

A CONTRIBUTION TO THE VERGIL-MENANDER CONTROVERSY

(PLATES 19-23)

I.

IN REFERRING to a debate which, by spoken and by written word, has now lasted for more than half a century¹ I shall for convenience sake and without ulterior intent speak of Menanderites and Vergilians and call the central object of their mutual contention "the Head"; and by way of preface venture to remark that, while among the Menanderites there has been no hesitation (and most recently even a certain scornfulness) in proclaiming the justice of their cause, the Vergilians—perhaps because of their straightened ranks and a sense of the disapproval with which they have been regarded—have been too soft-spoken, too tentative in their assertions, and have injured their defense by hesitating to attack, by not daring to say (as they should have) that the identification of the Head as Menander is the worst mistake in judging sculptural style that the recent and the present generations of our profession have committed.

As long ago as 1918, Lippold correctly listed² most of the essential reasons against identifying the Head as the comic poet Menander, pointing out that, while such a claim depended uniquely on a supposed identity of the Head with the Marbury Hall medallion bust inscribed with Menander's name, the medallion could not be a version of the Head because the typological details, particularly in the arrangement of the hair, essentially failed to correspond; but he did not drive his objections home. Seventeen years later, J. H. Crome brought out under the auspices of the Vergilian Academy of Mantua for the bimillennial celebration of Vergil's birth a monograph on *Vergil's Portrait*,³ in which the whole case was fully reviewed and ably argued; but the little Mantuan volume seems almost unknown in America and too little read in Europe. In 1940 in an essay on sculptural style which sought to re-examine much of the *Familiar Statuary in Rome*,⁴ I argued the stylistic chronology of the Head but, perhaps unwisely, virtually ignored the Marbury Hall medallion as irrelevant. Most recently, Herbig⁵ at last concentrated attention on the crux of the whole controversy

¹ The bibliography of the controversy is easily accessible in Herbig's article (see Note 5). Cf. also Fr. Poulsen, *From the Collections of the Ny Carlsberg Glyptothek*, III, 1942, pp. 93-106.

² Georg Lippold, *Ikongraphische Probleme*, Röm. Mitt. XXXIII, 1918, pp. 1-18.

³ Johann Friedrich Crome, *Das Bildnis Vergils*. Reale Accademia Virgiliana di Mantova. 1935. (Reprinted from *Atti e Memorie* of the Mantuan Academy, XXIV).

⁴ Rhys Carpenter, *Observations on Familiar Statuary in Rome* (= *Memoirs of the American Academy in Rome*, XVIII, 1941), pp. 96-101.

⁵ Reinhard Herbig, *Zum Menander-Vergil Problem*, Röm. Mitt. LIX, 1944-6, pp. 77-87, pls. 13-17.

by publishing new photographs of the Medallion from a cast in Leipzig, here produced on Plate 19, a, c, and d, in order to make clear what had not always been apparent in older illustrations,—the total basic lack of all that supposed correspondence between the Head and the Medallion on which the whole case for Menander hangs (since all other evidence is secondary, vague, inconclusive, or irrelevant).

It is only the bare truth to say that, when judged by any method which the present-day study of ancient sculpture admits as valid, there is not a single point of identity between the Marbury Hall medallion bust of Menander and the Head (which latter, proleptically, I shall henceforth often call Vergil). It may be tedious to rehearse in full detail all those individual features on which the eye should seize unhesitatingly and instantly; but since so many have protested that they do not see and cannot discover any fatal differences between Medallion and Head, there is no other recourse for sound scholarship. The following, therefore, are the characteristic marks and identifying features which will be found on any and every of the forty⁶ extant marble versions of the Head, lacking which no head can be claimed to belong to the series (cf. Plate 19 b, e, and f):—

(1) The Arrangement of the Hair:

In front, the hair is parted over the left temple in long strands. To the left of the parting, these strands hang in vertical waves in front of and over the fully uncovered left ear, while to the right of the parting they are brushed into a conspicuous *horizontal* set of wisps across the top of the forehead with their tips pointing downward beyond the axial center of the face.

In the two profile views, the hair is treated in contrasted and strikingly different manner at the ears, hanging *vertically* around the left ear in the manner just described, but being brushed *horizontally* forward above and behind the right ear, in long strands which originate at the back of the head.

On the nape of the neck, the hair is unshorn and diverges strongly from the occipital curve above.

(2) The Shape of the Head:

Seen in profile, the skull is long, with prominent occipital bulge and a continuous and rather flat curve running back from the top of the straight upper forehead. Seen

⁶ To Crome's inventory of 38 replicas (*Das Bildnis Vergils*, pp. 67-71) should be added:

39. Rhodes. In the courtyard of the Castle, mounted on an unrelated statue (from Kos?). Chin and nose broken; otherwise an outstandingly good copy (I had an opportunity to inspect it in August, 1950). Inadequately reproduced, Laurenzi, *Ritratti Greci*, pl. XLVII. 5.

40. Rome. From the Area Sacra dell' Argentina. The left of the head has been split vertically, destroying the right forehead and hair but leaving most of the nose and all of the mouth and chin undamaged. Waterworn, but powerfully modelled.

Laurenzi, *op. cit.*, p. 139, speaks of 42 replicas.

full-front, the skull is narrow for its height. The horizontal axis through the eyes lies halfway between chin and crown. Owing to the broad jaw and prominent high cheek-bones, the face approximates a vertical rectangle; the area bounded by the forehead-lock above, the line of the mouth below, and the ears on either side, would form a square if it were not for the sunken cheeks.

(3) The Features of the Face:

The eyes are deep-set and close together, being separated by a narrow-ridged nose. The latter is long, despite its thinness, and slightly aquiline. The cheeks are deeply sunken. The lips are lightly parted.

In the profile, nose and forehead tilt sharply back from the axial line along the chin and lips.

(4) The Neck:

This is thin and delicate; but its most remarkable feature is the throat with the Adam's apple pathologically protruded above a deeply sunken cavity. (Cf. also Plate 22, right). The head is tilted toward its own proper left, but turned slightly toward its proper right.

It is only reasonable to enquire how much of all this reappears in the Marbury Hall medallion. Consulting this (Plate 19 a, c, and d) item by item, we shall find that,—

(1) There is *no parting* in the hair, which instead of being plastically built of detached strands is densely covered with fine wiry meshes. There is *no horizontal forehead lock*, all the hair being uniformly brushed forward from the crown. There is *no contrasted treatment* at the ears, the long wiry meshes being identically brushed *diagonally* forward and downward past the front of either ear. Thus, not merely is there no opposition between the two profiles, but neither of them reproduces either of the aspects of the Vergil.

(2) Making every allowance for any distortion due to the attachment of the bust to the field of the medallion, the skull in profile shows *a high round dome* with a very elevated, but at the top receding, forehead-line. Owing to this abnormally high crown, more of the head lies above the axis of the eyes than below. Seen full-front, the skull is broad at the temples but weakly narrow in the jaw; and as a result *the face is pear-shaped*.

(3) The eyes are set in *shallow* sockets and are rather large. The nose is *neither long nor aquiline*. The cheeks are *full*. In profile, a line prolonged past the chin and edge of the lower lip strikes the bridge of the nose, indicating a wholly different tilt in the features.

(4) There is *no pathological protrusion of the throat*.

Only one conclusion is possible: the two types are strangers to one another. If the Marbury Hall medallion was carved in late imperial Roman times by a careless or conscienceless craftsman working freehand from a copy of the Head (the difference in scale precludes any direct mechanical transference), then we shall have to say that he left out every distinguishing characteristic. But in that case, what justification can there be for insisting (or even supposing) that the Medallion derives from the Head at all?

Why, then, in the face of these numerous, overall, and glaringly obvious disparities, is there still so strong and so obstinate a following in the Menanderite camp? I can only suggest that very few have really looked at the Marbury Hall medallion. Or perhaps, as the most mitigating circumstance, it should be taken into account that ancient portraiture is by its very nature an uncertain and illusive discipline, in which the subjective interest in individual personalities outweighs the objective criteria of type and style. How the admirable and indisputably able Studniczka was able first to convince himself and then to persuade almost the entire generation of his contemporaries (but not Lippold and not Furtwaengler!) into seeing a resemblance which somatically and materially did not exist, will remain one of the curiosities of classical scholarship. It would almost seem that, once the mind has been struck by the suggestion of personal resemblance, it is carried away by a ready-made conviction. Like the younger Cyrus when he sighted the Persian king, we cry τὸν ἄνδρα ὁρῶ! and charge ahead.

That there is herein some element of prejudice derived from already fixed opinion, may be shown by several pleasant anecdotes attaching to the Menanderites. But since I feel very strongly that the *argumentum ad hominem* is never a permissible substitute for the *argumentum ad rem*, I shall content myself with the observation that more than one of the Menanderites having, for one reason or another, failed to identify a copy of the Head as such, has publicly proclaimed it for a Republican or Augustan Roman portrait, while conversely, one of this same number reproduced the Early-Augustan and indisputably Roman head which is shown on our Plate 20 e, f but, mistaking it for a copy of the Head, labelled it "Menander."

Even on the most general grounds and with all considerations of sculptural style and period put to one side, it should be clear that the physically ailing and melancholy nature so forcibly presented by the finest versions of the Head, such as that in the Seminario Patriarcale in Venice (Plate 19 b) so justly put in the foreground by Crome, or the Torre Annunziata herm in Boston (Plate 22, right) which Crome did not rate high enough, perhaps because he had not seen it in the living marble, is an extremely unfortunate choice for the elegant, foppish, and handsome Athenian of Phaedrus' fifth fable who

unguento delibutus, vestitu affluens
veniebat gressu delicato et languido

so that, at sight of him, Demetrius exclaimed,

“ Quisnam cinaedus ille ?
Homo (inquit) fieri non potest formosior ! ”

And secondly, on grounds of sculptural manner and style, the Head could not possibly be that of the Menander made by the two sons of Praxiteles and dedicated in the Athenian theater of Dionysos around 300 B.C. Recent students of Greek portraiture, even when they accept the identification with Menander, have tended more and more to see that such a date for the archetype of the Head, and such a workshop, cannot be upheld. Thus Laurenzi in his well chosen and ably commentated *Ritratti Greci*⁷ sees in the Head “ la maestria raggiunta dagli artisti del ritratto nell’ Ellenismo medio ” and proposes 230-220 B.C. as an acceptable date. It is interesting to quote also his subjective impression of an “ espressione appassionata . . . composta di sentimenti complessi, di ardore e insieme di *sofferenza intellettuale* ” (the italics are mine); but it is even more important to point out that, since the standard likeness of Menander throughout Hellenistic times must have been that first established by the sons of Praxiteles during the poet’s own lifetime, any portrait in a style so different that it exemplified a later Hellenistic tradition, could hardly have supplanted the official and original version so completely as to be found all over the Roman empire to the exclusion of the authentic likeness.

But enough of Menander, whose inauspicious name is still too much in the mouths and on the pens of the Vergilians!

Yet even with Menander’s name expunged, the only alternative identification which has ever been seriously urged, that of the Roman poet Vergil, has proven very generally unattractive; so that there must be some archaeological or psychological reason why, to the normal and healthy antiquary, the Head should not be Vergil.

Such a reason is not far to seek. Briefly, (1) Vergil was a Roman, and the artistic aura of the Head is Greek—Hellenistic Greek at that; (2) Vergil was an Augustan poet, and Augustan art is classicistic; (3) Roman portraits were scrupulously realistic, and the Head is an imaginative recreation rather than a literal bodily presentation.

There is enough truth in every one of these generalizations to give them psychological strength; but not one of them is completely accurate, and not one of them militates against the identification as Vergil. Let us take them up in turn:

(1) Let it be granted, without qualification or reserve, that the original from which the Head is copied must have been the work of a Greek bronze-caster, a work that was thoroughly Greek in technique and stylistic tradition. What then? Was it not Vergil himself who wrote in his Aeneid,

Excudent alii spirantia mollius aera,

⁷ L. Laurenzi, *Ritratti Greci* = *Quaderni per lo studio dell’ archeologia*: fasc. 3-5. Florence, 1941.

and will anyone doubt that by *alii* he meant Greeks? Indeed, he might have had his own portrait freshly in mind when he composed the famous line; but more probably he was merely echoing a decision of his great patron, the official Augustan admission that the artists for the Roman world were to be recruited from the Greek provinces of the empire.

(2) Vergil was an Augustan poet; but he died in 19 B.C. before the classicistic phase of Roman art had begun. Greek art at Rome was not classicistic during the Late Republic, but Hellenistic. It did not become classicistic until Augustus encouraged or commanded it to become so; and this great change (as can be proven) did not take place until after Vergil's death.

(3) That Roman portraits were scrupulously realistic is, of course, true only for certain periods and social levels. The statement should be untrue for any portrait of Vergil made during his life-time by command of the emperor or of some wealthy and well educated Roman patron.

The basic weakness in the whole Vergilian cause has been our failure to explore and demonstrate the Early Augustan portrait style. Had we done so, we should have had no difficulty in proving that the Vergil is an outstandingly good and thoroughly characteristic example of that style.

II

I could have wished that Laurenzi, having once detached the Head from Menander's time, had brought its date down another half century; for I must confess not merely that I cannot discover anything of any late third century B.C. style in it, but—and as a convinced Vergilian I have no hesitation in making such an admission—that there is a great deal reminiscent of the early second century B.C. I have repeatedly made the experiment of paging through the good published collections of Greek and Roman portrait sculpture and, with only traits of style in mind, fitting the Vergil head into the series. On the assumption that Laurenzi's *Ritratti Greci* is as accessible to the reader as it deserves to be, I have thus searched through his gallery of Greeks and find myself able to associate the Vergil stylistically (though in no case very closely or convincingly) with only the following out of his entire series,—

No. 34 — the bronze boxer head from Olympia, date unknown;

58 — Aristippos (?), date uncertain, but surely not contemporary with that philosopher;

69 — Alexander the Great, from Alexandria, now in Geneva, date unknown;

74 — Euthydemus of Bactria, *ca.* 190 B.C.;

- 77 — Antiochos III (?), date (if correctly identified) 200-190 B.C.
- 82 — bronze head from the Anticythera wreck, Laurenzi's date, 180-170 B.C.;
- 87 — Alexander the Great, from Pergamon, Laurenzi's date *ca.* 150 B.C.;
- 92 — the famous bronze head from Delos, Laurenzi's date 150-140 B.C.;
- 94 — the "Hellenistic Ruler" in the Terme, Laurenzi's date 150-140 B.C.

Reviewing the suggested dates it is clear that, if they are acceptable, I should have to concede that the style of the Head is related to that of the first half of the second century B.C.,—a very important period for portraiture, in which for the first time an adequately plastic technique was developed for this branch of sculpture. But the last parallel cited, the "Hellenistic Ruler" of the Terme Museum, gives a clue wherein the error may lie in thinking that the Head should be ascribed to this mid-Hellenistic period (and hence, whomsoever it represents, could not be Vergil).

It is still a very prevalent mistake to insist that the "Ruler" represents a Hellenistic prince; but that this is indeed an error, is demonstrable. Except for the head and neck, all the rest of this imposing bronze has been derived, with only minor modifications in the pose, from the Herakles of Polykleitos,⁸ whose powerful but rather strictly stylised anatomical divisions have been further exaggerated into superhuman strength. Plagiarism so direct will do for a period of eclectic revival, but is not a second century B.C. procedure (however much of Pheidias and other fifth century influence may be detected in the great altar of Pergamon). On this neo-Polykleitan Herakles there has been imposed a portrait head⁹ in life-size (and hence a trifle too small for the heroic body) in a style for which there are sufficient parallels to prove its origin in the second quarter of the first century B.C. The hair, as in the Vergil, is long and unshorn on the nape; but though, like the Vergil, it is trimmed square about the forehead, there is no forehead-lock, but a protruding shelf of dense hair which draws a deep horizontal line of shadow across the top of the forehead. This is a Roman hair-fashion of the Late Republic, which may be found on some of the coins of Agrippa¹⁰ or those of Mytilene which show a head of the deified Theophanes, the intimate friend of Pompey. These latter coins (Plate 21 a and b) were struck under Tiberius, but, as they are not in Claudian style, must reflect a bronze portrait made during Theophanes' lifetime, quite possibly in Rome, shortly before or after the middle of the first century B.C. Both Theophanes and Agrippa are further characterised, like the "Ruler," by deepset eyes with a prominent forehead-bar above the accentuated bridge of the nose, and are powerfully modelled in cheek and jaw.

⁸ The Terme copy well illustrated, Alessandro della Seta, *Il Nudo nell' Arte*, I, figs. 114-5.

⁹ Not here illustrated, because so frequently reproduced elsewhere, e. g., Hekler, *Bildniskunst der Griechen und Römer*, pls. 83-84; Laurenzi, *op. cit.*, pl. XXXVIII. 94.

¹⁰ As on the coin reproduced as fig. 6 in L. M. Ugolini, *L'Agrippa di Butrinto* (R. Istituto di Archeologia e Storia dell' Arte; Opere d'Arte, Fasc. IV). Rome. 1932. Cf. Grueber, *Coins of the Roman Republic in the British Museum*, pl. LXXI. 8.

The splendidly keen head which Schweizer has recently rescued from the comparative oblivion of the Sala delle Pitture in the Vatican,¹¹ seems to belong in this group.

All of these heads, in the way that they are modelled, reflect (whether by direct atelier inheritance of their artists or by deliberate revival) the powerful plastic resources of mid-Hellenistic portraiture; and hence they have much to suggest the second century B.C. But the facial types of some of them, the known identity of others, and the hairdress of all of them, betray their true date and environment.

Much the same is true of the Vergil head. It too is of Greek workmanship; it too draws on the plastic resources of mid-Hellenistic portraiture; but it too reflects a racial type that is not Greek (nor yet, since Vergil was from Mantua, Latin-Roman or south-Italian); and though it displays a different hairdress, this also reflects a characteristically Roman manner that betrays its date and environment. For it is *the official hairdress of the early-Augustan court*.

Herbig has given us¹² the head of Ummidius Durmius Quadratus from Cassino as a first pertinent example of an unquestionably Roman portrait done in the same manner as the Vergil. To this I should like to add the portrait head from the house of "Apuleius" in Ostia, which Ricci published in the *Bollettino d'Arte* for 1938¹³ and which I am here reproducing from that source (Plate 20 a and b). The method of building up the facial structure by utilising the cheekbone and the jawbone as the chief carrying elements of the design of the lower face; the substitution of the orbicular muscles for the more purely linear definition of the eyebrows and eyelids of the Greek glyptic tradition in order to concentrate and intensify the gaze; the almost concave flattening at the temples to bring the cranium into structural prominence—all these devices are used to impart the same air of realistic pathos to the Ostia head as to the Vergil. In profile, the stylistic identity is equally impressive; and to judge from what is visible in the photographs, the contrasted brushing of the hair at the ears is likewise indicated.

A third head, again portraying an individual as unlike Vergil as could well be imagined, yet offering remarkable similarities in the artistic handling of the resources of expression and the mannerisms of style, is reproduced (Plate 20 c and d) from Schweizer,¹⁴ who assigns it to his "Idealising Plastic Manner" (*Plastisch-idealistischer Stil*) and, if I understand him aright, holds it to be a Hadrianic copy of an original from the 20's B.C. As in the Vergil, the hair is treated in large loosely divided strands which hang vertically about the left ear (and perhaps—to judge from the photograph—are brushed horizontally over the right?); the hair on the nape is

¹¹ Bernard Schweitzer, *Die Bildniskunst der Römischen Republik*. Leipzig, 1948. figs. 36-37.

¹² Pls. 15-17 of the article cited in Note 5.

¹³ *Bollettino d'Arte* XXXII, 1938, pp. 558-570 and figs. 10-11.

¹⁴ *Op. cit.* in Note 11, p. 113 and figs. 169 and 174 (= Copenhagen, Ny Carlsberg Glyptothek, no. 589).

unshorn and low; the forehead bar is modelled over the brows and lined with vertical furrows over the nose; the zygomatic muscles are strongly emphasised: the mouth and chin are similarly treated as in the Vergil. The most obvious difference is in the eyes.

Vergil's long straggling locks, brushed horizontally across the forehead from a far left-hand parting, recur on a Roman head in Ince Blundell, which Ashmole in his catalog of that collection¹⁵ classes as late first century B.C. (Plate 20 e and f). The nose, lips, and chin are modern; and the tips of the forehead locks have been supplied by the restorer. But the broken surfaces to which they are attached permit no very different solution; while the deepset eyes under modelled brows, the structural emphasis on cheekbone and jaw, put this head into the same group as those we have been discussing. The hair, which hangs in long locks above the ear, has been brushed horizontally forward from the back of the head. No doubt, examination of the other (unpublished) profile would show, in contrast, the strands vertically pendant.

For, that this strange habit of thus differentiating the arrangement of the hair on the two opposed sides of the head, which is such an invariable characteristic of the Vergil, is equally characteristic of early-Augustan male portraits of members of the imperial family and those attached to the court, has either not been observed or has not been sufficiently publicised by modern scholars. Crome, in his monograph, pointed out that this fashion could be traced back as far as some of the Cicero portraits and forward as far as Agrippa; but apparently in 1935 he had not yet noted how widespread the fashion really was, and that Augustus himself followed it.

The two very similar heads on the Augustan coins which carry identical reverse designs and were minted in the East prior to 20 B.C., here reproduced on Plate 21 c-f (from specimens in the collections of the American Numismatic Society, to whose unfailing helpfulness I owe the excellent photographs), both show the emperor's head in profile toward the right. Yet the engraver has varied the two dies by cutting the hair-strands vertically pendant above the ear in one case but brushed horizontally above the ear in the other. If this distinction be judged too slight to be significant, the horizontal brushing is much more fully recorded,—and almost exactly in the manner of the Vergil, except that the heads face in opposite directions,—on another gold coin of Augustus also minted in Asia and hence also of early date (Plate 21 g). Still more convincingly, another pair of coins (Plate 21 i and j) from the same eastern mint, both issued in the same year and both with profile toward the right, fully and carefully distinguish the two manners of brushing the hair. As is proved by their legend, IMP. IX. TR. PO. V, they were both struck in 19 B.C., which was the year of Vergil's death.

I should like to have the head with the vertical hair on one of these last coins

¹⁵ Bernard Ashmole, *A Catalogue of the Ancient Marbles at Ince Blundell Hall*, Oxford, 1929, No. 88 on p. 42 and pl. 33.

(Plate 21 j) compared with the marble head of Augustus which L'Orange published in 1935 in the volume of essays in honor of Prof. Nilsson.¹⁶ It was acquired in Italy, is now in a private collection in Oslo, and is here reproduced in profile view (Plate 23 a). The stylistic affinity with the coin of 19 B.C. seems to me very clear, though perhaps the resemblance to a yet earlier coin issued while Augustus was still Octavianus (Plate 23 b) may seem even closer. These heads are eloquent testimony for an early-Augustan style of portraiture far removed from the Polykleitanising and classic-ideal style of the famous Prima Porta statute in the Vatican or the well-known Augustus head in Boston; but they are in no way discordant with the Vergil! It should not therefore be a matter of surprise that the Oslo Augustus wears the same distinctive hair-dress as the Vergil,¹⁷ even though the finely chiselled rendering of the strands seems more like silversmith's than sculptor's work on the Oslo head. The true Vergilian manner of larger and more loosely separated strands reappears, however, on another portrait of Augustus, one of the "busti degli imperatori" in the Capitoline Museum, here reproduced (Plate 22, left) by the courtesy of the German Archaeological Institute in Rome from their great collection of negatives. Because the intimate stylistic correspondence here is not with empty classicising versions of the Vergil, such as that in Dresden, nor with otherwise impressive but cold and formal copies such as those in Copenhagen and in Dumbarton Oaks in Washington (the famous Corneto copy long in the possession of Mrs. Brandegee near Boston), but with the herm in the Boston Museum of Fine Arts from Torre Annunziata, I am convinced that this latter has not even the Seminario Patriarcale head in Venice to dispute its place as the foremost of all the extant Vergil heads, by being the most faithful to the archetype. For this reason I republish it on Plate 22 by courtesy of the Museum of Fine Arts in Boston, from their finest negatives. The right cheek, neck, and hair have suffered serious abrasion; but otherwise the idiom of late-Hellenistic Augustan art of the 20's B.C. shines out in all its Greek subtleness and sensitivity. It is, of course, of much finer workmanship than the Capitoline Augustus, which is far from a first-rate copy. Yet poet and patron, Vergil and Augustus, belong together here in art as they consorted together in life at the time when the originals of these two portraits were made.

III

In volume XVIII of the *Memoirs of the American Academy in Rome* for 1941¹⁸ I ventured to suggest that one of the three so-called Spectators on the Villa Medici relief from the *Ara Pietatis Augustae*, dedicated by Claudius in A.D. 42, was intended

¹⁶ ΔΡΑΓΜΑ, Acts of the Swedish Roman Institute, Second Series, Vol. I, Lund, 1939, pp. 288-296 and figs. 1, 2, 4, 5.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, figs. 2 and 4 on pp. 292 and 295.

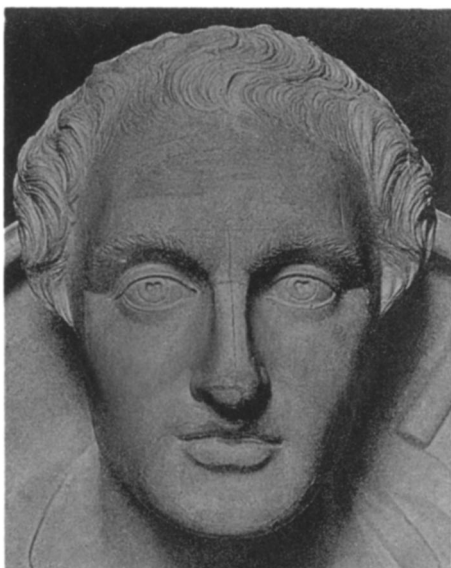
¹⁸ Pp. 100 f., pls. 31-32.

for Vergil, perhaps in the company of Propertius and Horace, and in that case was derived (as the strongly individualised features tempted me to think) from the same original contemporary portrait responsible for all our copies of the Vergil head. But at the time of publication I had only Petersen's old negatives (which were still fortunately on file in the German Archaeological Institute) from which to illustrate the Villa Medici relief; and these had not merely been taken years ago and had accumulated injuries (such as the large thumb-print across the face of "Horace"), but had perforce been made from the heavily sooted, begrimed, and uncleaned marble slab high up on the garden façade of the building.

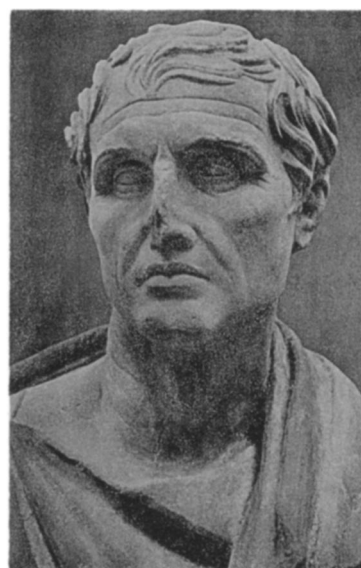
Through the good offices of the Museo di Roma and the intercession of Prof. Frank Brown of the American Academy, I am now able to substitute a new and recent photograph (Plate 23 c) from the carefully cleaned relief. I hope that others will agree with me that the resemblance to the Vergil head has been increased rather than diminished, and that this almost providentially preserved and accurately dateable version deserves to be enshrined among our *Vergiliana*. The relief-maker has copied the distinctive horizontal brushing of the hair appropriate to the right profile, but (rather like some of the Augustan coin-engravers who reversed profiles) has transferred the distinctive parting to the hither side of the head, since it could not otherwise have been shown in the relief. The invalid throat has been carefully indicated. And the close agreement of the drapery with the small portion of it which appears on the Venice Vergil (Plate 19 b) brings new confirmation to Crome's argument that the Head has there been shown in Roman tunic and toga—as one would surely expect for Vergil but would be in some embarrassment to explain for Menander!

RHYS CARPENTER

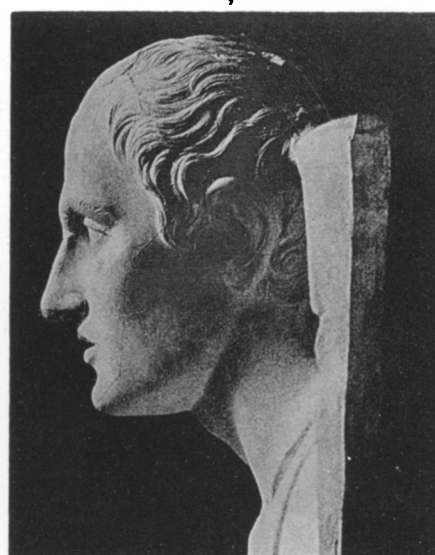
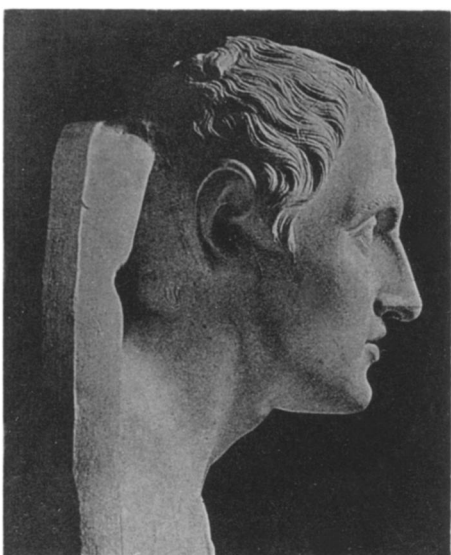
BRYN MAWR COLLEGE



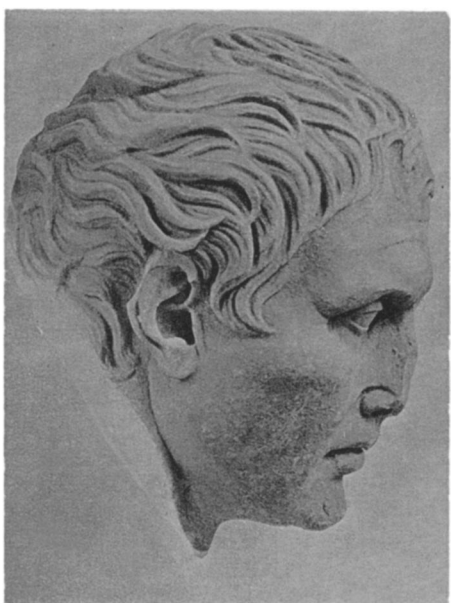
a. Marbury Hall Medallion



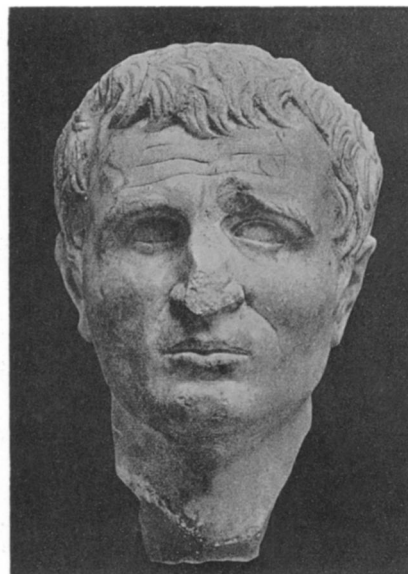
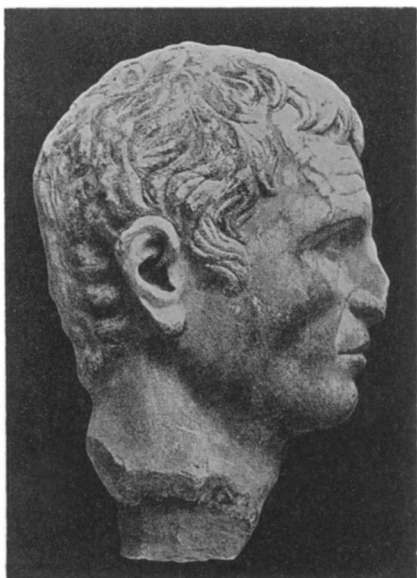
b. Head in Seminario
Patriarcale, Venice



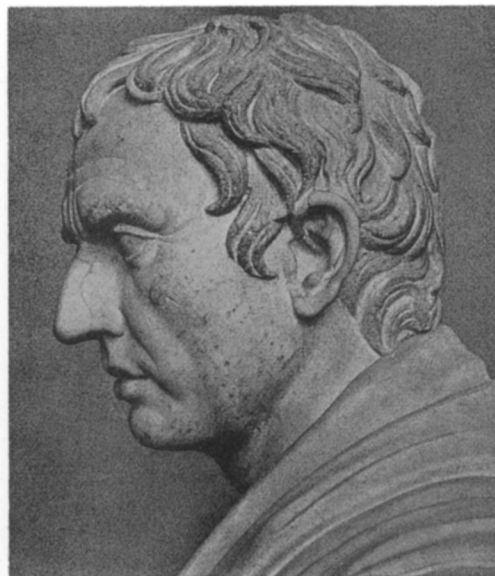
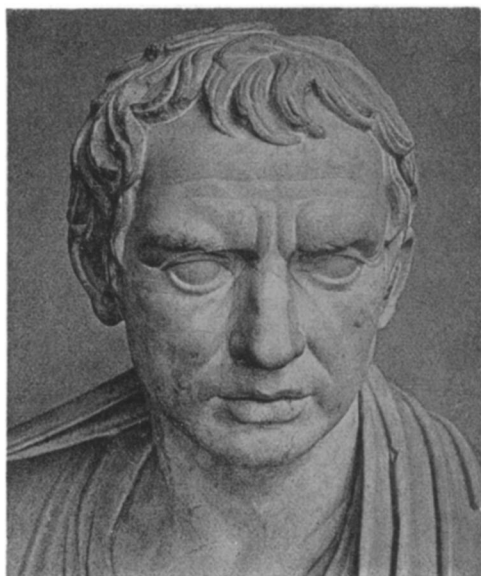
c and d. Marbury Hall Medallion



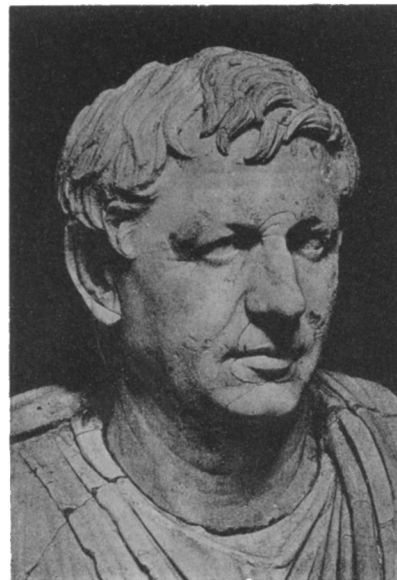
e and f. Head from Corfu



a and b. Head from the House of "Apuleius" in Ostia



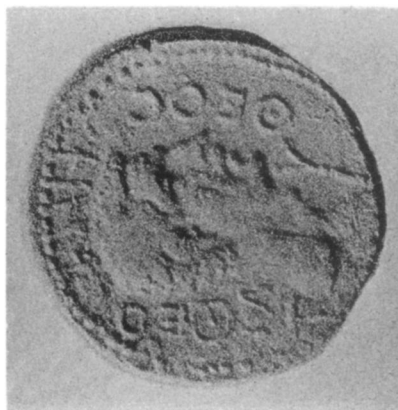
c and d. Head in Copenhagen, Ny Carlsberg Glyptothek, No. 589



e and f. Head in Ince Blundell Hall



a and b. Coins of Myrtilene with Head of Theophanes



c and d. Coin of Augustus, pre 20 B.C.



e and f. Coin of Augustus, pre 20 B.C.



g. Coin of Augustus



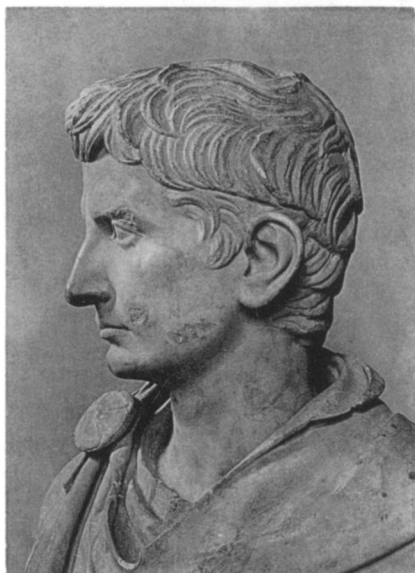
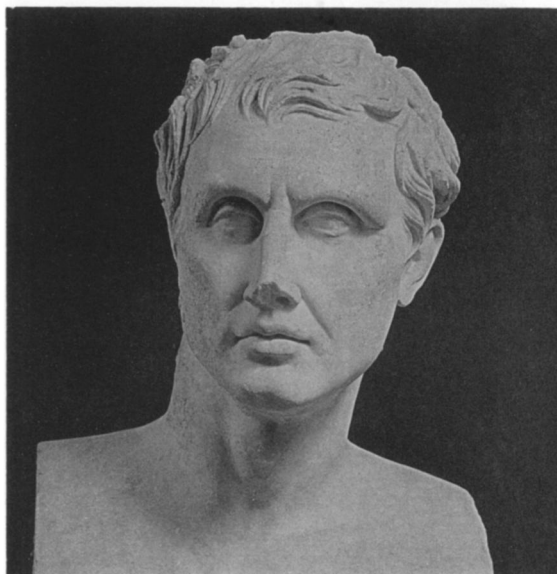
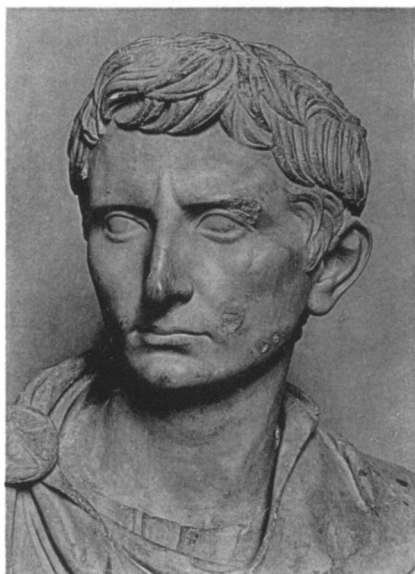
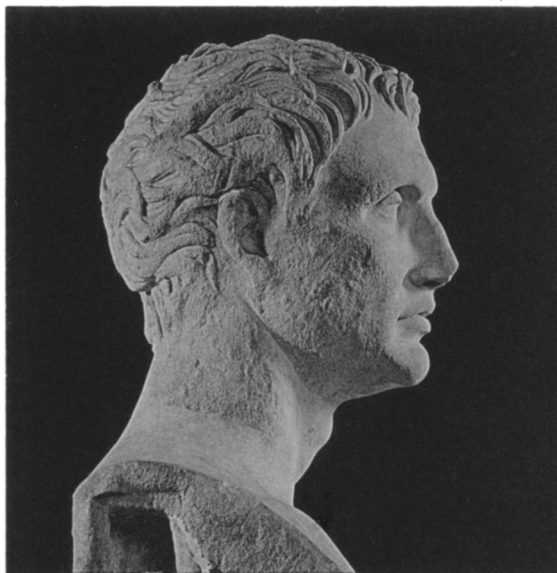
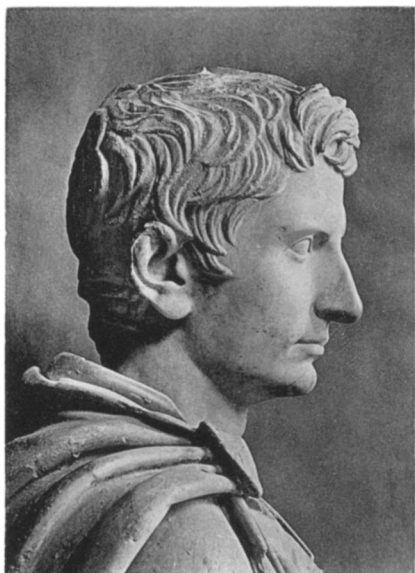
h. Coin of Augustus



i and j. Coins of Augustus, 19 B.C.

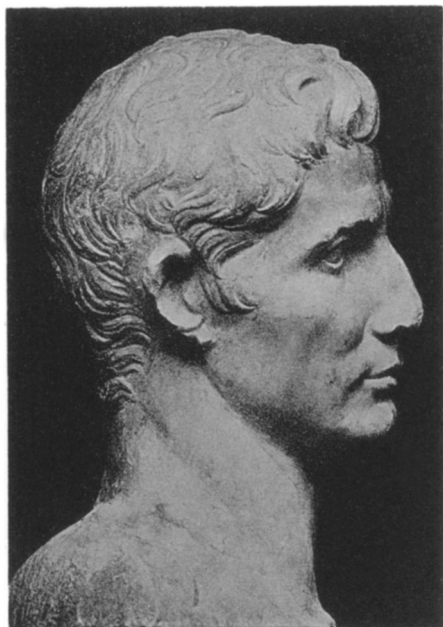


Coins c-j from the collection of the American Numismatic Society, New York



Head of Augustus in Capitoline
Museum, Rome

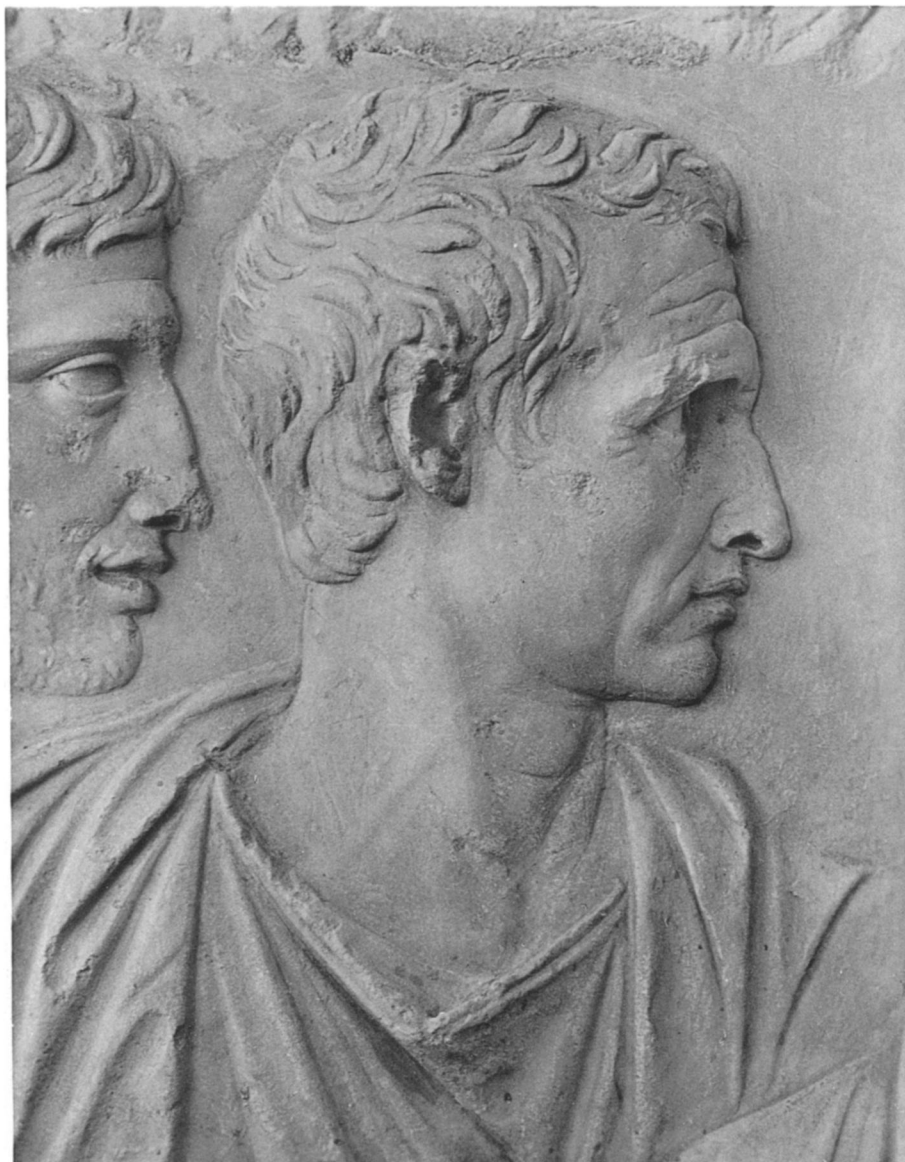
Herm in Museum of Fine Arts, Boston
(*Courtesy, Museum of Fine Arts, Boston*)



a. Head of Augustus in Oslo



b. Coin of Octavian



c. Head of Vergil, Villa Medici Relief