangers during his travels in the case of Theseus; the upbringing and forming of an exemplary hero for Achilles; a military campaign with both its routine and dramatic events with the emperor. In some cases, the interest lies in the source of the hero's particularity—that is, the circumstances that made him unique—in others the consistency of his extraordinary achievements.

III ARCHAEOLOGICAL CASE STUDIES

1. FICTITIOUS PORTRAITS: HOMER AND HIS CHARACTERS

Pliny the Elder cites pictorial representations of Homer as an example of fictitious portraits: “Imaginary likenesses are modelled and our affection gives birth to countenances that have not been handed down to us, as occurs in the case of Homer.”¹ Nevertheless, Homer’s portrait was copied particularly often in antiquity and over the centuries, and it is also one of the earliest freestanding sculptural representations of a person understood to be historical. The numerous surviving examples follow a few templates that were obviously considered authoritative. Ultimately, they were drawn from those passages in Homeric works that were taken as the poet’s self-description. This is how Thucydides (III.104) interpreted a verse of the *Homeric Hymn to Apollo* (III.172). When asked about the poet, the girls from Delos are said to have answered:

“He is a blind man whose home is on Chios, that rugged and rock-bound island” (trans. D. Hine).

Likewise, the description of the divine singer Demodokos in the *Odyssey* (VIII, XIII.27–28) could be understood as a self-portrait of Homer. He is a favorite of the Muse, but she has given him both good and bad. He too is blind and has to be led around by the hand, but in return he received the gift of sweet singing (Hom. *Od.* VIII.63–64).²

In the decades around 500 B. C., poets of both sexes named by inscriptions became subjects of Attic vase-painting, after nameless musicians had been depicted for some time. Famous lyric poets of previous

1 Plin. *NH* 35,9–10: “(imagines)... quin immo etiam quae non sunt finguntur, pariuntque desideria non traditos vultus, sicut in Homero evenit.” (trans. H. Rackham).

2 Baier, M.: *Neun Leben des Homer. Eine Übersetzung und Erläuterung der antiken Biographien.* Hamburg 2013, 30–32.

generations like Sappho and Alkaios now appear, as well as the contemporary poet Anakreon.³ Their depictions on kraters and kylikes, which were created for use in social feasts, brought to mind poets in the circle of symposia, and they may have inspired users of the vases to recite their poems.⁴ But even if Attic vase-painters knew Anakreon in person, their representations are devoid of portrait-like physiognomic features. Rather, it is his overall appearance that makes him particular. Like Sappho and Alkaios he plays the lyre, and he makes the other participants of the symposium dance with his music. On a krater in Copenhagen the poet holds a parasol and wears an East Greek costume that must have looked strange and extravagant in Athens.⁵ It significantly sets Anakreon apart from the majority of Attic revelers. Two generations later, around 440 B. C., a statue was erected for him on the Acropolis. It evoked the enthusiastic poet of the symposium songs through pose, clothing, and attributes, but avoided individual characterization in physiognomy and body shape (fig. 175).⁶ At most, the shape of the full beard, grown long on the neck, might appear to be a distinctive feature of its own. It can also be found in the aforementioned vase image in Copenhagen.

While Attic painters did not reproduce their own contemporary Anakreon with an individual physiognomy, around 460 B. C. a Greek sculptor tried to create a detailed and unmistakable representation of Homer, who was about ten generations older (fig. 64).⁷ In view of the temporal distance between the poet portrayed and the artist depicting him, it is obvious that the result can say nothing about the actual appearance of Homer, but much about conceptions of his individuality in the mid-fifth century.

3 Ojeda, D.: *Griechische Dichter klassischer Zeit*. Córdoba 2016, 14–16.– Shapiro, A.: *Re-fashioning Anakreon in Classical Athens*. Morphomata Lectures Cologne 2, Munich 2012, 16–19 figs. 7, 8.– R. K(reikenbom) in: Scholl 2016, 3–4 no. 1.

4 Cf. Siedentopf, H. B.: *Schöne Gesänge*. In: Vierneisel, K. / Kaeser, B. (eds.): *Kunst der Schale – Kultur des Trinkens*. Munich 1990, 247–258.

5 Shapiro op. cit. fig. 8.– Kurtz, D. / Boardman, J.: *Booners*. In: *Greek Vases in the J. Paul Getty Museum*. Malibu 1986, 35–70 no. 5 figs. 13a–b.

6 Shapiro op. cit. esp. 9–15. with figs. 1–6 and earlier literature.– Keesling 2017, 155–157 fig. 48.

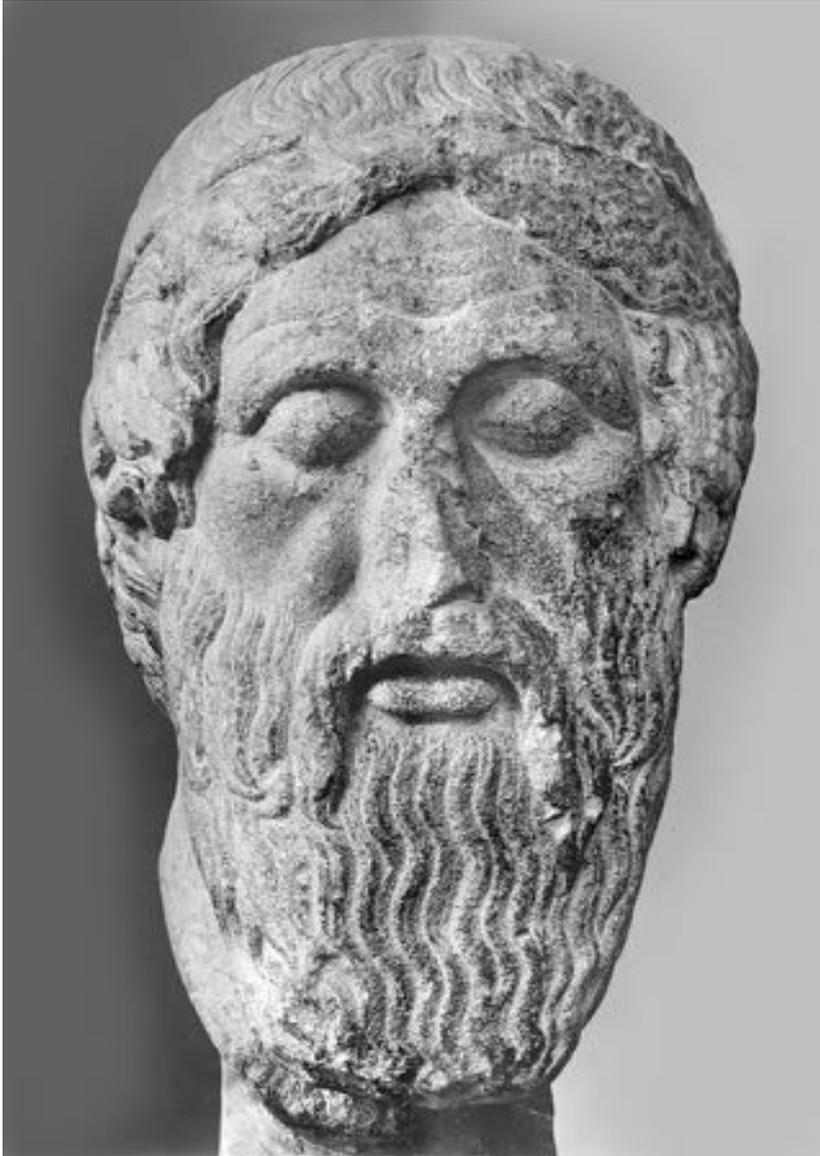
7 Vierneisel-Schlörb 1979, 36–48 no. 5 with earlier literature.– Ojeda op. cit. 19–20.– Vorster 1993, 148–149 no. 64 figs. 283–288.– Zanker 1995, 14–22.– Knauff/Gliwitsky 2017, 48 figs. 2.17a–b; 342 cat. 4.

The head of the lost early Classical statue has been passed down through six Roman copies, of which the copy in Munich is considered the best.⁸ The face shows noticeable signs of age—wrinkles, crow’s feet, sunken cheeks, and protruding cheekbones. The asymmetries of the skin folds around the eye and on the cheeks are also noticeable deviations from contemporary ideal sculpture. The course of the heavy, wavy forehead wrinkles raised at the sides seems to be caused by a brief movement of his round eyebrows. The deeply sunken eyes are closed and are emphasized by their sculpted shape, but also by the parallel course of the brows. The hairstyle is just as striking. The hair is drawn in long strands from the whorl over the scalp, passed under a headband, and held together over the forehead with a small knot so that it frames the forehead with a central peak. The carefully cut curls fall freely on the sides and at the nape of the neck below the smooth headband, so that most of the ears are covered.

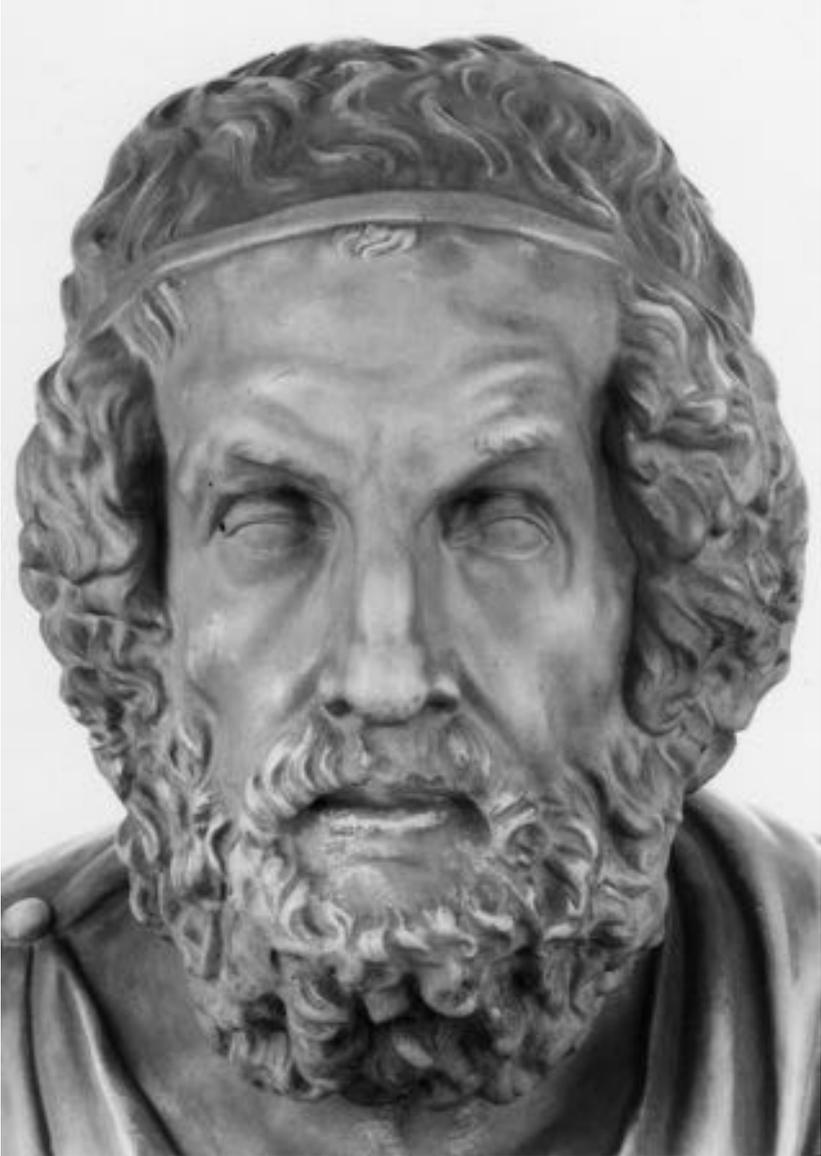
When this early Classical Homer portrait appeared around 460 B. C. other biographical information was in circulation in addition to the supposed personal testimony of the poet. Already in the late sixth century Theagenes of Rhegion had written a (lost) text on “Homer’s poetry, its origin, and its dating,” which must also have commented on his person.⁹ The unusual form of the eye area, which conveys Homer’s blindness, can be traced back to this account. Biographically, it could be understood as the result of an individual fate to which the Muse had assigned “good and bad” (Hom. *Od.* VIII.63). An important decision by the sculptor was the choice of age. This is a clear distinction from earlier depictions of poets in vase-painting, which consistently show adult men with no signs of age. Demodokos, Homer’s supposed self-portrait in the *Odyssey*, needs the help of a guide because of his blindness, but his age is not mentioned. The portrait shows the poet marked by age and thus after the completion of his massive, fully formed work. The youthful, full lower lip directs the gaze to the mouth, which is slightly open, so that the poet seems to be speaking and performing his completed work.

⁸ Boehringer, E. and R.: *Homer. Bildnisse und Nachweise I. Rundwerke*. Breslau 1939.– Richter 1965, I 45–48 figs. 1–16.

⁹ Tatianos, *Oratio ad Graecos* 31: “περὶ γὰρ τῆς Ὀμήρου ποιήσεως γένους τε αὐτοῦ καὶ χρόνου.”– Latacz, J.: *Zu Homers Person*. In: *Homers Ilias. Studien zu Dichter, Werk und Rezeption*, ed. by Greub, Th. / Greub-Fraçz, K. / Schmidt, A. Berlin/Boston 2014, 41–85 esp. 62 (first published in: Rengakos, A. / Zimmermann, B. (eds.): *Homer-Handbuch. Leben, Werk, Wirkung*. Stuttgart 2001, 1–25).



64 Munich, Glyptothek 273. Portrait of Homer, Roman copy after original from 460 B. C. H. 39.5 cm.



65 Schwerin, Staatliches Museum 1900; Plaster cast Freie Universität Berlin VII.3470. 2/50. Roman copy of Hellenistic portrait of Homer.

The physical decline from age is counterbalanced not only with the focused facial expression, but also with the careful maintenance of the beard and hairstyle.¹⁰ The combination of the forehead peak and long strands on the sides is otherwise found in depictions of boys;¹¹ it must therefore have been particularly striking on the aged poet. The artificial hairstyle is the result of careful preparation that would fit well with an appearance before a festive gathering. It goes well with the long, carefully cut, thick and wavy beard. A somewhat older, but also posthumous vase-painting shows the lyric poet Alkaios coiffed in a similar way. His hair grows down the side over his ears, tied in place and falling in a mop over his forehead.¹² Obviously this matched the conception of a poet's appearance in earlier centuries.

At about the same time as the portrait of Homer described above, Mikythos of Rhegion had an extensive dedication set up in the sanctuary of Olympia, which included smaller-than-life-size figures of the poets Homer and Hesiod among a group of gods (Pausanias V.26.2–5).¹³ Because of the different format, the statue in Olympia cannot have been the model for the well-known Roman copies. But its installation in the Panhellenic sanctuary shows the necessity of knowledge of Homer's appearance in the decades after the Persian Wars, which also led to the creation of the life-size portrait. With these early Classical statues, the author of the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*, long considered exemplary all over Greece, received a vivid depiction.

The established iconography of Homer from the early fifth century B. C. goes hand in hand with the continued attempts to clarify the poet's biography. Not only Thucydides, but previously Simonides of Keos (556–468 B. C.)¹⁴ had referred to Homer as the "man from Chios," prob-

10 Contemporary depictions of old people: Kressirer, K.: *Das Greisenalter in der griechischen Antike. Untersuchungen der Vasenbilder und Schriftquellen der archaischen und klassischen Zeit.* Hamburg 2016 esp. 19–25, 502–515.

11 Stele of a victorious youth from Sounion, c. 470 B. C.: Bol II 2004, 54, 502 pl. 50.– On the hairstyle, Schäfer, Th., AM 111, 1996, 121–123. Triptolemos on a votive relief from Eleusis, c. 440/430 B. C.: Schneider, L.: *Das Große Eleusinische Relief und seine Kopien.* In: Eckstein, F.: *Antike Plastik XII.* Berlin 1973, 103–122 esp. fig. 5 pl. 31.

12 Munich, *Antikensammlungen* 2416. Illustrated in Schefold, K.: *Die Bildnisse der antiken Dichter, Redner und Denker.* Basel 1943, 55.

13 DNO, Dionysios aus Argos no. 1 SQ 473–474 (K. Hallof, R. Krumeich, L. Lehmann) with additional literature.– Zanker 1995, 19–20.

14 Latacz op. cit. 53.

ably from the same source. Herodotos (2,53) believed that Homer had lived at most 400 years before his own time, that is, in the second half of the ninth century B. C., and thus contradicted a dating to the time of the Trojan War, as argued by Hellanikos. Biographies originating during the Roman Empire and later but based on earlier sources identify his place of birth (usually Smyrna), his ancestry, the names of his parents, alleged details of his troubled life, and finally his death on the island of Ios. His name was originally Melesigenes; later he went blind and was therefore called *Homeros*.¹⁵ Even if these biographical sketches seem arbitrary and ill-founded, they reveal a desire for knowledge of the poet's personality, as is also evident in the "imagined" portraits. The set iconography of his life-size sculptural portraits played a decisive role in reinforcing the idea of Homer as a historical figure. His tomb on the island of Ios, which Pausanias (X.24.2) knew of, also testified to his historical existence. Pausanias also mentions a bronze statue of Homer in Delphi and the oracle recorded there describing him as "happy and persecuted by misfortune" (ὄλβιος καὶ δύσδαιμων). This confirmed the accounts in the biographies, according to which Homer is said to have led a vicissitudinous life under difficult physical conditions, which is also reflected in the furrowed expression of the Hellenistic Homer type.

The early Classical Homer portrait shaped the conception of the great poet for centuries. When, 300 years later in the second century B. C., a new portrait was created that was adapted to changed forms of expression (fig. 65),¹⁶ the sculptor oriented himself to the specifications of the ten-generations-older version from the fifth century. He adopted not only the thin headband, but also the furrowed brow and lean cheeks crossed with diagonal, asymmetrical folds. Here, too, the hair bulges on the sides of the head, while it lies thinly on the top of the skull, pulled forward under the headband, but without being knotted. As in the older version, the round eyebrows are raised, creating long, curved wrinkles on the forehead. Of course, every detail of the physiognomy and the hairstyle is translated into the formal vocabulary of the Hellenistic period. This is particularly evident in the design of the hair and beard, which are indicated in irregular, flowing, separate curls. The eyes are partially open but small and narrow, so that they appear to be sightless. The physical

¹⁵ Latacz op. cit. esp. 61–72.– Baier as n. 2, passim.

¹⁶ Fig. 65: Boehringer op. cit., 124–126 no. XV pls. 88–90.– Richter 1965, I 51 no. 17 figs. 91–93.– On the type cf. Zanker 1995, 166–171.– Gasparri 2009, 15–16, 126–127 no. 2 with earlier literature.

weakness from age is indicated by the obviously balding hairline, bags under the eyes, and sunken cheeks.

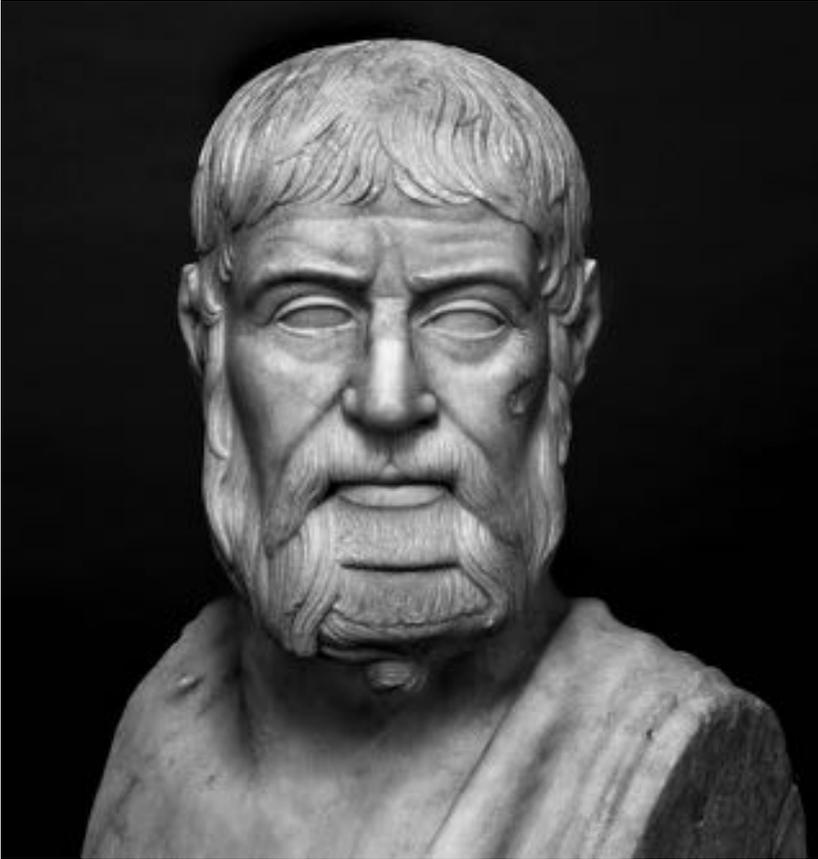
The peculiarities of the earliest surviving portrait of Homer become clear in comparison with the slightly more recent portrait of the poet Pindar, which is actually a contemporary representation of a historical personality. The most reliable versions of the eight surviving Roman copies are a herm in the Capitoline Museum (fig. 66) and a head in Oslo.¹⁷ Their short, stringy hair is parted above the forehead. It forms two hook-shaped curls at the temples because the curls in front of the ears turn back towards the face. The hair here is obviously longer and fuller than the hair above the forehead. Unlike the portrait of Homer, the hairstyle depicted it is not carefully arranged. But here, too, the hairstyle emphasizes the singular appearance of the subject, because it corresponds neither to the short hairstyle of athletes nor the frizzy hair of youths, heroes, or youthful gods. The beard is particularly striking. Strands of different lengths are indicated at the front in layers, while the side hair grows down long and is tied together under the chin. Not all of the strands are shown in the same way, so that the arrangement does not appear artificial, but rather spontaneously executed. Similarly, a satyr on a neck amphora by the Kleophrades Painter wears his beard and hair tied up to avoid it getting in the way in battle.¹⁸ Nikolaus Himmelmann interpreted the knotting of the beard with a compelling reference to a relief in the Museo Barracco with a representation of the poet playing the lyre.¹⁹ In any case, this beard is a peculiarity of Pindar, so the artist here has tried to capture its details. It can be assumed that it was actually part of the appearance of this poet. The sculptor who made this portrait adopted the beard knot—here determined by the situation—as a distinctive feature;²⁰ it made the sitter immediately recognizable. When

17 Bergemann, J.: Pindar. Das Bildnis eines konservativen Dichters, *AM* 106, 1991, 157–189 (with discussion of copies).– Himmelmann, N.: Realistische Themen in der griechischen Kunst der archaischen und klassischen Zeit. *JdI Ergänzungsheft* 28. Berlin / New York 1994, 69–74, 154.– Ojeda op. cit. 20–21.– Keesling 2017, 73–74 fig. 18.

18 Voutiras, E.: Studien zu Interpretation und Stil griechischer Porträts des 5. und frühen 4. Jhs. v. Chr. Bonn 1980, 68 fig. 25.

19 Himmelmann op. cit. 154 addendum on p. 72.– Pictured in Schefold, K.: *Griechische Dichterbildnisse*. Zürich 1965 pl. 5a.

20 Bergemann op. cit. 182 sees the shape of the beard as the result of extensive care and in connection with Archaic beard styles.



66 Rome, Musei Capitolini 585. Portrait of Pindar, Roman copy after mid-5th c. B. C. original. H. 47 cm.

it is later preserved in depictions of the poet in the form of herms and shield busts, in which his appearance could not be reproduced, it had become an unmistakable sign of Pindar.

The physiognomies of both poets stand in clear contrast to the ageless, idealized heads that shape the image of late Archaic and early Classical art. This is made clear by the comparison with the Artemision god, which shows an ideal expression of the same age group, with full hair, smooth facial features, and relaxed expression that reveal no tension despite the fierce movement of the subject (Bol II 2004, 16, 498 figs. 20a–c). Time has left no trace and no biographical marks on the god's face.

Some of the heroes Homer sung about were depicted in statues at about the same time as him. According to historians in antiquity, they

were historical figures whose lives and work could be pinpointed chronologically. Like the portrait of Homer, their sculptural representations were also “imagined” portraits of people from the past (ch. I.1.1). Pausanias (V.25.8–10)²¹ saw a sculptural dedication from the Achaeans also in Olympia near the Temple of Zeus. It was the work of Onatas of Aegina and showed Nestor isolated, and, opposite him, eight Greek heroes with shields and spears, of which Agamemnon was named by an inscription and Idomeneus was identifiable by his shield device. The ninth statue, that of Odysseus, was brought to Rome by Nero. The group visualized an event that Homer described in the *Iliad* (VII.161–184), when, in the course of the Trojan War, Hector offers single combat and Nestor lets nine Greeks decide by lot who should compete against him. In addition to Agamemnon, Idomeneus, and Odysseus; Diomedes, both Ajaxes, Merioneus, Eurypylos, and Thoas throw their lots into Nestor’s helmet; when shaken the κλῆρος of Ajax falls out. The bronze statue of Nestor held the helmet with the lots and thus made clear reference to the event in the *Iliad*. It remains uncertain whether and to what extent the nine Greeks were distinguished from one another by physiognomy, habitus, and attributes. According to Pausanias, Idomeneus could be identified by his special shield device.

Somewhat later, around 430 B. C., a statue of Diomedes was made that has been preserved in Roman copies (fig. 67).²² It showed the theft of the Palladion and thus an event that was not in the *Iliad*, but was described in literature in the *Ilioupersis*. In the *Iliad* (XIV.112) Diomedes notes that he is the youngest of the Greek fighters, and the statue emphasizes his youthfulness. His face is unwrinkled and taut; a strip of downy hair grows on his cheeks, not yet reaching the tip of the chin, and leaving the area around the mouth clear. His hair is cut evenly and short and divided into small strands that part at the center of his forehead. The young hero has put his mantle over his left shoulder so that his idealized body remains nude. In his left hand he originally held the Palladion, which had been stolen from the Trojan Temple of Athena, and he looks to the side over his left shoulder. His turn is emphasized by his standing position, with the non-supporting free leg set far back and to

21 DNO, Onatas no. 5 SQ 507 (K. Hallof et al.).

22 Andraea, B.: Odysseus. Mythos und Erinnerung. Mainz 1999, 63–69, 384 no. 19, 20.– Complete copies: Naples, Museo Archeologico Nazionale 144978; H. 1.77 m; Maiuri, A.: Il Diomede di Cuma. Rome 1930.– Munich, Glyptothek 304; H. 1.02 m; Vierneisel-Schlörfb 1979, 79–105 no. 9.



67 Munich, Glyptothek 304; Plaster cast Akademisches Kunstmuseum Bonn 544.
Statue of Diomedes, Roman copy after original of c. 430 B. C. H. 84.5 cm.



68a-b Sperlonga, Museo Archeologico Nazionale. Head of Diomedes.

the side. Thus, the statue evokes a certain moment of the myth in which Diomedes proves his courage and his vigilance.

The late Hellenistic statue of Diomedes in the cave of Sperlonga is obviously a further development of the Classical type. Fragments show that Diomedes was holding the Palladion with his left hand here also, and that his head was turned violently over his left shoulder. Here, too, his youthful cheeks are covered with downy fluff which does not yet grow all the way to the chin (figs. 68a–b). As in the earlier statue, his hair does not cover his ears, but the curls are thicker and more dramatically moved.²³

Odysseus was depicted three times in the monumental sculptural groups of Sperlonga: in the blinding of Polyphemos, in the Scylla group, and—together with Diomedes—in the theft of the Palladion. But only in the first case has his head been preserved (fig. 69). It shows Odysseus as a grown and experienced man, with a full, strong beard, wrinkled forehead, and crow's feet.²⁴ As on clay reliefs from the early fifth century, he

²³ Conticello, B.: I gruppi scultorei di soggetto mitologico a Sperlonga, *Antike Plastik* 14. Berlin 1974, 38–39 fig. 62 pls. 37–44.—Andreae op. cit. 72–80, 182.

²⁴ Conticello op. cit. 23–24 figs. 3, 57 pls. 14–17.—Andreae op. cit. 382 no. 5.1; figs. p. 16 and 25.



69 Sperlonga, Museo Archeologico Nazionale. Head of Odysseus.



70 Basel, Antikenmuseum Inv. BS 298/Lu 251 A. Head of Achilles.

wears a pilos.²⁵ The conical cap, like the full beard, is one of his attributes and gives him a fixed iconography, which he actually shares with the god Hephaistos.²⁶

In the second century B. C. a statue group was created showing the death of Penthesilea in the arms of Achilles (fig. 3). The hero is depicted not only with an ideal body, but also with a wrinkle-free, youthful face without a beard (fig. 70; ch. I.1.1 with n. 8). His hair grows in long strands over his ears and down the back of his neck. Over the right half of his forehead, his hair is first brushed upward and then falls down to the left. This is reminiscent of the *anastolē* hairstyle of Alexander the Great (ch. III.3). The portrait of Achilles follows the portrait of the Macedonian king, who had himself wished to emulate Achilles.²⁷ The idea of a close connection between the two exemplary warriors becomes evident when

²⁵ Andrae op. cit. 340–341, 393 no. 158.

²⁶ Boschung, D. in: Sporn, K.: Europas Spiegel. Die Antikensammlung im Suermond-Ludwig-Museum Aachen. Wiesbaden 2005, 22–23 no. 6 (head of Odysseus or Hephaistos).

²⁷ Ameling, W.: Achilleus und Alexander. Eine Bestandsaufnahme. In: Will, H. / Heinrichs, J. (eds.): Zu Alexander dem Großen. Festschrift G. Wirth. Amsterdam 1988, 657–692.– Dorka Moreno, M.: Imitatio Alexandri? Rahden 2019, 86–90.

the Achilles and Penthesilea group appears as Alexander's shield device on Roman contorniates in Late Antiquity.²⁸

These examples make it clear that the Homeric heroes were given an iconography that described their particularities and at the same time set them apart from each other. While Diomedes is characterized as young adult by his downy beard; Odysseus—the father of Telemachos—appears as an older man, whose pilos points to his manual deftness; and Achilles is shown as the forerunner (and ancestor) of Alexander. Statues often refer to a special act in which they not only prove a general heroic bravery and fighting power, but also distinct qualities—Diomedes' boldness, which drives him into the enemy city; the cunning of Odysseus, who finds a way out even in the most difficult situations; the deeply engrained, impulsive warrior spirit of Achilles, which allows him to act even against his personal interests.

28 Richter 1965 III fig. 1718.—Alföldi, A. and E.: *Die Kontorniat-Medaillons I*. Berlin 1976 pls. 22.7–12; 23.1; II. Berlin / New York 1990, 85–86, 111 reverse no. 11.—Mittag, P. F.: *Alte Köpfe in neuen Händen. Urheber und Funktion der Kontorniaten*. Bonn 1999, 289 no. 11 pl. 15.11.

2. SOCRATES: THE EXEMPLARY INDIVIDUAL AND HIS PORTRAIT

Notions of the particularity of Socrates, who was considered an exemplary individual in Aristotelian philosophy (ch. I.3.2), received sensually perceptible form in his portraits. Careful studies of his representations¹ enable a morphomatic analysis of the portrait to determine its genesis, the medial conditions of its creation process, and its later impact.

2.1 GENESIS

After the founding of Plato's philosophy school at the Academy around 387/6 B. C., a statue of Socrates was erected there, probably in the sanctuary of the Muses dedicated by Plato himself. A quote from *Atthis* of Philochoros in the *Academicorum Index Herculaneensis* reports on the event, the importance of which was pointed out by Emmanuel Voutiras.² According to this text, the statue base bore the signature of Butes and

¹ Cf. Kekulé von Stradonitz, R.: *Die Bildnisse des Sokrates*, Berlin 1908.– Richter 1965, I 109–119 figs. 456–573.– Scheibler 1989a.– Scheibler 1989b.– Scheibler 2004, 184–185.– Lang, J. in: Goulet, R. (ed.): *Dictionnaire des philosophes antiques VI de Sabinillus à Tyrsénos*. Paris 2016, 446–453. On the interpretation: Zanker 1995, 32–39.– Giuliani 1998 [Also published in: Schmölders, C. (ed.): *Der exzentrische Blick. Gespräch über Physiognomik*, Berlin 1996, 19–42. Also published in: Schlink, W. (ed.): *Bildnisse. Die europäische Tradition der Portraitkunst*, Freiburg 1997, 11–56.].– Catoni, M. L. / Giuliani, L.: *Socrate-Satiro. Genesi di un ritratto*, *Annuario della Scuola Archeologica di Atene* 93, 2015, 39–60.– Knauf, F. S.: *Philosophenbildnisse des 4. Jahrhundert v. Chr.* In: Knauf/Gliwitsky 2017, 55–57.

² “καὶ ἀνέθεσαν εἰκ[όνα] Σ[ω]κράτους, τ[ὸ] δ' ὑ[π]όβ[α]θρο[ν], ἐφ' ᾧ ἐπ[ι]γ[ρά]φ[η] ἀπαι· «[B]ούτης ἐπόησε[ν . . .]»”: Dorandi, T.: *Filodemo, Storia dei Filosofi. Platone e l'Academia* (PHerc. 1021 e 164). Naples 1991, 128, 185, 212 II 16–18. Voutiras, E.: *Sokrates in der Akademie*, *AM* 109, 1994, 133–161.– DNO no. 1799.

probably also several sayings ([ῥήμα]τα) of Socrates.³ The portrait statue was donated by a group of people whose names have been lost; no doubt they were members of the Platonic Academy.

Butes' statue has not survived, but there is good evidence that it can be reconstructed as the model for the oldest known portrait type of Socrates (fig. 71).⁴ On stylistic grounds it can be dated to around 380 B. C., so it must have been dedicated soon after the establishment of the Academy. Since the statue was made about two decades after the death of Socrates, it cannot have been created from direct observation. Even if Butes had known the philosopher and remembered his most distinctive features, the design may have been influenced by the tradition within the philosophy school and by the expectations of the commissioners (Giuliani 1998, 22–27). At best, the portrait transcribed memories and conceptions of Socrates that had been handed down or developed since his death.

In fact, what his immediate students thought they knew about Socrates was not consistent when they wrote about him and it was sometimes embellished like a legend.⁵ This is exemplified by the accounts of his military service coming from the decades after his death.⁶ In Plato's *Apology*, Socrates himself refers to his participation in the campaigns at Potidaia, Delion in Boeotia, and Amphipolis. During a symposium, Plato has Alcibiades praise Socrates' bravery in more detail, which he learned to appreciate during their shared campaigns.⁷ In his words, the praised surpassed all others in enduring pain, hunger, and cold (Pl. *Symp.* 219e); at the same time, he was the only one who knew how to enjoy other situations. He also managed considerable achievements in the Battle of Potidaia. Alcibiades owed to him his rescue from great danger while

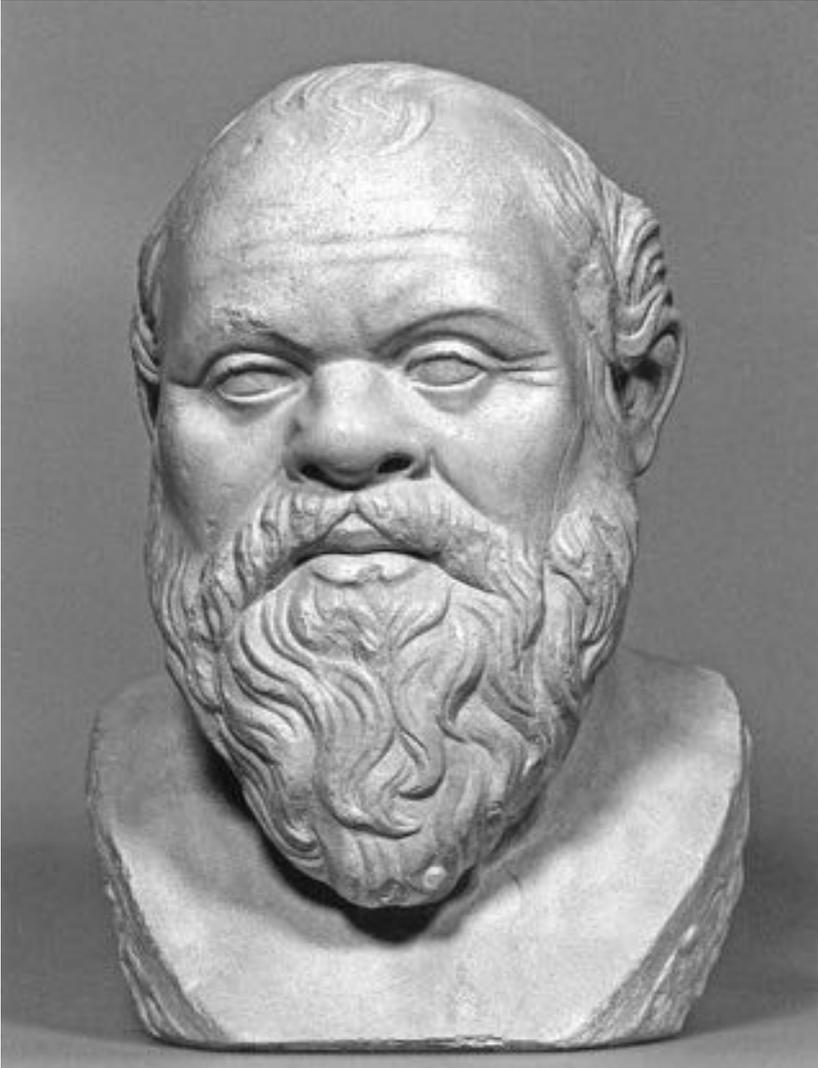
³ Voutiras op. cit. 151–153.

⁴ Scheibler, I.: Sokrates und kein Ende: Die Statuen. In: von Steuben, H. (ed.): Antike Porträts. Zum Gedächtnis von Helga von Heintze, 1999, 11–12.– Vorster, Ch. in: Bol II 2004, 391–392 figs. 360a–d.– DNO no. 1799.– Voutiras op. cit. 133–161 associated the statue in the Academy with type B (see below). In his opinion, type A could be a later mannerist version. Contra: Scheibler 1989b.– Giuliani 1998, 15–40.

⁵ Cf. Sobak, R.: Socrates Among the Shoemakers, *Hesperia* 84, 2015, 669–712 esp. 672–675.

⁶ Patzer, A.: Sokrates als Soldat. Geschichtlichkeit und Fiktion in der Sokratesüberlieferung, *Antike und Abendland* 45, 1999, 1–35.

⁷ Pl. *Ap.* 28e; *Symp.* 219f–221b.– On the contradictions of the tradition and the difficulties of historical reconstruction: Patzer op. cit. 1–35.



71 Naples, Museo Archeologico Nazionale 6129; Plaster cast Munich, Museum für Abgüsse Klassischer Bildwerke Th 120. Portrait of Socrates, type A. Roman copy after c. 380 B. C. original. H. 37 cm.

wounded (Pl. *Symp.* 220d). For this, Socrates deserved the prize as the top warrior, but left it to Alcibiades without further ado. After the defeat at Delion, he did not flee wildly, but rather calmly and deliberately, so that he was also able to save Laches' life. In other Platonic dialogues, Socrates himself reports on a violent and costly battle that occurred near

Potidaia shortly before his return to Athens (Pl. *Charm.* 153a–d) and Laches confirms that Socrates acted in an exemplary manner during the retreat from Delion (Pl. *Laches* 181a–b).

At the same time as this Platonic depiction, Antisthenes recorded a different version of Socrates' achievements in war.⁸ There were clearly different versions of the story among his students, especially about the retreat after the defeat at Delion. While in the Platonic dialogues the bravery and prudence of Socrates made the successful retreat possible, according to another contemporary source it was his *daimonion* who saved him and his companions. While most of the Athenians were killed by the enemies during their flight, he trusted the divine voice and, choosing a different path, he was able to escape together with Alcibiades and Laches.⁹ This does not have to be a contradiction to the Platonic tradition, but it shows there was a different perception of events. On the other hand, a speaker in court proceedings at the end of the fourth century expressed a sharply contrasting opinion, who doubted that Socrates could have made a capable soldier.¹⁰

Socrates' physiognomy was also striking and memorable. Perhaps the mask for the actor who played the philosopher in Aristophanes' *Clouds* had already exaggerated his conspicuous features and became a subject of conversation among his contemporaries. It is true that the actor's mask could not reflect the individual physiognomy of the intended person,¹¹ but even the use of the typical elements of fictional characters could be understood as an allusion to Socrates' personal facial features and change the view of that real person. If the Socrates of comedy was portrayed on stage with the features of a satyr, then subsequently Athenians on the street may have interpreted the appearance of their fellow citizen following this pattern.

Reports on the appearance of Socrates are not uniform but agree on main features. It cannot be determined if the literary sources were written before the statue was erected in the Academy or later, that is, whether

⁸ Patzer op. cit. 4, 10, 12.

⁹ Patzer op. cit. 14–23.

¹⁰ Voutiras as n. 2, 142.

¹¹ Dover, K. J.: Portrait-Masks in Aristophanes. In: Westendorp Boerma, R. E. H. (ed.): *Komoidotragemata, Studia Aristophanea* (Festschrift W. J. W. Koster), 1967, 16–28.– Scheibler 2004, 184–185.– On satyr masks of the fifth century B. C.: Scholl, A.: Die älteste Satyrmaske des griechischen Theaters? Zur Kopie eines frühklassischen Reliefs in Kopenhagen, *Antike Kunst* 43, 2000, 44–52.

the writings influenced the conception of the statue or if the texts were written with knowledge of the statue (Giuliani 1998, 22–23). But Plato, Xenophon, and Phaedo report on conversations Socrates held among his larger circle and for which there were undoubtedly other witnesses. Plato and Xenophon complement each other in that they mention his resemblance to a silen or satyr, his snub nose, and his bulging eyes. The perception of and commentary on these distinctive features likely go back to the lifetime of the philosopher, even if they only found a fixed form in the texts later.

In a dialogue by Phaedo of Elis, a student of Socrates, the physiognomist Zopyros interpreted the appearance of Socrates as evidence of bad character. The shape of his collarbones pointed to a stupid (“*stultus*,” “*bardus*”) and lustful (“*mulierosus*”) person;¹² but his eyes were those of a pederast.¹³ Other contemporaries also had this impression. So Aristoxenus of Tarentum handed down in the later fourth century B. C. the report of his father Spintharos, who had met Socrates in Athens: he was uneducated (ἀπαιδευτος), ignorant (ἀμαθής), licentious (ἀκόλαστος),¹⁴ short-tempered (τραχὺς εἰς ὀργήν),¹⁵ and lustful (σφοδρότατος τε περὶ ἀφροδίσια),¹⁶ although not unfair.¹⁷ In his dialogue with Theaetetus, Plato has one of the interlocutors mention Socrates’ snub nose and bulging eyes (σιμότητα καὶ τὸ ἕξω τῶν ὀμμάτων). These features are already ugly in young people, but even more pronounced in Socrates (Pl. *Tht.* 143e).

12 Recorded in Cic. *Fat.* 10: “stupidum esse Socraten dixit et bardum, quod iugula concava non haberet, obstructas eas partes et obturatas esse dicebat; addidit etiam mulierosum.” See also, Giannantoni, G.: *Socratis et Socraticorum reliquiae* IV. Naples 1990, 115–127.

13 Rosetti, L.: *Ricerche sui ‘Dialoghi Socratici’ di Fedone e di Euclide*, *Hermes* 108, 1980, 186: “ὄμματα παιδεραστοῦ, hoc est oculi corruptoris puerum” (John Cassinani, *Conlationes* 13.5.3).

14 As in Plutarch, *Moralia* 856C (*De Herodoti malignitate*).— Kaiser, St. I.: *Die Fragmente des Aristoxenos aus Tarent*. Spudasmata 128. Hildesheim 2010, 53 no. III-4-40.— Giannantoni op. cit. 1990, 36 no. I B 46.

15 Synesius, *Calvitii encomium* 17 (81A–B).— Kaiser op. cit. 2010, 118 no. IV-2-05.— Giannantoni op. cit. 1990, 36 no. I B 47.

16 Suidas, s. v. Sokrates.— Kaiser op. cit. 174 no. (X)-2-05.— Giannantonia op. cit. 1990, 222 no. I D 2.

17 Müller, C.: *Fragmenta Historicorum Graecorum* II. Paris 1848, 280–281 no. 25–28.— Kaiser op. cit. 2010.— See also Patzer, A.: *Studia Socratica*. Zwölf Abhandlungen zum historischen Sokrates. Tübingen 2012, 186–199.

His ugly and objectionable appearance was obvious and undeniable, but there were several ways it could be interpreted positively.

The first possibility shows the traditional response of Socrates to the diagnosis of Zopyros, which frankly admits the physiognomist's findings. He actually had many vices, but he had tamed them through reason (Cic. *Tusc.* 4.80). He thus interprets his objectionable appearance as evidence of a particular moral and intellectual achievement—the worse the natural disposition, the greater the merit of overcoming it must appear.

In Xenophon, Socrates employs a second possible interpretation when he describes and interprets his facial features in a dialogue. The resemblance of Socrates to a satyr had already been established. Anyone who is not more beautiful than Socrates is uglier than all silens (Xen. *Symp.* IV.19). Socrates later defends his appearance. The functional, he says, is beautiful and his face is actually formed extremely functionally. His bulging (ἐπιπόλαιοι) eyes, like those of a crab (καρκίνον εὐοφθαλμότατον), could also look to the sides. His nostrils are wide open (ἀναπέπτανται) and can take in smells from all sides. His pushed-in nose (τὸ σιμὸν τῆς ῥινός) does not get in the way of his eyes. His mouth could take large bite. And his plump lips gave soft kisses. His resemblance to silens is also proof of his beauty, as they were born of the Naiads and thus of divine descent (Xen. *Symp.* V.3–7).¹⁸ With this, Socrates confirms and supplements the description of his face in Theaetetus, but contradicts the negative assessment. Unintentionally, it also offers proof for the accusation in Aristophanes' *Clouds* (1020–1021) that the advocates of the unjust cause (and thus also Socrates) teach a reversal of moral and aesthetic standards in which they declare the beautiful ugly and the ugly beautiful.

In the *Symposium*, Plato had Alcibiades compare the appearance of Socrates, present at the gathering, with that of the satyr Marsyas and figures of silens from sculptors' workshops. While these were ugly to look at from the outside, inside they contained extremely beautiful and admirable images of gods made of gold. No one past or present was like Socrates, and at best he could be compared with silens and satyrs (221c–d). Even Socrates himself cannot deny this similarity (215a–c, 216d–e). Alcibiades even speaks of “this Marsyas” when he means Socrates (215e). He also reminds his audience of the spiteful portrayal of Socrates in the *Clouds* by quoting a verse from the comedy in the presence of Aristo-

¹⁸ See also Kekulé von Stradonitz op. cit. (as n. 1) 36–42.

phanes, which he turns into a positive to describe Socrates' prudence in battle.¹⁹ A third possible justification is developed here—his ugly exterior does not permit any conclusions about his moral qualities and it is precisely this contrast that makes Socrates particular.

Socrates' students' accounts of his physiognomy complement each other. While Xenophon recalls details of his facial features, the Platonic Alcibiades gives a positive interpretation of aesthetically questionable features with a summary comparison with silens.²⁰ In addition to pointed ears, a silen's physiognomy also includes a snub nose, bulging lips, and large, protruding eyes.²¹ The perception of Socrates as silen must have been familiar to his contemporaries, because he himself makes the comparison in Xenophon's *Symposium* and gives it a positive interpretation as evidence of divine descent. On the other hand, he does not compare his eyes with silens, but instead with crabs, which suggests protruding, but rather small, spherical, and clearly defined shapes (figs. 76–77). This may well be a reaction to the mockery of a comic poet who described the Socrates' distorted eyes as a ghostly apparition.²² Obviously, in the decades after Socrates' death, especially through association with the iconography of silens, a uniform tradition about his appearance solidified. It became even more persuasive that Socrates was said to have described and explained his physiognomy himself.

2.2 MEDIAL CONDITIONS

Butes made the portrait of Socrates for a group of students and close friends on whom the philosopher had made a significant impression. There were proven techniques and representational conventions available to the sculptor. The technique of bronze casting for life-size statues²³ was

19 Pl. *Symp.* 221b: “βρενθυόμενος καὶ τῶφθαλμῶ παραβάλλων” (“strutting and looking around,” while retreating from Delion); after Aristoph. *Nub.* 362.

20 The comparison with a stingray does not refer to his appearance, but to the effect of Socrates on his interlocutors: Plato, *Meno* 80a.

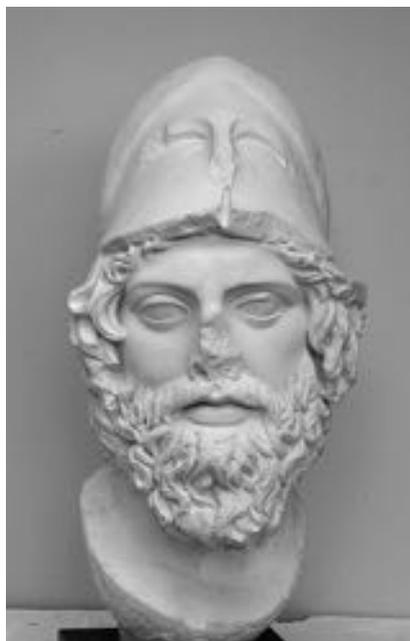
21 Scholl op. cit. 44–52.

22 Meineke, A.: *Fragmenta Comicoorum Graecorum* IV. Berlin 1841 (reprint 1970) 625 no. LXXX.– Patzer, Andreas: *Studia Socratica. Zwölf Abhandlungen zum historischen Sokrates.* Tübingen 2012, 101–102.

23 The original of type A is assumed to have been a bronze statue, cf. Scheibler 1989a, 40.– Scheibler, 1989b, 7, 11.



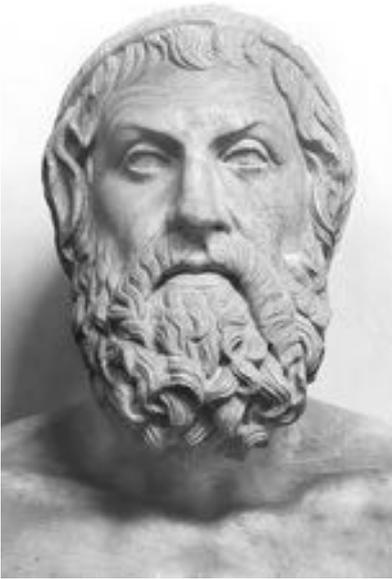
72 London, British Museum 549; Plaster cast Bonn, Akademisches Kunstmuseum 1753. Portrait of Perikles. Roman copy after c. 430 B. C. original. H. 59 cm.



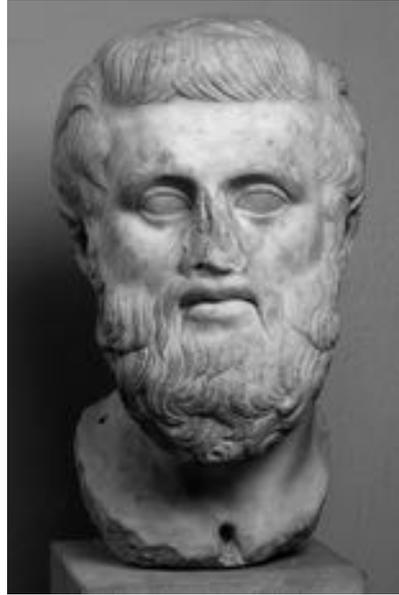
73 Rome, Musei Capitolini 1862; Plaster cast Freie Universität Berlin V 296 inv. 92/9. Head of an Athenian general. Roman copy after c. 380 B. C. original. H. 50 cm.

perfected in the fifth century and by his time numerous portrait figures had been created that could serve as reference points for the sculptor and his clients.²⁴ For example, around 480 B. C. a convention for the representation of generals was developed which remained in use for almost two centuries and which was probably also used beyond Athens. The bearded heads wear a Corinthian helmet that is pushed up so that the face is uncovered. Their features are impersonal and idealized, so that in some cases it remains unclear whether a mythological or historical figure

24 Cf. for summaries: Knauß, F. S.: Das griechische Bildnis. In: Knauß/Gliwitsky 2017, 29–90.– Raeck, W.: Der bärtige Bronzekopf von Porticello und der Weg zum Individualporträt. In: Brinkmann, V. (ed.): Zurück zur Klassik. Ein neuer Blick auf das alte Griechenland. Frankfurt 2013, 180–193.– Krumeich, R.: Porträts und Historienbilder der klassischen Zeit. In: Heilmeyer, W.-D. (ed.): Die griechische Klassik. Idee oder Wirklichkeit. Mainz 2002, 209–240.



74 Naples, Museo Archeologico Nazionale 6413. Sophocles, Roman copy after original from the beginning of 4th c. B. C. H. head and neck 32.5 cm.



75 Berlin, Antikensammlungen Sk 296. Portrait of a Greek (Gorgias?). Roman copy after c. 380 B. C. original. H. 35.5 cm.

is intended.²⁵ The best-known example, the portrait of Perikles, is identified with certainty by the inscription on a copy in London (fig. 72). A few years before the statue of Socrates in the Academy, the portrait of the “Pastoret head” was created in this tradition, which has been preserved in Roman copies and perhaps represents Konon (fig. 73).²⁶ The facial features are impersonal and expressionless; only the mouth is slightly open. His long hair falls to the sides in large, separated curls, completely covering his ears. The long beard also has curls, but forms a closed V-shape.

25 Himmelmann, N.: Die private Bildnisweihung bei den Griechen. Wiesbaden 2001, 57–58.– Vorster, Ch. in: Bol II 2004, 384–387.– Knauß, F. S.: Strategenbildnisse. In: Knauß/Gliwitsky 2017, 35–45.– Krumeich, R.: Bildnisse griechischer Herrscher und Staatsmänner im 5. Jahrhundert v. Chr. Munich 1997, 199–200.– Panderimalis, D.: Untersuchungen zu den klassischen Strategenköpfen. Freiburg 1969.

26 Himmelmann op. cit. 54–58 figs. 36, 37.– Vierneisel-Schlörb 1979, 227–234 no. 21.– Keesling 2017, 128–129 fig. 43 (Perikles); 132–133 fig. 45 (Pastoret general).– R. Krumeich in Scholl 2016, 7–8 no. 3 (Perikles).

Somewhat earlier than the portrait of Socrates, an honorary statue of the tragic poet Sophocles was set up, the head of which has survived in numerous Roman copies (fig. 74).²⁷ Another portrait type, likely wrongly identified as Sophocles, was created around 380 B. C., about the same time as the statue of Socrates (fig. 75).²⁸

The portrait of Socrates in the Academy clearly set itself apart. The copy preserved today in Naples, the best representative of the type that has survived in eight copies,²⁹ depicts the philosopher with a broad, strong-boned face and a bald forehead. His cheekbones extend widely so that they almost hide his ears when viewed from the front. Instead of ideal, relaxed facial features, the philosopher's portrait shows unevenly curved and somewhat puckered brows; short, steep folds forming crow's feet next to his small, spherical eyes; a short, wide nose with an indented bridge; deep creases on the cheeks; and a mouth with full lips with its corners hidden by the full mustache.

His hairstyle and beard are strange opposites. Thin, short strands lie on his round skull. They are of unequal length, and despite moving in opposite directions, they form larger areas with parallel hair, not reaching the forehead. To the left and right, parts of the scalp as well as the back of the head remain bald. This contrasts with the curls on the sides. Thick tufts grow out of each temple, which would reach down to the cheeks if they were not tucked behind the ears. This does not seem coincidental but suggests that Socrates did brush his hair from his face. On his right side, a row of long, full strands have been brushed back over the tuft that has been pulled back; on the left, several curls have been laid horizontally on top of each other and brought forward. The hair on the back of the head is also long but thinner, while the lowest layer on the neck sticks out in thick, twisted wads. In profile, they protrude slightly from the head and thus emphasize the spherical shape of the skull.

The uneven hairstyle and thinning hair contrasts with the full beard that grows in long, flowing strands and is brought into a closed triangular shape. When viewed from the front, the bald, round skull; the verti-

27 "Sophokles Farnese," Fittschen 1988, 19–20 pls. 36–40.– Vorster, Ch. in: Bol II 2004, 387–388, 542 figs. 353, 354.– Gasparri 2009, 29–30, 146–147 no. 12.– R. K(rumeich) in Scholl 2016, 12–13 no. 6.

28 Vorster op. cit. 390, 542–543 figs. 358a–c, 359 (perhaps Gorgias).– Gasparri 2009, 30–31, 148–149 no. 13.

29 Gasparri 2009, 25–26, 140–141 no. 9.– Scheibler 1989b, 7–33.– Lang 2012, 59–60 with n. 550.

cally defined temples; and the triangular beard form a clear, even outline. What is striking is the asymmetrical rendering of the mustache, which on the right continues almost to the jaw, while on the left it merges into the beard just below the corner of the mouth. As with the puckered and wrinkled forehead indicated by the plastic movement of the surface, asymmetries of the physiognomy and the curls of the beard make the head appear alive.

When creating the statue for the Academy, Butes was faced with the task of designing a portrait of Socrates that would meet the expectations of his companions and students. He was supposed to represent an unmistakable individual who could not be compared with any earlier or contemporary person, but at best with silens and satyrs and in particular with Marsyas. It would make sense to compare his own impressions with those of his clients and to include their opinions in the design process.

One of the first decisions, as can be speculated, was the choice of the statue type, the pose, and the drapery to be used. Its design is unknown, so we do not know whether it reproduced somatic particularities such as the large belly noted in Xenophon by Socrates himself or the shape of the collarbones, which physiognomists perceived as questionable, and in what way it implemented them (Xen. *Symp.* II.12.– Cic. *Tusc.* 4.80). According to the copies, it can be assumed that the head belonged to a standing statue and was turned slightly toward the right shoulder. Perhaps it was a mantle figure in the manner of the statuette in London (plate 8; Scheibler 1989b, 20–21).

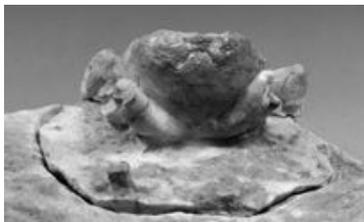
Another step in the design was the determination of age. Socrates appears—unlike the generals—as a strong but aged man, with a largely bald head, crow's feet, and sagging cheeks. It is this manifestation in the last years of his work that his students particularly remembered. As a grown man, the philosopher, like his contemporaries, wears a beard that is reminiscent of his social role as a citizen of the polis (cf. ch. I.3.2).

When Butes created the bronze statue, he did so using the indirect lost wax technique, in which the desired form was first modeled in clay, then in wax.³⁰ Before the portrait was given its fixed form by the casting of the bronze, details of the hairstyle and face could be sketched, discussed, rejected or confirmed, and reinforced or refined on a trial basis. This allowed the statue's commissioners, the Academy's philoso-

30 Boschung 2020, 54. Bronze sculpture workshops near its site of installation: Zimmer, G.: *Griechische Bronzegusswerkstätten. Zur Technologieentwicklung eines antiken Kunsthandwerks.* Mainz 1990, 156–159.



76 Tetradrachma of Akragas; Reverse:
Crab. Mid-5th c. B. C.



77 Torre Annunziata, Antiquarium.
Marble crab.

phers and probably Plato himself among them, to have a say even in the smallest of individual forms. For example, they were able to weigh how obvious signs of age should be depicted or how the snub nose and hair should look.

The usual comparison with silens, but also the statements attributed to Socrates and his interlocutors, provided points of reference for the design of the portrait. From the distinctive features mentioned in the dialogues, the sculptor adopted the snub nose and the large mouth with thick lips, which are also part of the iconography of silens. In contrast, he only hinted at the bulging eyes, because they are rather small. It may have played a role that the subject himself had mentioned the eyes of crabs (figs. 76–77). The markedly sunken base of his short, wide nose, emphasized by a horizontal wrinkle and the large nostrils also agree with the recorded self-description of Socrates. On the other hand, the portrait shows a broad face, a special distribution of the sparse hair on the skull and a wedge-shaped cut of the beard, which is not mentioned in the texts. The different treatment of these conspicuous features must have also been a deliberate decision resulting from discussions in the Academy.

When Alkibiades mentions Socrates' likeness to Marsyas several times in Plato's *Symposium*, he is evoking the most famous statue of the satyr, created by Myron around 460 B. C. and erected on the Akropolis.³¹ As part of a group, it showed the satyr jumping up in excitement in contrast to the restrained Athena. Marsyas' facial features show violent emotion, as fitting the theme. His head is turned to the side and down, so that his shaggy beard fans out over his chest. His brows are raised, the right sloping upwards while the left slightly curved. This creates two bulges at the sides of the forehead, starting from the bridge of the nose. His hair ruffled over his forehead and the disordered curls go well with the uncontrolled character of Marsyas.

31 Vorster 1993, 21–25 no. 3, 4 figs. 11, 12, 14–24.



78 Naples, Museo Archaeologico Naz. Head of Socrates; as fig. 71.



79 Rome, Vatican. Museo Gregoriano Profano 9974. Head of Marsyas.

The portrait of Socrates shares with the head of Marsyas the wide, thick-lipped mouth with corners covered by a thick mustache, and the broad, short snub nose, the point of which is more indented on the head of the philosopher. The curls on the left side of the head are also similar (figs. 78–79). A tuft of hair on the temple is pulled back over the ear; above it, a bundle of curls points in the opposite direction, to the front. The hair behind it is brushed down so that there is a distinctive fork above the ear. In the head of Marsyas, the aforementioned parts break up into small, bumpy, uneven strands; in the Socrates portrait, on the other hand, they are grouped together to form larger, evenly structured surfaces. Even if the iconography of Marsyas was a general inspiration, the wild satyr-like motifs of the hairstyle in the Socrates portrait are ordered and calm. This seems like the realization of the words of Socrates, saying that although he has animalistic dispositions, he overcomes them through reason. It is fitting that the strands of the beard and mustache in the philosopher's portrait are combined into large flowing shapes.

Butes' Socrates portrait is not a true representation of the physiognomy of the historical philosopher (Zanker 1995, 34). But it is also not a silen mask like one an actor would put on to designate the strange and strikingly exaggerated physiognomy of his character. Rather, it implements ideas of the appearance and character of this extraordinary man

that were cultivated in the circle surrounding Plato and taken as statements of Socrates himself, but also using descriptions by his contemporaries. Some of them are repeated in the parallel transmission of literary sources, but as shown, the head deviates from them in many ways. For one, Butes had to convert the linguistically transmitted elements of physiognomy into visual forms. The iconography of Marsyas and silens offered suitable models for “snub nose” and “thick lips.” Negative associations had to be avoided, since Marsyas was a boisterous sinner whose hubris Apollo punished with a gruesome, torturous death. Elements of silen iconography were only selectively adopted and restrained. It did not provide any template for the idiosyncratic design of the thin hair on the crown of the head,³² which is more likely to be found in depictions of Cheiron.³³ The partial baldness also distinguishes Socrates from conventional portraits of old men, for which more or less complete baldness is characteristic. The placement of the sidelocks is also unusual, although it is uncertain whether his pupils could recognize a significant characteristic of their teacher in it. In any case, together with other distinctive features, it sets the Socrates portrait apart from other portraits and emphasizes the singularity of this one person.

The honoring of Socrates, executed as a criminal, took place in the shrine of Muses at the Academy among his private circle of friends and students. It was a matter of giving the conception of Socrates a firm, striking, and convincing form, just as happened around the same time as the Platonic dialogues were written. Above all, it was important to assert their own concept against other, negative images of Socrates, to enforce them and make them effective. From the point of view of the philosophers around Plato, this must have seemed absolutely essential, because the death sentence was considered justified for decades after and even set a precedent for taking action against other philosophers.³⁴ And his public perception was still shaped by his caricature of comedy, as Socrates had discovered at the end of his life. The physiognomist’s finding that he was stupid and lustful may have been rejected by the students of the criticized, but it was widespread in the fourth century B. C. and continued to be until Late Antiquity, as Aristoxenus’ life of Socrates

32 This is shown, for example, by the silen images chosen for comparison with the Socrates portrait: Zanker 1995, 36 fig. 22.– Scheibler 1989a, 33–36, 58–59.

33 Shapiro, H. A.: Portrait of a Centaur. In: Greub/Roussel 2018, 279–294 with a corresponding interpretation of the bearded head from Porticello.

34 Voutiras as n. 2, 140–142.– Giuliani 1998, 20–21.

and its reception show. The statue in the Academy was not supposed to reconstruct the physical appearance of the historical person, but rather to shape and guide the memory of Socrates in a desired way. Together with the Platonic dialogues, it embodied a counterpart that took up the aesthetic deficits and human weaknesses as well as the exemplary moral achievement of the honored.

The solution found matches Socrates' answer to the physiognomist Zopyros. He actually has similarities with the silen Marsyas, which suggests a problematic, animalistic, and uncontrolled character. But the silen-like elements in the Socrates portrait are tamed and ordered. The hair, which grows shaggy and tangled on Marsyas, is condensed in the philosopher's portrait, as is the long beard, the undulating movements of which follow the overall shape. While the distorted facial features of Marsyas reflect his uncontrolled impulses, Socrates' face shows calm and concentration. It is the representation of a wise man who can claim that he keeps his instincts and vices under control through reason and integrates them into an orderly whole. This is also a response to the image of Socrates in the Aristophanic comedy. His hair is long and unkempt, but it is combined into a cohesive whole and arranged in a particular way that does not hide his ugliness, but somewhat neutralizes it.

2.3 IMPACT

Butes' statue brought together impressions and accounts of the appearance of Socrates and gave his unique personality vivid, striking form. It was part of the memory work of his students, who were able to exchange their impressions in conversation about the conception and design of the portrait and to make the meaning of their role model certain. As designed the portrait precisely rendered and supplemented previous knowledge and made it sustainable, thus creating an obvious reference point for philosophical reflections in the Academy. When a statue of Plato was later set up in the Academy's Muse shrine, the donor chose a different conceptual design and thus confirmed the unique role of Socrates.³⁵

The passages of Aristotle's *Metaphysics* in which Socrates appears as an example of a distinctive individual were written with knowledge of

35 Diog. Laert. III 25. Scheibler 1989a, 43 at no. 6.4.- Zanker 1995, 67-77.- Vorster, Ch. in: Bol II 2004, 399-402, 544 figs. 370-372.

the statue (ch. I.3.2). Aristotle likely pictured its physiognomy when he repeatedly mentioned “snubby” (σιμότης) and “snub nose” (σιμὴ ρίς) in illustrating his reasoning.³⁶

In the late fourth century B. C. a new version of the Socrates portrait was created (type B; fig. 80).³⁷ It is usually traced back to the “atonement statue” in the Pompeion mentioned by Diogenes Laertios and said to be the work of Lysippos, but the tradition is not clear and the reason for its creation is unknown.³⁸ It is also not clear whether a statuette from Alexandria (plate 8) can give a reliable idea of it. However, it is clear that this version of the Socrates portrait, with over 30 copies, continued to be replicated into Late Antiquity and much more frequently than the older type A, which could well be related to the prominence of its creator. Ingeborg Scheibler has plausibly suggested a date around 320/310 for both the Alexandrian statuette type and the second version of the Socrates portrait. The new version possibly dates back to Demetrios of Phaleron, who himself wrote an *Apology* of Socrates.³⁹

While the sculptor’s own impressions of the philosopher and accounts from contemporary witnesses may have been incorporated into the design of the older type A, this can be ruled out for type B because of the large distance of time. Rather, it was now the statue in the Academy that shaped conceptions. If Socrates was to be recognizable in the later version of the portrait, it had to align with type A in important points. In fact, the sculptor (probably Lysippos) retained important elements of the older portrait, such as the raised brow and forehead wrinkles, crow’s feet, snub nose, and cheek wrinkles.

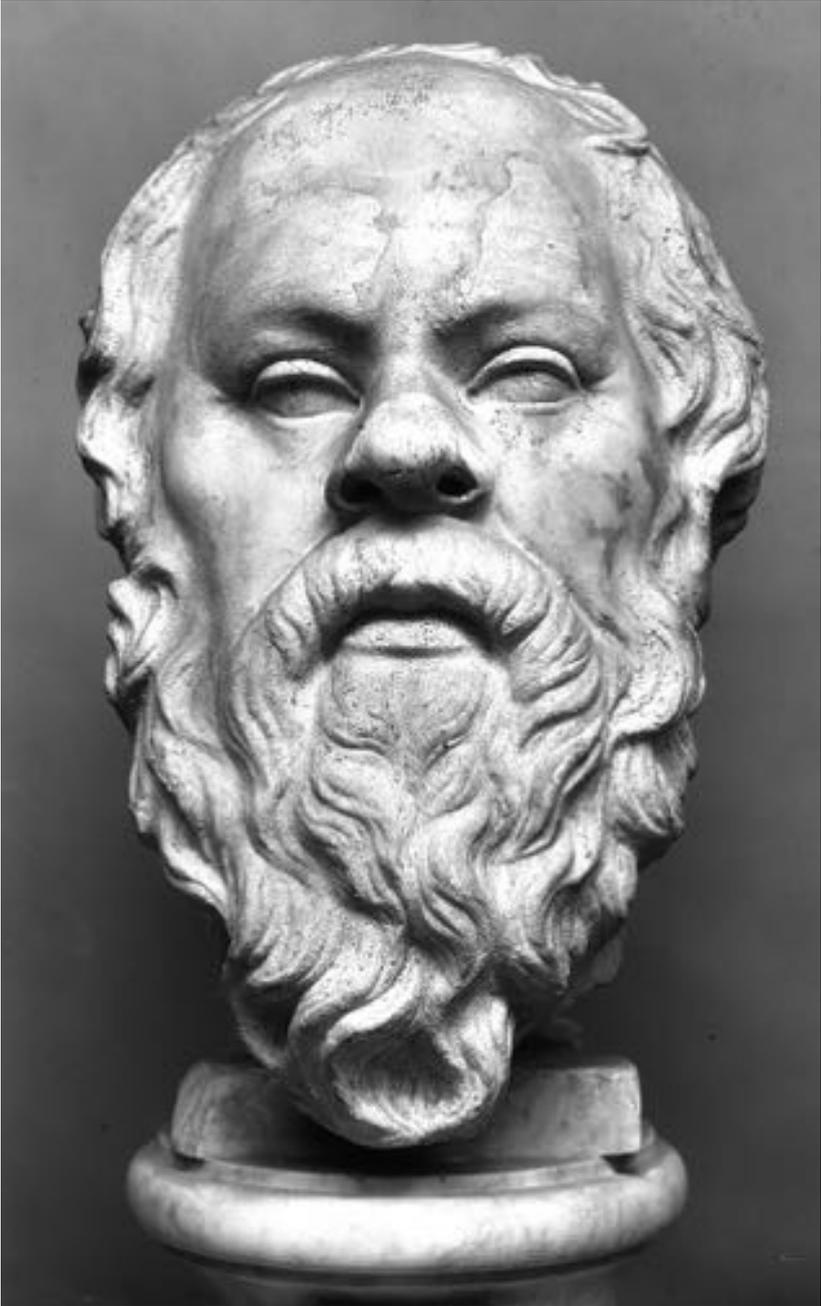
On the other hand, numerous details have been redesigned. Two peculiarities that appear to be individual characteristics have been omitted—the striking shape of the head and the strange arrangement of the curls over the ears. The head is round, but, unlike type A, does not appear spherical in profile, because the hair on the back of the neck does not reach down as far and lies evenly on the back of the head without the bottom layer sticking out, and the characteristic strands over the ears

³⁶ Aristot. *Metaph.* VII.5b (= 1030b), VII.10b (= 1035a), VII.11i (= 1037a).

³⁷ Scheibler 2004, 179–258.– Vorster, Ch.: *Porträt des Sokrates*. In: Knoll, K. / Vorster, Ch. (eds.): *Skulpturensammlung Staatliche Kunstsammlungen Dresden. Katalog der antiken Bildwerke III. Die Porträts*. Munich 2013, 70–73.

³⁸ DNO no. 2212.– Voutiras n. 2, 143–146 considers the account an invention of a Roman author.

³⁹ Diog. Laert. V.81.– For discussion: Scheibler 2004, 180–186.



80 Rome, Museo Nazionale Romano 1236. Head of Socrates, type B. Roman copy after c. 320 B. C. original. H. 35.5 cm.

are also missing. The hair on the nape of the neck and behind the ears is closer to the head. The bald parts of the skull are emphasized by the fact that the remaining tufts of hair are shown thicker. The hair lying flat on the scalp in type A has become thick strands lying across the head, separating the bald forehead from the bald back of the head. Hair and beard are more broken up than in the older type. In all areas, the curls are inconsistent in length and thickness.

The forehead now appears narrower because it is more tightly surrounded by the hair on the sides; in proportion to this, the cheekbones appear wider and the cheeks somewhat sunken. The upper eyelids are shorter, the lower eyelids thinner. The physiognomy appears more balanced and, especially around the eyes, more harmonious from the symmetry. Obviously, the ugly features of the first version were still objectionable. On the other hand, the head profile is uneasily shifted by the dissolving of the beard and scalp hair. The curls are thicker and more fragmented; they rarely join together to form closed surfaces. They are longer on the sides and fall over the ears so that only the earlobes remain visible. Overall, the changes aim to calm the physiognomy while at the same time enhancing the movement of the hair. The beard retained its pointed triangular shape, but is longer and also more broken up than in type A.

According to Ingeborg Scheibler, the changes in Socrates' portrait arose from changes in the iconography of silens (Scheibler 2004, 184). In the meantime, however, portraits had also been made for numerous other intellectuals, including Plato and Lysias.⁴⁰ Aristotle's portrait was created around the same time as type B.⁴¹ The faces of these portraits are serious and calm, but show unmistakable marks of continuous intellectual work. In contrast, the hair and beards show uneasy movement of different, characteristic forms with each of them. Type B of the Socrates portrait now also follows this pattern. There were still negative representations of Socrates, for example in the writings of Aristoxenos of Taranto (see above), which described him as ignorant, licentious, and lustful. So it might have seemed necessary to polish the objectionable

40 Bergemann, J.: *Lysias: Das Bildnis eines attischen Redners und Metöken*. In: Bergemann, J. (ed.): *Wissenschaft mit Enthusiasmus. Beiträge zu antiken Bildnissen und zur historischen Landeskunde*, Klaus Fittschen gewidmet. Rahden 2001, 103–122.

41 Voutiras, E.: *Zur Aufstellung und Datierung des Aristotelesporträts*. Bergemann, J. (ed.) op. cit. 123–143.

elements of his portrait and to seek something closer to the philosopher iconography that had been established in the meantime.

This version subsequently remained definitive, even though an additional type of Socrates portrait was created in the Hellenistic period (type C).⁴² This version met the changed expectations of a contemporary philosopher portrait by making the forehead and the area around the eyes more active. In the Roman Empire, however, type B ascribed to Lysippos was the one most often copied. Related portraits of the philosopher were still created in the fifth century A. D.⁴³ As a result, the figure of Socrates, which ultimately goes back to the statue in the Academy, remained present even at the end of antiquity. When Porphyry, Boethius, and David the Invincible cite Socrates as an exemplary individual, they may have had a corresponding portrait in mind.

The frequency of Socrates or Socrates-like heads on Roman ring stones from the second half of the first century B. C. is striking. Jörn Lang compiled approximately 130 copies (ch. IV.2.1).⁴⁴ Only in a few cases do they discernibly follow the sculptural portrait types. The Hellenistic version C, of which only two three-dimensional copies are known, seems to have been used most often as a model. The reason is probably that with this type peculiarities such as the snub nose, high round skull, bald forehead, and beard are accentuated particularly well. Because of the small format of the ring stones, they required clear, significant features if the subject was to be recognizable.

When humanists in the 16th century again asked about the appearance of Socrates (ch. V.1.1), the comparison with silens and the description of his face with a pressed-in nose and protruding eyes in the writings of Plato and Xenophon directed their gaze and helped them recognize a head in the Farnese Collection as a representation of the philosopher.⁴⁵

42 Scheibler 1989a, 52–53.– Giuliani, L.: Bildnis des Sokrates. In: Bol, P. C. (ed.): *Forschungen zur Villa Albani. Katalog der antiken Bildwerke I*. Berlin 1989, 466–469 pls. 270–271.– Zanker 1995, 173–174 fig. 92.

43 Scheibler 2005, 244–247 no. 31, 32 figs. 33, 34.– Tombrägel, M.: *Ein spätantikes Porträt des Sokrates*. Festgabe anlässlich der Winkelmannsfeier des Instituts für Klassische Archäologie der Universität Leipzig. Leipzig 2008.

44 Lang 2012, 59–64, 154–161 G So1–G So 130 color figs. 5–8, figs. 52–96.

45 Achilles Staius, *Illustrium virorum vultus*. Rome 1569 pl. 6.– Fulvius Ursinus: *Imagines et elogia virorum illustrium et eruditor(um) ex antiquis lapidibus et nomismatib(us) expressa*. Rome 1570, 50–51.– Fulvius Ursinus: *Illustrium imagines ex antiquis marmoribus, nomismatibus, et gemmis expressae quae*

In the 20th century, the physiognomy of his portrait led some authors to think Socrates was African. The implication of this is that he was black, and that he brought African wisdom to Greece and thereby founded Western philosophy. Others suspect that he was the same figure as the Arab Luqman, who, according to tradition, was a slave from Africa.⁴⁶ This interpretation of Socrates' portrait shows by way of example how the loss of the original context and historical knowledge opens up new possibilities for instrumentalization. In this new discursive framework and in an Afro-centric context, the persistent forms of the portrait acquire a meaning that was not intended and could not have been expected when it was created. The statue in the Academy was supposed to capture the contradictory and yet harmonious character of Socrates and thus defend him against hostilities that were perceived as defamatory. The ancient physiognomists had once assessed his facial features as morally questionable. Now they appear as proof of an ethnicity that makes Socrates the key witness to an African origin of all Western philosophy.

exstant Romae. Antwerp 1606, 133–134.– Johannes Faber: *In imagines illustrium ex Fulvii Ursini Bibliotheca ... commentarius*. Antwerp 1606, 75–76.– See also Kekulé von Stradonitz as n. 1, 6–12.

46 See for example: <https://criticxxtreme.wordpress.com/2013/11/17/the-yes-they-were-black-series-sokrates-socrates> (accessed April 11, 2019).– <https://africaunlimited.com/was-socrates-black/> (accessed April 11, 2019).– Muhammed Alexander (Wisnu Sasangko): Luqman al-Hakim (the Wise) was Socrates (469–399 BC): He was black skin & former slave (no date).– Criticism of relevant arguments: Lefkowitz, M.: Was Socrates Black? In: Not out of Africa. How Afrocentrism Became an Excuse to Teach Myth as History. New York 1996, 26–30.– Socrates in Arabic philosophy: Wakeling, E. in Goulet, R. (ed.): *Dictionnaire des philosophes antiques VI de Sabinillus à Tyrsénos*. Paris 2016, 438–446.

3. ALEXANDER, SINGULAR FROM THE BEGINNING

The Macedonian king Alexander III (356–323 B. C.) made a tremendous impression on his contemporaries and on posterity with his spectacular military successes. Not only his victories, but also his early death at the age of 33 and the bitter struggle of his successors for rule over his colossal, conquered empire make him seem unique. In antiquity as well as in modern times, he was regarded as a model for ambitious military leaders. The fragmentary historical tradition stands in curious contrast to this, but it is precisely this that made a novel-like legend possible.¹

Even though ancient authors record striking details of his appearance,² only a few sculptures can reliably be identified as his portraits. The starting point for all investigations has been the herm in the Louvre with the ancient inscription ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΣ ΦΙΛΙΠΠΟΥ ΜΑΚΕ[ΔΩΝ] (figs. 81a–b). The difficulty of further identification hangs on the fact that Alexander and heroes or gods like Apollo, Helios, and the Dioskouroi share not only the same youthful facial features, but also the same hairstyles with long strands and curls that spring out above the forehead.³ Obviously, this ambivalence was consciously accepted or perhaps

1 See also von den Hoff, R.: Neues im “Alexanderland”: Ein frühhellenistisches Bildnis Alexanders des Großen, *Göttinger Forum für Altertumswissenschaft* 17, 2014, 209–245.– Hölscher 2018, 170–176.– Dorka Moreno, M.: *Imitatio Alexandri? Ähnlichkeitsrelationen zwischen Götter- und Heroenbildern und Porträts Alexanders des Großen in der griechisch-römischen Antike*. Rahden 2019 esp. 45–64.

2 Plutarch, *Alexander* 4.1–2 (DNO SQ 2193) mentions the tilt of his neck to the left, his moist eyes, white skin that was reddish on the chest and face, and the pleasant scent of his body.

3 Hölscher, T.: *Ideal und Wirklichkeit in den Bildnissen Alexanders des Großen*. Heidelberg 1991, 27–29.– Hölscher, T.: *Herrschaft und Lebensalter. Alexander der Große: Politisches Image und anthropologisches Modell*. Basel 2009, 67–71.– On the problem see Boschung, D. in: Boschung, D. / von Hesberg, H. / Linfert, A.: *Die antiken Skulpturen in Chatsworth sowie in Dunham Massey und Withington Hall*. Mainz 1997, 52–54 pls. 42–43.



81a-b Paris, Louvre Ma 436. Herm with inscription and portrait of Alexander the Great; Roman copy after c. 330 B. C. original. H. 68 cm.

even aimed for, as Alexander was also assigned heroic qualities. To make matters worse, the typological fixing of the portrait of Alexander during the Roman Empire is rather weak compared to the portraits of contemporary rulers. The reliably identifiable versions of his portrait are only passed down through a few copies. This suggests that there was no authoritative sculptural version of Alexander's portrait. On the one hand, numerous heads have been identified as Alexander because of rather vague similarities. However, if more stringent criteria are applied only a few examples can be considered certain. Ralf von den Hoff, for example, advocated for a "minimalist solution" in his review of the current state of research.⁴

⁴ von den Hoff op. cit. 215–223. Similarly conservative, Lauter, H.: Alexanders wahres Gesicht. In: Will, H. / Heinrichs, J. (eds.): *Zu Alexander dem Großen*. Festschrift G. Wirth. Amsterdam 1988, 717–743.

According to Pliny (*NH* 7.125), Alexander is said to have ordered (“*edixit*”) that no one but Apelles could paint him, no one but Lysippos could create bronze statues of him, and no one except Pyrgoteles could engrave his image on gems.⁵ This account may indicate that Alexander pursued an active portrait policy to attempt to control his appearance by entrusting it only to selected artists. The note in Plutarch (*Alexander* 4.1) that the statues of Lysippos best reflect the physical appearance (“τὴν ... ἰδέαν τοῦ σώματος”) of the king, so they were considered trustworthy likenesses, indicates that he was at least partially successful. There is no mention of his physiognomy or hairstyle; the specification applies in general to the representation of body shape, including pose and gesture. Of course, Alexander’s order could only have applied to portraits whose display he himself and his sphere of influence could affect. Honorary statues in individual cities are unlikely to have been affected, especially posthumous portraits.

For the question addressed here it is sufficient to rely on the “minimalist” group of Alexander portraits compiled by Ralf von den Hoff.⁶ Accordingly, a first version has come down to us in three heads: one from the Athenian Acropolis, one in Erbach (figs. 82a–b), and one in Berlin.⁷ Their hairstyle and physiognomy correspond so closely that they must be copies based on the same model, which stylistically resembles the heads on Attic grave reliefs from around 340 B. C.⁸

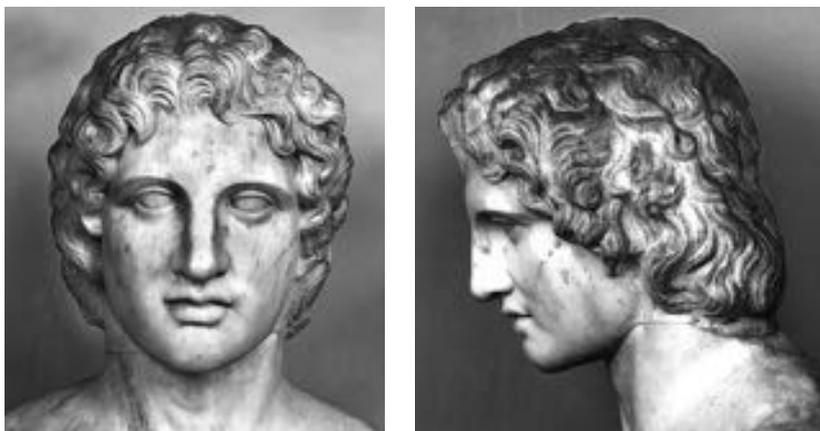
They show a striking and influential hairstyle. The hair grows up from the forehead above the beginning of the right brow and then falls down to both sides. Additionally, long wavy strands are directed toward the temples so that they evenly frame the face. On the sides and on the crown of the head, large, flowing curls form a thick, voluminous cap of hair. The smooth oval face tapers downward towards the chin. It is de-

5 DNO SQ 2135.– Similarly in Apuleius, *Florida* VII.5–7 (DNO SQ 2140). On Pyrgoteles see also Plin. *NH* 37.4 (8). See also contra, Hölscher, T.: *Herrschaft und Lebensalter. Alexander der Große: Politisches Image und anthropologisches Modell*. Basel 2009, 12–16.

6 von den Hoff op. cit. 215–223.

7 Fittschen, K.: *Katalog der antiken Skulpturen in Schloss Erbach*. Berlin 1977, 21–25 no. 7.– Stewart, A.: *Faces of Power. Alexander’s Image and Hellenistic Politics*. Berkeley/Oxford 1993, 107–113, 421.

8 Himmelmann, N.: *Herrscher und Athlet. Die Bronzen von Quirinal*. Milan 1989, 88.– von den Hoff op. cit. 216. – R. K(rumeich) in: Scholl 2018, 46–47 no. 32.



82a-b Erbach, Schloss Erbach 642. Head of Alexander the Great; Roman copy after c. 340 B. C. original. H. of head 25 cm.

signed with large, even shapes, of which the curved brows and the full, somewhat parted lips define the expression. Based on stylistic dating, this type is the earliest version of Alexander's portrait and was probably created before he became king.⁹ This means that even before his spectacular military successes, the Macedonian was depicted in a striking way that set him apart visually from his contemporaries and thus made his unique personality clear. The long hair, especially the *anastolē* motif, the "raising up" of the strands over the forehead, distinguishes him from contemporary portraits of young men who wore their hair cut short in the style of athletes.¹⁰ Pliny was also aware of portraits of Alexander from his youth (*ex pueritia orsus*) that Lysippos created; Nero brought one of them to Rome and had it gilded (Plin. *NH* 34.63.– DNO SQ 2206).

The *anastolē* is also found on later coin portraits of Alexander, for example on the tetradrachms minted by Lysimachos, on which Alexander is identified by the horns of Ammon and diadem.¹¹ The conspicuous motif of the forehead curls ruffled upward and falling to the side occurs again on the inscribed herm in the Louvre (fig. 81a). But here the *anastolē* is enlarged so that it takes up the full width of the face and the main element is shifted over the left eye. While the hairstyle is unified

⁹ von den Hoff op. cit. 216.

¹⁰ Hölscher, T.: *Herrschaft und Lebensalter. Alexander der Große: Politisches Image und anthropologisches Modell.* Basel 2009, 33–39.

¹¹ Stewart op. cit. 318 color fig. 8a; figs. 117, 122.



83a-b Munich, Glyptothek; Plaster cast Akademisches Kunstmuseum Bonn 2248. Head of Alexander the Great; c. 330 B. C. H. 35.5 cm.

in this way in the front, it is composed of several separate sections on the sides, unlike the first version. Long, thick curls hang in front of the ears, one falling over the top of the ear and curls up. Behind it, the hair is flatter, but it protrudes voluminously at the nape of the neck, while on the crown of the head it lies like a cap. Only a limited comparison of the physiognomic details is possible due to the state of preservation. It can be seen that the face shown here is also youthful, smooth, and wrinkle-free, but elongated, with gaunt cheeks.

A third version of Alexander's portrait is represented by two sculptural copies that correspond well with the portrait of the Macedonian king on the Alexander mosaic (figs. 83a–b).¹² Here the *anastolē* is centered, with the two halves formed differently. The motif is more strongly broken up into individual strands that lie on top of one another in two levels and are also more clearly differentiated in their sculptural shapes and lines. The upper end of the forehead is clearly marked by the hair roots of the upward curls and forms a shallow, curved arch. On the sides, the strands are brushed backwards, mussed together. They are of

¹² von den Hoff op. cit. 218–221 figs. 3–5.

different lengths and plasticity, and are also often twisted against each other, as if moved by a headwind. The noticeably small and deep-set ears remain mostly uncovered.

The face is also youthful, smooth, and relaxed in this version. It does not have a uniform central axis. The mouth and anastolē are askew from the midline of the eye area. The broad cheekbones can be seen through the thin skin of the cheeks. Despite the relaxed facial expression, the face appears concentrated and energetic, and also quite individualized in the shape of the eyes, mouth, and chin as well as the squat prismatic form. Because the eyes are small compared to the width of the face and are close together, the lids are short, taut, and clearly defined. The side view in particular emphasizes the angular shapes of the brows and chin. The mouth is noticeably small compared to the other two versions, with a narrow upper lip.

Already in the earliest surviving portrait of Alexander, the anastolē was a distinctive visual feature. In later versions it was not only retained, but also enlarged, so that it became the dominant motif. In this further developed form, the hairstyle was reminiscent of a lion's mane and was understood by ancient observers as an expression of a lion-like character.¹³ In addition to the hairstyle, the ruler's beardlessness was particularly jarring.¹⁴ Even though this may have been due to his young age in the earliest portrait, it was retained until Alexander's death. As with the hairstyle, in his smooth cheeks, an initially less conspicuous element becomes a distinctive feature through its retention.

How unusual and unexpected Alexander's portrait was for his contemporaries can be seen most clearly in the depiction of his deeds in Apulian vase-painting from the years of his great successes (fig. 84).¹⁵ They show Alexander, on horseback and with spear extended charging toward the chariot of the Persian king Darius III, putting him to flight. The Macedonian king is shown like a Greek general of the fifth and fourth centuries—bearded, with a Corinthian helmet that largely covers his hair. The vase-painter had evidently heard accounts of Alexander's

13 Hölscher, T.: *Herrschaft und Lebensalter. Alexander der Große: Politisches Image und anthropologisches Modell*. Basel 2009, 28 with n. 26.

14 Hölscher *ib.* 35–42.

15 von den Hoff, R.: *Handlungsporträt und Herrscherbild. Die Heroisierung der Tat in den Bildnissen Alexanders des Großen*. Göttingen 2020, 21–27.— Fig. 84: *Lost Apulian vase*: Hamilton, W.: *Collection of engravings from ancient vases ... now in the possession of Sir Wm. Hamilton II*. Naples 1795, 14–17 pl. 2.



84 Alexander attacking the Persian king. Drawing of a lost Apulian vase. After Hamilton (as n. 15) pl. 2.

victory over the Persian king, but had no knowledge of his new, unique portrait. So it made sense to portray the successful military leader with the conventional iconography of a Greek general.

The statues of Lysippos have not survived and it is uncertain whether bronze statuettes, wall-paintings, or reliefs can give a reliable idea of them (plate 9a–b).¹⁶ The significant turn of the head, which Plutarch (*Alexander* 4.1) considered to be a peculiarity of the Macedonian king and is said to have been imitated by many of his admirers, cannot be reconstructed clearly.¹⁷ It also remains unclear how the ὑγρότης τῶν ὀμμάτων (“moisture of the eyes”) mentioned by Plutarch was implemented in the portrait, and even more so his light color of his skin or the noticeable

16 von den Hoff as n. 1, 216.– Stewart op. cit. 161–171.

17 Kiilerich, B.: The Head Posture of Alexander the Great, *Acta ad archaeologiam et artium historiam pertinentia* 29, 2017, 1–23. Fehr 1979, 67–80.

smell of his body (Plutarch, *Alexander* 4.2) can no longer be ascertained. But despite all the limitations, it is obvious that Alexander was meant to be shown in his portraits as unique in a new way and that features such as his beardlessness, continuous youthfulness, and *anastolē* were used deliberately as distinctive signs. The portrait made it clear that there was only one, unique Alexander. But it is precisely the assimilation of the iconography of heroes, which was initially a particular honor of the king, that often makes it difficult to distinguish him in particular cases and relativizes what was intended to be a special visual status.¹⁸

18 Dorka Moreno as n. 1.

4. CONSPICUOUS AMONG PARTICULARS: POMPEY

4.1 PROMINENCE WITHOUT A NAME

Portraits of ambitious politicians played an important role in the competition for political offices, power, and prestige of the late Roman Republic.¹ Surviving portraits from this period likely trace back to individual, prominently placed statues depicting people who remained important to later generations.² Most of them cannot be identified. They can at best be dated and thus assigned to a specific historical period, but not linked to individual biographies, significant achievements, or idiosyncrasies.

The statue of the “Tivoli General” from the sanctuary of Hercules in Tibur shows how differentiated and multilayered the images of politically and militarily active Romans were in the decades around 100 B. C. (fig. 85).³ The date is based on the statue design, which is familiar from late Hellenistic sculptures from Delos⁴ and from the restless movement rendered by his garment and physiognomy. A later copy of the head shows that the person depicted was still important in the Imperial

1 Cf.: Hölkeskamp, K.-J.: *Roman Republican Reflections. Studies in Politics, Power, and Pageantry.* Stuttgart 2020.

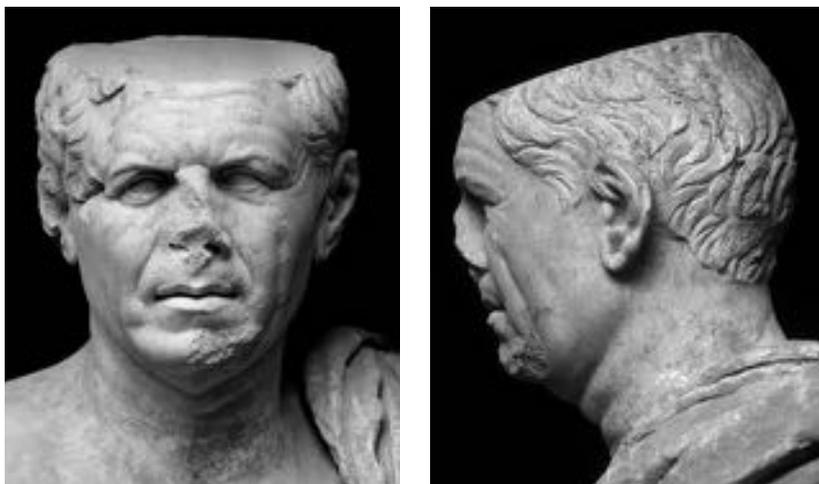
2 Megow, W.-R.: *Republikanische Bildnis-Typen.* Frankfurt 2005.– Also Fittschen K., *Göttingische Gelehrte Anzeigen* 258, 2006, 72–90.

3 Talamo, E. in: Giuliano, A. (ed.): *Museo Nazionale Romano. Le sculture I* 1. Rome 1979, 267–269 no. 164.– Vorster, Ch. in *Bol III* 2007, 285, 408 fig. 260.– Hölscher, T.: *Generale di Tivoli.* In La Rocca, E. / Tortorella, S. (eds.): *Trionfi Romani.* Milan 2008, 178–179.– Zanker, P. / Cain, P. in *Fittschen/Zanker II* 2010 no. 4 with n. 1.– Queyrel, F.: *La sculpture hellénistique I. Formes, thèmes et fonctions.* Paris 2016, 161–162. 351–352 fig. 139.

4 Statue of Mithridates VI from 101 B. C.: Queyrel op. cit. 162, 352 fig. 138.– Queyrel, F.: *Mithridate VI à Délos: Charisme de l'image?* In: Greub/Roussel 2018, 100–134 pl. 2.



85 Rome, Museo Nazionale Romano 106513. Statue of a Roman general.
H. 1.88 m.



86a–b Head of statue in fig. 85.

period. However, he has still not been identified.⁵ The statue shows a powerful man clad only in a cloak, which, going from the left forearm, covers the right thigh, wraps around his hip and back, and rests gathered together in a ball on his left shoulder. A breastplate serves as a statue support that connects the supporting leg and the hanging tip of his mantle. It is decorated with a gorgoneion and tied with a general's belt, so it must be the armor of a defeated enemy leader. Other attributes that have been lost today—such as a spear in the raised right hand or a sword in the left—would have reinforced the military aspect.

The head is turned to his right and the face is fleshy and strong (figs. 86a–b). It shows the characteristics of aging in detail—a wrinkled forehead, bags under the eyes, crow's feet, and sagging skin around the eyes, cheeks, and neck. This contrasts with the full lips of the slightly open mouth. The eyebrows are close together so that the forehead appears to be drawn together momentarily. The rotation of the head causes the right, lower portion face to be compressed, while the wrinkles of the left cheek appear more distinct. Additional asymmetries include the different heights of the eyes, the shape of the bags under the eyes, and uneven indication of the depressions in the skin above the base of the nose.

⁵ Hölscher op. cit. 180.– Zanker, P. / Cain, P. in Fittschen/Zanker II 2010, 9 no. 6 n. 7.– Schweitzer, B.: *Die Bildniskunst der römischen Republik*. Leipzig 1948, 47–51, 60 C2 figs. 36, 37, 64, 72.– Lippold, G.: *Die Skulpturen des Vatikanischen Museums III*. Berlin 1956, 25 no. 5 pl. 15.

Most of the hair from the forehead is lost; only at the corners are small strands preserved that turn towards the center. The hair on the temples is brushed back in short, flat, crescent-shaped curls.

His ideal, timeless body forms a striking incongruity with his aged facial features. In contrast to the cheeks and neck, the skin on the chest, arm, hand, stomach, and leg shows no signs of slackening and no age-related wrinkles but is continuously smooth and taut over his strong muscles. There are no biographical deformations or scars from injuries sustained in war. This is surprising, since scars were considered proof of personal bravery and service to the state. They marked a war hero and brought him recognition and fame.⁶ Sertorius was able to prove his meritorious deeds by his scars and gouged out eye, which those who envied him wished to conceal (Sall. *Hist.* I fr. 88). Unalterably inscribed into the body, the injuries attest to staking one's own life in violent conflicts, but also to the ability to withstand the most severe attacks. Scipio Africanus was praised for having sustained 27 wounds (*vulnera*) at the age of 17 while rescuing his father in the Battle of the Ticinus (Servius, *Commentary on the Aeneid* X.800–801). Showing scars and war injuries (τραύματα) was a part of political argumentation in the Roman Republic. In a controversy over the triumph of L. Aemilius Paullus in 167 B. C., the senator Marcus Servilius is said to have shown publicly his numerous scars (ὤτειλας) to demonstrate his competence in military matters, while at the same time he declared his opponent Galba incompetent because of his smooth, scarless skin (Plutarch, *Aemilius Paullus* 31.2–5). In a reported speech, Marius cites his military honors and his scars (*cicatrices*) as evidence of his own personal bravery and military achievements, which are preferred to the merely inherited prestige of his aristocratic opponents (Plutarch, *Marius* 9.2; Sall. *Iug.* 85).

The statue of the Tivoli General dispenses with the demonstration of his own achievements that Marius preferred. The statue neither shows military awards nor injuries sustained in battle. At the same time, it was important to avoid the flawlessly supple skin being interpreted as a characteristic of a soft coward, as in the examples given above. The form of the support serves to evoke military associations and the statue's strong musculature attests to consistent, hard athletic training. In this context, the scarless body signals godlike inviolability and shows that the mili-

⁶ Plutarch, *Gaius Marcius* 14.1; *Marcellus* 10.5.– Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* VI.26.2, VII.62.3.

tary qualities of the subject did not lie in the physical violence of close combat, but in the strategic and tactical guidance of troops.

The striking contrast between the ideal, timeless body and the aged facial features was not perceived by contemporary viewers as a contradiction; rather they were understood as complementary. While the body and the statue type convey strength and victoriousness, it is the facial features that vouch for his experience and achievements. Above all, the head should designate the individual depicted as unique; the details of the individual physiognomy, striving for realism, are an expression of a distinctive, but unfortunately unknown personality.

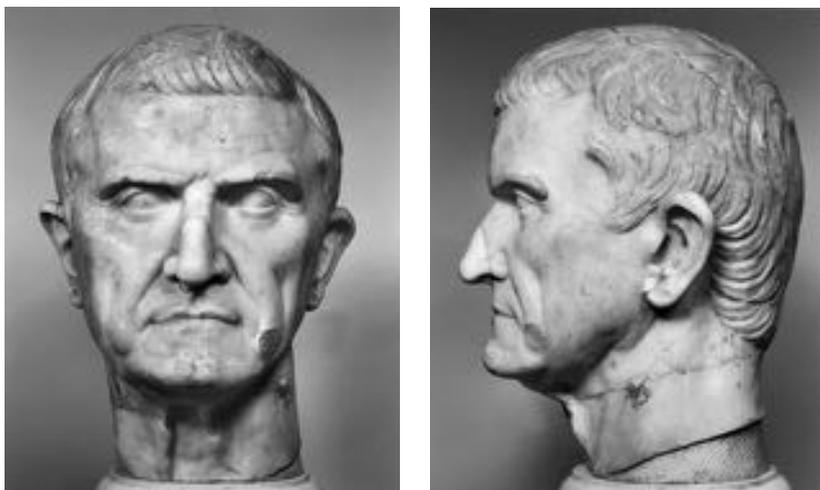
4.2 PORTRAITS AS REFLECTION OF RIVALRY

Only from around the middle of the first century B. C. can some portraits of leading politicians be named with certainty. For Pompey and Caesar, for example, we know of coin images with portrait heads and inscriptions that allow reliable identification of images in the round. Cicero's portrait can be considered secure through a copy named by an inscription. For the triumvir M. Licinius Crassus, a head's find context provides an important clue.

The portrait of M. Licinius Crassus (115/114–53 B. C.; consul 70 and 55 B. C.),⁷ preserved in four copies from the Imperial period, shows that the portrait concept of the Tivoli General continued to be influential (figs. 87a–b). The shape of the head is narrower and gaunter, but here too the fleshy cheeks are wrinkled in a similar way. Particularly similar are the hook-shaped nasolabial folds, bent up to the mouth, but also the flat hollows of skin that run vertically down from the cheekbones and under the tip of the chin and the bulging areas in front of them, which are bordered below by semicircles. Less obvious is the use of the same physiognomic details in the more symmetrical eyes, where the crow's feet are less pronounced and the forehead appears to be contracted as well, but less intensely wrinkled.

Significant features of Crassus include the drawn-in temples, the narrow lips, and two folds of skin hanging down vertically on the neck. The hair is thinner and lies closer to the skull so that it appears as part

⁷ Megow op. cit. 75–85.– Raeder, J.: Die antiken Skulpturen in Petworth House. MAR 28. Mainz 2000, 136–140 pl. 56 no. 42.

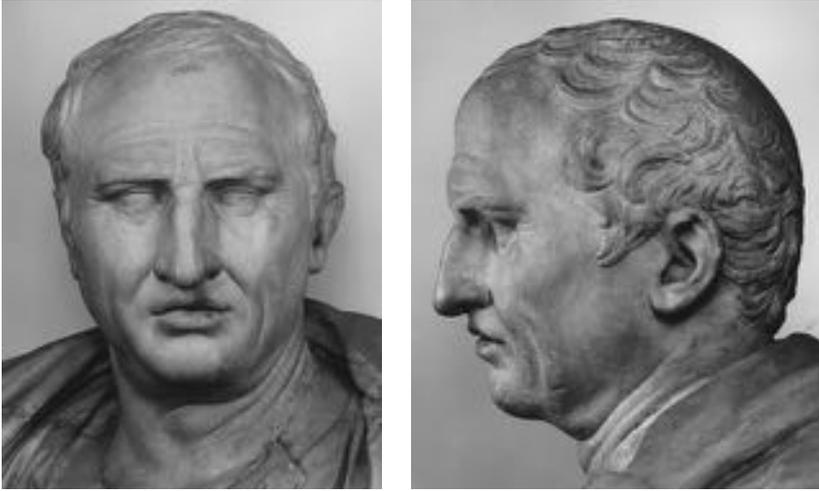


87a-b Paris, Louvre Ma 1220. Portrait of M. Licinius Crassus. H. 24.5 cm.

of the crown of the head. The length and arrangement of the individual curls are also clearly defined on the sides; their movement forms a swirl, repeated many times. The portrait of the triumvir adopts forms from the older concept, expressing strength, determination, and energy, while at the same time depicting the advanced age of the subject as evidence of experience and merit. But the intense animation of the face is tempered here, and the evenly laid hair on the forehead, which looks simple and undemanding, contributes to this impression.

Similarly, the portrait of M. Tullius Cicero (106–43 B. C.; consul 63 B. C.) draws on the older concept. It has survived in seven copies from the Imperial era, all of which are based on the same model. In the reliable examples in Florence and Mantua, individual shapes in the cheek folds and the area around the mouth can be found hardly changed (figs. 88a–b).⁸ As with the statue from Tivoli, the skin on the neck lies in ring-shaped folds. Here, too, the brows are strained and contracted, but the horizontal forehead wrinkles dominate. Especially on the sides, the hair moves more actively and restlessly than in Crassus' portrait and is therefore closer to the Tivoli General. Additionally, different areas of the hairstyle are more distinguished. While the strands lie thin and flat on top, they are thicker and denser at the temples. Despite the choppy

⁸ Zanker, P. / Cain, P. in: Fittschen/Zanker II 2010, 14–18 pls. 12–14 no. 9–10.

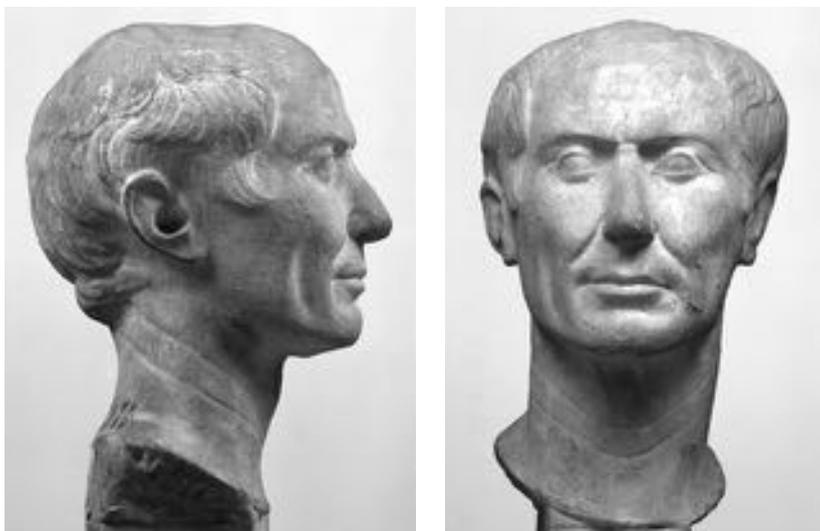


88a-b Rome, Musei Capitolini 589. Portrait of M. Tullius Cicero. H. of head 36 cm.

individual forms, the expression is calmed by the turning and tilting of the head. Cicero's worried and concentrated expression avoids any trace of the arrogance, condescension, and boasting his opponents accused him of (Cassius Dio 38.12.7; 38.14.3).

For Caesar (cf. ch. I.2.1) it is possible to identify with certainty a version of his portrait that must have been created during the lifetime of the *dictator perpetuo*.⁹ Its best representative is a marble head from Tusculum in Turin (figs. 13, 89a-b). It shows a number of particularities that seem individual, such as the head shape with slightly indented profile line on the top and a strongly protruding back of the head; a lean, wrinkled neck; and hair spread thin and flat. The face looks gaunt, but at the same time relaxed. It is designed with clear and concise forms (the eyelids, outline of the forehead). Small asymmetries of the brows and cheeks show the expressive mobility of the face. Nevertheless, an impression of calmness, equanimity, and self-control prevails. Above the bridge of the nose there are flat, steep folds in the smooth skin of the forehead. They do not result from a momentary contraction of the eyebrows as in the case of the Tivoli General; they are engraved signs of the earlier struggles and achievements

⁹ Fittschen/Zanker II 2010, 19–26 no. 12 (Vatican – Pisa type), no. 13 (Tusculum type). – Trunk, M.: Der Caesar Farnese und das Traiansforum, AA 2010, 61–74. – Zanker, P.: Le irritanti statue di Cesare e i suoi ritratti contraddittori. In: Gentili, G. (ed.): Giulio Cesare. L'uomo, le imprese, il mito. Milan 2008, 72–79.



89a-b Turin, Museo di Antichità 2098. Portrait of C. Julius Caesar. H. 33 cm.

from which the *auctoritas* of the subject resulted. A comparison, for example, with the head of the aforementioned Tivoli General, with his strained, contracted forehead, the excited facial expressions, and the open mouth, shows the portrait of Caesar to be the result of a deliberate stylization. This is how some of his own contemporaries felt as well. Plutarch (*Caesar* 4.4) reports that Cicero compared Caesar's humane and cheerful appearance with a calm, smooth sea under which threatening forces are hidden. The emphasized maintenance of his hairstyle also appears as an act of deception with which the ambitious politician hides his conspiratorial plans. It was precisely the forgoing of the traditional demonstration of power and assertiveness that Cicero seemed obviously suspicious of.

The portraits of politicians we are looking at from the two decades around the middle of the first century B. C. show contrasting types of self-expression and self-stylization. Some refer to conceptions found in older portraits in Rome, such as the heads of Crassus and Cicero. Others consciously set themselves apart from this, such as Caesar's portrait with its concise and calm forms. The reference to Alexander the Great made by Pompey's portrait (see below) is also intentional. All of this marked difference emphasized what was particular to oneself and prevented confusion. Such portraits could well stand side by side in public places. They were therefore also meant to be compared with one another. They vied with each other for the most positive reception possible, and they

tried to be unmistakable through their distinctive features and to stand out from others. Different and opposing forms of expression were developed that could be deployed competitively. It was always about showing the particular and unique of the respective personality who was also the leader of a political party. Each of these portraits depicts individual peculiarities of physiognomy in its own way. The striking realism of the late Republican portrait can be explained by the political situation, which required a memorable individual representation for the ambitious stakeholder.

4.3 PARADOX AND PARTICULAR

Cn. Pompey was consul with Crassus in 70 and 55 B. C. but chose a different concept for his portraits. They can also be identified with certainty because they appear (posthumously) on the coins of his sons Gnaeus and Sextus, which Markus Trunk has collected in a detailed study.¹⁰ Accordingly, two types of coin portraits can be distinguished: the first from 46/45 B. C. on denarii in Spain; the second from 42 B. C. on the issues of Sex. Pompey in Sicily.¹¹ Admittedly, both of them have a swirl of hair (anastolē) that springs out over the forehead, so they could certainly go back to the same sculptural image type.

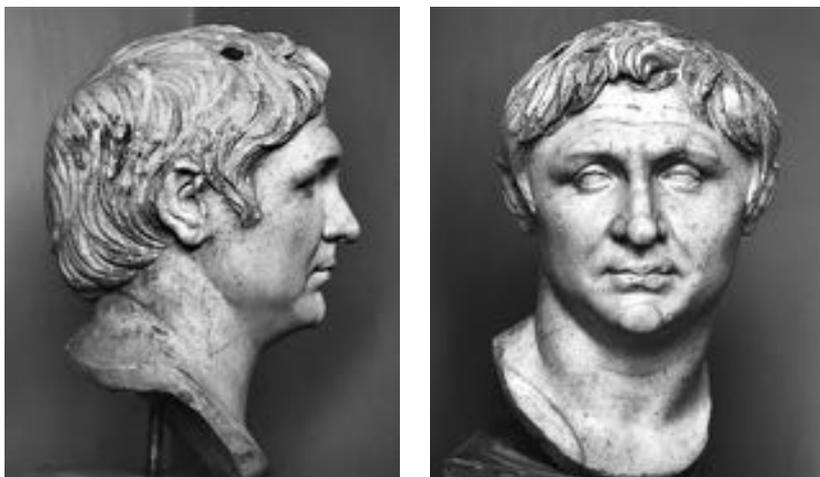
In contrast to Crassus and Cicero, the sculptural portraits of Pompey are typologically heterogeneous; at least two different versions have been identified. The Venice type is reproduced in greatest detail in the eponymous example (figs. 90a–b).¹² No other life-size copies are known yet, but Martin Bentz has collected a group of small-format examples, one of which is made of bronze and four others are clay.¹³ They repeat

10 Trunk, M.: Studien zur Ikonographie des Pompeius Magnus. Die numismatischen und glyptischen Quellen, *JdI* 123, 2008, 101–170.

11 As previously Vessberg, O.: Studien zur Kunstgeschichte der römischen Republik. Leipzig 1941, 134–137; contra, Poulsen, F.: Les portraits de Pompeius Magnus, *Revue Archéologique* 1936, 18–19.

12 Lastly also Roger, D.: Petits portraits du Grand Pompée. In: Boschung/Queyrel 2021, 123–141.– Bentz, M.: Zum Porträt des Pompeius, *RM* 99, 1992, 232–233 pl. 68.

13 Bentz op. cit. 229–246 pls. 64–69.– Brodbeck-Jucker, S. in: Jucker, I.: Skulpturen der Antiken-Sammlung Ennetwies 2. *MAR* 36. Wiesbaden 2006, 42–46 pls. 17–18 no. 10.



90a-b Venice, Museo Archeologico Nazionale 62. Head of Cn. Pompeius Magnus. H. 37 cm.

the main hairstyle motif of the head in Venice by styling the hair over the center of the face fuller and creating a closed pincer motif. A thick tuft of hair divided into several strands is initially aligned horizontally towards the right temple before its tip turns sharply downwards. A flat curl is pushed underneath in the opposite direction. In addition to this main motif, long strands are spread to the temples. On the sides and the back of the head, the hair is divided into a swirl of narrow strands, which push together into larger areas and form a closed crown of the head. The clay busts are limited to indicating the distinctive main motif and the long hair next to it. They also repeat the wrinkled forehead, the small eyes, and the wrinkled cheeks of the head in Venice, but differ from it in the turn of the head towards the left shoulder. The small bronze head, like the marble head, is turned to the right. It shows the strands at the back of the head and on the sides in more detail than the terracotta heads but differs from all other copies by the enlarged eyes. The small-format portraits are obviously based on the same three-dimensional design as the head in Venice.

The date of its origin cannot be determined with certainty. The unusual and quite numerous small clay busts are best understood as private expressions of loyalty found in the houses of followers of Pompey and therefore most relevant during his lifetime. The arrangement of the hair on the back of the head with the indication of a large swirl of curls and the obliquely sloping areas pushed together is similar to the copies of the



91 Back side of head in figs. 87a–b.



92 Back side of head in figs. 90a–b.

Crassus portrait in Copenhagen and Paris. Their models are therefore likely to have been created around the same time— perhaps 70 B. C. on the occasion of their first joint consulate (figs. 91–92). Martin Bentz has drawn attention to the drapery of the small-format portraits of Pompey, which most closely resembles a paludamentum or a chlamys.¹⁴ Its unusual shape suggests that it must have had a particular meaning. Perhaps it refers to the chlamys of Alexander the Great, which Pompey was said to have worn in his triumph in 61 B. C. (*App. Mith.* 117 [§577]). So there is some evidence that the Venice type of the portrait of Pompey was created in the second quarter of the first century B. C.¹⁵

In the portrait of Pompey in Copenhagen (figs. 93a–b) the central motif of the hairstyle is enlarged; it now takes up almost the entire width of the forehead. Additionally, it has been redesigned strikingly. The closed pincers of hair have become an anastolē in the style of Alexander’s portrait; the strands are raised vertically and fall down on both sides. The right part extends further; it is divided into thick spikes of

¹⁴ Bentz *op. cit.* 241–242.

¹⁵ The attempt at an early Augustan date (Junker, K.: *Die Porträts des Pompeius Magnus und die mimetische Option*, RM 113, 2007, 69–94.– Roger *op. cit.* 136) does not seem very convincing to me, since the underlying comparison with portraits of Octavian makes the differences clear.



93a-b Copenhagen, Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek 733. Head of Cn. Pompeius Magnus. H. 25 cm.

hair, stacked in two layers. The rest of the hair is fuller; the curls are thicker and more intensely active. They fall on top of each other in layers so that the closed outline of the crown of the head dissolves. The face shows more dramatic movement, because the eyebrows are raised so that the forehead folds become clearer and the small eyes are emphasized, appearing mobile because of their spherical shape. The cheeks are fleshier, their wrinkles more pronounced. The crow's feet are also indicated more clearly so that the face looks older. The shape of the nose is also changed compared to the head in Venice. While it is narrow with thin nostrils, the lower part of the Copenhagen head is widened and the sphere of the tip enlarged.

A head in the Louvre confirms the essential features of the Copenhagen portrait.¹⁶ Despite the different head shape and deviations in the individual shapes of the temple hair, it is clear that both go back to a common model. The portraits of Pompey with ruffled forehead curls also follow this one, as they appear on coins minted by his sons since 46/45 B. C. Based on the physiognomic differences, this version was also created during Pompey's lifetime, probably later than the Venice type. According to Pliny (*NH* 37.14 [6.4]) the portrait made of pearls shown in

16 Roger op. cit. 123–141 fig. 2 pl. 3.2.– M. Trunk previously advocated for the authenticity of the head: Trunk, M.: Pompeius Magnus, Zur Überlieferung und "Zwiespältigkeit" seines Porträts, *AA* 1994, 473–487. On the other hand, considerable doubts remain about the authenticity of the head in Yale: Trunk op. cit. 476–481.

the triumph of 61 B. C. was already said to have had thrown-back curls, by which he must mean the *anastolē*. Admittedly, the passage is characterized more by moral disapproval than by accuracy of description, so its value for dating the hairstyle motif remains dubious.¹⁷

The significance of two other portraits in the Torlonia Collection, which can also be treated as Pompey portraits based on their physiognomy and loose forehead curls, cannot be clarified at the moment because of insufficient documentation and the unclear state of their preservation.¹⁸ According to the available illustrations, in terms of physiognomy and hairstyle they are more closely related to the Copenhagen type, but it remains unclear whether these are copies or variants of them or whether they are own portrait types.

Luca Giuliani has shown that earlier descriptions of Pompey's portrait had the unspoken aim of making plausible Theodor Mommsen's assessment of the politician.¹⁹ His own analysis, on the other hand, tried to explain the portrait in terms of the ideals of the late Republic, as captured in the speeches of Cicero and understood by a heterogeneous target audience. The desired similarity to Alexander the Great, as reported by Plutarch, for example, has played a role in all the pertinent studies. This included the adoption of the name *Magnus*, which Pompey was first given (81 B. C.) by his soldiers, then by Sulla (79 B. C.?), and which Pompey himself finally used during his campaigns in Spain (77–72 B. C.).²⁰ Even though other Hellenistic kings like the Seleucid Antiochus III had adopted the epithet *the Great*,²¹ Pompey's claim to be a

17 A connection with the statue set up in the Theater of Pompey in 55 B. C. is possible, but difficult to secure: Schweitzer as n. 5, 86.– Giuliani, L.: *Bildnis und Botschaft. Hermeneutische Untersuchungen zur Bildniskunst der römischen Republik*. Frankfurt 1986, 56–65, 200–205. Due to its changeful history, the equestrian statue on the Rostra must have attracted great attention, cf. Cassius Dio 42.18.2; 43.49.1–2.

18 Trunk, M., AA 1994, 484–486 figs. 12–13.– Trunk, M.: Ein “vergessenes” Bildnis des Pompeius Magnus, *Boreas* 17, 1994, 267–275.

19 Giuliani op. cit. 25–28, 45–49.

20 Giuliani op. cit. 79–90.

21 Antiochos III (222–187 B. C.) “the Great”: Plutarch, *Titus (Flamininus)* 9.6.– Eukratides the Great of Bactria (170–145 B. C.): Boppearachchi, O.: *Alexandre le Grand et les portraits monétaires des souverains indo-grecs*. In: *Boschung/Queyrel* 2017, 255–268 esp. 262–263 pl. 8e–f.– Gandhara: Thrason Megas (c. 90 B. C.); Apollodotos II Megas Soter (80–65 B. C.); Hippistratos Megas Soter

new world conqueror was unmistakable.²² At the same time, the name replaced the older designation of the young Pompey as *Alexander* (Plutarch, *Pompey* 2.2), which was used even in public speeches, and which all too obviously could have betrayed monarchic ambitions. He was also called *Agamemnon*, as the most powerful of the Romans (Cassius Dio 42.5.5). This raised him to the status of a Homeric hero, described his role as leader of a powerful army, and at the same time made clear his dominant position over the kings of the Greek-influenced East.

An assimilation with Alexander can also be found in the portrait of Pompey. The earlier, Venice type, which his partisans used to express their loyalty, does show some mussed forehead hair, which clearly stands out compared to the portraits of Cicero or Crassus from around the same time. Compared to his rivals' thinning strands, his full and lively hair might signal youthfulness. It did not have to be understood as an assimilation with Alexander. For the year 79 B. C., the time of his first triumph, Plutarch records the view that Pompey was striving for glory from the "paradox," the unexpected and the unusual.²³ This conduct must have set him apart from his contemporaries, made him appear particular, and ensured focus on him that could be expressed in admiration or rejection. Contrasted with Sulla and his allies, he confidently emphasized his youthfulness and his growing power by declaring that more people pay homage to the rising than the setting sun.²⁴ This suggests that the portrait was also supposed to highlight his age difference with his rivals at the time, as with the Venice type. This can also be understood as he did not update an older concept for his self-portrayal in portraits as Crassus and Pompey had, but instead sought new possibilities. The head in Venice dispenses with the pronounced contraction of the brows, which also signaled severity, energy, and drive in his contemporaries Crassus and Cicero, and especially the indication of their life experience with crow's feet and deep cheek wrinkles. His praised kindness and affability (Plutarch, *Pompey* 2.1) could also be found therein.

(65–55 B. C.): Eder, W. / Renger, J. (eds.): *Chronologies of the Ancient World.—Names, Dates and Dynasties*. BNP Suppl. I.1, VIII.1.3.2 Gandhara and Punjab n. 43, 45.

²² Cf. Cicero, *Pro Archia Poeta* 24, who called Pompey "*noster hic Magnus*" and contrasted him with "*Magnus ille Alexander*."

²³ Plutarch, *Pompey* 14.6: "τὸ ἐνδοξὸν ἐκ τοῦ παραδόξου θηρώμενος."

²⁴ Plutarch, *Pompey* 14.3: "τὸν ἥλιον ἀνατέλλοντα πλείονες ἢ δυόμενον προσκυνοῦσιν."

The reaction of Johann Jacob Bernoulli shows what a “paradox”—how unexpected and unusual—the portrait of Pompey appeared to be in the context of Republican iconography. He commented bemused and apologetic about his discovery that it was not the statue in the Palazzo Spada (Boschung 2020, 279–280), but rather the head in Venice that represented Pompey Magnus based on the similarity with coin portraits (Bernoulli 1882, 126): “But it would be an exchange that we would be reluctant to make, and one from which Pompey would gain nothing. We would almost rather do without his portrait entirely than find it again in such a homely physiognomy.”

The Copenhagen type also follows Pompey’s endeavor to gain fame from the paradox, because it, too, does not conform to the conventions of late Republican politician portraits and therefore caused disconcertment. For example, Frederik Poulsen described the nose shape as “vulgar” and “en forme de pomme de terre.”²⁵ Although, from the prominent wrinkles on the cheeks, this version depicts Pompey older than the head in Venice, it also achieves its effects from the unexpected. This includes first of all the anastolē, which now unmistakably alludes to Alexander the Great. But the hair on the sides of the head is arranged differently than that of the Macedonian king and corresponds more to the portrait in Venice. No less unusual than the forehead hair is the emphasis on physiognomic peculiarities like the bulbous nose. The eschewal of the demonstration of energy by contracting the forehead is even more evident here. Instead, the brows are raised in a momentary facial movement so that the forehead area is dominated by noticeable wrinkles. Pompey’s forehead wrinkles were noted and commented upon, at least in one crucial situation in his career. When he learned of the extraordinary powers which he had been given for the fight against the pirates and against Mithridates, he is said to have initially refused them in his speech on the grounds that he was tired and overworked from his earlier endeavors. He did not want to take on any other offices that would only bring envy and hatred (Cassius Dio 36.24–26). In this situation his brow is furrowed to show his weariness with military command. His companions certainly felt this to be hypocrisy (Plutarch, *Pompey* 30.5–6). The conspicuous forehead lines of Pompey’s portrait were meant to indicate that he was not asking for power and distinction but would only accept them at the urging of his fellow citizens and against his own interests. A wrinkled forehead (*frons*

²⁵ Poulsen as n. 11, 16–52 esp. 18–19.

adducta) could also be interpreted as a sign of depression, unsuccessful efforts, and “desperation about the future” (Quintilian, *Institutio oratoria* X.3.13: *desperatio in posterum*). Pompey’s unconventional self-portrayal was therefore not without risk. What was supposed to signal restraint and a lack of striving for power could also be understood as a hypocritical pretense or even as a sign of imminent failure.

As with the statue of the Tivoli General, contradicting components should be read complementarily in the Copenhagen type portrait of Pompey—the hairstyle as a reminder of his extraordinary military successes that were equal to those of Alexander; the wrinkled forehead as a sign of restraint and renunciation of striving for power; the wrinkled cheeks as a sign of decades of achievements in the service of the state; and the emphasized physiognomic peculiarities like the nose shape as a sign of an unmistakably charismatic individual.

5. BECOMING INCOMPARABLE: AUGUSTUS AGAIN

5.1 PARTICULAR AND EVERYWHERE THE SAME

During the civil wars that followed Caesar's assassination, portraits of leaders continued to grow in importance, as evidenced by their frequent use on coins. Similarly, during the civil wars, signet rings became a medium for party formation and party conflicts. While one group expressed its loyalty to Pompey's cause by wearing the portrait of Magnus on their fingers,¹ friends of Octavian, who had been adopted by Caesar (ch. II.2), expressed membership in his party through rings with his symbols and his portrait (figs. 94–95).² His head is in the center of these small pictures, surrounded by attributes and symbols that recall his rank and his achievements. The *sella curulis* of Roman high officials denoted the positions already attained; the *sidus Iulium* indicated the deification of Caesar; and Capricorn was a reminder that Octavian was destined to be the ruler of the world based on his horoscope. And there are always symbols of prosperity, ears of grain and cornucopia. Glass pastes were used to decorate the finger rings and attest the affinity of their owners with Octavian, whose portrait appears on the ring stone. Further series with late Republican heads, which have not yet been identified with cer-

1 Trunk, M.: Studien zur Ikonographie des Pompeius Magnus. Die numismatischen und glyptischen Quellen, *JdI* 123, 2008, 143–152.

2 Sena Chiesa, G.: Ottaviano capoparte. Simboli politici in Roma nella produzione glittica della fine della repubblica e del principato augusteo. In: Michelotto, P. G. (ed.): *Logios aner. Studi di antichità in memoria di Mario Attilio Levi*. Milan 2002, 395–424.– Fig. 94: Vollenweider, M.-L.: Die Porträtgemmen der römischen Republik. Mainz 1974 II 85 pl. 145.3.– Fig. 95: Zwierlein-Diehl, E.: Die antiken Gemmen des Kunsthistorischen Museums in Wien II. Munich 1979, 64 no. 801 pl. 35.



94 Berlin, Antikensammlung FG 5172. Glass ring stone. H. 1.3 cm.



95 Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum IX.B220. Glass ring stone. H. 1.3 cm.

tainty, show that other groups acted similarly.³ But while ring stones lost their role as a medium for expressing political loyalties after Octavian's victory and the end of the civil wars, portrait statues became one of the most important instruments of imperial self-expression.

Octavian in particular recognized the possibilities offered in using his portrait for political purposes. Soon after he began his political career, he must have ensured that his portraits were standardized, because despite his long reign they all trace back to a few designs. This can only mean that sculptors were provided with authoritative three-dimensional models that were intended for supraregional distribution from the outset. Up to this point, the appearance of important people had been shaped by individual statues. These might attract attention through display in highly visible locations and skillful staging, but their immediate effect remained local. With the development of copying techniques, it became possible to reproduce sculptures or parts of them, such as the heads, true to detail, but especially famous statues—such as the equestrian monument of Octavian on the Rostra—were probably difficult to reach for the necessary molds. If, however, the design of the portrait that was used for the equestrian statue was made available to other workshops as a model, it would have been possible to achieve a uniform appearance

³ Vollenweider op. cit.—Lang, J.: *Bekannte Unbekannte. Bildniswiederholungen in der spätrepublikanischen Glyptik*. In: Greub/Roussel 2016, 145–181.

for many heads in different locations (Pfanner 1989, 157–257). The new process was not primarily aimed at individual, prominent statues, but rather at the production and widespread distribution of entire series of images that were as uniform as possible. The workshop that created the design could also produce exact reproductions in marble or bronze using mechanical copying processes (ch. V.3.3). So far it is unclear how they spread in the provinces—presumably through the distribution of plaster casts.

These designs included only the head and neck; they could therefore be combined with any desired statue type. At the same time, they also served as models for coin portraits. This suggests that they were created in the immediate vicinity of the ruler and had received his approval. A standardization of Octavian's appearance was sought and largely achieved in this way. This approach offered the commissioner the ability to control his representations and the discretion to determine at least the main features.

Even if the models themselves are lost, they can still be inferred from surviving portraits and largely reconstructed. It becomes clear that they must have been very detailed and that they were executed in three-dimensional form, as life-size sculptures in wax or clay. They defined physiognomy, hairstyle, and the position of the head down to the smallest details. Archaeological research on portraits speaks of *portrait types*, meaning the totality of all heads that go back to the same three-dimensional design (ch. V.3.1).

5.2 NEW ROLE, NEW FACE: CHANGES IN OCTAVIAN'S PORTRAITS

Around 40 B. C. several portrait types of Octavian were created, which show considerable similarities. Nevertheless, they are obviously based on three different designs. The first is known from two copies from Béziers and Spoleto (figs. 96–97).⁴ Both show significant consistencies in details of face and hairstyle, which can only be explained by a common model. On the other hand, the find spots in southern France and central Italy as well as the different manners of elaboration show that this cannot be a local variant, but rather that they were copied from an interregional design.

⁴ Boschung 1993a, 25–26, 61–62, 107 cat no. 1–2 pls. 2–3.

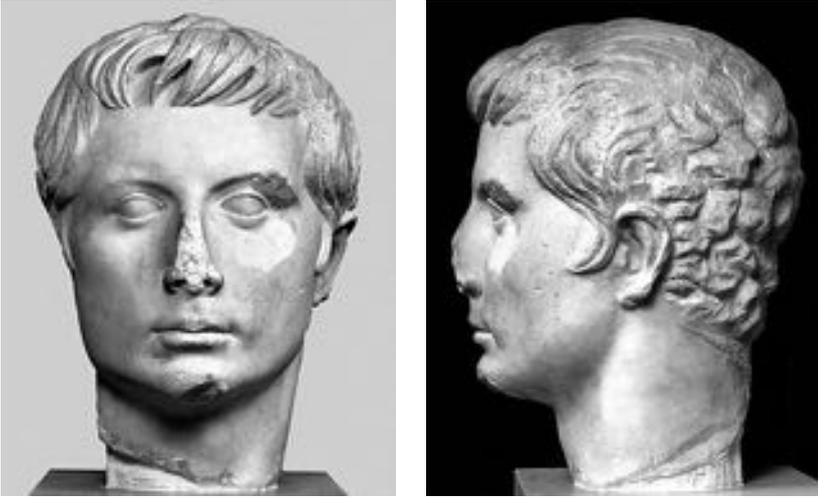


96a-b Spoleto, Museo Archeologico Nazionale. Head of Octavian. H. 30.5 cm.

The faces of both heads are dominated by strong cheekbones, so that they protrude to the side and appear noticeably wide. This makes the narrow eyes appear small and focused. Their outer corners drop slightly; their lower eyelids are set off against the cheeks by a curved depression. The forehead is smooth and almost wrinkled. Only between the arched, widely drawn out brows are short, three-dimensional depressions in the skin, which indicate a slight contraction. The cheeks are tightly strained between the cheekbones and the pointed chin. Only the corners of the short lips are slightly indented.

The common model can be understood through the design of the forehead curls. Most of the strands above the face are swept to the right in six curls. Above the right eye, three crescent-shaped points of hair, pulled to one side, twist back toward the center of the face, followed by two parallel, shorter, and thinner strands. This creates a spread pincers motif that encloses the entire area over the eyes nearly horizontally. On the sides, the hair is swept back in small tufts. The small strands in front of the ears pick up this movement and finish with a countermovement turning back toward the face.

If this version of Octavian's portrait was created at the beginning of his political career, it happened at about the same time as Cicero's speeches which built up the young C. Caesar as a counterforce to Mark Antony, who was combatted as an enemy of the state. It was around this time that an equestrian statue of Octavian was erected on the Rostra of



97a-b Toulouse, Musée St. Raymond 30007. Head of Octavian. H. 30 cm.

the Forum Romanum in January of 43 B. C.⁵ At that time, Cicero repeatedly praised the young Octavian as a gift from the gods and as the savior of the Roman state (Cic. *Phil.* 3.34, 5.23, 5.43, 12.9, 13.46, 14.25). His drive (*virtus*) and his courage were admirable and virtually divine (Cic. *Phil.* 3.3, 3.8, 4.3, 5.23, 13.19). Just as inimitable was his sense of duty (*pietas*) for the memory of his murdered adoptive father (Cic. *Phil.* 13.46–47). His deeds already pointed toward immortality, deserved divine honors, and elevated him to heaven (Cic. *Phil.* 4.3, 4.6). He had even more right to the title of *parens patriae* than Julius Caesar (Cic. *Phil.* 13.25). Again and again reference was made to his youth; he was a young man, almost a boy (Cic. *Phil.* 3.3, 7.10). Even younger than Pompey he put himself in the service of Rome and achieved not just success for one party but the salvation of the entire state. These merits were unparalleled in history (Cic. *Phil.* 4.3, 5.44, 5.47).

Cicero's speeches in the Senate and in front of the popular assembly provide information about the qualities with which Octavian won the approval of the public at the beginning of his political career. He was the savior of Rome sent by the gods and has thus earned unique honors. He had performed important deeds like no one before in his early youth, at

⁵ Bergemann, J.: Römische Reiterstatuen. Ehrendenkmäler im öffentlichen Bereich. Mainz 1990, 18, 161–163 L25; 171 M22–M25 pl. 90c–e.



98a-b Capena, Antiquario 959. Head of Octavian. H. 39 cm.

the same time demonstrating his *virtus* and *pietas*, so that great achievements for the good of the state could also be expected from him in the future (Cic. *Phil.* 5.48–51). As expected, his earliest portraits emphasize his youthfulness, depicting a smooth, wrinkle-free face and full head of hair. Like a god, the facial features of the *divinus adolescens* (Cic. *Phil.* 5.43) are relaxed and without any sign of exertion.

This results in an obvious distancing from his political rivals, who were all considerably older. The portrait of his benefactor Cicero (figs. 88a–b), following the concept of the Tivoli General, evokes completely different values, namely experience and services already provided for the state. Octavian soon found that the unprecedented youthfulness that his earliest portrait conveyed could also be turned against him. For example, his opponent Marc Antony called him “boy” (*puer*). This was supposed to suggest inexperience and a lack of understanding of political and military matters, so that the allegedly childlike heir of Caesar would be disavowed as too young and untrustworthy in the eyes of the senators and veterans. Against this background, Cicero’s insistence on his almost childish age must have appeared double-edged. Cassius Dio reports that Octavian was embittered over his designation as a boy (παῖς), and even more about his treatment as a “young lad” (μειράκιον), and that this



99a-b Private collection; Plaster cast FU Berlin. Head of Octavian. H. 37 cm.

contributed to the estrangement from the Senate and thus ultimately to the alliance with Mark Antony and Lepidus, which should also cost Cicero his life (Cassius Dio 46.41.4).

The demonstrative youthfulness is already retracted in the next version of the portrait. It was developed in two closely related designs that must have been created almost simultaneously. Both adopt the large curling pincers above the forehead from the Béziers-Spoleto type, but form them differently. In both versions the hair is full and lively; the strands fall on top of each other in several layers. They move in different directions over the forehead so that they form a large pincer motif that extends from a fork over the inner corner of the left eye to the right corner of the forehead. In the case of a head from Lucus Feroniae (figs. 98a-b) and its copies,⁶ the outer branch of the hair pincers consists of six sickle curls that are laid parallel to one another on a sloping line. In the case of the group around the head in Alcúdia (figs. 99a-b),⁷ this area comprises a bundle of closely fit together sickle curls of various lengths.

⁶ Boschung 1993a, 23-24, 61, 108-109 cat no. 35 pls. 4-6.

⁷ Boschung 1993a, 25-26, 61-63, 110-123 cat no. 6-33 pls. 7-31.

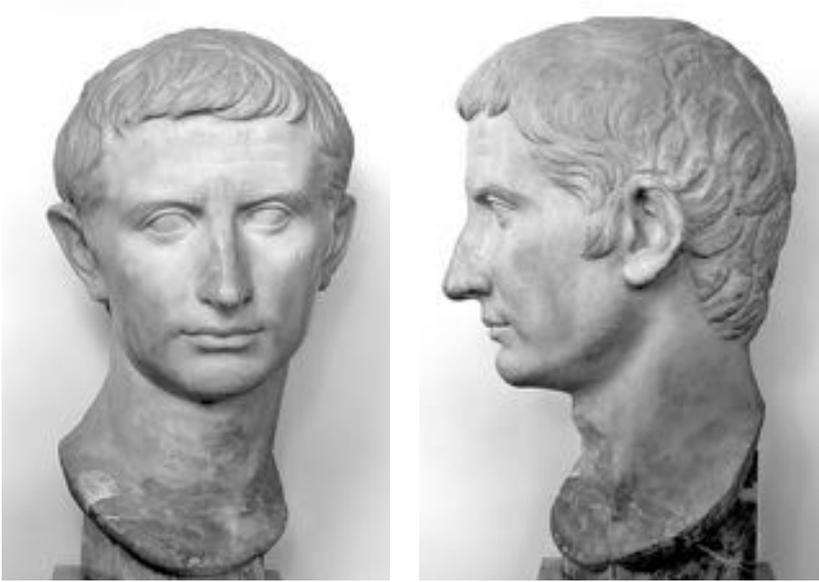
At the same time, the tufts moving against each other are pulled more apart so that the pincer motif emerges more clearly.

Conversely, both types agree exactly in the details of the physiognomy. The contraction of the eyebrows creates two vertical folds, and two long horizontal wrinkles appear on the forehead. The thin cheeks are no longer taut but rather appear sunken. The eyebrows, forehead wrinkles, and eyelids are asymmetrical, which gives the face a life-like appearance. In all these details they differ from the heads from Béziers and Spoleto. The changed basic shape is even more striking. While the strong cheekbones make the face appear broad, in the two other versions the head looks narrower and gaunter due to the slightly retracted temples. Obviously, Octavian had decided to fundamentally change his portrayal. Only the main motif of the hairstyle was retained in a modified form.

The two versions are based on related but different designs. The Lucus Feroniae type can be found on coins from the years before 40 B. C. but not later. Here we find the large hair pincers, the outer part of which is formed by parallel strands that reach to the temple. The version of the Alcúdia type, where this element of the hairstyle appears shorter and tapered, is also reproduced on coins from around the year 40, but also later in issues in connection with the victories against Sextus Pompey and Mark Antony (Boschung 1993a, 59–63).

These portraits were made during the time of the Triumvirate. They were conceived for a situation in which Octavian had to make his stand in bloody battles against the Senate, against Caesar's murderers, then against Lucius Antonius and Fulvia, Sextus Pompey, M. Aemilius Lepidus, and finally against Mark Antony and Cleopatra. During the tumultuous period of the civil wars, Octavian clearly endeavored to express determination and energy in his public portraits. The face looks much older than in the earlier version. But this is not just the reproduction of a biographically conditioned aging process, but a targeted new conception. The expression is now tense; the puckered brows and the resulting steep lines convey strain, and the forehead wrinkles attest to previous troubles. This is no *adulescens*, *paene potius puer*, but an energetic leader who, despite his youth, has already undertaken numerous great struggles and has made important achievements. This corresponds to his assumption of the praenomen *Imperator*, with which Octavian styled himself the permanent and only highest military commander (ch. II.2).

The three types of Octavian portraits discussed above all originate around 40 B. C. With around 30 known examples from Italy, North Africa, and Spain, the Alcúdia type proves to be an effective version of



100a-b Paris, Louvre Ma 1280. Head of Octavian. H. 37.5 cm.

Octavian's portrait. It was occasionally used for posthumous portraits. This suggests that Octavian declared this the authoritative version of his representation and relegated the other two into the background. The central role of the Alcúdia type is also shown by the fact that the physiognomy of the posthumous portrait of Caesar is adapted to it (Hölscher 2018, 180–182) and, above all, that all later types of Augustus' portrait take on its forms—the network of wrinkles on the forehead, the contraction of the eyebrows, the movement of the thin cheeks. The fact that the head types from Béziers and Spoleto differ significantly in the shape of the face and eyes and also do not share the network of forehead wrinkles is a strong indication that it was designed earlier and therefore before 40 B. C. (Boschung 1993a, 61–63).

The Alcúdia type had been an expression of Octavian's role in the civil wars, so it needed to be replaced after the Battle of Actium and the conquest of Alexandria. This was done in a short time with two new portrait types, of which the Louvre 1280 type is the older (figs. 100a–b).⁸ Its origin was probably associated with the triumph of 29 B. C., which

⁸ Boschung 1993a, 27–32, 63, 124–132 cat. no. 34–48 pls. 36–48. Different dating again, but without a new argument, Hertel, D.: Zur Rolle des sog. Typus Forbes des Augustus – Ein neues Porträt des Tiberius. In: Schwarzer, H. / Nieswandt,

celebrated the end of all wars in the Roman Empire, including the end of the civil wars. On January 11, 29, the doors of the Temple of Janus were closed as a sign that peace established by victory had prevailed over the whole of the Roman Empire on water and on land (Augustus, *Res gestae* 13). Octavian's activities in the years after Caesar's assassination—such as his participation in the proscriptions of 43, the killing of Roman citizens in the fighting of the civil wars, or the slaughter of the 300 captives from Perugia—were remembered, but they now were meant to appear essential and beneficial for the state.

The new type is closely linked to the Alcúdia type through its physiognomy and the arrangement of the curls on the sides of the head. The new version has retained the shape of the head and the physiognomic forms unchanged, but has reduced the movement of the hair and arranged the forehead curls evenly next to each other so that they enclose the forehead horizontally with a pair of pincer-curls. At the same time, it integrates elements of the earliest type—the pincer motif again takes up the entire width of the forehead. Two further details of the hairstyle are almost unchanged from the Béziers-Spoleto type: the hair tips pulled down above the right eye are joined, already in the temples, by two parallel but shorter and thinner strands. And the first crescent-shaped strand, which turns from the fork to the left corner of the forehead toward the middle, is somewhat offset and extends a little lower than the other forehead curls.⁹ The earlier versions of Octavian's portrait are thus preserved in the new type. They proved essential and outlived preliminary stages that made the present result possible.

The portrait also appears focused and energetic, but at the same time calmed down by the varied hairstyle. Octavian's portraits showed the familiar facial features unchanged, thus promising continuity and dependability. But they are included in a new context that shows that after the turmoil and struggles in the past, calm and prudence have now returned. The message of peace of this portrait type led to its later use to depict the ruler on the Ara Pacis, the altar of peace commissioned by the Senate.

H.-H. (eds.): "Man kann es sich gar nicht prächtig genug vorstellen." Festschrift Dieter Salzmann. Marsberg/Padberg 2016, 287–297.

⁹ Cf. Boschung 1993a Beilage 2 Skizzen 25–26 curls 2–4, 11, 12 and Beilage 4 Skizzen 41, 42 curls 1–2, 10–11.

5.3 *NOVUS ET AMPLIOR*, PORTRAITS OF THE INCOMPARABLE

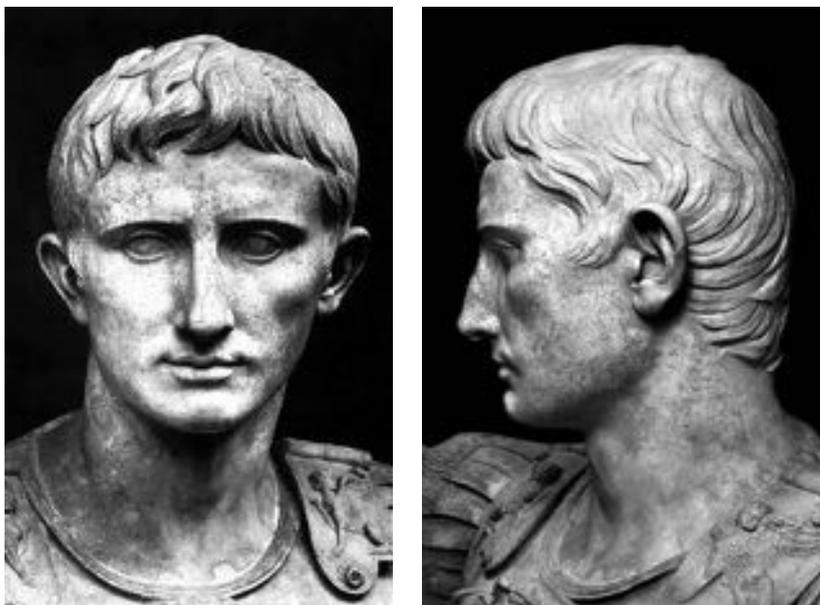
The purported restoration of the Republic came to a conclusion in the year 27 B. C. when a balance of power was established between the Senate and Octavian. While the military and political victor of the civil wars officially returned his power to the Senate, he also secured key powers, privileges, and resources as *princeps*. The Senate ostentatiously expressed its thanks by awarding him the name *Augustus* and extraordinary tokens of honor (ch. II.2). In this context, the portrait of the emperor was also fundamentally redesigned.¹⁰ In this case, we have reliable evidence of numerous details of the design. A cuirass statue of Augustus was found at the Villa of Livia at Prima Porta¹¹ and it can be assumed that the imperial family entrusted this workshop, that had already created the design of the type and thus enjoyed the special trust of the emperor, with producing the portrait head. The sculpture is of the highest quality and its details are reconfirmed by other copies (figs. 101a–b).

The significance of the new version, the Prima Porta type, has always been emphasized for the princeps' self-portrayal. It was a fundamental redesign of his portrait. In contrast to the Louvre 1280 type, which was created immediately after the end of the civil wars, the Prima Porta type not only calmed the curls on the forehead, but also reshaped the facial features. Significant features of the earlier portrait types were again carried over. The network of forehead wrinkles developed for the Alcúdia type is integrated here, but the individual characteristics of the older version have been given up in favor of idealized forms. The eyebrows are regularly curved; the eyes are larger with well-defined eyelids; the asymmetries in this area are eliminated. The cheeks appear fleshier and less sunken; the lips are full and curved; the chin is stronger.

The new type translated the ruler's physiognomy into a Classical formal vocabulary, based particularly on the work of Polykleitos (Zanker 1988, 99 figs. 83–84). This also applies to the attachment of the curls on the sides of the head. Starting from the swirl at the back of the head, full, strong curls grow forward, their tips lying over the brushed-back hair of the temple, creating a careful and harmonious balance of movements

¹⁰ Boschung 1993a, 38–50, 64–65, 139–195 cat. no. 64–217 pls. 69–205.

¹¹ Kähler, H.: Die Augustusstatue von Prima Porta, MAR 1. Cologne 1959.–Boschung 1993a, 179–180 cat. no. 171 pls. 69–70, 82.1; 213.– On the findspot: Pollini, J.: The Findspot of the Statue of Augustus from Prima Porta, *Bullettino della Commissione archeologica comunale di Roma*, 92, 1987–88, 103–108.



101a-b Rome, Musei Vaticani 2290. Head of a cuirass statue of Augustus.
H. of head 27.5 cm.

and counter-movements. The face looks younger than in the Alcúdia type. But unlike the first Octavian type, it does not reflect the age of early youth; rather, it emphasizes Augustus' agelessness and shows him removed from all contingencies of human fate. The aim here was no longer the reproduction of a singular and individual physiognomy; rather, the facial features of the princeps merged with exemplary forms from Greek art. His personality receded behind a fictional character that made him unassailable through its aesthetic qualities. This new portrait of the ruler no longer resembled representations of earlier or contemporary politicians, but matched mythological and idealized figures. The Prima Porta type is thus the appropriate illustration of the name *Augustus*, which suggested its bearer was holy and equal to the gods (ch. II.2). It is fitting that the heads of the Prima Porta type are larger than the previous types. The statues to which these heads belonged were larger than life (about 2.05 meters), which also expressed the extraordinary importance of Augustus through the larger dimensions.

Nevertheless, even in this idealized portrait type, the subject could be clearly identified and individually named. This was ensured by the adoption of the large pincer-curls, which have been simplified and concisely



102 Volterra, Museo Etrusco Guarnacci. Portrait of Augustus. H. 55 cm.



103 Boston, Museum of Fine Arts 99.344. Portrait of Augustus. H. 44 cm.

clarified. The complex tufts of curls of the Alcúdia type are grouped together; two thick points of hair form the outer part of the pincers, only one curl the inner. This created a unique distinguishing feature that unmistakably identified every portrait of Augustus from a distance (figs. 102–103).¹² At the same time, this signet ensured that even qualitatively modest portraits and the smallest miniature portraits on coins, gems, or silver dishes could be understood as depictions of Augustus without ambiguity.

The Prima Porta type marked the end of almost two decades of effort by Caesar's son to find an appropriate and authoritative representation of his unique personality, as reflected in the multiple changes in his name (ch. II.2). The abrupt political upheavals with their changing constellations, opportunities, and risks repeatedly required new forms of self-representation—first as a heaven-sent, boyish savior of Rome, then as an energetic and ruthless general, later as a peacemaking victor, and

¹² Boschung 1993a, 192–193 no. 205 pl. 126 (fig. 102); 146 no. 80 pl. 119.3; 120 (fig. 103).

finally as god-like keeper of the Roman state and its institutions. Later designs repeatedly made selective use of older portrait types. This shows, for example, the continuous, but also different use of the pincer-curls as the main motif of the hairstyle, later the retention of the network of forehead wrinkles found in previous examples and turning of the head. The new versions were not meant to invalidate the older ones; rather, these appear as preliminary stages of a consistent and intentional development that came to an end with the restoration of the Republic.

Yet the creation of the idealized Prima Porta type certainly caused a considerable discrepancy between the representation of Augustus in his portraits and his actual appearance. The emperor was not 2.04 m tall, as statues with Prima Porta-type heads suggested, but at most 1.70 m (Suet. *Aug.* 79). None of his depictions shows the emperor's unconventional clothing, which Suetonius also mentions. He always wore a *petasos* outdoors—a traveler's hat with a wide brim—because he could not stand the sun. In winter he wore four tunics and a thick toga, plus an undershirt (*subucula*), a chest protector made of wool (*thorax laneus*), thigh warmers (*feminalia*), and stockings (*tibialia*; *Aug.* 82.1). No portrait takes up this idiosyncratic drapery, even though it was certainly unique. His hair was also by no means always arranged harmoniously but often rather carelessly and hastily cut. His shave was also done quickly, partly with a knife and partly with scissors. His eyebrows were not nicely curved like in statues of Greek heroes but grew together.

The differences became even more apparent over the next few decades. In the four decades that followed until Augustus' death, no new portrait types were created that might have included age-related changes. At the same time, the years had also left their mark on the emperor's body; his cheeks were sunken (Suet. *Aug.* 99.1) and his protruding teeth had become damaged. His left leg was weaker than the right and his right index finger was often dead, so that he had to secure it with a horn splint (Suet. *Aug.* 79–80). But even if the biological body of the princeps was decrepit, the fictional figure of the Prima Porta type retained the ideal state that had been achieved after great effort and long turmoil.

6. ADAPTATION AND EMANCIPATION OF SUCCESSORS ¹

6.1 IN THE SHADOW OF THE UNIQUE

The singular role of the Prima Porta type with the fusion of individual and ideal forms as well as the development of a distinctive hairstyle as a distinguishing feature is also clear from the fact that its conceptual design remained reserved for Augustus himself for decades. Even for the portraits of Agrippa² and Marcellus,³ who were regarded as his successors, an assimilation with the new portrait of the princeps was avoided. Rather, it is precisely through their different design, committed to the traditions of the late Republic, that the unique position of Augustus emerges even more clearly. Only he had achieved a position that gave him the sacred aura of the son of a god; only he was predestined to save the Roman state and rule the world by the horoscope of his birth. Although Agrippa received singular honors for his successes (ch. I.3.5), he was committed to the traditional values of the Senate with his continuously used portrait.

Against this background, the portraits of Augustus' grandsons, Gaius Caesar and Lucius Caesar, had to appear as unmistakable signs of the formation of a dynasty. In contrast to earlier depictions of imperial relatives, the portrait types created after their adoption by Augustus in 17

1 Boschung 2002, 180–192.– This chapter is not an attempt to outline the history of portraits of Roman emperors, even though it is laid out chronologically. Its sole concern is the different methods of representing the particular and may refer to earlier studies only summarily for essential discussion of many individual aspects.– For basic information on the biographies of persons mentioned, the articles in BNP are recommended, which I do not list individually.

2 Zanker, P. / Cain, P. in: Fittschen/Zanker II 2010, 29–33 no. 16 pl. 21.– Romeo, I.: *Ingenuus leo*. L'immagine di Agrippa. Rome 1998.

3 Zanker, P. in: Fittschen/Zanker I 1985, 19–21 no. 19 pl. 19 Beilage 17.1–2.



104 Eichenzell (Fulda), Schloss Fasanerie ARP 12. Portrait of Gaius Caesar. H. 42.5 cm.



105 Rome, Musei Vaticani 714; Plaster cast FU Berlin. Lucius Caesar. H. of head 22 cm.

B. C. were so closely matched to the emperor that their physiognomy and hairstyle make them appear like rejuvenated versions of Augustus himself (figs. 104–105).⁴ While Agrippa's portrait referred to his own successes and decades of achievements, the particular quality of the emperor's adopted sons lay in their privileged close relationship with Augustus. Like the accompanying inscriptions, which designate Gaius and Lucius as *Augusti filii*, sons of Augustus, the similarity of hairstyle and physiognomy also carried a political message. According to Augustus, a new generation of *Iulii Caesares* was to lead the Roman Empire in the spirit of their adoptive father.

After the carefully planned provision for succession to the throne failed with the early deaths of Lucius and Gaius, Augustus adopted his stepson Tiberius in A. D. 4. At this point, he had already had an eventful career with honors, successes, and setbacks. His changed political role as the designated successor of the emperor was expressed in a new portrait

⁴ Fittschen, K. in: Fittschen/Zanker I 1985, 21–25 no. 20; Fittschen, K.: Katalog der antiken Skulpturen in Schloss Erbach. Berlin 1977, 34–40 no. 12.– Pollini, J.: The Portraiture of Gaius and Lucius Caesar. New York 1987.– Boschung 1993b, 52–54.



106 Berlin, Antikensammlung Sk 1872. Tiberius, Berlin-Naples-Sorrento type. H. of head 24 cm.



107 Copenhagen, Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek 624. Tiberius, Copenhagen 624 type. H. 34 cm.

type.⁵ But unlike Gaius and Lucius, the adoption was not represented in an assimilation with the portrait of the ruler. Rather, facial features from earlier versions⁶ have been retained almost unchanged and the most important curl motifs of the hairstyle have been borrowed but re-weighted (fig. 106). The reference to the earlier portraits was a reminder of the numerous successes and honors that Tiberius had received since his youth. This emphasis on continuity ignored the biographical breaks and feigned an unbroken success story. In fact, the claims of Tiberius—unlike those of Gaius and Lucius—were based not merely on his close relationship with the emperor, but on a multitude of military victories and the highest honors and offices, which also made him the leading authority of the Roman Empire after Augustus according to Republican standards.

The late Augustan version of Tiberius' portrait placed the fork of hair in the middle of the forehead and had the short curls form clearly legible pincer motifs on both sides, which continued into the temple

⁵ Hertel, D.: *Die Bildnisse des Tiberius. Das römische Herrscherbild I 3*. Wiesbaden 2013, 45–52, 161–165 no. 52–61 pls. 52–62.– *Boschung* 1993b, 57–58 Ld.

⁶ Hertel op. cit. 13–44, 135–161 no. 1–51 pls. 1–51.– *Boschung* 1993b, 56–57 La–Lc.

hair. This hairstyle became the model for portraits of Germanicus,⁷ who was adopted by Tiberius, and from whom it was later also adopted by his sons,⁸ including the emperor Caligula,⁹ and by his brother Claudius (Boschung 1993b, 70–71). This results in a chain of references in the portraits of the imperial family extending over three generations from the late Augustan portrait of Tiberius with a central fork and corner pincers to depictions of Germanicus to portraits of his sons and his brother.

6.2 DIFFERENCE AS DISTINCTION

After the death of Augustus in A. D. 14, Tiberius took power as planned. It was a sign of the legitimacy of this succession that Tiberius took on the name *Augustus* (ch. IV.1.3); in his title he also called himself the son of the deified Augustus, *divi Augusti filius Augustus*. With this he indicated that he had the same position as his predecessor; he too was the son of a god and also bore the name *Augustus*, which still had a sacred aura. It is all the more astonishing that a type of portrait created after the takeover of rule did not seek to relate to his deified predecessor, but rather clearly set itself apart from him (fig. 107).

The physiognomy of the new Tiberius portrait is based on earlier versions, but it strengthens the wrinkles on the cheeks, making the emperor appear older.¹⁰ In fact, Tiberius was 56 years old when he took office. But the portrait does not depict any biological aging process, because the forehead is smooth, and the eyes are regular and without crow's feet. Rather, like the Prima Porta type of Augustus, this portrait combines individual characteristics with ideal forms, even if the result is clearly different. Individual features of the Tiberius portrait are the broad skull, the aquiline nose, the receding lower lip, and the clearly marked cheek folds; ideal forms are the wrinkle-free forehead, the symmetrical shape of the eyes with clearly defined lids, and the evenly curved lips.

7 Boschung 1993b, 59–60 Na.– Boschung, D.: Bilder des Germanicus. In: Burmeister, St. / Rottmann, J. (eds.): *Ich Germanicus*. Darmstadt 2015, 88–97.

8 Boschung 1993b, 64–67.– Mlasowsky, A.: *Imagines imperii*. Griechische und römische Bildnisse einer norddeutschen Sammlung. Mainz 2006, 58–62 no. 7 pls. 10, 11.

9 Boschung, D.: *Die Bildnisse des Caligula*. Das römische Herrscherbild I 4. Berlin 1989.– Boschung/Fögen 2019, 76–90.

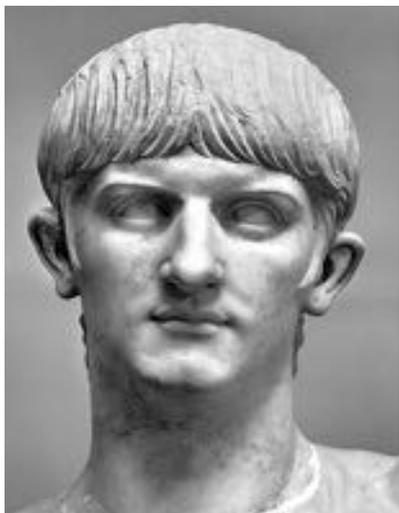
10 Hertel op. cit. 69–80, 183–201 no. 93–126 pls. 90–119.– Boschung 1993b, 58 Lf.

The face follows earlier portraits of Tiberius from the Augustan period, but the hairstyle has been redesigned. While his portrait types from the Augustan period vary their pattern of curls with two differently designed hair-pincers over the right half of the face and a pincer-curl over the left, the new design deviates from this in significant ways. The hair above the forehead is pushed together tightly and ends on a horizontal line. Starting at a fork above the right eye, it is turned outwards to the corners of the forehead, where it ends in two closed pincers. This represents a distancing from the portrait of his predecessor with his distinctive curl of forehead hair (fig. 101), but also from his own earlier portraits as a prince. The new portrait type, created after coming to power, signaled that Tiberius had achieved a new rank after all his successes gained under Augustus. Unlike the adoptive sons Gaius and Lucius once had, the new emperor does not appear simply as a rejuvenated or renewed Augustus, but as an independent and in a new way distinctive personality.

The portraits of the three subsequent rulers of the Julio-Claudian dynasty reveal a common strategy. At the beginning of their rule they emphasize dynastic continuity and thus justify the legitimacy of their power. Both Caligula and Claudius initially used portrait types connected with representations of Germanicus. He had been chosen by Augustus as the successor of Tiberius but could not rule because of his early death. Both his son Caligula and, a few years later, his brother Claudius owed their power to their kinship with Germanicus, and so it made sense to visualize their close relationship in a portrait. For Nero it was his adoption by Claudius that made him emperor, and his first two portrait types make this relationship clear through the assimilation of his hairstyle.

In the course of their reigns, all three emperors had new portrait types created that emphasize their independence. This reorientation was particularly strong for Nero. At the beginning of his reign, a widespread portrait type further developed the prince's portrait and showed that the heir to the throne had grown into a young man (fig. 108).¹¹ The next

11 On the portrait types of Nero and their dating: Boschung, D.: Nero im Porträt. In: Nero. Kaiser, Künstler und Tyrann. Exhibition catalog. Trier 2016, 82–88.–Bergmann, M.: Die Strahlen der Herrscher. Theomorphes Herrscherbild und politische Symbolik im Hellenismus und in der römischen Kaiserzeit. Mainz 1998, 147–149.–Schneider, R. M.: Gegenbilder im römischen Kaiserporträt. Die neuen Gesichter Neros und Vespasians. In: Büchsel, M. / Schmidt, P (eds.): Das Porträt vor der Erfindung des Porträts: Mainz 2003 esp. 63–68.



108 Cagliari, Museo Archeologico Nazionale 35.533. Nero, Cagliari type.



109 Rome, Museo Nazionale Romano 618. Nero, Terme type. H. 31 cm.

image type (fig. 109), on the other hand, represented a programmatic break. While earlier portraits show a simple hairstyle according to the last Claudius type, the hair is now styled in more elaborate manner. The strands no longer lie flat on the head and no longer run in a straight line. They are fuller and are pulled forward on the head in waves. The hair fans out over the forehead and forms large, sickle-shaped strands. The cheeks are soft and fleshy, and the eyes lie deep in the eye sockets. According to the identification of coin portraits this type first appears in 59, which marked a dramatic turning point in Nero's reign with the murder of his mother Agrippina minor, Augustus' great-granddaughter. The new version of the portrait visualized a conception of the role of the ruler that was demonstratively different from all previous emperors. With the *coma semper in gradus formata* (Suet. *Nero* 51), the hair that always laid in waves, it created a characteristic mark of Nero that made him appear particular and singular in a new way. When another version of Nero's portrait was created five years later, the artificial wavy hairstyle was retained in a slightly modified form.

The chronological examination of the portraits of the Julio-Claudian rulers reveals a sequence of continuities and programmatic upheavals. Although their rule was ultimately legitimized by their kinship with *divus Augustus*, there was no visual assimilation among any of his actual successors. While Tiberius clearly distinguished himself from the portrait

of Augustus right at the beginning of his reign, the emperors Caligula, Claudius, and Nero emphasized the connection to their predecessors at the beginning of their reigns and tried to express the dynastic legitimacy through images. Later, after their power seemed secure, they gave up the visual reference to the dynasty and sought to create their own unique identifiers, as Augustus had in creating the *Prima Porta* type. With Claudius this happened through a radical simplification of the hairstyle, with Nero, however, through a fundamentally new conception.

This stands in striking contrast to the portraits of the women of the imperial family, for whom authoritative designs were also created as models for sculptural and glyptic portraits as well as for coin portraits (Boschung 2002, 182–184, 190–192). The portrait of Livia was the starting point of over a century of typological development. While Augustus' wife was initially portrayed in several portrait types with fashionable and complicated late Republican hairstyles, she was later portrayed in a version with a fundamentally different coiffure (fig. 110).¹² Starting from a center part, the strands run in waves to the side and back, covering the upper part of the ears.¹³ This simple, seemingly modest center part hairdo is actually highly sophisticated as it is closely related to idealized goddess hairstyles. Like the Augustus *Prima Porta* type (ch. III.5.3), ideal and individual elements were merged, which removed Livia from comparison with contemporary fashions and made her inimitable.

A portrait of Augustus' niece Antonia minor probably made in 16 B. C. (Boschung 2002, 190), who played a key dynastic role as the mother of Germanicus and the emperor Claudius, also has a center part hairstyle (fig. 111). This was taken over and added to for her daughter-in-law Agrippina maior (fig. 112) in the late Augustan period.¹⁴ The strands on both sides of the part are more detached and often end in loop-shaped ring curls. The portraits of Livia, Antonia, and Agrippina stood together in some groups of statues. The attentive observer could deduce the women's connection from the similarity of their hairstyles, and the individual identification of those depicted resulted from the differences.

¹² Fittschen/Zanker III 1983, 3–4 no. 3 with n. 9 with copy series (Z.).– Boschung, D.: *Ikonographische Überlegungen zum Trierer Liviaporträt*, *Trierer Zeitschrift* 79/80, 2016/17, 31–5.

¹³ Cf. the copies in Rome, Capitol (Fittschen/Zanker III 1983, 3–5 no. 3 pls. 2, 31) as well as Bochum and St. Petersburg.

¹⁴ Boschung, D.: *Agrippina*, “*Glanz des Vaterlandes*,” *Kölner Jahrbuch* 35, 2002, 207–226.– Tansini, R.: *I ritratti di Agrippina maggiore*. Rome 1995.



110 Cologne, Römisch-Germanisches Museum 1994.1. Livia. H. 31 cm.



111 Schloss Erbach. Antonia minor. H. 47 cm.

The hairstyle of Agrippina maior was later further developed in the portrait types of her daughter Agrippina minor (fig. 113).¹⁵ The hair scheme remained largely unchanged, but the bulk of the hair was broken up more. While the mother's coiffure shows individual eyelet curls, they occupy ever larger areas in the daughter's hair. The adoption of Agrippina maior's hairstyle is explained by the political importance that she had as Augustus' biological granddaughter. The juxtaposition of the portraits of mother and daughter, as shown for example in the depiction on Gemma Claudia (plate 10a–b),¹⁶ illustrated the close family relationship between the two women through the similarity of their hairstyles, and through the different fashionable styling also made clear that they belonged to different generations.

The princesses and empresses of the Tiberian through Claudian periods wore hairstyles that ultimately went back to the portrait of Livia with a center part. Her hairdo was often combined with elements of contemporary fashion, such as twisted highlights, shoulder-length curls, and braids. It is noticeable that the development of the female portrait is

15 Boschung 1993b, 73–74.– Trillmich, W.: Typologie der Bildnisse der Iulia Agrippina. In: Moltesen, M. / Nielsen, A. M. (eds.): *Agrippina minor. Life and Afterlife*. Copenhagen 2007, 45–66.

16 Zwierlein-Diehl, E.: *Magie der Steine. Die antiken Prunkkameen im Kunsthistorischen Museum*. Vienna 2008, 158–165 no. 13.



112 Paris, Louvre Ma 1271. Agrippina maior.



113 Copenhagen, Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek 636. Agrippina minor. H. 36 cm.

more consistent and uniform than that of rulers and princes, although new types of portraits were frequently made for the female members of the ruling house. The line of development can be traced beyond the end of the Julio-Claudian dynasty to the Flavian period. It was not until the Trajanic period that a fundamentally different hairstyle was designed for the women of the imperial family, which was defined by the inclusion of artificial hair pieces.

At the time of its creation, the portrait of Livia with its center part stood out sharply and programmatically from the fashion hairdos of contemporary women, thus initially creating a distinctive feature that belonged exclusively to Augustus' wife. When her younger relatives took up the model, an individual combination with fashionable elements ensured that they could be differentiated. The striving for a unique designation was of course undermined by the fact that the ladies of the imperial family were imitated by numerous private portraits, which were based on the hairstyles of the empresses and princesses without copying them exactly.

After Nero's death and the end of the Julio-Claudian dynasty, several times a mode of representation was chosen that did not refer to the current ruler's predecessor, but to earlier periods. After the fall of Nero, Vespasian avoided any assimilation to emperors like Tiberius, Caligula, Claudius, or Nero, who were remembered negatively by the Senate.



114 Copenhagen, National Museum 3425. Vespasian. H. 39 cm.



115 Rome, Musei Capitolini 1156. Bust of Domitian. H. of head 26 cm.

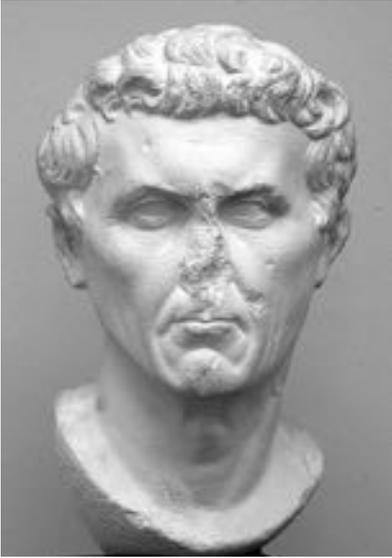
Vespasian was 60 years old when he took power, hardly older than Tiberius in A. D. 14., but his portraits consistently show him as an older man with a bald head, crow's feet and a wrinkled face (fig. 114).¹⁷ They are reminiscent of representations of Republican politicians (ch. III.4.2). Admittedly, at the beginning of his rule, Vespasian had the Senate and the people confirm for him the privileges of the emperors Augustus, Tiberius, and Claudius with a *lex de imperio Vespasiani*.¹⁸ Thus, from the outset there could be no doubt that a return to the conditions of the Roman Republic was not intended.

Even though some private portraits of the Neronian period chose a similar representation,¹⁹ Vespasian's choice meant a demonstrative redefinition. The reference to pre-Augustan portraits clearly signaled a differentiation from the Julio-Claudian emperors and especially from

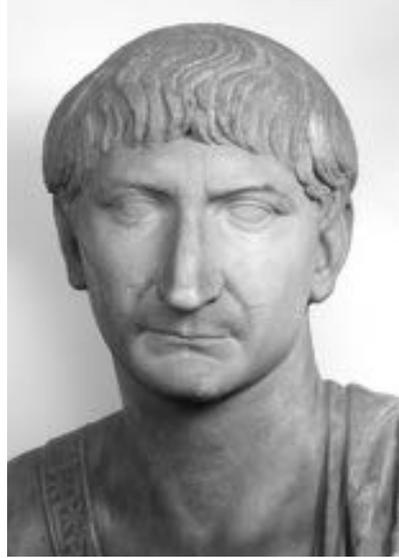
17 Bergmann, M. / Zanker, P.: "Damnatio memoriae." Umgearbeitete Nero- und Domitiansporträts. Zur Ikonographie der flavischen Kaiser und des Nerva, *JdI* 96, 1981, 332–349.– Schneider as n. 11, 70–74.

18 Crawford, M. H.: *Roman Statutes I*. London 1996, 549–553 no. 39.

19 Bergmann, M.: Zeittypen im Kaiserporträt? In: *Wissenschaftliche Zeitschrift der Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin. Reihe Gesellschaftswissenschaften* 31, 1982, 143–144.



116 Copenhagen, Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek 772; Plaster cast FU Berlin. Nerva.



117 Rome, Musei Capitolini 438. Trajan. H. of head 24.5 cm.

Nero. The distancing remained evident even when the portraits of Nero had been removed and only the statues of the accepted predecessors—Augustus, Tiberius, and Claudius—remained in public spaces. At the same time Vespasian stood out from the portraits of most of his contemporaries, because the portrayal of the imperial family had also had a significant influence on private portraits.²⁰ Just as Augustus avoided comparison with possible rivals with the *Prima porta* type (ch. III.5.3), Vespasian's portrait made the new emperor appear unique by deliberately distancing himself from his contemporaries and ensured he increased attention through aesthetic difference.

When Domitian took over rule in A. D. 81 after the death of his father Vespasian and his brother Titus, a new portrait was created for him that differed from Vespasian in many respects (fig. 115).²¹ His long

20 On the influence of Nero's portrait on his contemporaries: Zanker, P.: *Herrscherbild und Zeitgesicht*. *Wissenschaftliche Zeitschrift der Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin*. Reihe Gesellschaftswissenschaften 31, 1982, 310.– Cain, P.: *Männerbildnisse neronisch-flavischer Zeit*. Munich 1993 esp. 30–38.

21 Bergmann/Zanker op. cit. 349–374.– Zanker, P. in *Fittschen/Zanker I* 35–37 no. 32. 33 pls. 34–37.

hair separates above the forehead in wavy curls and turns to the left in uniform sickle curls. This creates a fork on the right corner of the forehead because the points of hair turn evenly downwards on both temples. The high, smooth forehead is framed in a trapezoidal shape. A similar hairstyle with long, evenly wavy strands had previously been worn by Nero. Even if his portraits had long since been removed, the memory of his *coma semper in gradus formata* was preserved, because Suetonius (*Nero* 51) still knew of it. While Domitian's portrait is distinguished from his father and brother by his hairstyle, his physiognomy is similar to that of Titus. For both, the face is broad and fleshy, with soft impressions and folds near the nose and corners of the mouth. In contrast to Vespasian's portrait, any hint of age is avoided; rather, the smooth skin shows an ideal timelessness.

After the murder and the *damnatio memoriae* of Domitian (A. D. 96), it made sense for his then 66-year-old successor, Nerva, to clearly distinguish himself in his portrait (fig. 116).²² This was done on the one hand by emphasizing the lean, sharply cut profile of the head. Like Vespasian before him, Nerva also set himself apart from his youthful predecessor and emphasized his experience and the consistency of his achievements. Additionally, his hairstyle matches Julio-Claudian imperial heads. As with Tiberius (fig. 106), the forehead curls separate over the center of the face and form two pincer motifs on the right and a single one on the left. This may be because the first version of his portrait was created in the Claudian period, when Nerva began his career, and its hairstyle was retained for his portrait as emperor. In any case, the new emperor signaled his departure from the Flavians and styled himself like a ruler of the early principate. In doing so, he also avoided memories of his role in the suppression of the senatorial conspiracy against Nero in A. D. 65, for which he had received a *statua triumphalis* in the Forum of Augustus and another statue on the Palatine Hill (*Tac. Ann.* 15.72.1). The connection to Domitian, with whom Nerva had jointly held the consulate in A. D. 90, could also be overridden with the chosen portrait concept.

²² Bergmann/Zanker op. cit. 380–403.– Jucker, H. in: Jucker, H. / Willers, D.: *Gesichter. Griechische und römische Bildnisse aus Schweizer Besitz*. Bern 1982, 112–113 no. 45.– Sinn, F.: *Das Porträt Nervas*. In: *Bol IV* 2010, 150–152 figs. 237–239.



118 Rome, Musei Capitolini 443.
Hadrian.



119 Naples, Museo Archeologico Nazionale 6033. Bust of Caracalla.

6.3 CONTINUITY AND BREAK

Trajan had been adopted by Nerva and succeeded him in A. D. 98. Even though he designated himself *divi Nervae filius* in his title and took the name *Nerva* himself, his portrait clearly set him apart from his predecessor (fig. 117).²³ In the simplest version, strands of hair part over the center of the face and point to the sides. This simple hairstyle combined with an aged face is reminiscent of the last Claudius type (fig. 108). But more important was undoubtedly the distancing from Domitian, from whom Trajan was meant to differ as clearly as possible. This was also the purpose of the design of the facial features, which, unlike Domitian, show struggle and drive with the puckered forehead. The cheeks have deep and long folds alongside the nose. We meet an older but strong and energetic man whose individual traits are emphasized.

Just as Nerva adopted Trajan, Trajan in turn adopted Hadrian. Inscriptions underline the dynastic continuity, because they designate Hadrian as the son of *divus Traianus* and grandson of *divus Nerva*. But like Trajan, Hadrian also refrained from making clear in his portrait their close relationship. His portrait (fig. 118) refers neither to his deified

23 Boschung, D.: Die Bildnisse des Trajan. In: Schallmayer, E. (ed.): Traian in Germanien, Traian im Reich. Bad Homburg v.d.H. 1999, 137–144.– Bergmann, M.: Zu den Porträts des Trajan und Hadrian. In: Caballos Rufino, A. / León Alonso, P. (eds.): Itálica MMCC. Actas de las jornadas del 2200 aniversario de la fundación de Itálica 1994. Sevilla 1997, 137–153.– Sinn op. cit. 152–159.

grandfather Nerva nor to the likewise deified father Trajan. Rather, the viewer had to draw out this connection from the inscriptions accompanying the statues. All versions of Hadrian's portrait clearly distinguish him from his predecessors by his full beard and his thick, curly hair.²⁴ In private portraits, men were occasionally depicted with short-cropped beards from the beginning of the Imperial period.²⁵ Moreover, there may have been bearded images in Rome from the time of the Republic that could still be seen in the Imperial period.²⁶ Above all, however, a comparison with the bearded heads of Greek poets and philosophers was obvious. For the self-representation of an emperor, however, Hadrian's portrait meant the spectacular emphasis on a special personality, which obviously stood out from earlier portraits of rulers.

Since Tiberius, every emperor had placed value on distancing himself from his predecessors through his portrait, even if he owed his rule to them. This could take place at the beginning of their reign or with a certain delay if, as with the Julio-Claudian emperors, dynastic legitimacy was first emphasized. Falling back on historical portrait forms could be used to denote the difference, as in the case of Vespasian and Nerva. This resulted in constant change in the appearance of the rulers, which followed different conceptions of the portrait and thus marked turning points in rule.

The sequence of imperial portraits in the second century A. D. is different. While Hadrian's portrait broke with the concept of earlier imperial portraits, it also established a new tradition that was to be continued for over a century and shaped the portraits of his successors Antoninus Pius,²⁷ Marcus Aurelius,²⁸ Lucius Verus, and Commodus. They all adopt and vary the portrait form established by Hadrian with full, curly hair, a well-groomed full beard, and relaxed facial features. This manifests the political continuity of the second century A. D., which was visualized with the maintenance of the portrait concept. Even after the murder of

24 Evers, C.: *Les portraits d'Hadrien. Typologie et ateliers*. Brussels 1994.

25 Bergmann as n. 19, 144–145.– Cain as n. 20, 100–104.

26 Cf. Cain, P. in Fittschen/Zanker II 2010, 1–4 no. 1.

27 Boschung, D.: *Jenseits des Narrativs? Kaiserporträt und Staatsrelief in der Zeit des Antoninus Pius*. In: Michels, Ch. / Mittag, P. F. (eds.): *Jenseits des Narrativs. Antoninus Pius in den nicht-literarischen Quellen*. Stuttgart 2017, 53–63.

28 Bergmann, M.: *Marc Aurel*. Frankfurt 1978.– Boschung, D.: *The Portraits. A Short Introduction*. In: van Ackeren, M.: *A Companion to Marcus Aurelius*. Chichester 2012, 294–304.

Commodus and the ensuing civil wars, the portrait of the victor, Septimius Severus, aligned with the Antonines.²⁹ It was meant to make obvious his fictive adoption by Marcus Aurelius, which was also expressed in the designation of Septimius Severus as *divi Marci filius divi Commodi frater*. In this way, a genealogy was constructed beyond the violent end of the Antonine dynasty that identified Septimius Severus as the rightful heir to a line of deified emperors going back five generations. The portraits of the Severan princes Caracalla and Geta were also designed following the pattern of the Antonines (plate 11).³⁰

While the similar design of the hair and beard signaled dynastic continuity and close ties to Hadrian and his successors for over a century, differences in physical details are signs of individuality. The physiognomic idiosyncrasies of each emperor are strongly emphasized. Hadrian's heads show a striking individual shape of the lower eyelids, which widen outwards and, unlike in the imperial portraits of the first century, his ear lobes also have a unique shape with a vertically aligned notch. The face of Antoninus Pius is defined by his bushy, outward sloping eyebrows. With Marcus Aurelius and his biological son, Commodus, the eyes are emphasized by the fact that the curved brows are raised, and the wide upper eyelids are visible. The detailed forms of the physiognomy are now strengthened and mark the emperor in his particularity.

The most famous portrait type of Caracalla (fig. 119), which was created after he came to power, distanced itself from the retrospective portraits of Septimius Severus focused on dynastic reference. The head is turned abruptly to the side, the forehead strongly contracted. The expression seems tense, wild, and determined, in stark contrast to the friendly and relaxed faces of the Antonine emperors like Antoninus Pius or Marcus Aurelius. Here the viewer does not encounter a level-headed ruler, but a determined and energetic warrior who terrifies his enemies.³¹

29 Raeder, J.: Herrscherbildnis und Münzpropaganda. Zur Deutung des Serapistypus des Septimius Severus, *JdI* 107, 1992, 175–196.– Raeder, J.: Die antiken Skulpturen in Petworth House. *MAR XXVIII*. Mainz 2000, 149–153 no. 49–50.

30 Pangerl, A.: Portraits. 500 Jahre römische Münzbildnisse. Munich 2017, 375–381: Zwei feindliche Brüder – Caracalla und Geta.

31 Fittschen, K. in Fittschen/Zanker I 1985, 105–109 no. 91–93 pls. 110–114 Beil. 71–77.– Gasparri 2009, 111–112, 296–299 no. 86.– Background on portraits of the 3rd century A. D.: Bergmann, M.: Studien zum römischen Porträt des 3. Jahrhunderts n. Chr. Bonn 1977.– Bergmann, M.: Gli imperatori e le stilizzazioni delle loro immagini. In: La Rocca, E. / Parisi Presicce, C. / Lo Monaco, A.: *L'età*

6.4 CHANGE OF RULERS, CONTINUITY OF RULE

At the end of the third century it can be observed that the emperor's portrait was more interested in emphasizing the ruler's singular position and not in the visualization of his personality. Even for Diocletian, who steered the fate of the Roman Empire for more than 20 years, no authoritative image types can be found. We do know coin portraits of the emperors of this period and a number of reliefs with their likenesses. Nevertheless, it is hardly possible to individually identify portrait sculptures of Diocletian and the tetrarchs who ruled with him. This is an expression of the system of government developed by Diocletian, which was based on the collegial cooperation of several rulers who were supposed to govern in close agreement with respect to their hierarchy. In contrast to the early and middle Imperial period, a certain emperor no longer had to be recognizable throughout the empire by his individualized portrait. While, since the late Republic, heads associated with idealized bodies had visualized the identity of the person depicted, the person of the emperor could now be determined by the regalia and the hierarchy of figures (Boschung 2020, 256–262).

Even when Constantine again employed the early Imperial practice of producing and disseminating uniform portrait types and distanced himself from the tetrarchs through his beardlessness and hairstyle,³² the need for an unmistakable identification of the ruler remained. Late in the reign of Constantine, the diadem came to be used again, which had been an exclusive attribute of a monarch since the Hellenistic period (ch. VI.1.3).³³ Admittedly, the simple variant of the Hellenistic royal headband did not seem sufficient to symbolize the splendor and aura of the emperor, so it was set with an abundance of pearls and jewels. Together with the pearl pendant, ornate jeweled fibula, and the nimbus—the disk

dell'angoscia. Da Commodo a Diocleziano, 180–305 d. C. Rome 2015, 75–83 cf. 155–165, 177–181, 196–198, 209–217, 334–343, 350–355, 361, 363–367, 375–383.

32 Zanker, P. in Fittschen/Zanker I 1985, 147–152 no. 122.

33 Kovacs, M.: *praeclara in veste*. Kommunikation von Rang und sozialer Distinktion im spätantiken Amtsortnat. In: Boschung/Queyrel 2020, 373–430.– Restle, M.: Herrschaftszeichen. In: Reallexikon für Antike und Christentum 14. Stuttgart 1988, 952–954.– Delbrueck, R.: Spätantike Kaiserporträts von Constantinus Magnus bis zum Ende des Westreichs. Berlin/Leipzig 1933, 56–66.

of light around the head of the ruler³⁴—it made apparent the emperor's special position through the end of antiquity. The attributes remained even when rulers changed. It is precisely because of this that, together with the name *Augustus* (ch. IV.1.3) used as the imperial title, they illustrate the continuity and timeless stability of the system of rule. It is these attributes that unmistakably identify Justinian to every viewer as the unique and unapproachable emperor in the mosaics of San Vitale in Ravenna from A. D. 546–548 (plate 12: Kovacs 2014, 208–209 fig. 122.1).

34 Warland, R.: Nimbus. In: Reallexikon für Antike und Christentum 25. Stuttgart 2015, 915–920.

IV THE PARTICULAR BECOMES GENERAL

1. ADMONITION AND EXEMPLAR

1.1 THE PARTICULAR AS EXEMPLUM

Embodiments of the particular (ch. I.3) must have attracted increased attention as deviations from the general and the usual. They could either perfect existing conventions in a unique way or blatantly violate them, and precisely because of this they could seem jarring, attractive, or alienating. As striking phenomena that stood out from the mass of seemingly comparable occurrences by their importance, the prominence of the actors, or the circumstances of events, they were able to describe binding values, moral deficits, recurring constellations, and sequences of events in a characteristic and concise manner. Thus, they functioned as *exempla*, as prominent and highlighted individual cases that were a model or example of behavior that should be strived for or avoided.

In antiquity, it was a common conception that the acts of prominent people provided a point of reference for one's own conduct. In them, generally accepted values were spectacularly and memorably articulated in a particular way, so that they were remembered. In the *Iliad*, the deeds of the heroes, the ἄνδρες ἥρῳες (Hom. *Il.* IX.524–525), served as a benchmark and model for current judgements.¹ Phoenix presents the enraged Achilles with the earlier hero Meleager as a role model, because he gave up his anger despite his severe humiliation and saved his home city (Hom. *Il.* IX.527–604). Achilles should do the same—and it is well known that Achilles, having heeded this advice, became a far more famous hero than Meleager. Achilles himself argues using an *exemplum* from earlier times when he exhorts the grieving Priam to overcome the pain of Hektor's death and to eat again, as Niobe had once done after an even greater loss (Hom. *Il.* XXIV.599–620). The conduct of Achilles

¹ Boschung, D.: Heroische Aspekte im römischen Kaiserporträt. Der Fall des Augustus. In: von den Hoff, R. et al. (eds.): *Imitatio heroica. Heldenangleichung im Bildnis*. Würzburg 2015, 85–97.

reference to Achilles, Octavian also followed the model of the Macedonian Alexander, who had become “the Great” through his imitation of the Homeric hero and who in turn was considered a clear model for later generals, like Caesar and Pompey.

In other respects, too, the invocation of Achilles as a model by Caesar’s heir was extremely ambitious. It not only emphasizes the determination to fulfill one’s duty to a friend at the cost of one’s own life but could also suggest further associations and comparisons. Thus addressing Atia “as if she were the goddess Thetis” drew attention to the close connection between the always helpful mother and her extremely brave son, the strongest and most capable of all warriors. This may have been intentional and was most flattering for both of them. But the reference to a mythological or historical *exemplum* could evoke not only desirable but also problematic aspects. As is well known, an early death awaits Achilles on the battlefield; this is explicitly mentioned in the exchange in the *Iliad* (XVIII.96). Even if Octavian did not want the quote to be understood as an announcement of an imminent and violent end, his opponents could use it in this sense.⁴ Additionally, Octavian’s military prowess was not undisputed; he is said to have run away in his first battle at Mutina and only reappeared two days later without his paludamentum and without a horse. In the second battle there he fought valiantly, but allegedly also murdered the consul Hirtius with his own hands. During the fighting at Philippi he is said to have hidden in the swamps for three days and during the sea battle of Naulochos he lay frozen on his back until Agrippa had won the battle (Suet. *Aug.* 10, 16; Plin. *NH* 7.148). A comparison with Achilles’ bravery would not have been very favorable for Octavian in the following years. Furthermore, the Achilles of the *Iliad* could have been interpreted not only as a model for the love of friends and for bravery, but also as an example of an unrestrained lust for blood,⁵ as was also said of Octavian during the civil war (Suet. *Aug.* 9–15). So, there were good reasons not to point to Achilles as a role model. Octavian must have

4 Indicative of the hope of being able to soon get rid of the young Octavian again is, for example, Cicero’s slogan that the “young man” should not only be praised and honored, but also transported (to the afterlife): Cic. *Fam.* 11.20.1; on Octavian’s reaction, see Suet. *Aug.* 12.

5 Cf. the battle with Xanthos in book 21 of the *Iliad*. On the brutality of Achilles, Giuliani, L.: Kriegers Tischsitten – oder: Die Grenzen der Menschlichkeit, in: Hölkeskamp, K.-J. et al. (eds.): Sinn (in) der Antike. Orientierungssysteme, Leitbilder und Wertkonzepte im Altertum. Mainz 2003, 135–161.

felt the ambivalence of mythological *exempla* when his performance as Apollo at a banquet was commented upon by his opponents who agreed that he was certainly an Apollo, but Apollo the Flayer (*tortor*) who had his challengers—like Marsyas—tortured to death (Suet. *Aug.* 70.1).

Beside mythological models, there were exemplary historical figures. When Coriolanus, furious over unfair treatment by his compatriots, threatened his home city of Rome with an enemy army, his mother successfully exhorted him to turn back with the example of Collatinus. He had, in a similar situation a generation earlier, not turned against his city, but went into exile in Lavinium and lived there in loyalty and friendship to his father city (Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* VIII.49.6).

The use of mythological and historical *exempla* required careful collection and consideration. Augustus compiled, for his own purposes, rules and examples (*praecepta et exempla*) for exemplary conduct from reading Greek and Latin writers, which he recommended to both his relatives and Roman officials (Suet. *Aug.* 89.2). C. Julius Hyginus, freedman and librarian of Augustus, composed a collection of *exempla* (Gell. *NA* 10.18.7), which the emperor could refer back to. The *Facta et dicta memorabilia* (“Memorable Deeds and Sayings”) by Valerius Maximus, which were written in the time of Tiberius and have been widely read into modern times, were even more important. They conveyed guidelines for one’s actions, which were based on generally accepted role models and were intended to encourage compliance with norms and provide moral guidelines.⁶ They also invited people to compare themselves with the models from the past, which were not only to be imitated but, if possible, also equaled or even surpassed. Historical *exempla* could also be used to legitimize scandalous actions by setting precedents. Caligula justified the kidnapping of a married woman *exemplo Romuli et Augusti* (Suet. *Calig.* 25.1). The rape of the Sabine women, which Caligula cited as his model, was considered a decisive event in Rome’s foundation story and was even depicted in the city’s public buildings in this context (Boschung 2020, 215–217 fig. 126).

The *imitatio* of mythic and historic models could affect one’s own lifestyle and even one’s manner of death. For example, the philosopher Peregrinus committed suicide in Olympia in A. D. 165 by burning him-

⁶ Langlands, R.: Aemulatio and Imitatio in Roman exemplary ethics. In: Bettenworth, A. / Boschung, D. / Formisano, M. (eds): For example. Martyrdom and Imitation in Early Christian Texts and Arts. Morphomata 43. Paderborn 2020, 15–32.

self to death following the example of Hercules. In his words, whoever lived like Herakles should also die like Herakles, so he put aside his club and plunged himself into the flames of the pyre (Lukian, *Peregrinus* 33, 36). Death in mythological costume, as the enforced adherence to an *exemplum*, was one of the types of execution carried out in the Roman amphitheater. In the Neronian period, Lucilius (*Anth. Gr.* 11.184) reports the execution of a man named Meniskos, who, like Hercules, stole three golden apples from the Garden of the Hesperides; presumably this refers to theft of imperial property. The thief ended like the mythical Hercules; he was burned alive, as a spectacle in the arena and furthermore as an *exemplum* for the punishment of the hubris of a wrongdoer. Tertullian also speaks of “frequent” executions in which the condemned was burned in the role of Hercules, presumably dressed as Hercules with a lion’s skin and club.⁷

Other punishments followed a historic *exemplum*. Martial mentions (8.30, 10.25) a criminal who had to burn his hand in the Colosseum like Mucius Scaevola once did. Historical *exempla* were also chosen not just for individual executions but for public mass killings. This happened in public mock sea battles, which were meant to reenact historic battles and in which thousands of prisoners of war and criminals were killed⁸—as Egyptians and Tyrians under Julius Caesar, as Athenians and Persians under Augustus and Nero, and as Corinthians and Korkyraeans under Titus. The spectacle that Claudius offered the Romans in 52 exceeded all measure. In front of a huge audience, he held a battle between a Rhodian and a Sicilian fleet on the Fucine Lake: 24 triremes with 19,000 rowers and fighters (Suet. *Claud.* 21.6.— Tac. *Ann.* 12.56).

Often the *imitatio* of mythological *exempla* consisted in claiming the exemplary values of the models—the beauty of Venus, the *pietas* of Aeneas, the fighting skill of Achilles. All of this found manifold expression in the visual media of antiquity. Ideal figures could be combined with individual portraits or portrait figures could take on heroic attributes.⁹

7 Coleman, K. M.: Fatal Charades. Roman Executions Staged as Mythological Enactments, *Journal of Roman Studies* 80, 1990, 44–73; on the Herakles travesty: 44, 55, 60–61; Mucius Scaevola: 61–62.

8 Coleman op. cit. 70–72.

9 Maderna, C.: Zu Porträtardarstellungen in der römischen Sarkophagplastik. In: von den Hoff et al., as n. 1, 99–118.

Rulers in particular could be represented with attributes of gods, thus claiming divine qualities.¹⁰

In addition to the imitation of mythological and historical models, a common phenomenon was the assimilation with contemporary leading political figures. If the Roman emperor was the social and political reference point for the entire empire, then his appearance and conduct had to set standards. Cassius Dio (57.13.5) records a significant instance of this kind. When Tiberius found that men were increasingly wearing purple robes, he did not punish or reprimand them, but put on a dark woolen outer garment; “After that none dared to wear a garment of any other kind.” According to Tacitus, it was thanks to Vespasian’s reserved way of life that the Romans returned to more modest customs after the excessive, luxurious banquets of the early Imperial period.¹¹ Ovid praises Augustus for his skill in setting *exempla* through political action and his own measured conduct and describes this using the example of the conversion of a luxurious private house into a magnificent public shrine of Concordia: *sic agitur censura et sic exempla parantur / cum iudex, alios quod monet, ipse facit*; “This is how one uses the office of censor, how one sets an example / when the judge himself does what he asks of others” (*Fasti* VI.637–649). The emperor, in his unique position, provided a code of conduct, which he could demand compliance with, if necessary, through the powers of Censor vested in him. The propagation of the toga as a Roman national costume provides a prime example of how the emperor sought to achieve his goal through the interplay of a new, distinctive model, his own role example, public rebuke, and poetic hyperbole. In fact, loyal Romans throughout the empire followed the imperial *exemplum* by having themselves depicted in the recommended drapery of the toga (Boschung 2020, 227–230).

10 Bergmann, M.: Die Strahlen der Herrscher. Theomorphes Herrscherbild und politische Symbolik im Hellenismus und in der römischen Kaiserzeit. Mainz 1998.

11 Tac. *Ann.* 3.56; cf. also Stein-Hölkeskamp, E.: Das römische Gastmahl. Eine Kulturgeschichte. Munich 2005, 246–249.

1.2 INDIVIDUALITY THROUGH ASSIMILATION

A rather unintended effect of the exemplary is the assimilation of the portraits of private individuals with representations of contemporary leaders. This can regularly be seen first on late Republican funerary reliefs where figures appear in a frame, as if in a window, and which, according to their inscriptions, mostly depict freedmen.¹² There the different social roles become clear. Portraits of women were liable to be shaped by aesthetic norms, which made individualization problematic. As wives, they retain their youthful beauty, but in relation to their children it becomes noticeable that they belong to an older generation. Men, on the other hand, could present their age without issue as evidence of their experience and achievements. This was possible because honorary statues of contemporary politicians and generals provided a model for this.

This can be seen in the head of a man on a funerary relief from the Via Statilia.¹³ His physiognomic particularities, which at first seem individualizing, are in reality taken from the portrait of M. Licinius Crassus (ch. III.4.2), which shows almost identical details for the eyes, mouth, and cheeks (figs. 120–122). The sculptor of the funerary relief modified the portrait of the triumvir somewhat by emphasizing the receding hairline and making the skin folds linear; at most the wrinkles rising diagonally from the brows are his addition. Further examples of the same type can be traced back to Crassus' portrait (figs. 123–124).¹⁴

Valentin Kockel has shown that other male portraits of this type may be influenced by the portraits of Cicero, Julius Caesar, and Agrippa, and in the Augustan period by the portraits of the princes Gaius and Lucius.¹⁵ The head of P. Aedius Amphio (fig. 125) is informative.¹⁶ The lean face, broken up by hollows, furrows, and scars, looks to the viewer

12 On this and the following, Boschung, D.: Individualität und soziale Rolle im Grabrelief der späten Republik und der frühen Kaiserzeit, *Anales de arqueología Cordobesa* 18, 2007, 219–236.

13 Boschung *ib.* 221–226 figs. 1–4; furthermore Kockel, V.: Porträtreiefs stadtrömischer Grabbauten. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte und zum Verständnis des spätrepublikanisch-frühkaiserzeitlichen Privatporträts. Mainz 1993, 94–95, B 1 pls. 10a, 12a, b, 14a, b with earlier literature.– Zanker, P.: *Mit Mythen leben. Die Bilderwelt römischer Sarkophage*. Munich 2004, 180 fig. 163.

14 Kockel *op. cit.* 63, 98 B5 pl. 12c; 124 F 8 pl. 36c–d.

15 Kockel *op. cit.* 64–65.

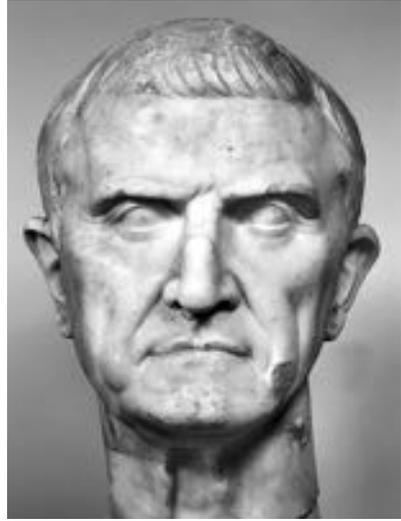
16 Kockel *op. cit.* 149–150 I1 pls. 56d, 62a.



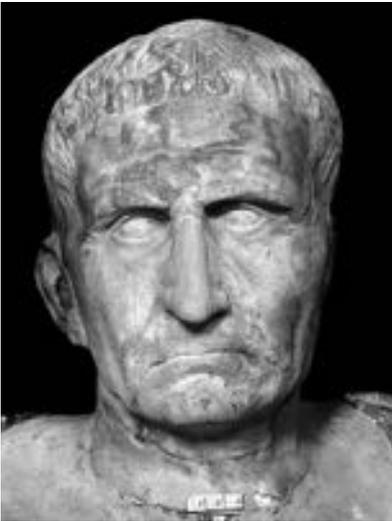
120 Rome, Musei Capitolini 2142. Grave relief, c. 60 B. C. H. 1.79 m.



121 as fig. 120; Head of a man.



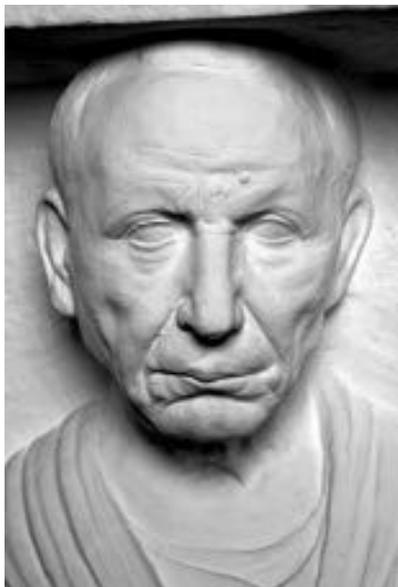
122 Portrait of Crassus, as fig. 87a.



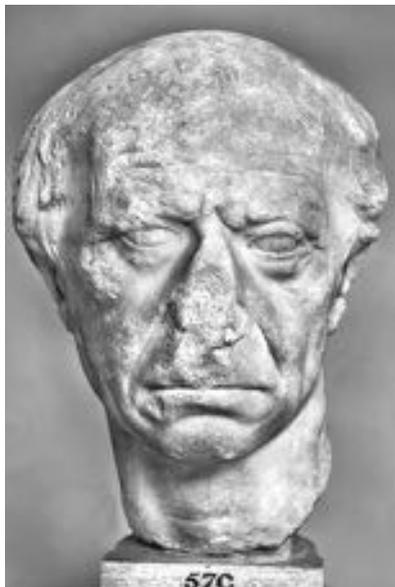
123 Munich, Residenz 197. Head of a man from a Roman grave relief.



124 Rome, Musei Capitolini 2282. Roman grave relief (detail).



125 Berlin, Antikensammlung Sk 840; Plaster cast FU Berlin 91/23. Head of P. Aedius Amphio.



126 Copenhagen, Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek 570. Late Republican portrait of a man. H. 31 cm.

like the reproduction of an unmistakable personality shaped by an individual biography. This impression is mainly based on the lean lower face with narrow-lipped mouth, distinctive nasolabial folds, skin pads below the corners of the mouth, and a sharply set chin. But it is precisely these details that are apparently so individual that are also found on a marble head in Copenhagen (fig. 126).¹⁷ Another head of an old man in Munich¹⁸ only differs from it in its fuller lips. One individual particularity of Aedius Amphio is the prominent wart on his forehead.

¹⁷ Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek 570: Poulsen, V.: *Les portraits romains I*. Copenhagen 1962, 55 no. 21 pl. 33.– F. Johansen: *Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek Catalogue. Roman Portraits I*. Copenhagen 1994, 68–69.

¹⁸ Munich, Glyptothek 320: Zanker, P.: *Herrscherbild und Zeitgesicht*. *Wissenschaftliche Zeitschrift der Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin. Reihe Gesellschaftswissenschaften* 31, 1982, 307 fig. 198.– Knaus/Gliwiczky 2017, 90 fig. 3.1; 352–353 cat. 28.– Schweitzer, B.: *Die Bildniskunst der römischen Republik*. Leipzig 1948, 92, 102, 146 figs. 148, 149, who assigns the heads in Munich and Copenhagen to the same master.

The features make it clear that funerary reliefs of freedmen, like the portrait statues of late Republican politicians and generals, aimed for a distinctive representation of the individual. The life-size dimensions of these reliefs offered the opportunity for detailed elaboration of individual features. But the detail forms were not taken from the faces of the people named in the inscriptions, but transferred from the repertoire of forms in portraits of leading politicians. The combination and the different accentuation of the given motifs led to a multitude of different faces and in individual cases allowed an approximation to the physiognomy of an individual model. The motifs adopted were probably not an expression of political loyalties, but rather, the reference to the portraits of prominent and influential leaders and the use of their formal repertoires opened up for the first time the possibility of realistic-looking representations.

Since the Augustan period, many portraits of private individuals were based on the representations of contemporary rulers.¹⁹ This was done in different ways and to different degrees—by imitating a characteristic hairstyle, by stylistic assimilation, by adopting the habitus and beard style, or by adapting one's physiognomy to the facial features and facial expressions of the emperor. Portraits from the early second century are particularly revealing of this, because "no other image of the emperor had such a strong impact on the portraits of his contemporaries as Trajan's."²⁰ His simple early portrait types (fig. 117) in particular seem to have met with an extremely positive reception; a whole series of private portraits is based on them. Examples can be found in different genres and formats. A life-size bronze head from Xanten was once considered to be a representation of the emperor himself (fig. 127). Indeed, it shows the simple fringe hairstyle extending low onto the forehead with a central fork, as well as a face with deep nasolabial folds and contracted brows, which are characteristic of the early portrait types of Trajan. But now,

19 See primarily: Zanker as n. 18, 307–312.—Bergmann, M.: Zeittypen im Kaiserporträt?, *ib.* 143–147; furthermore also, Maschek, D.: Zum Phänomen der Bildnisangleichung im trajanischen Männerporträt, *Jahreshefte des Österreichischen Archäologischen Institutes in Wien* 73, 2004, 171–188.—Fejfer, J.: Roman Portraits in Context. Berlin/New York 2008, 270–285.—Kovacs 2014, 41–44.

20 Zanker, P.: Ein hoher Offizier Trajans. In: Jucker, I. / Stucky, R. A. (eds.): *Eikones. Studien zum griechischen und römischen Porträt. Festschrift Hans Jucker*. Bern 1980, 197.—On the following, Zanker as n. 18, 309–310.—Boschung, D.: Die Bildnisse des Trajan. In: Schallmayer, E. (ed.): *Traian in Germanien, Traian im Reich*. Bad Homburg v.d.H. 1999, 142–143 with figs. 9, 10.



127 Nijmegen, Museum Het Valkhof. Trajanic male portrait.



128 Rome, Villa Borghese. Funerary altar of L. Tullius Diotimus.

thorough investigation has confirmed the skeptical voices and has shown that the bronze head represents “a prominent representative of the political elite during Trajan’s reign, who must have played an important role in Germania inferior.”²¹ The bronze head of a young man from Prilly may represent a member of the local elite.²² He has adopted Trajan’s hairstyle with the long, thin strands spread evenly over the head, the fork over the middle of the forehead, and the rounded lower face. The face is younger but suggests similar facial expressions with the slight contraction of the brows and the flat cheek wrinkles. The most significant difference is the short-trimmed mustache and the downy beard on the cheeks. Thus, no confusion with the emperor is possible; nevertheless, the reference is

21 Schalles, H. J.: Kaiserbild oder Privatporträt? Das römische Bronzobildnis im Museum Het Valkhof in Nijmegen, *Kölner Jahrbuch* 43, 2010, 663–673 (quotation from p. 672).

22 Leibundgut, A.: Die römischen Bronzen der Schweiz III. Mainz 1980, 135–138. no. 183 pls. 164–169.– A. Leibundgut-Maye: 46 Der Mann aus Prilly. In: Jucker, H. / Willers, D. (eds.): *Gesichter. Griechische und römische Bildnisse aus Schweizer Besitz*. Bern 1982, 114–115.– Balty, J.-Ch.: *Porträt und Gesellschaft in der römischen Welt*. 11. Trierer Winckelmannsprogramm 1991. Mainz 1993, 17 pl. 15.1.



129 Copenhagen, Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek 864. Funerary altar of Julia Saturnina and C. Sulpicius Clytus.



130 Rome, Antiquario Comunale del Celio Inv. NCE 4325. Tombstone of Cn. Pollius Fortunatus.

unmistakable. Numerous life-size marble portraits of contemporaries who did not belong to the imperial family also follow the example of depictions of Trajan.²³

There are numerous examples on Roman funerary reliefs in which the identity of the person depicted is established by inscriptions. L. Tullius Diotimus (fig. 128) is referred to in his epitaph as *viator qui consulibus et praetoribus apparuit*, an auxiliary official in the service of the consuls and praetors; he was probably a freedman. His portrait has adopted the emperor's facial expression and hairstyle. The assimilation with the portrait of Trajan in the portraits of C. Sulpicius Clytus (fig. 129) and of Cn. Pollius Fortunatus (fig. 130) is equally apparent.²⁴

23 Abundance of material also in Daltrop, G.: *Die stadtrömischen männlichen Privatbildnisse trajanischer und hadrianischer Zeit*. Münster 1958; esp. 49–51 (on the adoption of Trajan's hairstyle); 77 (physiognomy).

24 Daltrop, G.: *Bildnisbüsten von Ehepaaren an römischen Grabaltären*. In: Jucker/Stucky as n. 20, 85–88 pls. 25.1, 26.2.– Fittschen, K. in: *Fittschen/Zanker IV 2014*, 125–127 no. 134–135 pls. 130–132.– Boschung 1987, 75, 105 no. 790; 113 no. 943.

Members of all social classes appropriated the hairstyle, facial features, and facial expressions of Trajan for their portraits. In these cases, what is particular about an individual is characterized by the fact that they were closely matched visually with the emperor. Various motives may have been in play here, such as identification with the canonical values represented by Trajan or the effort to appear as a loyal follower of the emperor. In addition, the simple forms of the example portrait of the emperor could be copied easily. This demonstrative agreement with the ruler signaled approval of his politics and thus the obvious success of his rule. On the other hand, his own representation lost its particularity as a result. When not only members of the Roman nobility and the local elite, but also auxiliary officials and freedmen appeared with the fringed hairstyle and the strained facial expressions of the emperor, he could no longer be clearly identified by his portrait.

The regional and chronological differences are remarkable. Thoralf Schröder has shown that in Athens in the second and early third centuries A. D., parts of the urban elite consciously refrained from adopting contemporary fashions and set themselves apart from their contemporaries by falling back upon elements of Classical or Hellenistic portraits.²⁵ Athens thus occupies a special position—portraits from Thessaloniki, Corinth, and Sparta created at the same time are more closely based on the guidelines of imperial portraits. In his studies of the Late Antique male portrait, Martin Kovacs has shown that, since Constantine, representations of senators and high officials were no longer based on the portrait of the emperor; rather, they continued the concept from the Tetrarchic period with a stubbly beard and signs of age in numerous variants.²⁶ This shows on the one hand the unapproachable position of the emperor, but also the need for individual representation of honored individuals.

²⁵ Schröder, Th.: Gruppchenbildung oder homogene Selbstdarstellung? Zu den Porträts der städtischen Eliten im römischen Griechenland. In: *Boschung/Queyrel* 2020, 307–331.

²⁶ Kovacs 2014, for example 46, 57–65; summary 253–255.

1.3 FROM THE SINGULAR TO THE DISTINCTIVE: INSIGNIA, SEALS, AND NAMES, AGAIN

Only a few honors remained singular and distinctive. This included the gold crown with the beaks of ships that was awarded to Agrippa after his victory over Sextus Pompey. No one before him had received such a *corona* and it was only awarded again under Claudius.²⁷ The same was true of the sea-green flag (*caeruleum vexillum*) Agrippa was awarded for the same reason (Suet. *Aug.* 25.3).

Other insignia changed from being a singular characteristic to a badge of rank. Since Alexander the Great, Hellenistic kings wore a diadem, a narrow cloth band, as a headdress. While it initially referred to Alexander as the conqueror of the Persian Empire who had taken over the rule of the Achaemenids and thus expressed his incomparable military successes, it subsequently became a characteristic of actual or presumed kingship everywhere between the Atlantic and the Indus. Now it was no longer the individual, identifying mark of the singular conqueror of the world, but marked the leader of a political unit and his claim to monarchical rule. What was initially an individual attribute had become the badge of rank of a prominent social position.²⁸ When, in the late Roman Republic, their own historical kings became a pictorial theme in coinage, their representations also received the diadem.²⁹ This was ahistorical, but it conformed to the idea that the diadem and royal rule belonged together; this was repeatedly used as an instrument in the bitter political struggles of the time.³⁰ From Constantine on, the pearl-studded diadem became an insignia of the Roman emperor (ch. III.6.4).

The comprehensive adoption of initially special and individual designations by other people or even by larger groups can be demonstrated in other areas as well. The personal seal images of C. Julius Caesar and Q. Lutatius Catulus (ch. II.1.1) were obviously also used by other people.

27 Bergmann, B.: Die *corona navalis*. Eine Sonderehrung für Agrippa, *JdI* 126, 2011, 77–106.

28 Lichtenberger, A. (ed.): Das Diadem der hellenistischen Herrscher: Übernahme, Transformation oder Neuschöpfung eines Herrschaftszeichens? Bonn 2012; esp. the contribution by M. Haake, 292–313.

29 De Rose Evans, J: Statues of the Kings and Brutus on the Capitoline, *Opuscula Romana* 18, 1990, 99–105.

30 Plutarch, *Tiberius Gracchus* 19.– Suet. *Tib.* 2.2.– On events leading up to the murder of Caesar, see Suet. *Iul.* 79.– Plutarch, *Brutus* 9.

The motif of the seal of Galba can be found on several late Republican glass pastes (fig. 33); at that time, it was probably worn as a distinguishing mark by members of the *familia* of the Lutatii Catuli.³¹ Similarly, Romans with the family name *Iulius* had the image of the armed Venus, which Caesar had used as his seal, engraved on their ring stones.³² In these cases, as also with the Epicureans, the gems did not signify their own unmistakable individuality, but rather the exclusive membership in a clearly defined group of people. That, too, might be meant as a sign of connection and loyalty, and thus also as a demarcation from other families. This was only possible through the invalidation of the seal images as individual identifying marks of their bearers.

Something similar happened with the name *Augustus*. While it was chosen for the victor of the civil wars precisely because it was new and unique at the time, it soon became an epithet for cities and gods, for the name of the month previously called *Sextilis*,³³ and after the death of its first bearer it then became an essential part of the family name when it was transferred to Livia and Tiberius. From Caligula until the early seventh century A. D.,³⁴ the emperors used the name *Augustus* as a distinct part of their titlature, so that it became a denotation of rank. Unlike the portrait of the emperor, which could follow changing concepts and mark programmatic breaks as well as continuities, the name *Augustus*, which was used throughout, denoted the endurance of legitimate power, authority, and competencies that continued regardless of the person of the owner. It was thus an expression of a double particularity—while it synchronously marked the prominent, singular position of the Roman ruler in differentiating him from all of his contemporaries, it diachronically placed the emperor in the same rank of all his predecessors.

The praenomen *Imperator* was given to Caesar as a singular honor that could also be passed on to his descendants, so that his adoptive son,

31 Jucker, H.: Der Ring des Kaiser Galba, *Chiron* 5, 1975, 363–364.– Krier, J.: Grave 35 from Lamadelaine and the Old Italic family of the *Lutatii Catuli*, *Archaeologia Luxemburgensis* 4, 2017/18 esp. 109–116.

32 Zwierlein-Diehl 2007, 11 fig. 6.– Zwierlein-Diehl, E.: Die antiken Gemmen des Kunsthistorischen Museums in Wien II. Munich 1979, 198–202 no. 1460–1477 pls. 142–144.

33 Suet. *Aug.* 31.2.– Cassius Dio 55.6.6.– Macrobi. *Sat.* 1.12.35.

34 Schreiner, P.: Grundriss der Geschichte. Byzanz. Munich 1986, 60–61.– On the adoption of the title of *Augustus* by later European rulers: Strothmann, J.: BNP s. v. Ruler A 7.3 Augustus.

Octavian, also took it over (ch. II.2). After Tiberius had expressly refused the name (Suet. *Tib.* 26.2), the later emperors of the Julio-Claudian dynasty also renounced it. Since Otho and Vespasian, the emperors used the *praenomen imperatoris* as the first part of their official name, so that it also became a title of the ruler. In the early third century, Cassius Dio (43.44.3) stated that the designation was “as it were a peculiarity of their rule,” “τις ἰδία τῆς ἀρχῆς αὐτῶν,” and a replacement for the designations of king and *dictator* (53.17.4–5).

As an expression of his adoption by the murdered *dictator perpetuus*, the cognomen *Caesar*, which initially referred to a branch of the *Iulii* family, marked Octavian’s sweeping entitlements and made a decisive contribution to his success. During the civil war, it identified the unique position of the *divi filius* (ch. II.2). Later it passed to Caius and Lucius, Tiberius, and Germanicus and his sons together with the name of the gens *Iulius*. Vespasian’s sons adopted it as an individual part of their name, and later this became a designation for an imperial prince and heir to the throne. Like the title of *Augustus*, it subsequently marked a prominent political position. Of course, there also came to be a hierarchical gradation in relation to it.³⁵

The honorary name *Germanicus* (“Conqueror of Germania”) was posthumously awarded to the elder Drusus by the Senate as an award for his military successes (Suet. *Claud.* 1.3). It followed from Republican victory titles like *Macedonicus* and *Creticus*. The honor seemed all the more substantial when Augustus later denied the cognomen *Pannonicus* for Tiberius (Suet. *Tib.* 17.2) and renounced victory titles himself (Ovid, *Fasti* I.599–600). In contrast, the name *Germanicus* was allowed to be used by the descendants of Drusus and it became the distinct personal name of his son Germanicus, which distinguished him from the other *Iulii Caesares*. As his relatives, the emperors Caligula, Claudius, and Nero also used the cognomen. Later rulers like Vitellius, Domitian, and Trajan used it again with its original meaning, namely to display their successes in Germania.

³⁵ On later use, see Strothmann, J.: BNP s. v. Ruler A 7.2 Caesar.

2. LIKENESS AND IDENTITY

2.1 “SOMETHING IN BETWEEN”: DIOTIMA TEACHES SOCRATES

How difficult it can be to differentiate with certainty between portrait and ideal representation in individual cases is illustrated by the history of research on a bronze relief (figs. 131–132) from the House of the Figured Capitals in Pompeii (House VII.4.57).¹ The cast metal plate belonged to a chest and shows a scene with three figures. On the left, shown in profile, is a woman sitting on a chair with curved legs. She wears a chiton and a mantle wrapped around her legs; her hair is gathered in a scarf. Opposite her is an elderly, bearded man with a bald head. He wears laced sandals and a mantle that leaves his chest uncovered and is wrapped around his bent left arm; his left hand is behind his back. He leans on a stick that is placed under his right shoulder. His eyes look to the ground. In the middle stands a winged, naked Eros, facing front, writing on an opened tablet.

The standing man was initially interpreted as a silen, and later by Otto Jahn as Socrates.² The round, bald head and the broad face with snub nose, the downward sloping eyebrows and the strong beard spoke in favor of it. Otto Jahn made reference to the parallel with the two portraits of Socrates in Naples and to E. Q. Visconti, who, in his *Iconographie grecque*, had asserted the bust in the Musée Napoléon (fig. 133) to be the

1 Schwarzmaier, A.: Wirklich Sokrates und Diotima? Eine neue Deutung zum Bildschmuck der Truhe aus der Casa dei Capitelli figurati in Pompeji. AA 1997, 79–96.– Staub Gierow, M.: Häuser in Pompeji 7. Casa del Granduca. Casa degli capitelli figurati. Munich 1994, 51 fig. 4.– Pernice, E.: Die hellenistische Kunst in Pompeji V. Hellenistische Tische, Zisternenmündungen, Beckenuntersätze, Altäre und Truhen. Berlin/Leipzig 1932, 79–86 pls. 48, 49.

2 Avellino, F. M. Descrizione di una casa Pompejana con capitelli figurati. Naples 1837, 53–57 pls. 5–6.– Jahn, O.: Socrate et Diotima, bas-relief de bronze, Annali dell’Istituto di corrispondenza 13, 1841, 272–295.



131 Naples, Museo Archeologico Nazionale. Bronze relief from Pompeii. 17 × 15 cm.

most reliable version,³ as well as noting the robe and the apparently bare feet. Thereby, a key to the interpretation of the scene was found: it shows Diotima, who had taught Socrates about Eros and his works, as the philosopher himself reports in Plato's *Symposium* (210d–212a).⁴ After the restoration of the relief revealed new details—such as the man's sandals—Heinrich Fuhrmann interpreted the woman as a *hetaira* because of her costume and named her Aspasia, who was also said to have had philosophical discussions with Socrates.⁵

Andreas Rumpf decidedly contradicted the identification as Socrates.⁶ The head and, above all, the shape of the beard do not follow any of the sculptural portrait types of Socrates (see above, ch. III.2); rather, the

³ Visconti, E. Q.: *Iconographie grecque I*. Paris 1811, 163–169 pl. 18.1–2.

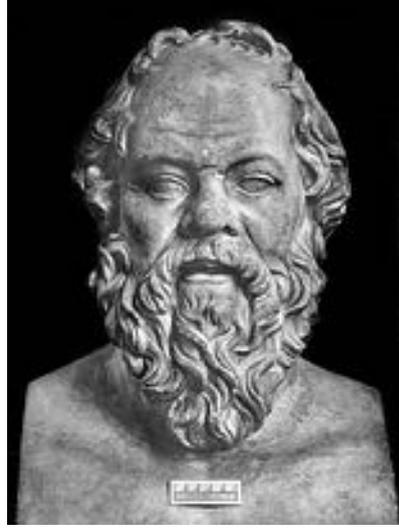
⁴ Thus also: Scheibler 1989a, 55.– Zanker 1995, 36–38 n. 57 fig. 23.

⁵ Fuhrmann, H.: *Gespräche über Liebe und Ehe auf Bildern des Altertums*, RM 55, 1940, 78–86.– Schefold, K.: *Das Bildnis der antiken Dichter, Redner und Denker*. Basel 1997, 178–179 fig. 84.

⁶ Rumpf, A.: *Ein einzig dastehender Fall*, in: *Analecta archaeologica. Festschrift Fritz Fremersdorf*. Cologne 1960, 93–98.



132 as fig. 131. Socrates-like Silenus as teacher of Eros.



133 Paris, Louvre Ma 59. Portrait of Socrates type B.

head type and clothing correspond to portrayals of teachers, as reproduced in terracottas. The man’s sandals also do not match the traditional barefootedness of Socrates, which Otto Jahn used as an argument for identifying him before the relief was restored. The interpretation considered by Erich Pernice would have been obvious, namely as a “love negotiation between an elderly man and a young hetaira.”⁷

In the meantime, Agnes Schwarzmaier has put forward another argument against the Socrates interpretation—the man’s chest and legs are hairy, which “would be more than strange” in a portrait figure dating back to the fourth century B. C. but fits a silen without issue.⁸ This speaks again in favor of Rumpf’s suggestion to see in the group the teaching of Eros in the presence of Aphrodite. The scene can be found as silver-plated reliefs on two ceramic vessels from Orvieto, and once more as an embossed bronze relief. The common model likely originated around 340 B. C., so probably before the creation of the sculptural portrait type B (ch. III.2).⁹

⁷ Pernice op. cit. 82.

⁸ Schwarzmaier op. cit. 89–90.

⁹ Schwarzmaier op. cit. 80–87 with figs. 3–5.



134 Paris, Louvre Ma 475. Side of a Muse sarcophagus.

Similarly uncertain is the identification of a philosopher on the side of a Muse sarcophagus as Socrates (fig. 134).¹⁰ Dressed in a mantle and sandals, he sits under an arch on a chest. He has a long, full beard, and the front part of his round skull is bald. Just like the short protruding nose, these are features that can also be found in portraits of Socrates. With his left hand he gestures toward a standing woman who leans on a pillar wrapped in her cloak and who, in the context of the depiction on the front side, represents a Muse. The identification of the man as Socrates has been generally accepted, though somewhat hesitantly at times.¹¹ In fact, in addition to the aforementioned similarities with the

¹⁰ Ewald, Ch. B.: *Der Philosoph als Leitbild. Ikonographische Untersuchungen an römischen Sarkophagreliefs*. Mainz 1999, 134–135 A 1 pl. 1 with earlier literature.

¹¹ Lippold, G.: *Griechische Porträtstatuen*. Munich 1912, 54: “Interpretation as Socrates is certain, and indeed the head is decidedly more like the older type.”—Wegner, M.: *Die Musensarkophage*. ASR V3. Berlin 1966, 36–37 no. 75 pl. 135a,



135-137 Gems with head in Socratic schema. **135** Private collection, H. 1.8 cm.–
136 Private collection, H. 2 cm.– **137** Private collection, H. 1.1 cm.

sculptural portrait types, the head also shows significant deviations. It differs from the first type in the shape of the head, the wrinkled cheeks, the shape of the nose, and the loose beard; and from the second type by the shorter hair and the uncovered ear. So it cannot be determined with certainty whether the individual here is intended to be Socrates with his particular biography and his unique doctrine or whether an ideal type philosopher as an interlocutor with the Muse was meant to be contrasted with an equally ideal type poet on the other short side.

Jörn Lang made a similar assertion when examining portrait gems. In addition to some ring stones based on the sculptural portrait types of Socrates, there are a larger number of depictions that reproduce “portraits in the Socratic scheme” (figs. 135–137).¹² They, too, show a bald head, snub nose, and a long full beard, but deviate considerably in the details from the securely identified versions. On the other hand, it is clear that they are not meant to be silens, as they do not have pointed ears. The historical Socrates could be found in such representations, but they could also be seen as ideal type thinkers of earlier times.

In Socrates’ speech, Diotima of Mantinea teaches the philosopher (and thus also indirectly his listeners and the readers of Plato’s *Symposium*) that there is not only good and bad, beautiful and ugly, wise and foolish, but also “something in between” (τι μεταξύ; Pl. *Symp.*

36: “Wise man, whose head is reminiscent of Socrates, but cannot be interpreted with certainty as Socrates.”- Ewald op. cit.: 43: “Sokrates.” 84–85: Socrates, “even though his portrait does not match side by side with one of the known types.”

¹² Lang 2012, 59–64; quotation from p. 64.– Fig. 180: 158 G So77; fig. 181: 158 G So71; fig. 182: 158 G So72.

201e–203a). Diotima’s insight can also be applied to the representations mentioned above. They do not show the unique personality of the historical Socrates, as it had found a fixed form in sculptural portraits. Rather, they can also be understood more generally, as representatives of a certain social group (philosophers and teachers) or a particular category of mythological beings (the silens). But they share with Socrates’ portrait a number of conspicuous features that were also passed down in literature, such as the bald head, snub nose, and beard (ch. III.2). Thus they are neither unambiguously Socrates nor clearly not Socrates, but correspond to the “in between” established by Diotima. The openness that results from this iconographic indeterminacy makes them reversible images that allow a general as well as a particular interpretation. The residents and visitors of the House of the Figured Capitals in Pompeii were able to interpret the relief on the chest differently and with good cause according to their moods and concerns—as Diotima and Socrates to demonstrate their erudition, as the teaching of Eros to illustrate the usefulness of education, or as a love negotiation with a *hetaira* to evoke a social practice. Just as Eros was portrayed by Diotima as a *daimon*, as a person of the in between who links the separate worlds of gods and people, so the “portraits in the Socratic scheme” link the particular with the ideal and the general.

2.2 IMAGINED PORTRAITS

Among the events that gave Vespasian *auctoritas* and *maiestas* (prestige and dignity) in the civil war after Nero’s death, Suetonius mentions (*Vesp.* 7.3) an event in Tegea in Arcadia. There, in a sanctuary, vessels of old manufacture (*vasa operis antiqui*) were found, one of which showed an image that looked very similar to Vespasian (*assimilis Vespasiano imago*). These were likely figure-decorated ceramic pots from centuries earlier. The report does not mention what the similarity was and what the find was compared with. But it shows that depictions from bygone eras could be understood as portraits of contemporary people. The finders thought that they could see individual characteristics of Vespasian in the depiction, which they recognized as the remains of a past era. Accounts of the event, which at first could only have had local significance, must soon have been disseminated widely and purposefully, as even Suetonius knew about it. It could be used as an argument for the legitimacy of the new emperor, who had apparently been designated to rule long ago.

Several ancient authors report that the Greek sculptor Pheidias had placed his own portrait in the middle of the shield of the Athena statue in the Parthenon. According to Cicero (*Tusc.* I.15.34) it was because he was not allowed to sign the spectacular statue. Apuleius (*De mundo* 32) claimed to have seen it for himself. Numerous details are mentioned, with Plutarch's account being particularly detailed;¹³ Pheidias depicted himself as a bald old man holding up a stone over his head with both hands. Perikles is also shown fighting an Amazon, but he has raised his arm so that his face is covered but is visible from the side. This led to the prosecution of Pheidias and his conviction. Most sources also report that Pheidias constructed the colossal statue out of gold and ivory in such a way that it would have collapsed had his portrait been removed. Ampelius (8.10) reports the same details regarding a portrait of Daidalos. It was placed in the middle of the shield of Athena Parthenos and could not be removed without destroying the statue.

The shield relief, the basic features of which can be reconstructed from ancient descriptions and partial copies,¹⁴ represented the battle of the Athenians against the Amazons in multiple groups. A scaled-down copy of the shield from the Roman era (figs. 138–139)¹⁵ shows two figures below the central Gorgoneion that match Plutarch's description—an elderly bald man with a chlamys and, to the right, an armored warrior who holds up his spear and covers his face with his raised arm. They fight side by side, protecting each other so that they appear as a coordinated pair of warriors. The bald man holds both hands over his head, but he does not hold a stone, but rather an ax with which he kills a fallen Amazon. The two figures can also be found, shifted to the upper border of the

13 Plutarch, *Perikles* 31.4.– DNO no. 855: "...he carved out a figure that suggested himself as a bald old man lifting on high a stone with both hands, and also inserted a very fine likeness of Pericles fighting with an Amazon. And the attitude of the hand, which holds out a spear in front of the face of Pericles, is cunningly contrived as it were with a desire to conceal the resemblance, which is, however, plain to be seen from either side." (trans. Bernadotte Perrin).– Dio Chrysostomos *Or.* XII.5.6 also mentions additional portraits of Perikles.

14 Reinhardt, A.: Reproduktion und Bild. Zur Wiederholung und Vervielfältigung von Reliefs in römischer Zeit. *MAR* 41. Wiesbaden 2019, 68 n. 449 with earlier literature.– Strocka, V. M.: Das Schildrelief. Zum Stand der Forschung. Parthenonkongress Basel 1982, 188–192.– Davison, C. C.: Phidias. *The Sculptures and Ancient Sources*. London 2009, 94–112 esp. 110–112.

15 Davison op. cit. 227–229 no. 107 fig. 6.33.



138 London, British Museum 302, "Strangford Shield". Roman copy of the shield of Athena Parthenos. H. 48 cm.



139 "Strangford Shield", as fig. 138. Detail with supposed portraits of Pheidias and Perikles.



140 Athens, National Archaeological Museum 128. Roman statuette after the Athena Parthenos of Pheidias; shield.

shield, in a statuette modeled on Athena Parthenos (fig. 140).¹⁶ Despite their summary execution, it can be seen that the man on the left is lifting a boulder above his head with both hands.

The two figures have been interpreted repeatedly as the portraits of Pheidias and Perikles mentioned by Plutarch. This also led to other fighters on the shield relief being identified with historical persons like Anakreon and Xanthippos and to the bald head from the Strangford Shield being used as the starting point for the identification of a sculpted head and a gem portrait as Pheidias.¹⁷

In reality it is unlikely that visually identifiable, contemporary individuals were represented in the mythological event; “It was probably not Pheidias who made this ‘bearded old man’ into a Pheidias.”¹⁸ The sculptural portrait of Perikles survives in Roman copies, the identification of which is secured by inscription (ch. III.2 with fig. 72). He wears a Corinthian helmet pushed back so that his face and temple hair are visible. The facial features are idealized and show no individualized particularity; the assignment of the copies to a common portrait type is based on the details of the temple curls. The warrior of the Strangford Shield wears an Attic helmet with a visor and crest; other fighters wearing helmets of the same type have their hair completely covered. Also, on the shield of the Parthenos the face of the figure was partially covered, as Plutarch writes, so only parts of the physiognomy were visible that could at best have given the impression of an individual representation. It is therefore not obvious by which individual characteristics a portrait of Perikles could have been recognized within the mythological events on

16 Lenormant Athena. Athens, National Museum 128: Davison op. cit. 171–172 no. 7; 229–230 no. 108 figs. 6.12; 6.32.

17 For example, Hafner, G.: Anakreon und Xanthippos, *JdI* 71, 1956, 1–28.–Eckstein, F.: Phidias und Perikles auf dem Schild der Athena Parthenos. In: *Festschrift Friedrich Matz*. Mainz 1962, 66–72.–Johansen, F.: *Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek, Catalogue. Greek Portraits*. Copenhagen 1992, 82–83 no. 32 (Pheidias?).–Metzler, D.: Ein neues Porträt des Phidias?, *Antike Kunst* 7, 1964, 51–55. On the interpretation of a bronze statuette in New York as Pheidias: Pollini, J.: A Hellenistic Bronze Statuette of a Dwarf Artisan in the Metropolitan Museum of Art. In: Goette, H. R. / Leventi, I. (eds.): *Excellence. Studies in Honour of Olga Palagia*. Rahden 2019, 211–220 esp. 214 with n. 17. For the Pheidias interpretation: Frel, J.: *Greek Portraits in the J. Paul Getty Museum*. Los Angeles 1981, 16–17.–Contra: Franken, N. in *Boschung/Queyrel 2021*, 229 n. 2 (Daedalus).

18 Preissshofen, F.: Phidias-Daedalus auf dem Schild der Athena Parthenos? *Ampelius* 8, 10, *JdI* 89, 1974, 69.

the Parthenos shield. Additionally, Felix Preisshofen has convincingly shown that reports of the alleged Pheidias portrait can stem from the Hellenistic period at the earliest and that they can be explained “by the efforts to systematically elucidate the biographies of famous men” going back to the third century B. C.¹⁹ It is notable that Cicero, as the earliest source, does not speak of a portrait of Pheidias, but of a “figure similar to him” that Pheidias inserted into the shield of Athena.²⁰ Plutarch, the most detailed source, indeed speaks of a portrait (εἰκὼν) of Perikles, but of the figure (μορφή) of Pheidias. If, on the other hand, Ampelius takes the figure, the removal of which would endanger the integrity of the statue of the god, for Daidalos, he gives a competing interpretation of the alleged Pheidias representation.

Just as the depiction on the old vessels in Tegea was associated with Vespasian centuries later, individual figures on the shield of the Parthenos were later interpreted as portraits of historical personalities. Similarity cannot have played a role here, because, unlike in Tegea with the contemporary Vespasian, no authoritative portraits and no reliable descriptions of Pheidias were available to the Athenians of the Hellenistic period. Rather, the portrayal of an old man with a bald head in the context of an Amazonomachy, in which young men usually fight, was conspicuous and required an explanation. Originally it may have been inserted into the fight scene to record the participation of all Athenians, including men of advanced age, in the heroic defense against foreign aggressors. With a growing distance in time, viewers either found a mythological interpretation in the identification as Daidalos, which was certainly obvious in the context of the Amazonomachy, or, following their historical interests, they saw in the bald man an important person in Greek art history. The later interpretations of the figure provide more information about the interests of the authors than about the intentions of Pheidias.

¹⁹ Preisshofen op. cit. 50–69; esp. 68–69.

²⁰ *Cic. Tusc.* I.34: “quid enim Phidias sui similem speciem inclusit in cluqueo Minervae, cum inscribere nomen non liceret?”

2.3 REDUCTION OF SIMILARITY, LOSS OF IDENTITY?

The question of the connection between similarity and identity also comes up for a group of bronze vessels in the form of busts.²¹ Their finishing shows that they were used as containers. They are hollow and closed at the bottom with a plate. Sometimes they stand on a pedestal. For most of them, the crown of the head is open, with the top part of the hair working as a hinged lid. Next to this opening, there are two vertical eyelets where a high-swung handle is attached.

In a preliminary report, J. Ch. Balty noted about 180 examples; later publications give even higher numbers.²² They come from all parts of the Roman Empire—from Spain to Syria, from Britain to Egypt, and beyond from Sudan and Afghanistan. There are significant concentrations of finds along the Rhine, along the Danube, and in Egypt. Balty conjectured production centers in Egypt, Asia Minor, and Gaul for their manufacture. The intended purpose of these striking vessels has not been resolved with certainty. Most likely they are containers for incense or for precious substances used for personal grooming.²³ Most were used over a long period of time and their function may have changed. The fact that they were not infrequently converted into weights, that is, used beyond their primary function, speaks for their high esteem. The repertoire of motifs for these bust vessels is not large. Frequently Africans or Indians are depicted, meaning slaves from exotic countries. Grotesques

21 Short summary with earlier literature: Balty, J. C.: *Balsamaires anthropomorphes du monde romain*. *Jahrbuch des Römisch-Germanischen Zentralmuseums Mainz* 20, 1973, 261–264.— Since then: Marti, V. *De l'usage des "balsamaires" anthropomorphes den bronze*, *Mélanges de l'École Française à Rome. Antiquité* 108, 1996, 979–1000.— Pozo, S. F.: *Balsamarios antropomorfos en bronce de época romana hallados en Hispania*, *Archivo español de arqueología* 61, 1988, 275–297.— Marti-Clercx, V. / Mille, B.: *Nouvelles données sur la répartition des ateliers producteurs des vases anthropomorphes d'époque romaine*, in: Giunilia-Mair, A. (ed.): *I bronzi antichi: produzione e tecnologia*, 15. *Kongress zu römischen Bronzen*. Montagnac 2002, 385–392.

22 Marti-Clercx / Mille op. cit. 385 counts 322 examples but included with them figure vases in the shape of a head.

23 Balty op. cit. 264.— Nenova-Merdjanova, R.: *Tradition and Inventiveness. On the Local Production of Bronze Vessels in the Roman Province Thracia*, in: Giunilia-Mair op. cit. 595, 597 fig. 10a.



141 Munich, Antikensammlung. Bust vessel; H. (without handle) 15,5 cm.



142 Bonn, Rheinisches Landesmuseum. Bust weight. H. 13,5 cm.

and Dionysian busts also appear several times—satyrs or Bacchus himself, children (probably Amor), and gods like Mercury and Minerva.²⁴

In our context, we are interested in the large number of bust vessels whose hair corresponds to the portrait of Antinous.²⁵ Johannes Sieveking confirmed the connection with the publication of a bronze vessel from the James Loeb Collection (fig. 141), but decided against a matching identification.²⁶ Since then, his opinion has been repeated several times. Christoph Clairmont and Hugo Meyer argued against an interpretation of the busts as portraits of Antinous.²⁷ When discussing a bust weight

²⁴ Majewski, K.: *Bronze balsamaria antropomorficzne w cesarstwie rzymskim*, *Archeologia* 14, 1963, 95–126.– Marti op. cit. 991–993.

²⁵ Marti op. cit. 991–992 counts 43 examples (without listing).

²⁶ Sieveking, J.: *Die Bronzen der Sammlung Loeb*. Munich 1913, 73–74 with pl. 31.

²⁷ Clairmont, Ch. W.: *Die Bildnisse des Antinous: ein Beitrag zur Porträtplastik unter Kaiser Hadrian*. Rome 1966 esp. 13–14 n. 5.– Meyer, H.: *Antinoos*. *Die archäologischen Denkmäler unter Einbeziehung des numismatischen und epigraphischen Materials sowie der literarischen Nachrichten: ein Beitrag zur*

from Keldenich (fig. 142), which had been reworked from a figure vessel, Heinz Menzel found that the hairstyle was shared with Antinous; nevertheless, he refused the identification.²⁸ However, the hair over the forehead is a determining criterion for the assignment to portrait types (ch. V.3) and thus also for the identification of portraits, so the question of the correlation arises again.

The resemblance of some of these bust vessels with sculptural portraits of the main type of Antinous, deified by Hadrian after his death (fig. 143),²⁹ is undeniable. Characteristic is the full hair that hangs in thick strands over the ears and on the forehead. Above the face, the forehead curls are gathered together in large tufts brushed to the left; the section above the middle of the face, consisting of two strands placed side by side, is set off by small gaps on the left and right. At the left corner of the forehead, the tufts turn upwards and shift over one another. The second layer of hair above the forehead forks above the left eye. From here it flattens out, divided into curled sickle locks. The long hair on the sides of the head is turned towards the face; only the bottom strand in front of the right ear turns backwards. The face looks emphatically youthful. The smooth, full cheeks, the wrinkle-free skin, and the beautifully curved mouth emphasize the ideal youthfulness of the subject; however, there are no childlike features. Individual, portrait-like features are only shown in the eye area with the angular, downward sloping, and thickly-haired brows.

The main features of this hairstyle return in a bust vessel from Esch in 's-Hertogenbosch (fig. 144) in a somewhat simplified form.³⁰ The full curly hair that falls low over the forehead is similar. The lower layer of

Kunst- und Kulturgeschichte der hadrianisch-frühantoninischen Zeit. Munich 1991 esp. 15 n. 1; 154, 242 with n. 52: "antonisierende Ampullen."

28 Menzel, H.: Die römischen Bronzen aus Deutschland III: Bonn. Mainz 1986, 101–102 no. 238 pl. 112.

29 Fittschen, K. in Fittschen/Zanker I 1985, 59–62 no. 55–57 pls. 61–65.– Meyer op. cit. 15–100.– Boschung, D. in: Boschung, D. / von Hesberg, H. / Linfert, A. (eds.): Die antiken Skulpturen in Chatsworth. MAR XXVI. Mainz 1997, 56–58 no. 50 pls. 46, 60.3.

30 Zadoks-Josephus Jitta, A. N. / Peters, W. J. T. / van Es, W. A.: Roman Bronze Statuettes from the Netherlands II. Statuettes Found South of the Limes. Groningen 1969, 30 no. 14.– van den Hurk, L. J. A. M.: The Tumuli from the Roman Period of Esch, Berichten van de Rijksdienst voor het Oudheidkundig Bodemonderzoek 23, 1973, 212–213 pl. 16.1–2.– Hugo Meyer also sees here a closeness to the main Antinous type: Meyer op. cit. 154.



143 Rome, Musei Capitolini 294. Portrait of Antinous. H. of head 32 cm.

hair over the forehead is spread to the left, forming four separate tufts, which are actually more clearly separated from one another than in the sculptural copies. Above the left eye, two bundles of strands are pushed one on top of the other, with the outer one lying on top of the temple hair. The second layer of hair over the forehead runs in the opposite direction. On the sides the ears are completely covered by the full tufts of hair. These are turned towards the face as bulky sickle curls on the right and thus—unlike the hairstyle motifs on the left side—also correspond to the main type. On the face, the ideal features of the Antinous portrait are repeated, that is, the full smooth cheeks, smooth skin, and full mouth, while the specific shape of the brows is absent. The motivic simplifications of the hairstyle are not surprising in the reduced format (the head of the vessel measures almost 9 cm) and the transfer to another material.



144 's-Hertogenbosch, Noordbrabants Museum 09909. Bust vessel. H. 17.3 cm.



145 Washington, D. C., Dumbarton Oaks. Bust vessel. H. 21.5 cm.

In a vessel at Dumbarton Oaks (fig. 145) the curls are pushed together over the forehead. The second layer of hair forks above the left eye and the arrangement on the right temple also corresponds very precisely to sculpted Antinous heads. It also repeats the hairstyle of the Bithynian youth by adopting the curved, crescent-shaped tuft of hair above the left eye.³¹ The small bust in Munich from the James Loeb Collection is also closely based on the main Antinous type in many details. It pushes the three forehead curls above the right eye together into a tuft and separates this from the area above the center of the forehead. There is also the fork in the second layer of hair above the left eye. However, there is a noticeable deviation over the left half of the face. Instead of curved, crescent-shaped curls, there are three strands, twisting towards the center of the face. The bronze caster reversed the direction of this tuft of hair, perhaps because his model was unclear on this point. On the other hand, the full curls turned toward the face on the right temple again follow the main type. In a number of other examples, the hairstyle is greatly simplified

³¹ van den Hurk op. cit. pl. 17.

in that the curls are enlarged and evenly flowing, lined up next to each other; this includes the bust from Keldenich.³²

It can be established that the proximity to the sculptural Antinous portraits is different for individual bust vessels. While a few are obviously based on portraits of Antinous, most of them do not go back directly to the portrait type but are in turn imitations of the first group and have lost the close relationship to the sculptural portraits. Klaus Fittschen has put together a series of life-size portraits of young men from the Hadrianic and Antonine periods that incorporate elements of the Antinous portrait, but which differ significantly in other points.³³ They show the attractiveness of the main type whose formal qualities they claim. In these cases, it can be assumed that those depicted were clearly named in the associated inscriptions, so that there was no doubt about their identity.

In the case of the bust vessels, which do not have any inscription, the interpretation was left to the viewer. They do not follow the form characteristic of ancient busts of Antinous.³⁴ Rather, they are designed as a section of a figure that ends horizontally at the chest. Some wear an animal fur diagonally across their chest (figs. 144–145), which, according to the visible hoof, comes from a deer calf (*nebris*) or a goat, and thus refers to the Dionysian realm.³⁵ On others, the skin has become a garment (figs. 141–142) held together over the left shoulder and running diagonally across the chest like the *nebris*.³⁶ Still others are unclothed. This, too, is likely progressive simplification—from animal skins to simple garments and then to bare torso. The *nebris* has led to the youth being identified as Bacchus. But in the vast majority of cases the god wears his hair longer, falling to his shoulder, and it is always parted in the middle; the iden-

³² Thus the examples from Billig (Menzel op. cit. 96–97 no. 227 pl. 106), from Trier (Menzel, H.: Die römischen Bronzen aus Deutschland II: Trier. Mainz 1966, 71–72 no. 170 pl. 59), from Arenas de San Pedro (Pozo as n. 21, 295–297 no. 10 figs. 10a–b), in the Louvre (de Ridder, A.: Les bronzes antiques du Louvre. Paris 1915, 130 no. 2943, 2944 pl. 103), as well as one on the art market (Sotheby's Antiquities 6th July 1995 57 no. 107).

³³ Fittschen, K.: Prinzenbildnisse antoninischer Zeit. Mainz 1999, 78–82 no. 1–13 pls. 130–133.

³⁴ Boschung as n. 29, 57.

³⁵ van den Hurk op. cit. pls. 16, 17.– Sotheby's Antiquities 6th July 1995 57 no. 107.– de Ridder op. cit. no. 2943.

³⁶ For example, on the examples in Munich, Bonn (from Keldenich), and from Arenas de San Pedro.

tification is therefore not immediately apparent. An interpretation as a satyr, in which case the deer skin would be fitting, is improbable, because in no case are their bristly hair or pointed ears found.

The veneration of the deified Antinous was a particular concern of Hadrian and was emphatically promoted by him. Many of his sculptural portraits show him with the attributes of gods, with wreaths alluding to Dionysos being frequent. It is in this context that the first examples, closely related to the main Antinous type, may have been created. It must be left open whether they had a specific function, for example in the cult for the deified youth. Later pieces give up any direct reference to the portrait of Antinous. They are no longer interested in his person, but in the aesthetic qualities of the model. Their interpretation may also have changed; if they were initially representations of a certain individual who was unique due to his fate, later, after the veneration once promoted by the emperor had lost its significance, they could be nameless, beautiful youths, perhaps regarded as a manifestation of Dionysos or one of his companions. In a functional context as containers for luxurious essences for the body, they remained symbols of youth and beauty.

3. PORTRAIT AS MASS PHENOMENON

3.1 SINGULAR AND SERIAL PORTRAITS

The task of the portrait is to permanently record the appearance of a nameable individual. Therefore, it is considered a visualization of the personality of the represented with his or her characteristic particularities. This view led to portrait research initially concentrating on depictions of historically significant figures from antiquity (ch. V.1–2). It was not until the development of questions in social history and the history of mentalities in the last third of the 20th century that research interests would also be steered toward portraits of the many, the historically insignificant, and the unknown.

In the meantime, numerous large classes of material including portraits have been recorded and published systematically, especially regional groups of grave monuments (Boschung/Queyrel 2019). In many genres of late Classical, Hellenistic, and Imperial funerary sculpture, depictions of the deceased and their relatives were common as figures, partial figures, or busts, so that portrait heads in these areas were worked serially and became a mass phenomenon. By quantity, these funerary portraits make up by far the largest part of ancient portraits. There are undoubtedly many more depictions of persons named with inscriptions on Hellenistic funerary reliefs than portraits of kings or philosophers. These portrait-like heads have often been used to date and to clarify the chronology of this particular genre. In addition, they offer a wealth of material for additional research. The comparative study of local groups can show a spectrum of variations in which the respective identities and traditions become evident.

Portraits appear on grave monuments sometimes integrated as elements of figural scenes and sometimes isolated as frontal busts or as individual statue-like, staged figures. The dimensions of the portraits vary from a few centimeters to life size. Even if the combination with the inscriptions suggests that the heads are intended to be individualized, in



146 Rome, Musei Vaticani, Galleria Lapidaria 7025. Grave stele of T. Aurelius Probus. H. 1.17 m.



147 Rome, Vatican, Galleria Lapidaria 7024. Fragmentary grave stele of Saturninus. H. 1.16 m.

most cases they hardly show any specific particularities. A comparison of individual groups shows that the portrait is used differently in each case and obviously also has a different significance. In numerous groups, fixed conventions quickly develop for the manner in which portraits are designed, for their formats, combinations, and attributes.

3.2 REPETITION AND SPECIAL REQUESTS

The numerous Roman grave stelae of the *equites singulares Augusti*, the emperor's personal cavalry escorts, show the repetitive use of dining scenes with small-format portrait heads of the deceased from the early second and up to the beginning of the fourth century A. D. (figs. 146–149).¹ The chosen mode of representation did not allow the illustration

¹ Busch, A. W.: *Militär in Rom. Militärische und paramilitärische Einheiten im kaiserzeitlichen Stadtbild*. Wiesbaden 2011 esp. cat. no. ES 073 (here fig. 146), ES 075 (fig. 147), ES 168 (fig. 148), ES 104 (fig. 149).– Speidel, M. P.: *Die Denkmäler der Kaiserreiter: Equites singulares Augusti*. Cologne 1994.



148 Rome, Vatican, Museo Gregoriano Profano 34161. Fragment of a grave stele. H. 27.5 cm.



149 Rome, Vatican, Museo Gregoriano Profano 34162. Fragment of a grave stele H. 26 cm.

of physiognomic or somatic particularities that could clearly identify the deceased. Two scenes recur regularly in the limited image repertoire. The presentation of a saddled horse, which established the status as one of the emperor's troop, by a groom (*calo*) is usually included in the lower part of the front. The dining scene fills the pediment, the highest point of the tombstone. Both representations are found earlier on tombstones of soldiers from the German provinces and were brought to the capital by cavalrymen recruited there.² The pediment images in particular are largely standardized. An adult man lies to the right on a high-backed *kline*, propping himself up with his left arm and looking back to his right so that his head is shown in profile. He wears a tunic and has a mantle wrapped around his legs. In his left hand he holds a drinking vessel, and his right hand is stretched out and sometimes holds a hand garland. In front is a round table on which food sits ready. A small servant is waiting on the right next to the kline. Occasionally another person sits to the left, who also holds a vase. This emphasizes the prominent position of the central, reclining figure.

Because of the reduced dimensions, the actual portraits are shaped by contemporary fashions, which in turn follow the guidelines of the emperor's portrait. This signaled their contemporaneity, belonging in Roman society, acceptance of its values and norms, and above all their loyalty to the emperor. In the rare cases in which an additional, larger and frontal portrait was also attached, these are executed in summary

2 Busch, A. W.: Von der Provinz ins Zentrum. Bilder auf den Grabdenkmälern einer Elite-Einheit. In: Noelke, P. (ed.): Romanisation und Resistenz. Mainz 2003, 679–694.

fashion and without interest in a meaningful physiognomy. But even a simplified representation of this kind could illustrate the social position of the deceased—which was the same for all *equites singulares*—through composition, habitus, clothing, age, attributes, and hairstyle. Complementary to this, the inscription conveyed the biographical information that identified each soldier individually: name, troop membership, place of origin, age, and number of years of service.

The reasons for the standardization of relief images in this genre are obvious. Both the commissioners and the deceased came from a limited and clearly defined group, and the grave reliefs were the products of specialized workshops that produced them serially. Stelae of this type were set up in the necropolis of the troops *ad duas lauros* immediately adjacent to the Via Labicana. On the one hand, this made them comparable with one another, but at the same time they confront the viewer not only as individual monuments but also as a repetitive series of similar images. They testified to the discipline of the troop and the observance of a common code of conduct, even though the individual soldiers may be recruited from different provinces. The formal standardization of the stelae attested to the equality of the soldiers across the individual units. Dining scenes show each of the deceased separately as a privileged reveler in civilian clothes on a kline, served by his own cupbearer. This, together with the presentation of his horse by an aide, testified for each individual the social status that he had acquired through faithful service to the emperor. All together, the reliefs presented the image of a large, common banquet which every member of the troop took part in equally.

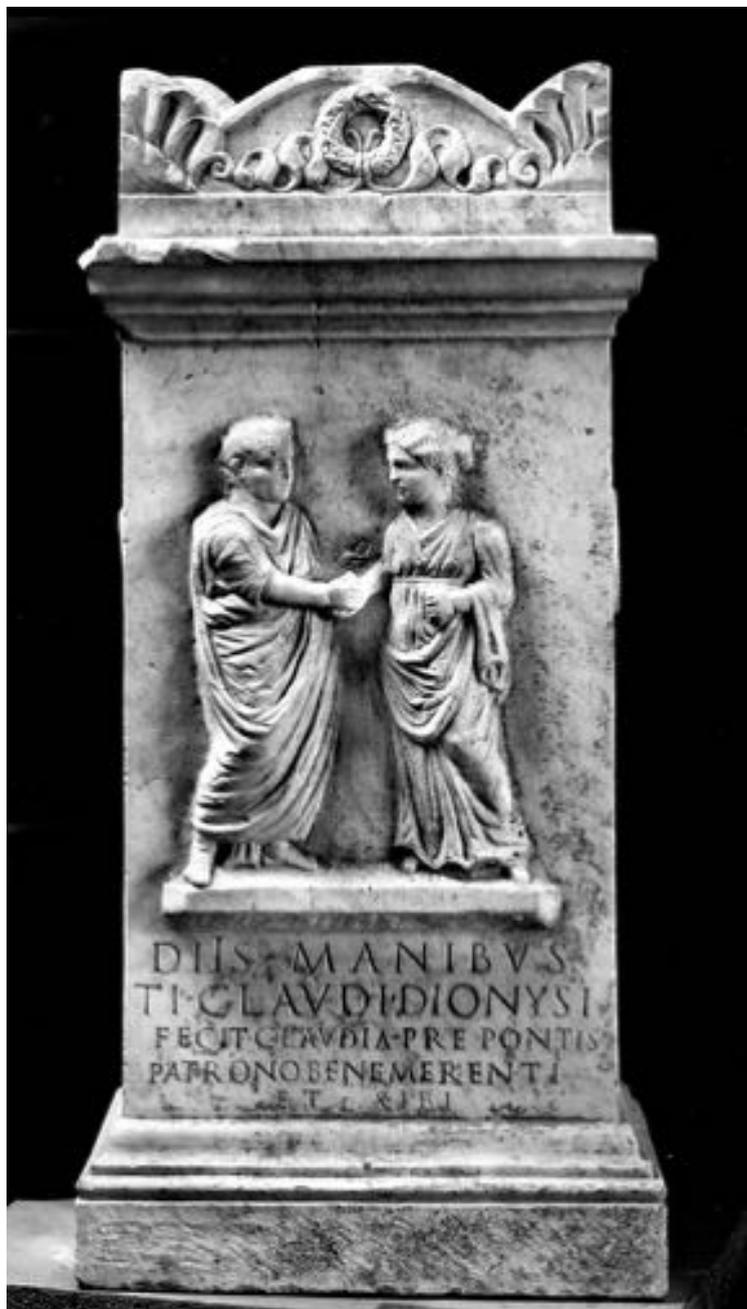
A completely different picture emerges from the view of funerary altars from Rome from about the same time, which were also produced in large, typologically defined series. This form of grave monument was originally intended to signal the religious character of the commemoration of the dead and is therefore provided with decoration that refers to sacrificial rituals and shows the instruments required for this. Portraits did not initially fit into this concept and were not readily integrated. Nevertheless, they are numerous, but they are used in very different ways: as life-size busts, as miniature heads, in figural scenes, and with frontal standing figures.³ Fixed conventions emerged at best in rudimentary form, even though the individualized rendering of the deceased on

3 Kleiner, D. E. E.: *Roman Imperial Funerary Altars with Portraits*. Rome 1987.–Boschung 1987.

the grave appeared increasingly important and was repeatedly requested by buyers. But for these monuments, individual solutions were sought that corresponded to the respective family situation, so that portraits were presented each in a different way.

Sometimes the portraits were planned from the beginning of the work. The figural representations on the funerary altar of Ti. Claudius Dionysius (fig. 150) followed the specifications of the customer, Claudia Prepontis, and were planned by the workshop from the start. They stand on a platform, the deceased in a toga and the commissioner in a chiton and mantle, facing each other and shaking hands. The representation expresses a close bond and can be understood as an expression of a legal marriage, even though the man in the inscription is named as the *patronus* of the woman, not as her *maritus*. At the same time, Prepontis had a second grave relief (fig. 151) made. It shows her sitting on a kline on which Dionysius lies with his eyes closed. This is not the usual representation of a shared banquet, because the table with the food and drinks placed on it and the serving staff are missing. The woman has propped her head on her hand in a gesture of reflection or mourning. Thoughtfully she watches over the man as he rests; he appears asleep, but his death is insinuated. A little dog jumping up to the seated woman, like the bare foot of the man lying down, denotes the familiar character of the scene. The two complementary images are chosen to visualize the bond between the commissioner and the deceased in two idealized situations—on the one hand with the official appearance of the togatus and the *dextrarum iunctio*, which denotes a legal bond between man and wife; on the other hand with the intimate connection of the two.⁴ Claudia Prepontis had not only the deceased portrayed, but also herself. Her facial features are smooth and even, distinguishing her from the wrinkled cheeks and wrinkled forehead of the deceased. Her hairstyle with evenly wavy hair leaving the ears bare takes on elements of the contemporary fashion of the second quarter of the first century A. D., but dispenses with twisted shoulder curls and strands over the forehead and on the temples, as are characteristic in elaborate contemporary hairstyles. Although both reliefs were created at the same time, the donor wears her hair in two different variations. While in the *dextrarum iunctio* picture the strands are gathered into a knot at the back, as in portraits of Livia (Bo-

4 Sinn, F.: Vatikanische Museen. Museo Gregoriano Profano. Katalog der Skulpturen I. Die Grabdenkmäler 1. Reliefs, Altäre, Urnen. MAR XVII. Mainz 1991, 32–33 no. 10 figs. 28–29; 67 no. 34 figs. 100–102, 123.



150 Rome, Vatican, Museo Gregoriano Profano 9836. Funerary altar of Ti. Claudius Dionysius. H. 96 cm.



151 Rome, Vatican, Museo Gregoriano Profano 9830. Grave relief for Ti. Claudius Dionysius. H. 61,5 cm.

schung 1993b, 46–47 Cc), in the kline relief they are brought together into a loose hanging braid at the neck, as women of the later Julio-Claudian imperial family wore.⁵ The sharply accentuated waviness of the hair on the sides of the head also matches them. Prepontis appears as a beautiful young woman who knows how to combine elegance with restraint. At the same time, the variants of the woman's hairstyle in the two reliefs indicate an interval of time and the long duration of their connection. Based on the hairstyle in the depiction on the funerary altar (fig. 150), the image was linked to the late Augustan or early Tiberian period. The fashionable hairstyle of Prepontis on the tomb relief (fig. 151) shows the mourning scene and thus the death of Dionysius to be around A. D. 40 during the reign of Caligula. Even though the small portrait heads did not permit the reproduction of an unmistakable individual physiognomy because of their small size, they were used methodically to show the particularity features of the couple and their connection.

⁵ Boschung 1993b, 71–73 Wa.– Fuchs, M.: Frauen um Caligula und Claudius. Milonia Caesonia, Drusilla und Messalina, AA 1990, 107–122.



152 Dresden, Skulpturensammlung Hm 359. Antonine funerary altar of a woman. H. 2.18 m.



153 Lost funerary altar. After J. J. Boissard, *Antiquitatum Romanarum* IV 1598 pl. 55.

The creation of portrait-like figures was planned from the start for other funerary altars. This is clear from the division of the decoration and the image areas which took this into account and therefore required no subsequent changes. Frequently, buyers wished to have the *dextrarium iunctio* shown to record their marital bond. For this purpose, it is found in different locations—filling the front (Boschung 1987 no. 836, 848), above the inscription (no. 733, 814), under the tabula (no. 771, 779, 818), or on the back (no. 780).⁶ The couple can stand on a base (no. 836, 848), in an aedicula (no. 771, 848), in an open door (no. 779), under an outstretched garland (no. 780, 814), or on an altar (no. 818). The togatus is almost always on the left, the woman on the right; only in the earliest example are the positions reversed (no. 848). A fixed convention for the representation was obviously not developed, although the scene had been requested again and again for decades. This also applies to the frequent representations of meals, which mostly show a single person

⁶ Boschung 1987 no. 848 (Tiberian); 771, 974 (Claudian-Neronian); 779, 780, 814, 818, 836 (Flavian); 733 (beginning of 2nd c. C. E.).

on the kline, and only in one particularly carefully crafted case a couple (no. 852). They can be seen in the pediment (no. 383), above the inscription (no. 784, 955, 966), or below it (no. 830, 833). The person on the kline is shown asleep only once (no. 823).

The deceased is depicted in a particularly elaborate manner on a funerary altar in Dresden from the middle of the second century A. D. (fig. 152).⁷ The relief on the front shows her life-sized with an incense offering. The portrait has displaced onto the sides the decorative elements such as garlands and volutes, which originally denoted the sacred character of these grave monuments, and it has become the dominant motif. Klaus Fittschen recognized a sculptural copy of the woman's portrait in Tarragona. The deceased was meant to be not only recognizable on her grave monument, but also be represented as public honorary statues showed them. It is therefore clear that the deceased is a member of the imperial elite, for whom a particularly spectacular variant of the common monument type was desired. A counterpart, constructed in the same way, shows a standing man in a toga on the front and is lost, only known from drawings from the 16th century (fig. 153). Perhaps the two extraordinary altars once belonged together in the same tomb.

Some buyers asked the marble workshops to provide a representation of the deceased that reflected his occupation. The lictor M. Coelius Dionysius is shown with the *fascēs* (no. 813), the fishmonger L. Calpurnius Daphnus with his assistants (no. 953; fig. 154), and two Isis worshipers with sistrum and situla (no. 971, 978). The tombstone of Myropnous emphasizes his striking features equally in words and pictures (no. 864; fig. 155). The figure stands frontally like a statue on a rectangular base. The Greek inscription describes him as *νάρος χοραύλης*, a dwarf and flute player who musically accompanies a chorus. The two pipes of the aulos he holds in his hands and the long-sleeved tunic with upper arm bands, corresponding to the costume of a kitharode, refer to his profession. In this context, the wreath in the pediment could be understood as an award for a successful performance. While the hairstyle and beard correspond to the Antonine fashion of the time and were thus conventional, the disproportionately large head, the stocky figure, and the kinked legs visualize the somatic particularity of the short musician.

7 Boschung, D. in: Knoll, K. / Vorster, Ch. (eds.): Staatliche Kunstsammlungen Dresden, Skulpturensammlung. Katalog der antiken Bildwerke IV. Römische Reliefs, Geräte und Inschriften. Munich 2018, 133–139.



154 Rome, Palazzo Massimo. Funerary altar of L. Calpurnius Daphnus. H. without lid 80 cm.



155 Florence, Gallerie degli Uffizi Inv. 987. Funerary altar of Myropnus. H. 62 cm.

Since the inscription does not name the donor of the tomb stone, it remains unknown who commissioned the unique representation.

Some of the large-format busts that can be found frequently on funerary altars must also go back to the express wishes of the commissioner and were planned by sculptors from the start. They are consistently of remarkably good quality. In most cases the busts are either shown individually⁸ or represent a married couple (figs. 128–129).⁹ On other altars they show two brothers, mother and daughter, or a father with his two children.¹⁰ How the busts are placed on the altars also varies. They can appear in an aedicula (no. 790, 791), on the inscription panel (no. 789,

8 Boschung 1987 no. 789, 795, 918 (front and back); 938 (in bust), 946, 949.

9 Boschung 1987 no. 790, 792, 943 (Tullius Diotimus), 944.

10 Boschung 1987 no. 791: 2 women.— no. 862: 2 brothers.— no. 942: father and 2 children.

862, 942–944), in a clipeus (no. 792, 938), in a shell (no. 946), in a circular niche (no. 795, 949), in a framed panel (no. 918), or carried by an eagle and a peacock (no. 980).

The funerary altar of Laberia Daphne (ch. II.1.2) shows that sculptors occasionally modified prefabricated pieces to implement the commissioner's request for individual representations. This is confirmed on numerous other funerary altars. The bust or figure of the deceased was incorporated into the pediment or into the framed panel intended for the inscription. Different solutions were found for this. For Junia Procula the bust is recessed into the inscription panel so that it is enclosed by the given frame;¹¹ frequently only part of the tabula was used (fig. 130).¹² But the inscription panel could also be completely removed and used together with the area below for a bust (no. 660). If the sculptor then inserted the portrait in the pediment, he could expand the image area below and remove the upper profile and parts of the front.¹³ The interior of a wreath in the pediment also offered the opportunity to incorporate a miniature frontal portrait (no. 101).

Likewise, figural scenes could be incorporated later.¹⁴ Additional reliefs depicting the dead as a togatus were added many times.¹⁵ While here, the legal status as a Roman citizen is visualized, other examples show that the donors insisted on a representation of the deceased's special professional position. On the tombstone of Ti. Claudius Acutus, the temple caretaker of the sanctuary of Concordia who died at the age of 96, a depiction was inset in the prepared inscription panel showing him between the open doors as a sacrificant at an altar (Boschung 1987 no. 264; fig. 156). On the tombstone of L. Avillius Dionysius, who was the *conditor gr(egis) russatae* (caretaker of the horses of the red circus faction), his wife, Claudia Helice, had the winning racehorses Aquilo and Hirpinus depicted and named, being fed by Dionysius (fig. 157).¹⁶

The parents of Hateria Superba, who died in her second year of life, were not satisfied with any available, standardized gravestone, but asked for a special picture that was also incorporated into the inscription panel

11 Boschung 1987 no. 649.– Boschung 2020, 239–241 fig. 148.

12 Boschung 1987 no. 550; also no. 16, 104 (pair of busts), 780 (front), 948.

13 Boschung 1987 no. 330, also no. 332, 340, 345.

14 Dining scene: Boschung 1987 no. 327, 397; *dextrarum iunctio* between a togatus and a soldier: no. 556.

15 Boschung 1987 no. 867, 961, 962.

16 Fittschen, K. in Fittschen/Zanker IV 2014 cat. no. 136 pl. 133.



156 Rome, Villa Borghese, Portico dei Leoni VB310. Funerary altar of Ti. Claudius Acutus. H. 96 cm.



157 Rome, Musei Capitolini 1905. Funerary altar of Avillius Dionysius. H. 65 cm.

(no. 555; figs. 158a–b).¹⁷ The daughter, presented frontally like a statue, wears a toga, as young girls dressed on official monuments such as in the procession of the imperial family on the *Ara Pacis Augusti*. At eighteen months, Superba presents herself upright, disciplined, and dignified. She is holding a bunch of grapes in her left hand and a bird in her right. In her hair she wears a precious hair adornment with two pearls hanging down on her forehead. Two flying Erotes together place on her head a wreath with a central medallion, which is otherwise reserved for the emperor.¹⁸ In imperial iconography, it is Victoria who flies forth and crowns the honored person.¹⁹ As here the especially childlike Erotes are chosen to carry the wreath, the motif is thus adapted to the age of the wreathed.

¹⁷ Goette, H. R.: Studien zu römischen Togadarstellungen. Mainz 1990, 81 pl. 70.5.

¹⁸ Bergmann, B.: “Die Lorbeeren des Cäsar.” Oder: Wie erkennt man einen römischen Kaiser? In: Boschung/Queyrel 2020, 205–258.

¹⁹ e. g. Hölscher, T.: Victoria Romana. Mainz 1967, 10 pl. 1.6 (Augustus).– Megow, W.-R.: Kameen von Augustus bis Alexander Severus. Berlin 1987, 199–200 A 80 pl. 27.1 (Claudius); 214–215 A 99 pl. 35.3 (Nero).



158a-b Florence, Gallerie degli Uffizi 942. Funerary altar of Hateria Superba; **158b** detail. H. 97 cm.



159 Berlin, Münzkabinett. Aureus of Antonia minor. Reverse: Torches.

The portrait head is carefully worked, showing the round shape of the face, the short, broad nose and the soft, full features of a child. Next to the girl are her pets, a dog and a pigeon. The recessed niche is framed on either side by burning torches. They emphasize the dignity of the scene, as they are also found in pairs on the coins of Antonia minor (fig. 159), that name her role as *sacerdos divi Augusti*.²⁰

The mourning survivors of Superba were not satisfied with conventional and outmoded motifs, but developed a unique memory picture in cooperation with the workshop making it, which captures the qualities of the deceased in a new way that is only intended for them. Only tokens of the highest honor like the torches and the wreath with medallion, which were otherwise intended for members of the imperial family, seemed good enough to appropriately honor the deceased and, furthermore, were combined in a unique way. She is characterized by her physiognomy, her

²⁰ von Kaenel, H.-M.: Münzprägung und Münzbildnis des Claudius. Berlin 1986, 63–67 coin type 15–16 pl. 5.218–248.– Trillmich, W.: Familienpropaganda der Kaiser Caligula und Claudius. Berlin 1978, 19–20, 69–77 pl. 6.

pets, and the Erotes of the same carefree childish age, and is shown as lovingly cared for by her jewelry and the flawlessly draped toga, and she is also worthy of the highest honor.

Portraits on funerary altars were numerous, so that they, like the miniature portraits of the *equites singulares*, appear as a mass phenomenon. But although they recur uniformly on the grave reliefs of the emperor's cavalry, they are always designed and placed differently on the altars. Here they are the result of very different ideas about the personality of the dead, which were visualized according to the age, gender, and social position of the deceased, but also according to the emotional connection with the donors. In contrast to the monuments of the emperor's cavalry, there are consistently singular representations on funerary altars that are meant to make the individual clearly visually recognizable. During the middle Imperial period, the two more or less simultaneous types of funerary monuments each used a specific and thus different approach to portraiture. This is all the more striking as the older and extensive group of Republican tombstones from Rome had strict conventions for the presentation of portraits.²¹

3.3 VARIETY OF SERIES

A serial use of representations of the deceased and their relatives envisaged as individuals was found on the grave reliefs of Attica from the late fifth century B. C. and later.²² Although the heads are often life-size, they can hardly be distinguished from one another. In the fifth century, Greek sculptors had developed ways to designate prominent people with their distinctive characteristics and thus keep their particularity permanently present (ch. III.1–2). However, hardly any use was made of it in Attic funerary art; at most, different ages are distinguished to illustrate a succession of generations. While inscriptions identify the person represented as an individual by name and family affiliation, the barely differentiated heads emphasize the adherence to common norms and values. This was particularly noticeable when grave reliefs were placed in close proximity

21 On the type: Kockel, V.: *Porträtreliefs stadtrömischer Grabbauten*. Mainz 1993.– Lorenz, K.: *Zu den Gruppenporträts auf stadtrömischen Kastengrabreliefs der späten Republik*. In: *Boschung/Queyrel 2019*, 229–255.

22 For example: von den Hoff, R.: *Attische Grabreliefs des späten 5. und 4. Jhs. v. Chr. als Bildmedium*. In: *Boschung/Queyrel 2019*, 23–74.

to one another. Additionally, with the expert production methods of sculptors, conventions quickly developed that made social positions clear but did not strive for a particular rendering of the individual.

Some of the ways of representation developed here can be found again in the late Hellenistic period on grave stelae from Delos and Rhodes, especially for the representation of family connections.²³ Funerary reliefs from Smyrna also show that family scenes were occasionally based on the Attic model in the second half of the second century B. C.²⁴ At all three production locations, however, their own specific conventions quickly developed that use a sculptural presentation to depict the deceased. In addition to the numerous standardized heads that can only be identified by inscriptions, there are a few that deviate and thus appear individual. For some this is due to the small format, but it is obvious from the costume, facial features, and hairstyles that individual differentiation was not intended. Here, too, attachment to shared values remains the norm. Consideration of grave reliefs from the Bosporean Kingdom, which also combine name inscriptions and figures with supra-individually designed heads, leads to a similar result.²⁵

In Rome in the first half of the first century B. C., an extensive group of funerary reliefs began, made predominantly for freedmen and used to decorate the facades of tomb buildings. According to a uniform pattern, they show partial figures frontally and lined up next to each other as if in a window.²⁶ The life-size dimensions of this group offered the possibility of physiognomic differentiation of the inscription-named heads, which were mainly used for the male portraits. As with honorary statues of the political leaders of the same period—like Pompey, Cicero, and Caesar—the physiognomic particularities were also supposed to illustrate an unmistakable individual. In the serial production of these tombstones,

23 Le Dinahet, M.-Th.: Les représentations funéraires dans une société cosmopolite: le cas délien. In: Boschung/Queyrel 2019, 107–146.– Machaira, V.: Sculpture funéraire de Rhodes. Quelle individualisation? In: Boschung/Queyrel 2019, 169–199.

24 Laugier, L.: Entre stéréotypes et individualisation, la notion relative du portrait appliquée au corpus des stèles de Smyrne. In: Boschung/Queyrel 2019, 147–167.

25 Kreuz, Patric A.: Individuum und Bild in den Nekropolen des Bosporeanischen Reichs. Eine nordpontische Perspektive. In: Boschung/Queyrel 2019, 201–227.

26 Kockel op. cit.– Lorenz op. cit. (as n. 21).

sculptors used stereotypical formulas whose combination could make the faces appear individual (ch. IV.1.2).

During the Imperial era, portraits can be found in cemeteries in almost all areas of Italy and the Roman Empire. They often follow contemporary fashions shaped by the iconography of the emperors and their relatives; as a result, they appear standardized and similar to one another (ch. IV.1.2). At the same time, in the empire-wide reception of the models originating with the imperial family, they are an expression of political loyalty and cultural unity. Significantly, the contemporary funerary reliefs from the Bosporan Kingdom are an exception and remain independent of this.

Specific conventions of representation and the use of portraits formed in various regions. While in Cyrene since the middle of the first century A. D., sculptural portrait busts were placed in niches in tomb facades,²⁷ from the same period in Palmyra the loculus plaques of hypogea and tower tombs are decorated with reliefs that present the dead with portrait busts and give their names.²⁸ Even though they varied in details, their stylistic and typological similarities gave the impression of great uniformity. Numerous life-size busts appeared frontally in the confined space in the Palmyrene graves, arranged in rows next to each other and on top of each other according to a predetermined grid. The burial sites were used for generations, so over a long period of time the walls were filled with portraits. The portraits not only showed the appearance of individual persons, but above all the size and continuity over centuries of the family association to which the tombs belonged. While each representation can be connected to a particular individual through the name inscribed and variation of gestures, attributes, and jewelry, they also fit into a supra-personal whole.

The connection between empire-wide fashions and local particularities that ultimately belong to the Hellenistic tradition is also shown in

27 Belzig, M.: Des “divinités funéraires” aux portraits funéraires. In: Boschung/Queyrel 2019, 75–106.

28 Raja, R.: Powerful Images of the Deceased. Palmyrene Funerary Portrait Culture between Local, Greek and Roman Representations. In: Boschung/Queyrel 2017, 319–348.– Krag, S.: The Production of Portraits in Roman Period Palmyra. In: Boschung/Queyrel 2019, 459–501.

the portraits on the so-called doorstones from Phrygia.²⁹ On the other hand, the examples from the province of Syria are diverse and nonuniform.³⁰ For the provinces on the Iberian Peninsula, only Mérida is known to have a larger group of funerary altars with portrait heads.³¹

The lifespans of the regional groups are just as different. The series of funerary reliefs with portraits begins in northern Italy in the later first century B. C. and tapers off at the end of the first century A. D.³² In northern Gaul and Germania, too, the earliest examples date back to the late Augustan period, but use of funerary portraits remains common there until the third century A. D.³³ In other areas their use did not begin until the second century A. D., as in Dacia after A. D. 100³⁴ and around A. D. 150 in Mérida and in Phrygia.³⁵ So, there were regional conditions and needs that led to the adoption of the portrait in funerary art at different times. It is all the more striking that in all the regions mentioned, funerary portraits were abandoned almost simultaneously in the late third century A. D.—with the significant exception of northern Italy. Only in the case of Palmyra are the political and economic reasons for this clear. But even in Rome itself, in the course of the fourth century A. D. the portraits planned on sarcophagi were often no longer worked out and left as bossage. A substitute for this, however, are the portrait figures of catacomb painting.³⁶

29 Lochman, T.: “Normierte Identitäten.” Büsten und Gestalten in voller Größe auf phrygischen Grabreliefs aus der Kaiserzeit. In: Boschung/Queyrel 2019, 377–405.

30 Annan, B.: Un paysage de visages: variété typologique et diffusion géographique des portraits funéraires au Proche-Orient romain. In: Boschung/Queyrel 2019, 407–457.

31 Vedder, U.: Grabsteine mit Porträt in Augusta Emerita (Lusitania). Zur Rezeption stadtrömischer Sepulkralkunst in einer Provinzhauptstadt. Rahden 2001.

32 Pflug, H.: Porträtstelen in Oberitalien. Überlegungen zur Selbstdarstellung der Mittelschicht im Grabmonument. In: Boschung/Queyrel 2019, 257–318.

33 Rose, H.: Repräsentationswillen im typisierten Narrativ. Zentrale Aspekte ostgallischer Grabreliefs. In: Boschung/Queyrel 2019, 527–553.– Mägele, S.: Zur Bedeutung der Porträtplastik im römischen Köln, *ib.* 555–595.

34 Ciongradi, C.: Grabmal und Porträt in Dakien. In: Boschung/Queyrel 2019, 503–526.

35 Lochman as n. 29.

36 Kovacs, M.: Medienwechsel und Medienpersistenz. Zur weitgehenden Absenz des rundplastischen Porträts in spätantiken Grabmonumenten. In: Boschung/Queyrel 2019, 319–376.

V FINDING THE PARTICULAR

1. WAYS OF FINDING

1.1 PUTTING NAMES TO HEADS

After the end of antiquity, some sculptures remained in sight and, as conspicuous artifacts, required an explanation. They have been commented upon since the Middle Ages as relics of a bygone pagan era and shaped conceptions of the past (Boschung 2020, 269–273). Interest in identifications grew after the works of Greek and Roman historians such as Thucydides (1502), Herodotos (1502), and Livy (1469), and biographers such as Suetonius (1470) and Plutarch (1517) found widespread dissemination through the printing press,¹ because in these works historical processes and events appeared as results of the achievements and qualities of leading individuals.

Andrea Fulvio's book entitled *Illustrium imagines*, published in Rome in 1517, responded to this interest (fig. 160).² It presents historical figures from Roman history in chronological order, but also includes Byzantine and German emperors. Biographical information for each is combined on one or two pages with a representation based on coin portraits. The entries each consist of a heading, picture, and text (fig. 161); so they follow an arrangement that will become conventional for the somewhat later emblem books.³

In the foreword, the author mentions as an ancient prototype Varro, who combined portraits with texts in his work *Hebdomades vel de imaginibus libri XV*, but he follows a different plan. While Varro put together 700 portraits of "people famous in some way" (*inlustrium aliquo modo imaginibus*) and also included celebrities from other cultures (*alieni*)

1 I take the dates of the respective *editiones principes* from the entries in Landfester, M. (ed.): Dictionary of Greek and Latin Authors and Texts, BNP Suppl. I.2.

2 Kätzlmeier-Frank, M.: Theodor Galles Zeichnungen zu Fulvio Orsinis *Imagines*. Münster 1993, 22–23.

3 Scholz, B. F. in: BNP 13 s. v. Emblems.



160 Andrea Fulvio, *Illustrium Imagines*, 1517. Title page.



161 as fig. 160; Portrait of C. Julius Caesar.

(Plin. *NH* 35.11 [2]), Fulvio concentrated on names from Roman and later imperial history. T. Pomponius Atticus is also mentioned in the preface as an ancient precursor. He had assembled in pictures and words those Romans who stood out for their deeds and recalled their offices held and their successes beneath their pictures, “*sub singulorum imaginibus facta magistratusque eorum ... descripserit*” (Nep. *Att.* 18.3–6). But Andrea Fulvio was primarily interested in family connections and so he listed numerous names not known through their deeds, but solely through their relationship with a ruler.

The series begins with Janus (who was considered the first king of Latium) and Alexander the Great. This is followed by M. Claudius Marcellus and Marius as protagonists of the Roman Republic. The work is particularly detailed for the time of Caesar and for the emperors of the first and second centuries A. D., who are presented with their numerous relatives. Together with Caesar (fig. 161), his parents, L. Caesar and Aurelia, and his grandmother Marcia are listed, as well as his aunt Julia, his sister of the same name, daughter of the same name, and his wives: Cossutia, Cornelia, Pompeia, and Calpurnia, as well as Cleopatra as “*Caesaris amica*” and her son, Caesarion. Then there are his political

162 as fig. 160; *C. Octavius*.163 as fig. 160; *Accia mater Augusti*.

rivals and opponents: Cicero, Pompey, Clodius, Cato, Cassius, and Brutus, as well as Marcus Antonius and his wife Fulvia. That is a total of 20 people who are connected to the dictator Julius Caesar. The families of the emperors from Augustus to Domitian are presented in a similarly detailed manner. The rulers of the second century up to Septimius Severus are listed completely in this way with most of their family members; thereafter the series becomes incomplete and incorrect.

The names arranged in this way predicated a way of searching in which a portrait and biographical information should be added to each name. The task could not be fulfilled in every case. There was no portrait of *Cossutia uxor Caes(aris)* and a portrait for *Plaudilla Augusta* is listed among the relatives of Caesar, but the text field was left empty. Occasionally the names are misleading. Nerva is represented with a coin portrait of Trajan, Trajan in turn with a portrait of Hadrian, and Antonia minor and Agrippina maior are listed twice.⁴

⁴ *Antonia Augusta* (XXXI) is depicted after ancient coins, *Antonia iunior Germ(anici) m(ater)* (XXXII) with an invented portrait, *Agrippina M(arci) f(ilia)*

The visual representations are reproduced, according to the foreword of the book, “after the most excellent coins of an extraordinary age.”⁵ For some of the portraits reproduced, ancient coins were available that corresponded to the illustrations, particularly for the emperors, but also for Agrippa, Antonia Augusta, Drusus minor, Germanicus, and Agrippina maior. But many of the supposedly ancient portraits are fictitious. When no portraits could be found for the names, Fulvio invented heads and contrived coin legends. The connection between the portrait and the name inscription made the identification more evocative.

Fulvio’s fictitious coin portraits of the relatives of Caesar or Augustus transcribed his conception of their character. The names were given form and an evident clarity. The depictions of Augustus’ parents, C. Octavius and Atia (here she is labelled *Accia*, the spelling from older editions of Suetonius),⁶ with encircling name inscriptions and profile views, appear to reproduce coin portraits (figs. 162–163), but there were no ancient models. Below each is the short biography following ancient historians. Atia appears as an older matron with sunken cheeks whose moral severity is expressed by her covered head and her dignity by a narrow diadem. The legend encircling her portrait summarizes her most important biographical information, indicating Atia was the daughter of Caesar’s sister and the mother of Octavius (Augustus): *Accia Iulia(e) sororis Caes(aris) f(ilia) Octavii m(ater)*. The father wears short, full hair, as might be found in portraits of the emperor Tiberius. With him, too, wrinkles on his cheeks and neck indicate advanced age. The inscription does not name his achievements and offices, but rather indicates he is the father of Augustus: *C. Octavius C. Octa(vii) C(a)es(aris) Aug(usti) pater*. The form of the name *Octavius Caesar Augustus*, which his son never used, makes it clear that no ancient source is cited here, but that individual pieces of information are freely combined.

Conceptions of ancient personalities were visualized not only through imaginary coin portraits, but also in the identification of surviving ancient sculptures. In this case, the representations were not invented, but found in existing ancient monuments. Three-dimensional life-size portraits had a considerably more impressive vividness and presence than

mat(er) C. Caes(aris) Aug(usti) after a sesterce of Caligula (XXXIII), and *Agrippina Germanici uxor* (XXXV) after a fictive coin.

⁵ Andrea Fulvio: *Imagines illustrium*. Rome 1517, Foreword: “ex probatissimis miraeq(ue) vetustatis numismatibus excrubi effingiq(ue).”

⁶ Also in the Lyon edition of 1508.

alleged or actual coin portraits. As authentic ancient evidence, they were especially convincing. Ulisse Aldrovandi gives an initial overview of the identification of heads, busts, and statues in Rome in his work on *statue antiche* in Rome from 1549/50, which cites a large number of depictions of historical people.⁷ It was not a matter of finding portraits for a series of given names or of inventing them where necessary; rather, the surviving heads, busts, and statues demanded identifications that made their meaning accessible.

Aldrovandi repeatedly identifies emperors from Julius Caesar to Caracalla and Geta, and particularly often portraits of Hadrian, Augustus, Marcus Aurelius, and Antoninus Pius. However, there is no representation of Vitellius, and only an uncertain example for Caligula. There are also relatives of the emperors, including “Faustina” who appears a total of 21 times, twice indicated as the elder and four times as the younger. Twelve sculptures represented Antinous, with one head noted as “Antonio favorito di Trajano.” Of male relatives, Marcellus, Agrippa, Drusus maior, and Germanicus are named, as well as Aelius, the father of Hadrian, and Aelius Verus, the father of Lucius Verus. There are numerous portraits of the women of the imperial family: Julia (Caesar’s daughter), Octavia, Livia, Julia (the daughter of Augustus), Antonia, Agrippina maior, Caesonia, Agrippina minor, Poppaea, Julia Titi, Sabina, and Lucilla.

There were significantly fewer depictions of the emperors after the Severan era. However, the series with Macrinus, Elagabalus, Alexander Severus, Maximinus Thrax, and Gordian III is almost complete. This is followed only by Philip the Arab with his son, then Claudius Gothicus, and finally three portraits of Constantine. Julia Mamaea and Otacilia are named from the imperial women of the third century.

7 Ulisse Aldrovandi: *Tutte le statue antiche, che in Roma in diversi luoghi, e case particolari si veggono*. In: Lucio Mauro: *Le antichità della città di Roma*. Venice 1562, 115–315. = <http://archiv.ub.uni-heidelberg.de/artdok/volltexte/2009/704>. A large proportion of the ancient sculptures mentioned by Aldrovandi can be identified thanks to Alfonso Chacón’s antiquities albums: Vorster, Ch.: *Die Zeichnungsalben des Alphonsus Ciacconius und ihr Zeugniswert für die Antikensammlungen des 16. Jahrhunderts*, *Kölner Jahrbuch* 51, 2018, 463–481.– Vorster, Ch. et al. (eds.): *Die Antikenalben des Alphonsus Ciacconius in Braunschweig, Rom und Pesaro. Dokumentation und Deutung antiker Skulpturen im 16. Jahrhundert*. Braunschweig 2018, particularly the contributions from C. Gasparri, K. Fittschen, and Ch. Vorster.



164 Fulvio Orsini, *Imagines et elogia virum illustrium*, 1570. Title page.



165 as fig. 164 p. 51. with three Portraits of Socrates.

From the Roman regal period, Aventinus, king of Alba; Romulus and his wife, Hersilia; Numa Pompilius; one of the Curiatii; and Lucretia were depicted; from the Republic, L. Junius Brutus; Valerius Publicola; Mucius Scaevola; Scipio Africanus; Cato; Scipio Nasica; Marius; Pompey and his wife, Cornelia; Cicero and his son; M. Brutus; Cassius; and M. Antonius. Of people from Greek history, Pyrrhus and Cleopatra were most frequently represented, as were Alexander and Philip of Macedon, as well as Pythagoras, Milo of Kroton, Aristeides, Alkibiades, Socrates, Lysias, and Demosthenes. Aldrovandi also recognizes a portrait of Zoroaster and a head that was supposed to represent Hannibal or Hasdrubal. Overall, the names of protagonists of Roman history predominate in his list of identifications, and above all emperors and their relatives. This matches the picture from Andrea Fulvio and in some cases Aldrovandi seems to be referring to the older book.⁸

Most of the identifications were undisputed in Aldrovandi's list, but competing interpretations are given for some. A head in the Cesi collection (Aldrovandi 134) was thought to be M. Brutus or Cato, although

⁸ Cf. their statements about C. Marius (Fulvio 7): "C. Marius septies consul Arpinas humili loco natus;" Aldrovandi 142: "Mario, che fu sette volte Consolo; benché nascesse bassament in Arpino."

here, as in the other cases, it remains uncertain which of the two *Catones* is meant. A head in the house of M. Bindo Altoviti was generally taken as Julius Caesar (“*volgarmente*”), but some believed it represented Claudius Marcellus, the conqueror of Syracuse (Aldrovandi 142). The differences of opinion were even greater in the case of a head in the possession of Antonio Gabriele, which was interpreted as a portrait of Drusus (maior?) or Romulus. A portrait in the house of Mons. Giacomelli was accepted as representing a Gaius Caesar. However, it was disputed whether the adopted son of Augustus or the emperor of the same name (Caligula) was intended (Aldrovandi 257). There was also no consensus on the identity of the equestrian statue on the Capitol; in addition to Marcus Aurelius, Antoninus Pius, Lucius Verus, and Septimius Severus were also suggested.

The work of Fulvio Orsini (fig. 164), published in 1570, followed a different approach than Andrea Fulvio, as its title suggests: *Imagines et elogia virum illustrium et eruditorum ex antiquis lapidibus et nomismatib(us) expressa*. In 1606 an expanded compilation of portraits appeared posthumously; the text published by Johannes Faber.⁹ Here, too, portraits and short biographies of outstanding men are collected, but the Roman politicians and emperors are absent; only Julius Caesar is included because of his literary achievements, shown with a coin portrait (91). Instead, Greek statesmen, poets, philosophers, historians, orators, grammarians, lawyers, and doctors are discussed. While in the first publication they are arranged in groups according to their field of work, in the new edition they appear in alphabetical order. The representations reproduce different ancient monuments—statues, herms (fig. 165), reliefs, inscriptions, coins, book illuminations, and gems. Therefore, in contrast to Andrea Fulvio, the portraits shown are not formally uniform. On the other hand, only monuments of antiquity that can be seen in the Roman collections or verified in learned publications are presented. This fundamentally

9 Orsini, Fulvio: *Imagines et elogia virum illustrium et eruditorum ex antiquis lapidibus et nomismatib(us) expressa*. Rome 1570.—*Illustrium imagines, ex antiquis marmoribus, nomismatibus, et gemmis expressae*. Editio altera. Theodorus Gallaeus delineabat. Antwerp 1606.—Iohannes Faber: *In imagines illustrium ex Fulvii Ursini bibliotheca... commentarius*. Antwerp 1606. Cf. also Kätzlmeier-Frank as n. 2 esp. 30–58, 99.—Lang, J. in Kuhlmann, P. / Schneider, H. (eds.): *History of classical Scholarship - A Biographical Dictionary*. BNP Suppl. I.6 s. v.: Orsini, Fulvio.—Voutiras E.: *Imagines virorum illustrium*. Problemi di identificazione dei ritratti greci, *Archeologia Classica* 60, 2009, 85–88.



166 as fig. 164 p. 75. Portraits of Lysias.



167 Orsini 1606 (as n. 1) pl. 131. Bust of "Seneca."

changed approach is the result of the "material turn" around 1540, with which ancient remains were evaluated as historical evidence (Boschung 2020, 100–101, 106–108).

The changed expectations and intentions of antiquarians towards ancient portraits can also be seen in the labels of the drawings of antiquities collected by Alfonso Chacón (Alphonsus Ciacconius) and created between 1567 and 1599.¹⁰ Compared to those listed in Aldrovandi, on the one hand the list of names from Roman history has been supplemented, because not only Caligula, Vitellius, and his son of the same name have been added, but also rulers of the late second, third, and fourth centuries, as well as the empresses Plotina and Helena.¹¹ Additional portraits had been found from earlier Roman history.¹² The search for portraits of poets and scholars was particularly fruitful, both for the Roman world¹³ and

¹⁰ Christiane Vorster is preparing a comprehensive study of the ancient drawings, cf. also n. 7.

¹¹ Clodius Albinus, Pescennius Niger, Diadumenian, Trajan Decius, and Julian the Apostate.

¹² Dido, Rhea Silvia, Horatius Cocles, Servilius Ahala, Attilius Regulus, Scipio Asiaticus, C. Coelius Caldus, Sulla, Porcia, Decimus Brutus, Lepidus.

¹³ Varro, Horace, Vergil, Ovid, Persius, Seneca, Pliny the Elder.

for Greek iconography.¹⁴ Greek kings and generals are listed much less frequently.¹⁵ The illustrations by Ursinus and the drawings in the Ciacconius albums show some of the same sculptures with the same names.

1.2 ARGUMENT AND INTUITION

Aldrovandi justifies his identifications only as an exception, so in many cases it remains unclear how he came to them. He mentions the associated inscriptions for the portrait of Lysias and for a relief depicting Valerius Publicola. For the seated statue of Aristeides, too, the letters on the plinth may have been the reason for the interpretation, although they are not mentioned.¹⁶ Nor does Aldrovandi mention the inscriptions on the cuirass statues on the Capitol, which made it possible to identify them as portraits of Constantine. In these cases, the names were likely taken from sources that obtained them from reading the inscriptions.¹⁷

Fulvio Orsini depicts a large number of portraits in his first edition from 1570, which are clearly and convincingly named by accompanying inscriptions: statues depicting Moschion (30) and the *grammaticus graecus* M. Mettius Epaphroditus (92); heads of Euripides (26–27) and Lysias (74–75; fig. 166); portrait medallions of Sophocles (24–25) and Menander (32–33); herms of Miltiades (10–12), Socrates (51), Theophrastos (59), Zeno (65), Leodamas (76), Aischines (78–79), Herodotos (86–87), and Thucydides (88–89); coin portraits of Homer (20–21), Pythagoras (62), Apollonios of Tyana (68), Varro (81), Sallust (90), and Caesar (91); as well as two gems that connect heads with the names of Solon (49) and Plato (53).

Sometimes Aldrovandi shows that it was a connection with the literary tradition that made individual figures identifiable. Statues of women

14 Homer, Hesiod, Solon, Herodotos, Sophokles, Euripides, Plato, Thukydides, Hippokrates, Theophrastos, Isokrates, Leodamas, Menander, Zeno, Diogenes, Aristippos, Karneades, Archimedes, Poseidonios, Andromachos, Apollonios of Tyana.

15 Miltiades, Berenike, Lysimachos, Hieron, Mithridates.

16 Aldrovandi 239 (Valerius Publicola), 256 (Aristides), 288 (Lysias); on Aristides cf. Studniczka, F.: *Das Bildnis des Aristoteles*. In: Fittschen 1988, 149–152 with figs. 4–5.

17 Aldrovandi 268.– Cf. Zanker, P. in Fittschen/Zanker I 1985, 144–147 no. 120–121 pls. 149–150.

with a wound under the breast could be interpreted as depictions of Lucretia, who stabbed herself to save her honor and with her suicide provoked the expulsion of the kings.¹⁸ Two statues of Cleopatra in the Belvedere Courtyard of the Vatican and in the collection of Cardinal Rodolfo Pio da Carpi showed the poisonous snake on her arm, with which she gave herself over to death to avoid being captured by Octavian.¹⁹ Individual historically attested features could also contribute to an identification. A bust of Cicero in the possession of Giuliano Cesarini was recognized by a wart on the nose from which he got his name (ch. II.1.2).²⁰ Past display contexts were also said to be used for identifications. The presumed connection to the monumental bronze statue by the Colosseum led Aldrovandi to the interpretation of a bronze head as a portrait of Commodus.²¹

Comparison with portraits on coins proved to be particularly helpful for portraits of the Roman emperors. In his work *De statuīs et simulacris*, Andrea Fulvio justifies his interpretation of the equestrian statue on the Capitol as Marcus Aurelius or Lucius Verus with its similarity with images on coins.²² Accepted identifications offered the possibility of further discoveries. Thus, Aldrovandi can list a bearded head in the house of Vincenzo Stampa as a portrait of Marcus Aurelius because it resembles the rider on the bronze statue on the Capitol.²³

Brief instructions on identifying ancient sculptures can be found three generations later in Henry Peacham's *The Compleat Gentleman* from 1634,²⁴ because the "ingenuous Gentleman" had to be able to identify ancient statues in order to hold his own before his peers. Peacham recommends four methods for training the appropriate skills. The first is

18 Aldrovandi 164.

19 Aldrovandi 117–118.

20 Aldrovandi 221: "Cicerone, col cece nel naso presso gli occhi, onde fu egli così cognominato." Cf. Boschung 2020, 276–277.

21 Aldrovandi 268: "capo grosissimo di bronzo de l'Imp. Commodo, che troncando la testa ad un gran Colosso di Nerone, vi attaccò su questa sua."

22 Andrea Fulvio, *De statuīs et simulacris*. In: *Antiquitates Urbis. Rome 1527*, IV 79v.–Echinger-Maurach, C. / Maurach, G.: Andrea Fulvio über die antike Skulptur in Rom: De Capitolio monte, et eius priscis ornamentis; *De statuīs et simulacris*, fontes 62, 2011, 12. 15–16 = <https://archiv.ub.uni-heidelberg.de/artdok/1500/>

23 Aldrovandi 172: "la testa col petto di M. Aurelio barbato, è simile à quella, che si vede à cavallo nel Campidoglio."

24 Peacham, H.: *The compleat Gentleman*. London 1634, 109–110.

“by generall learning in History and Poetry.” The link between statues and literary texts makes it possible to recognize figures by their attributes, such as Jupiter with his lightning bolt, Hercules with his lion skin and club, Cleopatra with the viper, and Cicero with a wart. For statues without attributes and without inscriptions, Peacham recommends comparing their head profile with coins.²⁵ All portraits of a person should be similar, so the facial features of the sculpture should also be found in the coin portraits. Another possibility suggested is to study a book entitled *Icones statuarum quae hodie visuntur Romae*.²⁶ Anyone familiar with this work would be able to evaluate many other statues because it provides numerous similar representations. And finally, visiting collections in the company of connoisseurs helps to expand and deepen knowledge of ancient sculpture.

It is obvious that Peacham recommends methods of studying antiquity that were already in use for identifying portraits a century earlier in Rome and are reflected, for example, in Aldrovandi’s compilation. In the meantime, they had spread beyond the circle of learned antiquarians and were part of the general knowledge that could be expected from people of high standing. Unmistakably, with Peacham’s manual format, antiquarian knowledge is condensed and passed on in a greatly simplified manner. A single book is sufficient for the study of statues, and statues can be identified with the help of a catalog of attributes. This catalog also includes the viper as an attribute of Cleopatra and the wart as an attribute of Cicero, which were already used for Aldrovandi’s identifications.

The statue of a sleeping woman in the Belvedere Courtyard of the Vatican also appears in the *Segmenta signorum et statuarum* by François Perrier, printed in 1638, as a representation of the dead or dying Cleopatra—*Cleopatra ab Augusto in triumpho Romam allata*.²⁷ In 1675 Joachim von Sandrart called her “Cleopatra Königin in Egypten: in Vatikan; Diss Bild ward von Kais. Augusto im Triumph zu Rom eingefuhret” (“Cleopatra Queen of Egypt: in the Vatican; This image was carried before the

25 Peacham op. cit. 123: “coynes are the very Antiquities themselves;” they show (124) “the faces and heads and in them the Characters of all these famous Emperors, Capitaines and illustrious men whose actions will be ever admired.”- On the results of the process: Boschung 2020, 274, 280.

26 This may refer to Girolamo Franzini: *Icones statuarum antiquarum vrbis Romae*. Rome 1599 or Giov. Bat. de Cavalleriis: *Antiquarum statuarum urbis Romae*. Rome 1585.

27 François Perrier: *Segmenta signorum et statuarum*. Rome 1638 pl. 88.



168 Joachim von Sandrart, *Teutsche Akademie I 2*, 1675 pl. dd: “Cleopatra Königin in Egypten.”

emperor Augustus in triumph in Rome”; fig. 168).²⁸ After the capture of Alexandria and the death of Marc Antony, the queen committed suicide by letting a poisonous snake bite her arm. In his spectacular triumphal procession in Rome, Octavian had carried a representation of the dead Cleopatra on a kline, in which the snake could be seen wrapped around her arm.²⁹

The reason for the identification of the statue was the small snake on the upper arm. It is of course a bracelet, and the rock on which the woman sleeps does not correspond particularly well with the depiction of the dead Cleopatra in Octavian’s triumphal procession, who, according to Cassius Dio, was lying on a kline. Sandrart’s illustration overcomes these difficulties by reproducing the bracelet as a live snake moving towards the chest of the reclining figure and depicting the rock as a bed and a large pillow. The interpretation thus retains its validity despite the

²⁸ Joachim von Sandrart: *Teutsche Akademie der edlen Bau-, Bild- und Mahlerey-Kunst*. Nuremberg 1675 I 2, 35.

²⁹ Plutarch, *Marcus Antonius* 84–86.—Cassius Dio 51.21.8: τὰ τε γὰρ ἄλλα καὶ ἡ Κλεοπάτρα ἐπὶ κλίνης ἐν τῷ τοῦ θανάτου μιμήματι παρεκομίσθη.



169 Paris, Louvre Ma 80. Seated statue of Chrysippos. Roman copy after c. 250 B. C. original; Head restored. H. 1.20 m.



170 Joachim von Sandrart, *Teutsche Akademie* 1679 II pl. G. Statue of “Belisarius” begging.

contradictions to the historical tradition, even though the rendering of the sculpture had to be falsified.³⁰

The identification of the statue as Cleopatra was based on ancient literary accounts, but disregarded the discrepancies. The example of a seated statue of the philosopher Chrysippos, now in the Louvre (fig. 169),³¹ shows that the interpretation of statues was an expression of historical interest, but not the result of the detailed study of historical sources, and instead was often intuitive. Joachim Sandrart interpreted it as a portrait of the Byzantine general Belisarios from the sixth century A. D. (fig. 170). Belisarios was falsely accused of treason, whereupon the emperor Justin-

30 Those who took the contradictions seriously interpreted the figure as a nymph (like Winckelmann) or as Ariadne (like Visconti, *E. Q.: Museo Pio-Clementino* II, 1784, 89–92 pl. 44).

31 Paris, Musée du Louvre Ma 80. von den Hoff, R.: *Philosophenporträts des Früh- und Hochhellenismus*. Munich 1994, 100 cat. no. 1.– Kunze, Ch.: *Zum Greifen nah. Stilphänomene in der hellenistischen Skulptur und ihre inhaltliche Interpretation*. Munich 2002, 243–246.– Zanker 2016, 33–35 no. 8.

ian had his eyes gouged out.³² The once rich and highly honored but now impoverished Belisarios was forced to beg, and (according to Sandrart) called out to passers-by, “Date obolum Bellisario, quem virtus extulit, invidia occaecavit,” that is, “Give an obol to Bellisarios, whom virtue exalted and envy blinded.”³³

The episode is not passed down by historians of the Justinianic period such as Procopius. It can be found in the 12th century in John Tzetzes, who also used the exclamation quoted by Sandrart.³⁴ At the beginning of the 16th century, Petrus Crinitus added the blinding of Belisarios to his collection as an example of the destructive power of envy.³⁵ At the end of the century, Caesar Baronius integrated the general’s tragic fate into his church history and translated the verses from Tzetzes into Latin.³⁶ The play *De Belisario duce christiano* by Jakob Bidermann, first performed in 1607, brought to the stage both the blinding of the fallen prince and his plea for charity.³⁷ When the play appeared in print, Bidermann authenticated the story with a reference to Baronius and Tzetzes on the title page.³⁸ The subject was treated in literature many times in Italy, Spain, France, England, and the Netherlands as well in the 17th century. It was widely used in plays and as the subject of painting.³⁹ As with the supposed shield of Scipio (Boschung 2020, 281–284), here as well contempo-

32 Joachim von Sandrart: Teutsche Akademie. Nuremberg 1679, II Von der sculptura oder Bildhauerkunst 7 pl. G; III Von der pittura oder Mahlerey-Kunst 63–64.– On the motif Weschenfelder, K.: Belisar und sein Begleiter. Die Karriere eines Blinden in der Kunst vom 17. bis zum 19. Jahrhundert, Marburger Jahrbuch für Kunstwissenschaft 30, 2003, 245–268.

33 Sandrart op. cit. Nuremberg 1679, II, 7.

34 Tzetzes, *Chiliades* 3.25 (339–348); 344/345: “Βελισαρίω ὀβολὸν δότε τῷ στρατηλάτῃ / Ὅν τύχη μὲν ἐδόξασεν, ἀποτυφλοὶ δ’ ὁ φθόνος.”

35 Petrus Crinitus: *Commentarii de honesta disciplina*. Florence 1504 X caput 6.

36 Caesar Baronius: *Annales ecclesiastici VII*. Mainz 1601, 695–696: “Belisario date obulum Imperatori / quem fortuna quidem clarum fecit, excaecavit invidia.”

37 Jakob Bidermann: *Comico-tragoedia de Belisario duce christiano* 1666. In: Burger, H.: Jakob Bidermanns “Belisarius.” Edition und Versuch einer Deutung. Berlin 1966, 67, ll. 2017–2019, Act 5, scene 9: “Obulum date Imperatori Belisario; / Quem fortuna extulit clarum, sed reddidit / Invidia caecum. Date, date miserabili.”

38 Burger op. cit. 7: (p. 7) “Vide Baronium annal. 7. An. Christi 561” and “Joan. Graecus auctor [= John Tzetzes] apud Bar. suprà citatum.”

39 Weschenfelder as n. 34, 245–268.– In the 20th century, for example, in Jakob Schaffner, Konrad Pilater 1922 (Zürich 1982 edition) 61.

rary perspectives and expectations led to the interpretation of an ancient artifact as a representation of a historical event. The ancient statue attested an event of the sixth century A. D. that never took place in reality, but engaged the imaginations of Baroque contemporaries. Sandrart's interpretation was based on the unusual gesture of the open, outspread right hand which he understood as begging. Winckelmann, who rejected the Belisarios interpretation, recalled an account from Suetonius (*Aug.* 91.2): Because of a dream, Augustus begged for alms on a certain day of the year by holding out his cupped hand (*cavam manum*) to the people.⁴⁰

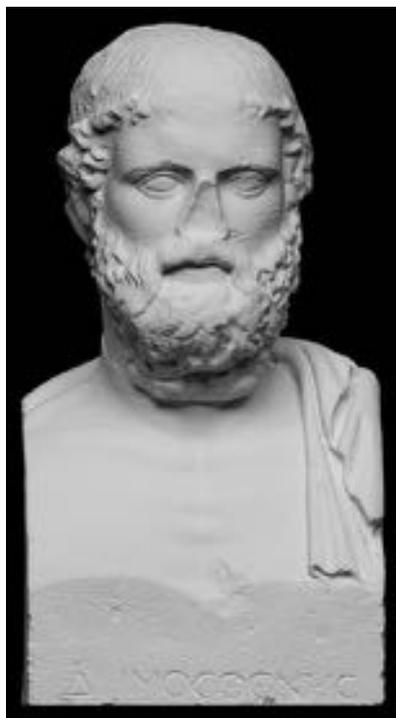
1.3 DOUBT AND CONFIRMATION: PEIRESC ASKS, RUBENS EXPLAINS

The correspondence between Peter Paul Rubens and Nicolas-Claude Fabri de Peiresc from 1622,⁴¹ which deals with a herm of Demosthenes in the collection of the Antwerp mayor Nicolaas Rockox (figs. 171–173),⁴² lets us grasp a discussion of learned antiquarians about the interpretation of an antique portrait. In the first letter to Rubens, Peiresc asks for a drawing and thanks him for receiving his letter. In the next letter he expresses his satisfaction at being able to explain, with the Demosthenes herm, a portrait gem that shows the same hairstyle. He questions the authenticity of the inscription and is surprised that such an important piece could leave Rome. At the same time, he is reminded of the herms made famous by Fulvio Orsini, some of which had received modern inscriptions, as he knows from a source. Peiresc later expresses to Rubens his astonishment at Demosthenes' hairstyle, which has half of the head bald. In a letter to M. de Maugis he reports the explanation he had since received from Rubens—Demosthenes had deliberately disfigured himself in this way to force himself into seclusion and thus to advance his studies. In two letters to Rubens, Peiresc thanks him for the reference to a passage in Plutarch that explains Demosthenes' strange hairstyle and

⁴⁰ Winckelmann 1764, 428.— On the statue, Zanker 1995, 97–102.

⁴¹ Ruelens, Ch. / Rooses, M. (eds.): *Correspondance de Rubens*. Antwerp 1887–1909; Reprint 1974, II 388–396 no. CCLIV esp. 390; 434–438 no. CCLXIV; 455–458 no. CCLXIX; 460–465 no. CCLXXI; 466–473 no. CCLXXIII; III 4–5 no. CCLXXVIII; 6–9 no. CCLXXIX; 12–15 no. CCLXXXI; 292–294 no. CCCLVII.

⁴² Boschung, D.: *Die Sammlung antiker Skulpturen des Nicolaas Rockox in Antwerpen*, *Münchener Jahrbuch der bildenden Kunst*, N. F. 56, 2005 esp. 7–8; 13 fig. 6; 21 fig. 12; 25–26 A.



171-172 Stockholm, Nationalmuseum Sk 65. Herm with the name of Demosthenes and head of Anakreon; **172** plaster cast.

thus dispels doubts about the identification. And finally, he reports that Rubens wanted to add an illustration of the Demosthenes herm to his planned book on gems.

The Plutarch reference Peiresc found so important for understanding the herm is an account in the life of Demosthenes. The orator deliberately disfigured his appearance by partially shaving his head and thus forced himself to stay at home and practice his rhetoric until the hair grew back.⁴³

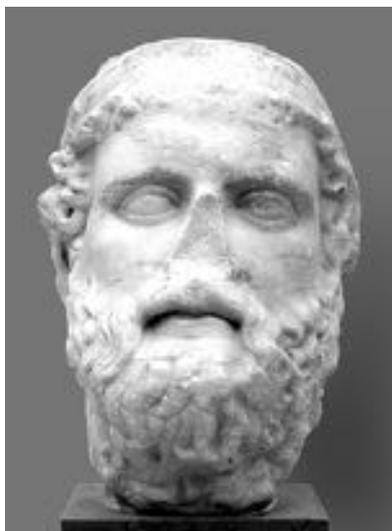
An engraving by Lucas Vorstermann, showing the collector Nicolaas Rockox and his treasures including the herm (fig. 173), emphasizes the different indication of hair on the two halves of the skull, so that it gives the impression that part of it has actually been shaved off.⁴⁴ He gives the

⁴³ Plutarch, *Demosthenes* 7.– Cf. Plutarch, *Vitae decem oratorum. Moralia* 844d–e.

⁴⁴ Boschung op. cit. 12–14.



174 Print by Jakob Faber after an engraving by Hans Witdoeck after a drawing by Peter Paul Rubens.



175 Stockholm, Nationalmuseum Sk 65. Head of Anakreon, once used as an addition to the Demosthenes herm.

house.⁴⁵ A print by Jakob Faber, who copied an engraving by Hans Witdoeck after a drawing by Peter Paul Rubens (fig. 174), omits the inscription, but instead names the person depicted in the legend *Demosthenes Demosthenis f. Atheniensis orator*.⁴⁶ The hair is tightly curled on one side of the head, the other side of the scalp is bald.

The herm is now in Stockholm.⁴⁷ It consists of two ancient fragments that originally did not belong together—a herm and a head depicting the poet Anakreon (fig. 175).⁴⁸ The inscription on the herm had been considered a modern forgery by archaeologists since the late 19th century.⁴⁹

45 Munich, Alte Pinakothek; Bayerische Staatsgemäldesammlungen 858. Boschung op. cit. 14–17 with figs. 7a–b.

46 van der Meulen, M.: Rubens Copies after the Antique. *Corpus Rubenianum Ludwig Burchard XXIII*. London 1995, II 125–127 no. 112–112b figs. 204–205.– Boschung op. cit. 18.

47 Stockholm, Nationalmuseum Sk 65. Boschung op. cit. 25–26, A).

48 On the portrait type: Vorster 1993, 150–151 no. 65.– Shapiro, A.: Re-Fashioning Anakreon in Classical Athens. *Morphomata Lectures Cologne 2*. Munich 2012 esp. 8–15.– R. K(rumeich) in: Scholl 2016, 3–4 no. 1.

49 Farnell, L. R.: Some Museums of Northern Europe, *Journal of Hellenic Studies* 9, 1888, 37.– Arndt, P.: La Glyptothèque Ny Carlsberg fondée par C. Jacobson.

In reality it is undoubtedly an ancient herm shaft and the inscription is not suspect. Though the drapery of the mantle does not exactly follow, in broad terms it meets the guidelines of the early Hellenistic portrait statue of Demosthenes.⁵⁰ It is thus clear that the herm was actually an ancient portrait of Demosthenes but was found without the head that went with it.

The hair on the left side of the head, which is also ancient but did not originally belong to the herm, is worn and was perhaps worked with a claw chisel in modern times. Remnants of the individual curls can still be seen. A shaved scalp, smooth or covered with stubble, could not originally have been meant by this. Rather, the ancient state has been changed in modern times. Rubens, himself the owner of an extensive collection of antiquities,⁵¹ did not doubt that the head and the herm belong together, even at the inquiry of Peiresc, but instead took the condition of preservation encountered for an ancient feature. The restoration of the herm, which must have already taken place in Rome, obviously did not reveal the modern additions and reworking.

It is unlikely that Rubens would have found his explanation of the hairstyle without the Demosthenes inscription on the herm. Rather, the epigraphically provided identification led to the reading of Plutarch's *Life of Demosthenes*, which in turn confirmed the interpretation. Vorstermann's engraving not only refers to the ancient text, but also seems to quote it with the added "ἡμιξύρητος, *semitonsus*," which is supposed to justify the designation with "*cur*" ("because"). The Greek word is not found in Plutarch, but only in Diogenes Laertios (VI.33), who used it once for Diogenes. The striking hairstyle is also recorded for the philosopher Peregrinus, of whom his contemporary Lukian reports that he shaved his head in half to appear to be a Cynic philosopher.⁵²

Munich 1896, 44 with n. 1 (modern herm and inscription).– Richter 1965, II 221 no. 8*.

50 von den Hoff, R.: Die Bildnisstatue des Demosthenes als öffentliche Ehrung eines Bürgers in Athen. In: Haake, M. / Mann, Ch. / von den Hoff, R. (eds.): Rollenbilder in der Athenischen Demokratie: Medien, Gruppen, Räume im politischen und sozialen System. Wiesbaden 2009, 193–220 esp. 205–212.– Zanker 2016, 37–38 no. 9.– R. K(rumeich) in Scholl 2016, 35–38 no. 24–25.

51 Boschung, D.: Englische und niederländische Antikensammlungen im 17. Jahrhundert. In: Wrede, H. / Kunze, M.: 300 Jahre "Thesaurus Brandenburgicus." Munich 2006, 427–442 esp. 428–429, 431.

52 Lukian, *Peregrinus* 17: "ξυρόμενος μὲν τῆς κεφαλῆς τὸ ἡμισυ."

Anyone who noticed the head was half-shaved could have interpreted it as Diogenes or Peregrinus with reference to ancient literature, but the well-groomed beard may not have seemed fitting for the Cynic. To complement the herm, the Roman sculptor chose a head that learned antiquarians could have identified as Demosthenes because of its hairstyle. The connection with the herm shaft confirmed the interpretation of the supposedly half-shaved head, and later the matching head vouched for the authenticity of the inscription. The hairstyle thus became a vivid testimony to Demosthenes' self-discipline, willpower, and drive for success.

1.4 SCHOLARLY DISCOURSES: THE DIALECTICS OF SEARCHING

In the case of Demosthenes herm, a single, even incorrectly quoted, passage from ancient literature was a sufficient explanation, so Lorenz Beger argued in a more complex and dialectical manner to interpret the portraits in the collection of the Elector of Brandenburg. This is seen in his discussion of a bust in the third volume of the *Thesaurus Brandenburgicus* published in 1701.⁵³ The significance that Beger ascribed to the sculpture and thus to his own interpretation is shown by the fact that it appears prominently on the frontispiece (figs. 176–177).⁵⁴

The text that explains the large-format illustration of the bust is framed as a dialogue between two scholars, one called Dulodorus (Beger's pseudonym), the other Archaeophilus. The conversation about this sculpture is opened by Dulodorus with the observation that the *Italici*, the antiquarians in Italy, had interpreted the bust as a gladiator and as the lover of the empress Faustina minor. Ancient authors like Julius Capitolinus and Xiphilinus reported that the wife of the emperor Marcus Aurelius fell in love with a gladiator and that he fathered her husband's successor, Commodus. However, Dulodorus objects, the impression is too genteel for a gladiator. The masculine strength of the bust recalls a group in the Villa Borghese, which is interpreted by some as Coriolanus

⁵³ Lorenz Beger: *Thesaurus Brandenburgicus* III. Berlin 1701, 331–333 with fig.– Cf. Gröschel, S.-G. in Kuhlmann, P. / Schneider, H. (eds.): *History of classical Scholarship - A Biographical Dictionary*. BNP Suppl. I.6 s. v. Beger, Lorenz.

⁵⁴ Dresden, Staatliche Kunstsammlungen, Skulpturensammlung Hm 91. Daehner, J. in: Knoll, K. / Vorster, Ch. / Woelk, M. (eds.): *Katalog der antiken Bildwerke II*. Munich 2011, 512–517 no. 113.– Daehner, J.: *Faustina Liebhaber. Vom Mythenbild zur historischen Fiktion*. In: *Boschung/Jäger* 2014, 295–320.



176 Lorenz Beger, *Thesaurus Brandenburgicus III*. 1701, Frontispiece.



177 as figure. 176; Illustration p. 331: Bust of “Scipio Africanus.”

with his wife, by others as Faustina with the gladiator.⁵⁵ Archaeophilus says afterwards that he would also prefer Coriolanus.

Dulodorus continues that no one could have honored the adulterous gladiator with a statue—not Faustina and certainly not Marcus Aurelius or Commodus. Archaeophilus, on the other hand, thinks that a helmet and sword belt would go well with a gladiator, and refers to Justus Lipsius. Dulodorus replies, quoting many ancient authors, that heroes and soldiers were also armed in this way. But, Archaeophilus replies, on the Column of Trajan swords are worn on the right side of the belt.

Now Dulodorus cites the shield of Scipio Africanus published by Jacques Spon (Boschung 2020, 281–284) to show that in Scipio’s time the sword was worn on a balteus. Archaeophilus now asks whether the bust should also represent Scipio. He realizes that the youthful head, the long hair, and the tilt of the head are quite appropriate. The decoration on the helmet also goes well with this, as will be determined in further

55 Both interpretations are found in François Perrier: *Segmenta signorum et statuarum*. Rome 1638, caption to pl. 21: “*alii Faustinam cum Gladiatore, alii Volumniam uxorem Gneo Martio Coriolano pro patra supplicantem putant.*”

conversation—the lion means *fortitudo*, the dog *fides*. Scipio embodies both virtues to an exceptional degree, and the lion also stands for the honorary name *Africanus*. The description Livy gives of the young Scipio also matches the appearance of the bust. But Archaeophilus still struggles to believe this, because Fulvio Orsini's publication shows a very different portrait of Scipio (Boschung 2020, 277–279). But Dulodorus also has an answer to this; both can be portraits of Scipio, depicting him in different stages of life.

Beger's method of interpreting the bust through a dialogue presents the reader with the exchange and the weighing of different opinions and arguments. It is essential to know the ancient texts, some of which are quoted verbatim and some are paraphrased. Equally important as comparative pieces are ancient monuments conveyed through publications (i. e. through copper engravings)—the statue groups in the Villa Borghese, the Column of Trajan, the shield of Scipio, the Scipio head. They can contradict the interpretation or confirm it by analogy. Some earlier interpretations are refuted (gladiator), and some are put aside (Coriolanus). Iconographic elements such as the hairstyle, the balteus, and the helmet decorations are used as well as the findings of modern authorities such as Justus Lipsius, Jacques Spon, Jacob Gronovius, Fulvio Orsini, and Leonardo Agostino.

Although the discussion supposedly takes place in front of the antiquities, Beger did not describe the sculpture itself in his text, but rather with a copperplate engraving.⁵⁶ Therefore it escapes him that it is not a bust but a fragment of a statue, and he does not see the arm and hand of a second person that have been worked off on the back and on the left shoulder, that is, that the fragment must have belonged to a group that matched the cited comparison in the Villa Borghese. But it was probably precisely this observation that suggested the interpretation of a gladiator and lover of Faustina the younger to the Italian antiquaries.

In the case of the Scipio bust, the discussion between Dulodorus and Archaeophilus leads to a result; in other sculptures the interpretation remains undetermined. The identification of two portraits as L. Junius Brutus and Seneca, asserted by their previous owners, is refuted without finding a new interpretation. A portrait of Cato retains its name, but

56 Hoffstetter, E.: Lorenz Beger – Numismatik und Porträtkonographie im 17. Jahrhundert. In: Wrede, H. / Kunze, M. (eds.): 300 Jahre "Thesaurus Brandenburgicus." Archäologie, Antikensammlungen und antikisierende Residenzstätten im Barock. Munich 2006, 121–132 esp. 122.

Dulodorus and Archaeophilus cannot agree whether it represents Cato Censorius or Cato Uticensis. Nor can any agreement be reached on the dating of the bust of a Manlius Torquatus; the identification is secured by the torque around his neck. On the other hand, after initial doubts, Archaeophilus is able to be convinced that two female heads actually represent Cleopatra. A bust made of red porphyry with a headband is accepted as a representation of a Ptolemy, but it cannot be clarified which of them could be meant.⁵⁷ Restorations do not play a role in these considerations. The condition reproduced in the copperplate engravings is accepted as the original surviving form, although the busts were supplemented and to the viewer might have been conspicuous as modern additions.

Due to the dialogue structure of the texts, readers take part in reaching these conclusions. They can review and deliberate on the arguments of the two speakers. This provides them the opportunity to consider the open questions themselves and perhaps find their own solutions.⁵⁸

57 Beger op. cit. 326–338.– Cf. Knoll, K. / Vorster, Ch. / Woelk, M. (eds.): Staatliche Kunstsammlungen Dresden. Katalog der antiken Bildwerke II. Munich 2011, 656–658 no. 151 (“Ptolemaeus”); III Munich 2013, color pl. 12 (“Ptolemaeus”); 16.1 (“Kleopatra”); pp. 127–130 no. 21 (“Cato”); 131–136 no. 22 (“Consul”); 435–439 no. 101 (“caput incertum,” “L. Iunius Brutus”).

58 Later, Joseph Spence also uses this mediation strategy: Boschung 2020, 288–289.

2. THE POTENCY OF NAMES

2.1 IDENTIFICATION AS INTERPRETATION

Archaeological finds only gain their meaning through interpretation, and an artifact is only a portrait if it is recognized as such. Sculptures that have come to light over the centuries are often fragmented and damaged (fig. 178). As artifacts they drew the interest of collectors and antiquarians (fig. 179), who had them cleaned and reconstructed, presented them in their galleries, and made them the subjects of learned evaluations. Even with heads that had been recognized as ancient works and treated appropriately (restored, supplemented, pedestaled), their esteem depended on their interpretation, in this case on an identification.

Just as, in the opinion of his opponents, the young Octavian owed everything to the name he inherited from Julius Caesar (Cic. *Phil.* 13.24–25), some sculptures gained their significance from their identification. A bust from the collection of Domenico Grimani would not have been copied hundreds of times if it had not been identified as a portrait of Vitellius since the 16th century, and had instead remained anonymous (Boschung 2020, 274–276). If a statue or a bust was connected to the name of a famous person, it also received their biography and became the embodiment of their qualities. After Johannes Faber identified the head of a bearded man in the possession of Cardinal Farnese as a portrait of Seneca the Younger (see fig. 167) with the help of a contorniate,¹

1 Orsini, Fulvio: *Illustrium imagines, ex antiquis marmoribus, nomismatibus, et gemmis expressae*. Editio altera. Antwerp 1606 pl. 131.– Iohannes Faber: *In imagines illustrium ex Fulvii Ursini bibliotheca... commentarius*. Antwerp 1606, 74 on no. 131.– On the use of Fulvio Orsini's texts by Faber for the commentary on the new edition of *Imagines illustrium*: Hülsen, Chr. in: Fittschen 1988, 124–131.– The contorniate with the portrait of Seneca, to which Orsini and Faber referred, has been missing since the 17th century: Alföldi, A. / Alföldi, E.: *Die Kontorniat-Medaillons*. Berlin/New York 1990, 49–50, 56, 95.



178 Cordoba, Museo Julio Romero de Torres. Fragment of a portrait.



179 Ioannes Sambucus, *Emblemata* 1564, 191: *Antiquitatis studium*.

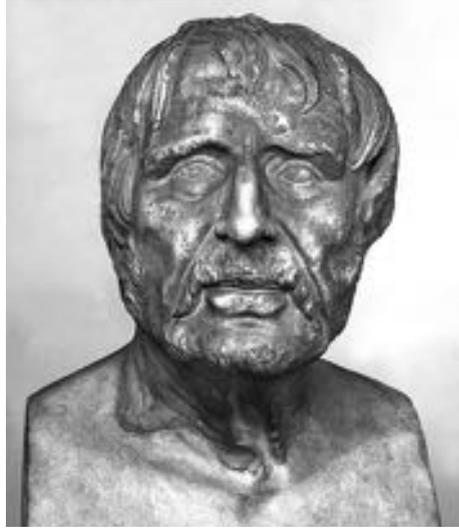
it was seen as a manifestation of Stoic philosophy. The text published by Faber interpreted the portrait biographically; Seneca was depicted in his old age when Nero ordered him to commit suicide. At the same time, the commentary referred to the writings of Tacitus and Cassius Dio, which give a detailed account of his life, deeds, and death. In the new edition of Seneca's writings edited by Justus Lipsius, the "Seneca" bust discovered by Orsini is depicted in the chapter on the "vita" of the philosopher.² The picture matches accounts that Seneca was, at the end of his life, exhausted from illness, strenuous studies and, an ascetic way of life. It shows a face worthy of the spirit of the philosopher; "*vix praefert dignum illo animo vultum.*" In 1685 Gian Pietro Bellori published an illustration of a herm on the Capitol (fig. 181) based on the same portrait type. Because of his composure and readiness in the face of death, the text praises Seneca as an exemplum of the peace of mind of wisdom (*constantia sapientiae*). His portrait shows him, as described by Tacitus, "*parco victu atque variis morborum generibus extenuatum,*" "as weakened by meager food and various diseases."³ A short time later, Jacobus Gronovius incorporated the illustration and interpretation into the iconographic section

2 Justus Lipsius / Johann Friedrich Gronovius: *L. Annaei Senecae Opera, quae exstant*. Amsterdam 1672.

3 Io. Pietrus Bellorius: *Veterum illustrium philosophorum, poetarum, rhetorum et oratorum imagines*. Rome 1685, I 15–16 pl. 32.



180 Gronovius 1698 (as n. 4)
pl. yyy: Herm of “Lucius
Annaeus Senca”.



181 Rome, Musei Capitolini 514. Portrait of
a poet, after c. 200 B. C. original. Recon-
structed H. 50 cm.

of his *Thesaurus antiquitatum Graecarum* (fig. 180).⁴ After doubts arose about the identification, Ennio Qurino Visconti took up its defense—the physiognomy of the portrait type corresponds to conceptions that historians and Seneca himself give of his personality. The head shows the philosophically grounded neglect of Seneca’s last years of life, when he withdrew from the imperial court and his admirers and devoted himself to farming. He wears the hairstyle of a man who has never perfumed himself, as Seneca claims of himself (*Epistulae* 108.16), matching his old body emaciated by insufficient nourishment, “*senile corpus et parvo victu tenuatum*,” as described in Tacitus (*Ann.* 15.63). The profile is that of a wheezing, almost dying man.⁵

Of course, the ancient head was not made to represent and convey Seneca, his fate, and his Stoic philosophy. Rather, it is the portrait of a still unidentified poet from the Hellenistic period (fig. 181).⁶ The “unequivocal depiction of passion, age, and untidiness” (P. Zanker) was

4 Jacobus Gronovius: *Thesaurus Graecarum Antiquitatum III*. Effigies virorum et mulierum illustrium. Leiden 1698, yyy.

5 Visconti, E. Q.: *Iconographie romaine I*. Paris 1817, 419–422.

6 R. v(on) d(en) H(off) in: Scholl 2016, 41–43 no. 29.– Gasparri 2009, 17–20, 128–133 no. 3–5.– Zanker 1995, 145–149 (Hesiod?).

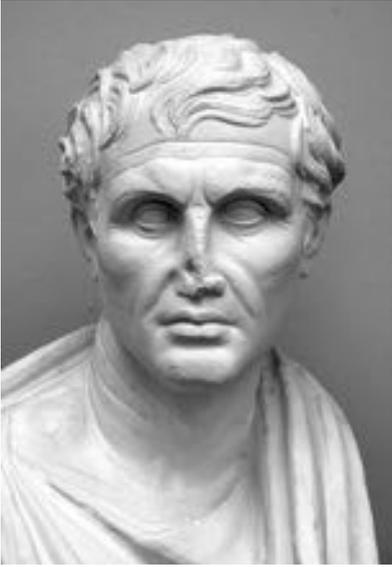
intended to show a Greek intellectual who lived centuries before Seneca as particular and unmistakable. But it made no difference for the antiquarians' interpretation that the unique portrait with its individual physiognomy, striking hairstyle, characteristic turn of the head, and biographical markings on the forehead, cheeks, and neck visualized another person from another era with his characteristics and achievements. After the original name was lost, its particularity could be claimed for Seneca. The identification, which was convincing to learned antiquarians based on comparison with ancient contorniates and by the authority of Fulvio Orsini, gave the portrait a historical context and made it a testament to the arbitrariness of the morally depraved tyrant Nero, to the failure of his teacher, and to the magnanimity of the condemned philosopher. After the identification was generally accepted, the head with its suffering but restrained features confirmed the greatness of the philosopher and showed that his negative portrayal in Cassius Dio (e. g. 61.10) was based on unfounded slander. Admittedly, Visconti's defense of this interpretation had already been refuted at the time of its appearance by the discovery of an ancient herm with the name Seneca and the head of a beardless, powerful man.⁷

Identifications in the Early Modern period were often projections of knowledge and conceptions of historical persons onto found ancient artifacts. Anyone who considered the willpower and self-discipline of Demosthenes characteristic and worthy of imitation could find them in the hairstyle of a marble head created as a portrait of Anakreon (figs. 171, 175). The facial features and the style of the beard, which had been designed in the fifth century to give the poet of the symposium and his unique qualities a life-size, three-dimensional presence on the Athenian Acropolis, became idiosyncrasies of the orator, who was about seven generations younger.

As in the case of Seneca, comparison with coin portraits also led to the convincing identification of an ancient head type for Pompey (Boschung 2020, 279–281). It was created in Athens in the early third century B. C. as a portrait of the comic poet Menander (fig. 182). His seated statue in the Theater of Dionysos, through its clothing and posture, characterized him as an elegant connoisseur.⁸ According to the concep-

⁷ Lorenzo Re: *Seneca et Socrate, erme bicipite*. Rome 1816.– R. v(on) d(en) Hoff in: Scholl 2016, 28–29 no. 19.

⁸ Fittschen, K.: *Zur Rekonstruktion griechischer Dichterstatuen, 1. Die Statue des Menander*, AM 106, 1991, 243–279.– Kunze, Ch.: *Zum Greifen nah. Stilphänomene*



182 Venice, Seminario Patriarcale; Plaster cast Freie Universität Berlin 14/95. Menander; Roman copy after an early 3rd c. B. C. original.



183 Rome, Palazzo Spada. Modern copy after an ancient portrait of Menander added to a statue of “Pompey”.

tions from the time of the Roman Empire, he appeared anointed with scented oil and in a flowing robe, with a soft and slack gait, so that he gave the impression he was a weakling, but at the same time was extremely beautiful (*Phaedrus* V.1). He was considered the most important poet of New Comedy, famous for his sharp wit, the grace of his language, and the precision of his character portrayals. It was assumed that he had been sickly because of his exuberant lifestyle and arrogance, and it was imagined that his temperament was geared towards love affairs. He is said to have had an extensive correspondence with his lover, Glykera, and for her sake, but also out of love for his hometown of Athens, its institutions, and festivals, he turned down a prestigious invitation to the royal court of the Ptolemies.⁹ These conceptions were also shaped by and found confirmation in the numerous available copies of his portrait. A contemporary of Plutarch could also find in the concentrated and

in der hellenistischen Skulptur und ihre inhaltliche Interpretation. Munich 2002, 246–249.

⁹ Alkiphron, *Epistolae* IV.2.3 (Glykera to Bakchis: “ἔρωτικὸς γὰρ ἔστι δαιμονίως”), IV.18 (Menander to Glykera).

thoughtful expression on his face the confirmation that the poet first devised the plots for his comedies and then quickly and easily composed the verses (Plutarch, *Moralia* 347E).

After its identification as Pompey, the same head (fig. 183) created to portray an effete Greek comic poet represented the Roman triple triumphant without any change in its physiognomy or hairstyle. It was not difficult for modern observers to see the features of the Roman general attested in ancient sources—the hairstyle matching Alexander’s and the eyes reminiscent of Alexander, the expression of calm, dignity, and grace, thus the “qualité que les anciens ont remarquée dans la physiognomie de Pompée.”¹⁰

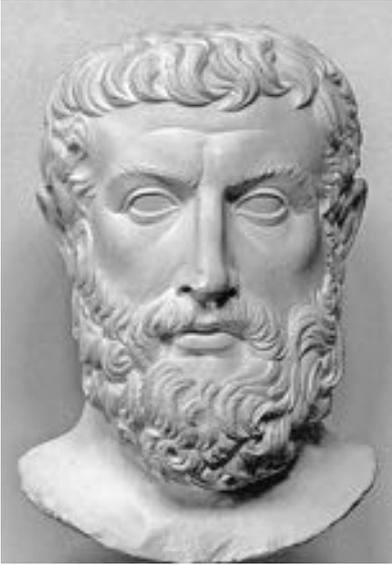
2.2 A NAME SEEKING A PORTRAIT

At their original places of installation, ancient portraits were identified with explanatory inscriptions. The names of people depicted could be read on the herms of philosophers and poets, and inscriptions on statue bases with various levels of detail could record the names, offices, and achievements of those honored. Like coin portraits, statuary depictions of emperors were also precisely defined by the titles listed.

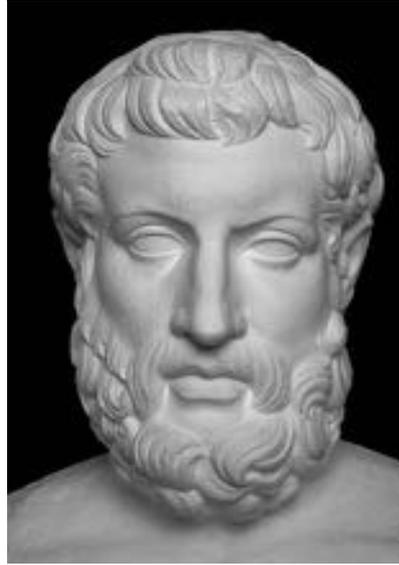
The ostensibly evident consistency between the portrait and the text was sometimes illusory. In Elea, during the early Imperial period, a copy of a portrait of Metrodoros was combined with a herm bearing the name of Parmenides (fig. 184).¹¹ Since the name of his father is given as Pyres, it is clear that this is meant to be the famous philosopher, because the same filiation is found in Diogenes Laertios (IX.21). With the designation Οὐλιάδης, the herm inscription places him in a series of leaders of

10 Visconti as n. 5, 168–169 with n. 1.– Individual modern copies were given the names Cicero, Caesar, and Augustus, without clear reasons: Fittschen, K.: *Caesar und Augustus. Zur Kaisergalerie im Augsburger Rathaus*. In: Cain, H.-U. / Gabelmann, H. / Salzmann, D. (eds.): *Beiträge zur Ikonographie und Hermeneutik. Festschrift Nikolaus Himmelmann*. Mainz 1989, 507–510.

11 Jucker, H.: *Zur Bildnisherme des Parmenides*, *Museum Helveticum* 25, 1968, 181–185.– Voutiras, E.: *Imagines virorum illustrium. Problemi di identificazione dei ritratti greci*, *Archeologia Classica* 60, 2009, 98–101; see also 96–97 on the Miltiades herm in Ravenna and 101–104 on the herms of Periander.– Lang, J.: *Parménide d’Élée. Iconographie*. In: Goulet, R.: *Dictionnaire des philosophes antiques V, de Paccius à Rutilius Rufus*. Paris 2011, 160–161.



184 Elea, Antiquarium 43511; Plaster cast Munich, MfA 842. Portrait head of a herm with the name of Parmenides.



185 Rome, Musei Capitolini 567; Plaster cast Freie Universität Berlin 89/9. Head of a herm with the name of Metrodoros.

the medical school at Velia, and with φυσικός he is characterized as a pre-Socratic philosopher. Parmenides was considered the most important thinker of the Eleatic school and his portrait should also have been in the medical school there, as it was lavishly decorated with portraits in the early Imperial period. But apparently there was no genuine version for his image for almost five centuries after his death. The sculptor who used a portrait of Metrodoros (fig. 185) for this did not try to hide the dependency or to further develop the model. Rather, he not only adopts the arrangement of the forehead hair, but also the unique and characteristic design of the beard with the tufts brushed upwards on the right side of the tip of the chin. The facial features are also copied exactly but appear to use harder lines than in other copies. The brows are animated compared to the model, with the tiny hairs indicated. It is not clear what led to the choice of the Metrodoros portrait as a model, but it obviously corresponded to the Eleatics' conception of their important predecessor in the Augustan period.

These ideas must have been particularly shaped by Parmenides' lengthy poem, which passed down his teaching in verse form. Addition-

ally, he was mentioned in Plato's dialogues, which describe Parmenides as beautiful and dignified.¹² The didactic poem shows that he did not find knowledge in critical dialogue like Socrates, in the struggle against desire like Antisthenes, through orderly collection and classification of older teachings like Aristotle, or through intense reflection like other philosophers. Rather, by divine providence, the daughters of Helios led him, in a quadriga on paths closed to other people, to the goddess. She greeted him as a young man and revealed to him the truth, which differs from the opinions of erring people.¹³

From the available body of portraits early Imperial sculptors could look back to, the portrait of Metrodoros was apparently closest to these expectations. With a full beard, it matches the vision of a venerable philosopher, but it shows neither the traces of efforts of constant reflection nor signs of aging like hair loss or sagging skin. Rather, the wise man retains his beauty; for Parmenides the cheeks are tightened, and he appears younger compared to the original. The portrait of Metrodoros with its serious and concentrated features was made in the third century B. C. to bring to mind a philosopher who had come to Athens from Lampsakos, joined Epicurus, and found great recognition in his circle.¹⁴ In Elea, this same physiognomy and this same hair and beard embodied that wise man who had been miraculously transported and learned the truth from the goddess herself.

Name inscriptions on the philosopher mosaics of the late Imperial period were even more important.¹⁵ Some of them show philosophers like Periander, Pittakos, and Cheilon, for whom no authoritative portraits are known. As Ingeborg Scheibler observed, they are designed following the early Christian holy man type, and they can only be identified by inscriptions. In the mosaic in Cologne, even Socrates and Sophocles are depicted following unusual portrait types. Sophocles is based on the model of the portrait of Euripides and Socrates on the portrait of Epicurus. Only Diogenes could be recognized by the image, but not by his physiognomy, but by the scene showing him in his barrel. The rest of the poets and sag-

¹² Plato, *Parmenides* 127a.– *Theaitetos* 183e.

¹³ Gemelli Marciano, M. L. (ed.): *Die Vorsokratiker* 2.3 Berlin 2013, 10–25.

¹⁴ See also Zanker 1995, 121 fig. 67.– R. v(on) d(en) H(off) in: Scholl 2016, 38–39 no. 26.

¹⁵ Scheibler 1989a, 81 (mosaic in Baalbek), 82–83 (Cologne).– Bracker, J.: *Auffindung und Bewahrung einer Antike um 1840. Das Kölner Philosophenmosaik*, *Wallraf-Richartz-Jahrbuch* 28, 1966, 333–342.

es could only be identified by the text. When Seneca (*Epistula* 64.9–10) writes that he uses the *imagines* of great men as *incitamenta animi*, as an incentive for the spirit, it is the names to which he stands in respect: *tantis nominibus semper adsurgo*. It was not *figura*, the visually perceptible form, that spurred noble Romans to great deeds when they saw portraits of their ancestors, *imagines maiorum*, but the memory of their deeds (Sall. *Iug.* 4.5–6). For this, however, their names were needed to indissolubly connect the *imagines* and the *memoria rerum gestarum*.

Had Roberto Paribeni's suggestion of identifying the "Tivoli General" (ch. III.4.1; figs. 85–86) as L. Munatius Plancus been confirmed,¹⁶ its attributes and physiognomy would refer to certain historical events from 54 to 22 B. C.—his military successes in Gaul, Raetia, and Syria; the founding of the colonies of Lugdunum and Raurica; his involvement in the civil wars, betrayal of Mark Antony, and support of Octavian; and finally, his failure as censor. The statue type, breastplate statue support, and strained facial expression could be connected to his elaborate rotunda tomb in Gaeta, including the military-themed metope decoration,¹⁷ and interpreted against the background of historical accounts. The dignified statue could be strikingly contrasted with an account by Velleius Paterculus (II.83) of a theatrical performance by Munatius at a banquet held by Cleopatra. He disguised himself as the sea god Glaucus with a bare, blue-painted torso, crowned with reeds, and he danced on his knees with a fishtail attached to him. But Paribeni's proposal fails based on the dating of the statue, and a successful identification has not yet been found. Without a name, the statue remains an important source for the self-conception and self-representation of the Roman nobility in the decades around 100 B. C.

2.3 IDENTITY OF NAMES, AMBIVALENCE OF IDENTITY

Names were individual, but often not singular. This applies not only to slaves and freedmen, who frequently have names like Elpis or Epaphroditus. Among the Hellenistic ruling dynasties, but also in leading Roman families, names could be passed on from generation to generation. Occasionally, this already made it difficult for ancient observers to clearly

¹⁶ Paribeni, R.: Tivoli, Notizie degli scavi di antichità 1925, 252–254.

¹⁷ Fellmann, R.: Das Grab des Lucius Munatius Plancus bei Gaeta. Basel 1957.

identify figures represented from inscriptions. Thus it escaped the Roman *aenatores* (trumpeters) when they rearranged the statues in their guildhall that a Ti. Claudius Nero depicted the future emperor Tiberius, and they did not include him in the grouping of emperors but left him standing alone as a single figure (Boschung 2020, 204–205). The inscription, written before his adoption by Augustus, gives no clear indication of belonging to the imperial family and the portrait was apparently no longer recognized in the Claudian period.

Sometimes inscriptions are so short that they allow various identifications. The name ΞΕΝΟΦΩΝ on a herm could mean either the historian and student of Socrates or a fifth-century general. A ΠΛΑΤΩΝ can be the philosopher or the poet of Old Comedy.¹⁸ For clarification it was necessary to compile and evaluate copies and to reconstruct the design (ch. V.3.3) and its art historical classification, which in these cases provided clear conclusions.

A seated statue with the name of ΠΟΣΕΙΔΙΠΠΟΣ, for which Klaus Fittschen convincingly reconstructed the original appearance, is characterized as a man of letters by its habitus and the scroll in the right hand.¹⁹ The inscription could be understood as the signature of the sculptor, clearing the way for a famous historical figure to be seen in the statue. It was called *Sulla* as a complement to a second seated statue that was found at the same time and identified as *Marius*.²⁰ However, the mere mention of a name does not match the form of ancient sculptors' signatures, so it must be meant to name the subject.²¹ Another possibility to avoid the Poseidippos identification would be to dispute the authenticity or at least the original affiliation of the name inscription,²² but no plausible reasons can be given for this.

18 Berlin, Staatliche Museen, Antikensammlung Sk 300: Bernoulli, J. J.: Griechische Ikonographie II. Munich 1901, 22 with n. 4 (Plato).— Alexandria, Musée gréco-romain: Adriani, A.: Un ritratti di Senofonte, *Archeologia Classica* 1, 1949, 39–45 esp. n. 6 [= Fittschen 1988, 272–278: Xenophon].

19 Fittschen, K.: Zur Rekonstruktion griechischer Dichterstatuen 2. Die Statuen des Poseidippos und des Ps.-Menander, *AM* 107, 1992, 229–271 pls. 61–91; on the identification, 233–235. On its installation: von Hesberg, H.: Bildnisstatuetten griechischer Dichter und Denker. In: Boschung/Queyrel 2021, 249–274 with n. 2.

20 Fittschen op. cit. pl. 86.2–3.

21 Bernoulli as n. 18, 142.

22 For example, Hafner, G.: Bildnisse römischer Dichter. Plautus und Terentius, *Antike Kunst* 10, 1967, 105–111.

Since the inscription lacks any further information, it could mean any Greek by the name of Poseidippos. Bellori, who included the statue in his portrait book in 1685, first names the poet of New Comedy from Kassandria, who is mentioned by Aulus Gellius together with Menander and other comic poets; he should be distinguished from the epigrammatic poet Poseidippos (from Pella). The formulation leaves open which of the poets Bellori wishes to recognize in the statue, because after naming both he continues without further determination, “Eius statua marmorea Romae extat....”²³ Jacobus Gronovius, on the other hand, commits to the comic poet, and E. Q. Visconti concludes from this attribution, which he accepted as certain, that the second seated statue found with it must represent Menander.²⁴ The identification as Menander has not been confirmed;²⁵ the determination of the Poseidippos as the poet of New Comedy, on the other hand, has hardly been disputed. However, it is not certain. Poseidippos of Kassandria was little known in Rome, despite being mentioned by Aulus Gellius, and having a statue on Delos that showed him standing according to the evidence of the surviving base.²⁶ Matthew W. Dickie drew attention to a poem by Poseidippos of Pella in which the poet expresses the wish that he should be honored with a statue in the agora of Pella, which—perhaps similar to the surviving marble statue—shows him holding a rolled-up scroll.²⁷ Thus it cannot be determined with certainty whether the statue should represent the comic poet Poseidippos of Kassandria or the epigrammatic poet Poseidippos of Pella who lived around the same time. Perhaps the appeal of the brief inscription lay precisely in this ambivalence, since it offered the opportunity for learned conversations among connoisseurs of Greek literature.

In the Augustan period, the facial features and the hair on the forehead and temples were changed to represent a contemporary style, and

23 Io. Pietrus Bellorius: *Veterum illustrium philosophorum, poetarum, rhetorum et oratorum imagines*. Rome 1685, II 12 pl. 61.

24 Jacobus Gronovius: *Thesaurus antiquitatum Graecarum* II. Leiden 1698, 100.–Visconti, E. Q.: *Il Museo Pio-Clementino illustrato e descritto* III. Rome 1790, 16–20 pls. 15, 16.

25 Fittschen op. cit. 260–262.

26 The plinth of the statue in the Vatican is 1.46 m deep; the base in Delos 99 cm.

27 Dickie, M. W.: Which Posidippus? *Greek, Roman, and Byzantine Studies* 35, 1994, 373–383.– His confirmation (p. 381) that κείμενος refers to the installation of a statue is important.– Hebert, B.: *Schriftquellen zur hellenistischen Kunst*. Horn-Graz 1989, 66 Q 147.



186 Rouillé 1553 (as n. 29) 165.
Octavius and Accia.

187 Strada 1557 (as n. 30) 14. Octavius
and Accia.

calcei, which characterize a Roman of patrician rank, were incorporated on the feet. The inscription, however, remained unchanged. Perhaps it was covered with stucco or otherwise obscured. In this way, despite the replacement of individual physiognomy, it secures the identity of the portrayed, albeit in an ambivalent way.

2.4 MECHANISMS OF ACCEPTANCE

Antiquarians' identifications visualized conceptions of prominent personalities of antiquity, albeit with different scopes. Andrea Fulvio's book in particular proved to be quite effective. This also applies to his invented portraits, such as those of Augustus' parents. In his books about the Roman emperors from 1525 and 1534, Ioannes Huttichius reproduced many of Andrea Fulvio's illustrations unchanged, including the supposed coin images of C. Octavius and Accia.²⁸ In 1553 Guillaume Rouillé added them to his portrait book in a slightly modified form. The heads are turned towards each other so that the representation of Accia is mirrored (fig. 186). The legends are shortened and connected even more clearly to Augustus: *C. Octavius pater Aug(usti)* and *Accia Octavi Aug(usti) mater*.²⁹ Shortly later, Iacobus Strada reprinted the illustrations in his *Imagines* in the form found in Fulvio (fig. 187).³⁰ Obviously, he believed that these were actually from ancient coins, because the title of his book

28 Ioannes Huttichius: *Imperatorum Romanorum Libellus una cum imaginibus, ad viviam effigiem expressis*. Strasburg 1525, 4.– *Imperatorum et Caesarum vitae, cum imaginibus ad viviam effigiem expressis*. 1534, 4.

29 Guillaume Rouillé: *Promptuarium iconum insigniorum*. Lyon 1553, 165.

30 Iacobus Strada: *Imagines Imperatorum*. In: *Epitome thesauri antiquitatum, hoc est Impp. orientalium et occidentalium Iconum, ex antiquis Numismatibus quam fidelissime deliniatarum*. Zürich 1557, 14.– German version: *Kunstliche*



188 Wikipedia entry for “Atia (mother of Augustus)” (accessed 7 July 2019) with illustration after Rouillé.

promises “*verissimae imagines ex antiquis numismatis ... delineatae.*” In fact, he improved the obviously incorrect legend of C. Octavius, who is now called *Imp(eratoris) Caes(aris) Aug(usti) p(ater)*, which, in contrast to Fulvio’s version, matches the ancient titlature of Augustus. At the same time, Enea Vico uses Fulvio’s representation in his *Augustarum imagines* as a template for the medallion of *Actia Act(ii) Balbi et Iuliae s(ororis) divi Caes(aris) f(iliae) Oct(avii) m(ater)*.³¹ In the works on Roman Imperial history listed above, the texts change, sometimes more detailed and sometimes more succinct, while the image remains the same. In its modified form from Rouillé, the portrait of Atia invented by Andrea Fulvio is currently used as an illustration in English (fig. 188), French, Greek, Dutch, Polish, Portuguese, Russian, Swedish, Spanish, Turkish, and Hungarian articles on Wikipedia.³²

Sculptural heads of Atia were also created in the 16th century after the portrait conceived by Andrea Fulvio, as an example in the *Antiquarium of the Munich Residenz* shows (plate 13). The 16th-century sculpture made of black marble is based on the illustration in his book.³³ It repeats

und eigentliche Bildnussen der Rhömischen Keyseren... wie die auff den alten pfennigen erfunden. Zürich 1558, 40.

31 Aeneas Vico: *Augustarum imagines*. Venice 1558, 16.

32 Accessed 6 April 2020.

33 Frosien-Leinz, H. in Weski, E. / Frosin-Leinz, H.: *Das Antiquarium der Münchner Residenz. Katalog der Skulpturen*. Munich 1987, I 329–330 no. 201, II 230 with fig.

the head's aged facial features, center parted hairstyle, diadem, and veil. At the same time, the bust is significantly changed; her breasts are bare, while Andrea Fulvio shows the mother of Augustus discreetly dressed. The concept for the gallery installation goes back to Andrea Fulvio and Iacobus Strada, because the Roman emperors are shown in chronological order together with their parents, wives, and children.

Some identifications were accepted throughout Europe, others only valid locally (Boschung 2020, 274–281). Beger's identification of the Scipio portrait also had little success, despite the astute argumentation and the elaborate, prestigious publication. The name was retained when the sculpture came to Dresden and was illustrated there again in an ambitious catalog. In the publication provided by Leplat, the bust, now reconstructed as a herm, was depicted under the name *Scipio l'Africain* as a counterpart to a portrait of Cleopatra.³⁴ But Montfaucon already described the identification as daring, “hazardé,” and uses Beger's image only to illustrate the “Ancien habit militaire romain.”³⁵ Giovanni Battista Casanova suggested in 1771 an interpretation as Achilles or Theseus, and the catalog of antiquities in Dresden published by Wilhelm Gottlieb Becker in 1808 describes the Scipio identification as “the most inadmissible.”³⁶ The reason for the rejection of Beger's scholarly interpretation may have been that a portrait of Scipio Africanus had already since the early 16th century been identified in an impressive basalt head.

Rubens' discovery of Demosthenes in the herm in the Rockox collection was hardly more successful. Joachim von Sandrart did reproduce it in his portrait gallery of ancient poets and thinkers after the engraving by H. Witdoeck.³⁷ In the new edition of Fulvio Orsini's portrait book, a tondo with a portrait and inscription of Demosthenes found in Taragona was depicted, but the commentary left open whether it was the famous speaker or the general of the Peloponnesian War of the same name.³⁸ Bellori and Gronovius also reproduced the tondo and unequiv-

34 Raymond Leplat: *Recueil des marbres antiques qui se trouvent dans la Galerie du Roy du Pologne*. Leipzig 1733 pl. 152.

35 Bernard de Montfaucon: *L'antiquité expliquée* IV. Paris 1719, 23 pl. 6.4.

36 Joh. Casanova: *Abhandlung über verschiedene alte Denkmäler der Kunst*. Leipzig 1771, 43–45.– Becker, W. G.: *Augusteum, Dresdens antike Denkmäler enthaltend* II. Dresden 1808, 3–5 pl. 35.

37 von Sandrart, J.: *Teutsche Academie* II 1. Nuremberg 1675, 51–52 pl. H.

38 Orsini as n. 1 pl. 55; Faber with n. 1, 37–38.

ocally identified it with the rhetorician.³⁹ The orator's iconography was considered settled—contrary to what Rubens had suggested—after a small bust labelled *Demosthenes* was discovered in Herculaneum in 1753.⁴⁰ The herm in Stockholm no longer played a role in this context.

Once the statues and busts had an accepted identification, they were used to illustrate and authenticate literary texts. The museum catalog of Antonio Maria Zanetti from 1740 offers a sophisticated illustration of the Caligula portrait in the Statuario Pubblico in Venice, but no description (figs. 189–190).⁴¹ Rather, the bust gives cause to paraphrase the ancient texts; his incest with his sisters is mentioned as proof of his depraved character. Descriptions of his appearance in Suetonius and Seneca the Elder follow, whereby Zanetti believes that the treachery (“*perfidia*”) and cruelty described in the ancient texts can be found in the facial features of the bust. Indeed, the illustrator has tried to emphasize the villainous scowl. For his character description, Zanetti relies upon Jacques Spon,⁴² who, however, did not derive his assessment of the nature of Caligula from this bust, but rather from literary texts and an ancient coin portrait. This is followed by an account of the emperor's murder and condemnation. The portrayal is authenticated with footnotes providing the ancient sources: Tacitus, Suetonius, Seneca, Flavius Josephus, Cassius Dio. The quality of the sculpture is indeed emphasized (“*statua di mano di eccellentissimo artifice qui efficiata*”), but it is important because it supposedly confirms the description of the emperor's appearance and character.

While Zanetti neglects to analyze the bust and make a comparison between literary texts and archaeological monuments, he is not alone in his approach. In other publications of ancient sculptures, too, ancient authors provide the authoritative interpretation that is not called into question—not even by ancient sculptures. Thus, in the catalog of the Capitoline Museums, for the portraits depicted that he believes to be representations of Caligula, Giovanni Bottari cites Suetonius' description of the emperor's appearance and suspects that the sculptor wanted to illustrate the biographer's portrayal or that Suetonius had this bust in

39 Bellori as n. 23, III. *Rhetorum et oratorum* 6 pl. 79.—Gronovius as n. 24, II. 93; III. Leiden 1698, frontispiece.

40 Visconti as n. 5, 254–258 pls. 29, 29a.—On the bronze bust with name inscription: *Bronzi di Ercolano I*. Naples 1767, 51–55 pls. 11, 12.—Lang 2012, 180 S De4.

41 Antonio Maria Zanetti: *Delle Statue greche e romane*. Venice 1740, 10 with plate.

42 Jacques Spon: *Recherches curieuses d'antiquité*. Lyon 1683, 353–396; *De l'utilité des Medailles pour l'étude de la Physiognomie*, esp. 368.



189 Zanetti 1740 (as n. 41). Plate with bust of Caligula.



190 Zanetti 1740 (as n. 41); Commentary on the bust of Caligula in fig. 189.

mind.⁴³ In reality, the sculpture contradicts the literary tradition in one central point: the hair of the bust identified as Caligula is by no means sparse and completely fallen out around the crown, as Suetonius (*Calig.* 50.1) indicated. These obvious discrepancies are ignored, although they fundamentally call into question either the interpretation of the bust or the reliability of the literary sources.

Biography remains dominant also in E. Q. Visconti's fundamental works on Greek and Roman portraits. He first reports on the deeds, fate, and character of his protagonists before he presents and reproduces their portraits, which in turn confirm the literary accounts.⁴⁴

43 Ioh. Bottarius: *Museum Capitolinum II*. Rome 1750, 13–14 pls. 11, 12.

44 Visconti, E. Q.: *Iconographie grecque I–III*. Paris 1811.– *id.*: *Iconographie romaine I*. Paris 1817.

3. TYPOLOGY: UNITY AND VARIETY OF THE PARTICULAR

3.1 PORTRAIT TYPES

When a portrait of Seneca from the collection of Cardinal Farnese was presented in the new edition of Fulvio Orsini's *Illustrium Imagines* (ch. V.2.1), the commentary mentioned further representations of the philosopher. The author does not list them individually, but he must have seen them himself, as he states that they are extremely similar to one another, and they seem to go back to the same archetype.¹ Two centuries later, E. Q. Visconti made a similar observation when examining the portraits of Demosthenes—the individual representations were so similar to one another that they could be safely identified by the inscription on the bronze bust from Herculaneum.² Visconti suspected that they all go back to the statue of Polyeuktos attested in literary sources.³ Since then, the systematic documentation of ancient sculptures has repeatedly resulted in substantial groups that can be traced back to a common sculptural model. This applies to both ideal sculpture and portraits. In addition to individual unique pieces, there are series of portraits that correspond

1 Iohannes Faber: *In imagines illustrium ex Fulvii Ursini bibliotheca ... commentarius*. Antwerp 1606, 74 on no. 131: “caeterisque eius imaginibus, quae exstant, perquam similis, ut omnes ex uno eodem archetypo desumptae videantur.”

2 Visconti, E. Q.: *Iconographie grecque I*. Paris 1811, 254–258 pls. 29, 30; also *idem*: Museo Pio-Clementino III. Rome 1790, 15–16 pl. 14; VI. Rome 1792, 53 pl. 37. Visconti names, in addition to the small bust from Herculaneum and others, the herms in the Vatican, Sala delle Muse 289; in the Capitol, Stanza dei Filosofi. 535; and Louvre Ma 237; the (not belonging) head of the seated statue in the Louvre, Louvre Ma 79b; and the statue in Copenhagen, Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek 2782 (then in the collection of the Duke of Dorset).

3 See also von den Hoff, R.: *Die Bildnisstatue des Demosthenes als öffentliche Ehrung eines Bürgers in Athen*. In: Haake, M. / Mann, Ch. / von den Hoff, R. (eds.): *Rollenbilder in der Athenischen Demokratie*. Wiesbaden 2009, 193–220.

to each other formally, which in many cases have been discovered over wide geographical areas. When they can be named, they are often famous Greek intellectuals or members of the Roman imperial family. The frequency of formally similar heads is almost an indication of the significance of the individual portrayed in antiquity.

This is the result of two different processes. On the one hand, special designs were created for the imperial portraits, which were intended from the outset for widespread distribution and made available to sculptors' workshops. The second group consists of copies of statues of important people from Classical or Hellenistic Greece and the Roman Republic made long after the original sculptures were erected. The copy could reproduce the entire statue or just the head and sometimes parts of the upper body. In these cases, one can only speculate about the choice of models, because each statue could be copied serially as a model for an archaeological type. Prominent statues, which likely became famous because of their installation location, were preferred, but accessibility certainly also played a role. The first task of the copyists was to get suitable, reliable models. Once a portrait had been copied, plaster casts could be made from the replica and used as a template for further copies. The pointing machine, developed in the late Hellenistic period and perfected during the Roman Empire, laid the technical foundations for making exact copies.⁴ This made possible also for three-dimensional portraits what Varro had striven for with the illustrations in his portrait books: "*ut praesentes esse ubique ceu di possent*," "that like the gods they could be present everywhere" (Plin. *NH* 35.11). In this way, one drawback of honorary statues was overcome, which had previously been emphasized by Isokrates, that statues, unlike encomia, inevitably could only praise the honored in one single place.⁵ Now, for example, the portraits of Socrates and Menander, which had been created for a specific location and had been seen only there for centuries, could be shown in any desired location, in private villas and public buildings, throughout the Roman Empire.

It was Octavian who recognized the possibilities of this technical process for political purposes and used copies systematically (ch. III.5.1). As with powerful individuals of the late Republic, spectacular honorary

4 Pfanner 1989 esp. 187–204.– Settis, S. / Anguissola, A. / Gasparotto, D. (eds.): *Serial/Portable Classic. The Greek Canon and its Mutations*. Milan 2015.

5 Isokrates 9.73–75: "τούς μὲν τύπους ἀναγκαῖον παρὰ τούτοις εἶναι μόνους, παρ' οἷς ἄν σταθῶσι."

statues were erected for him⁶—the equestrian statue on the rostra in the Forum Romanum, the honorary statue in the pose of *kosmokrator* made after his victory over Sextus Pompey, the column monument adorned with ships' prows and crowned by his statue, the colossal statue on his tomb, the representations as triumphator in quadriga on monumental arches and at the center of the Forum of Augustus, and certainly also many others which were conspicuous by their size, material, or habitus. These monuments, with which the extraordinary successes, achievements, and honors of the *divi filius* were honored, clearly dominated the public spaces of the city of Rome. Many of them were also depicted on coins and thus made known throughout the empire.

Octavian created a second, new element of his portrait policy. Three-dimensional models for his portrait were created and distributed so that they could be copied by local workshops not only in Rome, but also in the cities of Italy and in the provinces. The copying techniques required for this had been known since the Hellenistic period. For earlier rulers like Ptolemy VI several portraits had been made from the same design.⁷ But now the process of a centralized distribution of portraits was applied not only occasionally, but continuously and consistently. This ensured that the ruler's face could be seen everywhere in a similar form and in the desired manner (ch. III.5.1). The process was also used for relatives of the emperor and was carried on by Augustus' successors until the third century A. D. It can be determined with certainty only in a few cases which occasions led to new versions of the emperor's portrait being created. His rise to power demanded a suitable representation of the ruler, but there were probably older portraits of the new emperor that were still copied. For Octavian, the conflicts following the murder of Caesar, the end of the civil wars, and finally the adoption of the name *Augustus* in connection with the reorganization of the state all required appropriate portraits. In the case of Nero and Marcus Aurelius, the transition from child prince to heir to the throne made it necessary to update the portrait. In all of these cases, the ruler's particularity was redefined by the change in representation. The creation of a new portrait type could signal a programmatic realignment of authority, but it is sometimes unclear

⁶ Zanker 1988, 37–43.– Boschung 1993a, 96–103.

⁷ Azoulay, V./ von den Hoff, R. in Queyrel, F./ von den Hoff, R.: La vie des portraits grecs. Statues-portraits du V^e au I^{er} siècle av. J.-C. Usages et re-contextualisation. Paris 2017, 173–174 figs. 48–49.– On the technique, Pfanner 1989.

whether different versions of the emperor's portrait should each convey specific political messages.

Portraits of Augustus themselves proved to be particularly productive for the investigation of the phenomenon, as Otto Brendel's groundbreaking study has shown. Following an observation by Johann Jacob Bernoulli, Brendel recognized that the portraits of Augustus can be arranged in several groups, which he called "types," according to the arrangement of the forehead curls. Accordingly, there must have been a few official portraits that sculptors were able to copy. Even though Brendel's approach was at first fundamentally contested and sometimes misunderstood, it has since convincingly proven its value, not least through numerous new discoveries.⁸ Since the last quarter of the 20th century, archaeological portrait research has paid particular attention to the compilation and analysis of portrait types.⁹ It also showed that the respective models not only specified the arrangement of the forehead curls, but also physiognomy, facial expressions, and the turn of the head.

3.2 ELABORATING DIFFERENCES

The term *type* is used differently in various academic fields and even within archaeology. In research on Roman ceramics, "type" usually means a distinct vessel shape.¹⁰ For fibulae, classification is often based on structural features. At the beginning of the 20th century, Oscar Montelius proposed a "typological method" with which the development and differentiation of large groups of archaeological finds such as fibulae and axes could be examined.¹¹ Objects with the same function can develop el-

8 Brendel, O.: *Ikonographie des Kaisers Augustus*. Nuremberg 1931 esp. 11–15.– For additional research history, see Boschung 1993a, 1–4.

9 For a seminal work, see Fittschen, K.: *Katalog der antiken Skulpturen in Schloss Erbach*. Berlin 1977.– Fittschen/Zanker I 1985; III 1983.– On the approach, see Boschung 1993a, 4–10.

10 Renfrew, C. / Bahn, P.: *Archaeology. Theories, Methods and Practice*. 8th ed. New York 2019, 129: "Artifacts that share similar attributes are often grouped together and the act of creating such groups is called typology." On the process, see for example Dragendorff, H. / Watzinger, C.: *Arretinische Reliefkeramik*. Reutlingen 1948, 23–27.– In general, see also Bernbeck, R.: *Theorien in der Archäologie*. Tübingen/Basel 1997, 206–213.

11 Montelius, O.: *Die älteren Kulturperioden im Orient und in Europa I*. Die

ements from a common basic form, by which they can be distinguished. This is how the original form of the fibula developed from a bent needle. In this material category, either a spiral disk or a groove-shaped needle catch can be used to hold the point. This difference divides two groups that can be further subdivided. In the first variant, the spiral can be enlarged or replaced by a plate; in the second, the needle catch can be extended or end in a cap. The curved parts of the fibulae are also designed differently. Johannes Sundwall divided ancient Italic fibulae into nine types (A–I), mainly based on the shape of the arch, of which the first is divided into sub-types based on secondary and tertiary characteristics.¹² Montelius understood the changes in form that can be observed as a consistent development and interpreted them chronologically by combining them with dated find contexts. He then proceeded on the assumption of a natural process: “Development can proceed slowly or quickly, but when creating new forms man is always obliged to obey the same law of development that applies to the rest of nature.”¹³ This idea is ultimately based on biological development models, as they had become widespread in the 19th century, especially through Charles Darwin.¹⁴ The type would therefore be the base form of a few or very many objects, which develop following set rules and are irreversibly differentiated. It describes the similarities of the many examples as well as their progressive division into smaller units, each with specific characteristics and finally into individual pieces.

The basis of every typological examination is the systematic comparison as a process to determine similarities and differences, through which individual artifacts can be grouped together or divided (Boschung 2020, 113–115). Apparent differences are identified, according to which a systematic classification of the material can be made and refined. The weighting of characteristics is at the discretion of whoever carries out the study. Similarities may be assessed as so important that they constitute a type, and differences can be considered insignificant or so serious that they require a typological separation or subdivision. The process follows a logic similar to that of Porphyry’s tree of knowledge, in which the

Methode. Stockholm 1903; also appearing separately with the same pagination: *Die Typologische Methode*. Stockholm 1903.

12 Sundwall, J.: *Die älteren italischen Fibeln*. Berlin 1943.

13 Montelius *op. cit.* 20.

14 Cf. also Wieland, W.: *Entwicklung, Evolution*. In: Brunner, O. / Conze, W. / Koselleck, R. (eds.): *Geschichtliche Grundbegriffe 2*. Stuttgart 1975, 199–210.

individual is identified through a sequence of fundamental distinctions (ch. I.3.2, plate 4). Plato detailed his method of *dihairesis* (διαίρεσις, “distinction”) using the example of angling (*Sophistes* 218d–221b). By gradually demonstrating differences, it is shown what separates this activity from other skills, forms of employment, types of hunting and fishing techniques, so that their particularities also emerge. The method tested in this way can then also be used to determine the characteristics of a sophist.

In the context of ancient portraits, the term *type* is used in a different sense than that used by Montelius.¹⁵ Here, after the Greek word ὁ τύπος, it denotes a form shaped by a definable model, which can be found in the entirety of the repetitions based on a common design. This corresponds more to the use in ancient numismatics. Here the combination of established legends and pictorial motifs on the front and back constitutes a coin type. These were transferred to the coin dies by various engravers and can vary in style and quality. Due to varying combinations of the obverse and reverse dies, different centering, stamp position, and wear on the dies, the individual examples always differ to some degree, even if they go back directly to the same design and the greatest possible uniformity was sought.¹⁶ Of course, it is more difficult to differentiate between the individual types in the case of the sculptural portraits. On the one hand, there is no legend to contribute to the constitution of types as in coins. At the same time, the portrait motifs are often largely similar, so that basically slight formal deviations must justify typological divisions. At the same time, the differences between the individual examples of a type are considerably greater due to the different manufacturing techniques.

Typological consideration of ancient portraits does not strive for a comprehensive and systematic structure of the entire corpus as an expression of development according to a set of rules, as Montelius had sought for fibulae, for example. A consistent development cannot therefore be assumed, because case studies have shown that there were always conscious new concepts that deliberately turned against contemporary

15 Fittschen, K.: The Portraits of Roman Emperors and their Families. Controversial Positions and Unsolved Problems. In: Ewald, Björn Ch. / Noreña, C. F.: The Emperor and Rome. Space, Representation and Ritual. Cambridge 2010, 221–246.
16 Also, von Kaenel, H.-M.: Münzprägung und Münzbildnis des Claudius. Berlin 1986, 7–32 (designation of 81 coin types), 46–152 (die catalog), 172–201 (engravers).

expectations, but were seminal in their own right. They were not predictable but rather arbitrary, even if the processes that sparked them sometimes proceeded similarly. But the concept of the portrait type offers the possibility of examining the relationship between the particular and the general, thus representing individual surviving portraits in their dependence on their formal model, but also in their consistencies and differences among one another.

3.3 REPLICA CRITIQUE: THE GENERAL FROM THE PARTICULAR

A portrait type, understood as the summation of all representations that go back to the same three-dimensional design, is a figuration of the particular (ch. I.2–3). The copied model was created to illustrate the peculiarities of an individual through a designed body and to share this interpretation in a public space. Some people had several portrait types. These depict the same person as a *particular* known figure, and sometimes share characteristic forms of physiognomy and hairstyle, as can be seen in the portrait types of Julius Caesar, Augustus, and Tiberius. But successive versions form their shared features in significantly different ways and can thus be distinguished from one another.

The original design is the basic form that all copies go back to. It unites the formal elements common to all the individual pieces, which are repeated incompletely and often also changed in the copies. In relation to the copies, the original appears as the general.

Only in a few cases were surviving portraits of Roman emperors likely copied directly from the three-dimensional designs. This can be assumed for those pieces that were found at imperial residences, because in these cases the commissioner had access to the authorized models and saw to an exact execution of at least the physiognomy and the hair around the face. In the case of the image of Augustus from the Villa of Livia at Prima Porta (figs. 101a–b), this assumption is supported by the fact that the head proves to be the most reliably handed down when compared with the other copies (Boschung 1993a, 45). The two Nero portraits (fig. 109) from the Palatine have also proven to be good iterations of their respective portrait type.¹⁷ In most cases, however, the models were likely

¹⁷ Stemmer, K.: *Damnatio Memoriae. Das Berliner Nero-Porträt*. Mainz 1996, 71–72 fig. 22; 72–73 fig. 23.

conveyed indirectly and were of varying quality. The casts used as models for the copies could be flawed or incomplete and sometimes three-dimensional models may not have been available. When it was not the original design but a locally available portrait that was copied, existing deviations were also transferred. The particularities of individual copies can be motivated by local traditions of sculpture workshops. They often result from an effort to adapt the forms of the model to current styles.

When the commentary in Orsini's *Illustrium imagines* traces several of Seneca's portraits back to the same *archetype* because of their similarity to one another, he uses a term from the history of the book, meaning the reconstructable model for all surviving copies of a work. Cicero (*Att.* 16.3.1) refers to the corrected copy of his work sent to Atticus as ἀρχέτυπον, which should be copied. In fact, Classical Archaeology, like literary studies, is often faced with the task of recovering the underlying work as reliably as possible from numerous copies of varying quality. The archaeological approach has also been compared with the philological stemma.¹⁸ Just as textual criticism distinguishes individual strands of the literary tradition from significant differences and marks later deviations, so archaeology can determine the common formal elements of a portrait type and differentiate them from the intended or inadvertent changes made by copyists. By eliminating the particularities of individual pieces, an idea of the general concept of the design can be achieved (ch. I.2.3).

Of course, there are considerable differences due to the source material and the state of the tradition. The transfer of the three-dimensional forms of portraits, even considering that special mechanical processes had been developed, is much more complicated than a simple transcription. In many cases, elements that could be transferred two-dimensionally were copied very precisely. In the portraits of the early Imperial period, this applies in particular to the arrangement of curls and the profiles of faces, which could easily be grasped as a graphic schema. In contrast, three-dimensional components of a design are much more difficult to include. They were frequently copied less precisely because their exact transfer by mechanical means required considerably greater effort. In this area there are therefore greater variations and often actual reinterpretations.

¹⁸ Marvin, M.: *The Language of the Muses. The Dialogue between Roman and Greek Sculpture*. Los Angeles 2008, 142–167.

For the reconstruction of the original three-dimensional form, archaeology developed the method of replica critique (*Replikenrezension*). This involves first collecting all sculptures that have significant commonalities in detail forms and can therefore be traced back to a common model. Next, they are systematically compared with each other to work out their similarities and differences. In this way, it is possible to grasp the forms of the common model and the idiosyncrasies of individual examples brought about by the style of the time and the craftsmanship of the copyists. Through this approach, some copies prove to be more faithful to the tradition, others to more strongly diverge. Of course, conclusions are not equally clear in all cases. This is again due to the different traditions because dozens of copies have come down to us from some portraits, but from others only a few and the similarities are not always so consistent that a detailed conception of the common model can be gained. The source value of individual copies may be contentious because to modern cleaning and restoration, additions, or doubts about an ancient origin, which influence the assessment of the reconstruction. Once obtained, findings can be cast into doubt through the discovery of new copies or better publications of known copies. Working on replica critiques requires a great deal of documentation and detailed argumentation if it is to produce reliable results. Meticulous scholarship has laid a solid basis for the case studies mentioned here (ch. III.1–6).

Even though the portraits of some Greek poets and philosophers or Roman emperors have survived in large numbers, each repetition of a portrait type still has its own meaning. There may be very similar pieces, but they are never identical in form in every detail, but always have unique peculiarities because they are made by hand. It also becomes clear that the copyists did not devote the same attention to their models in all areas. Thus, among the numerous portraits of Augustus, there are no two heads whose ears match in detail—although the ears are an unchanging characteristic of a person. Portraits of the same type differ in dimensions and material as well as in the quality of their execution. Then there are the different conditions of transmission, preservation, cleaning, and restoration.

Initially, all copies are important for the reconstruction of the design. Even for portrait types with numerous repetitions, a single piece can change or significantly supplement the overall picture. How fragile the tradition can be, even in the case of a frequently portrayed emperor, is exemplified by the portraits of Augustus. The earliest version of Octavian's portrait has survived in just two representations (ch. III.5.2). A

head in Vienna that is close to them physiognomically, but also differs significantly in the arrangement of the hair, has no replicas. In this case it cannot be determined whether it is a typologically unconnected portrait of the young Octavian, another portrait type, or is a portrait of a contemporary assimilating to the image of Octavian (Boschung 1993a, 196 no. 219 pl. 207). Even a single new find could clarify the matter. On the other hand, a few years ago an exact copy of a supposedly isolated variant of the Prima Porta type was found, that demonstrated a new line of copies of the very well-studied main version of the Augustus portrait.¹⁹

As with ideal sculpture, archaeology initially focused one-sidedly on the question of the lost designs for portrait research; the “originals,” that is, the models, were to be reconstructed from the surviving copies to determine the date, art historical significance, commissioner, location, and to clarify the intention behind its creation. In the case of the emperors’ portraits, it was hoped that the so-called “prototypes,” the designs of the portrait types, would provide information about the ruler’s self-image and thus a political program. But the antagonism between “original” and “copy,” which had preoccupied earlier research, has even more clearly proven in the last few decades to be a problematic model that cannot do justice to the diversity of cultural phenomena. Paul Zanker’s study on “Klassizistische Jünglingsstatuen” opened up a contrasting perspective by asking about the concerns and intentions that led to the production of copies.²⁰ The significance of the individual examples of a portrait type does not only lie in their role as more or less reliable sources for the morphology of the design. Copies, which by comparison turn out to be more different from the model, make the particularity of local workshops clear, reveal local reception processes, and indicate significant phases of dissemination.²¹ They are important sources for the history of their

19 Boschung 1993a, 178 no. 169 pl. 129. According to a drawing in the album of Ciacconius, the head was in the collection of Severo de Severis in Rome in the late 16th century: Vorster, Ch.: *Aufstellung, Deutung und Ergänzung antiker Skulpturen in Sammlungen des 16. Jahrhunderts*. In: Vorster, Ch. et al. (eds.): *Die Antikenalben des Alphonsus Ciacconius in Braunschweig, Rom und Pesaro*. Braunschweig 2018, 145 fig. 3.– On the newly discovered copy from Pozzuoli: Valeri, C.: *Marmora Phlegraea. Sculture del Rione Terra di Pozzuoli*. Rome 2005, 140–146 V.3 figs. 144–145, 148–149, 210.

20 Zanker, P.: *Klassizistische Statuen*. Mainz 1974 esp. XV–XX.

21 Cf. for example Scheibler 2004, 179–258.– Zanker, P.: *Provinzielle Kaiserporträts. Zur Rezeption der Selbstdarstellung des Princeps*. Munich 1983.

locations and for the concerns of local elites as well as for the scope of political and cultural developments of the empire. It is precisely those repetitions that seem unimportant for the reconstruction of the original design because of their peculiarities that prove to be particularly informative for the investigation of such questions.

ABBREVIATIONS

LEXICA, SERIES, JOURNALS

- AA** Archäologischer Anzeiger
AM Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Athenische Abteilung
ASR Die antiken Sarkophagreliefs
BNP Brill's New Pauly online: <https://referenceworks.brillonline.com/browse/brill-s-new-pauly>
CIL Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum
DNO Kansteiner, S. / Hallof, K. / Lehmann, L. / Seidensticker, B. / Stemmer, K. (eds.): Der Neue Overbeck. Berlin/Boston 2014
JdI Jahrbuch des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts
LIMC Lexicon Iconographicum Mythologiae Classicae I–VIII. Zürich/Munich 1981–1997
MAR Monumenta Artis Romanae. Herausgegeben vom Forschungsarchiv für antike Plastik am Archäologischen Institut der Universität zu Köln
RE Wissowa, G. et al. (eds.): Pauly's Real-Encyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft. Neue Bearbeitung 1893–1980
RM Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Römische Abteilung
ZAKMIRA Schriften des Lehr- und Forschungszentrum für die antiken Kulturen des Mittelmeerraums (ZaKMiRa) der Universität zu Köln

ANCIENT AUTHORS (AS PNB)

- | | |
|---------------------------|--------------------------------------|
| Anth. Gr. | <i>Anthologia Graeca</i> |
| App. B Civ. | Appian, <i>Bella Civilia</i> |
| Mith. | <i>Mithridatius</i> |
| Aristoph. Nub. | Aristophanes, <i>Nubes</i> |
| Aristot. Ath. Pol. | Aristotle, <i>Athenaion politeia</i> |
| Metaph. | <i>Metaphysica</i> |
| Cic. Att. | Cicero, <i>Epistula ad Atticum</i> |
| Catil. | <i>In Catilinam</i> |

Fam.	<i>Epistulae ad familiares</i>
Fat.	<i>De fato</i>
Fin.	<i>De finibus bonorum et malorum</i>
Leg.	<i>De legibus</i>
Phil.	<i>In M. Antonium orationes Philippicae</i>
Tusc.	<i>Tusculanae disputationes</i>
Diog. Laert.	Diogenes Laertius
Dion. Hal. Ant. Rom.	Dionysios of Halikarnassos, <i>Antiquitates Romanae</i>
Gell. NA	Aulus Gellius, <i>Noctes Atticae</i>
Hom. II.	Homer, <i>Ilias</i>
Od.	<i>Odyssea</i>
Nep. Att.	Cornelius Nepos, <i>Atticus</i>
Ov. Met.	Ovidius, <i>Metamorphoses</i>
Pl. Ap.	Plato, <i>Apologia</i>
Charm.	<i>Charmides</i>
Ep.	<i>Epistulae</i>
Symp.	<i>Symposium</i>
Tht.	<i>Theaitetos</i>
Plin. NH	Plinius maior, <i>Naturalis historia</i>
Sall. Hist.	Sallust, <i>Historiae</i>
Iug.	<i>De bello Iugurthino</i>
Suet. Aug.	Suetonius, <i>Divus Augustus</i>
Calig.	<i>Caligula</i>
Iul.	<i>Divus Iulius</i>
Tib.	<i>Tiberius</i>
Vesp.	<i>Divus Vespasianus</i>
Tac. Ann.	Tacitus, <i>Annales</i>
Val. Max.	Valerius Maximus, <i>Facta et dicta memorabilia</i>
Xen. Mem.	Xenophon, <i>Memorabilia</i>
Symp.	<i>Symposium</i>

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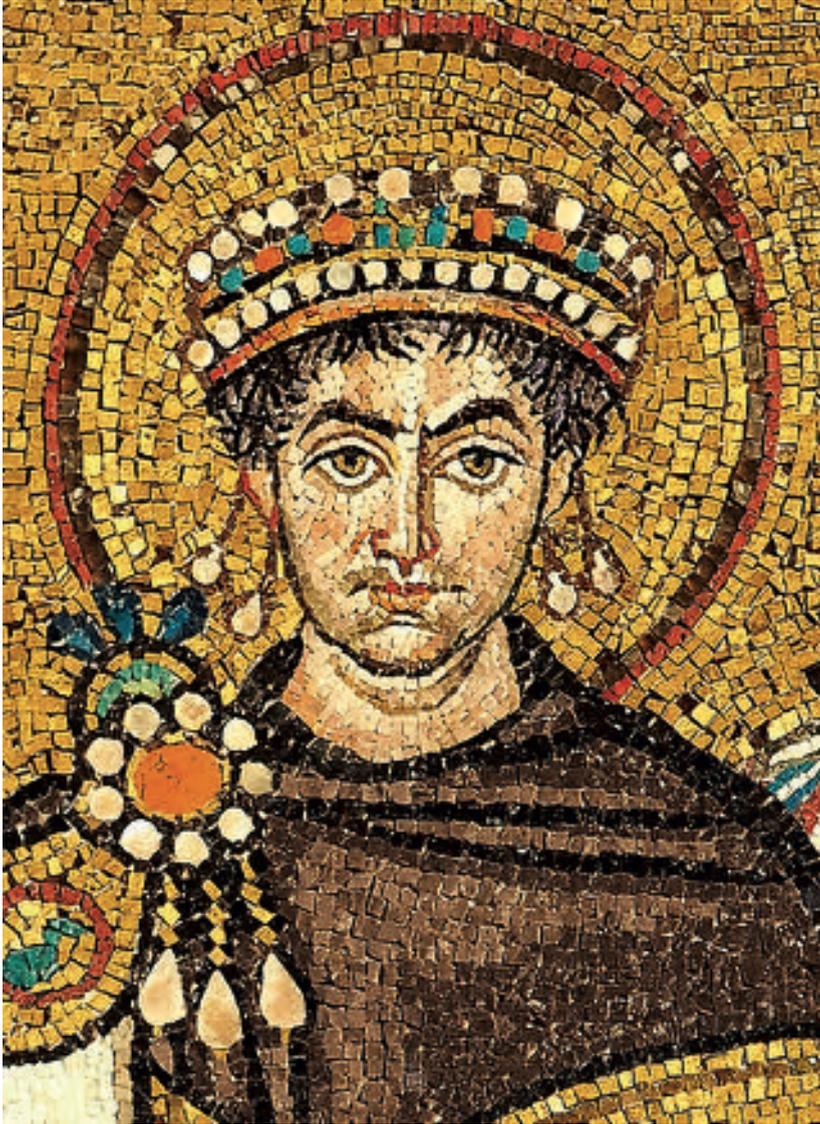
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WILHELM FINK

