

PERIKLES' PORTRAIT AND THE RIACE BRONZES

NEW EVIDENCE FOR "SCHINOCEPHALY"

(PLATES 113–126)

I. THE PERIKLES QUESTION AND TRADITIONS OF INTERPRETATION

Traditional identifications of the vestiges of Classical art have often depended upon evidence preserved by chance in ancient literary sources.¹ Book Thirty-four of Pliny's *Natural*

¹ Works frequently cited are abbreviated as follows:

- ABr = H. Brunn, P. Arndt, and F. Bruckmann, *Griechische und römische Portraits*, Munich 1891(–1939)
- Boardman = J. Boardman, *Greek Sculpture, The Classical Period*, London 1985
- Cook = B. Cook, *The Townley Marbles*, London 1985
- Due bronzi = *Due bronzi da Riace. Rinvenimento, restauro, analisi ed ipotesi di interpretazione* (BdA, spec. ser. 3), Rome 1984
- FrW = C. Friederichs and P. Wolters, *Königliche Museen zu Berlin. Die Gipsabgüsse antiker Bildwerke in historischer Folge Erklärt, Bausteine zur Geschichte der griechisch-römischen Plastik*, Berlin 1885
- Furtwängler = A. Furtwängler, *Meisterwerke der griechischen Plastik*, Leipzig/Berlin 1893
- Houser = C. Houser, *Greek Monumental Bronze Sculpture*, New York/Paris 1983
- Lippold = G. Lippold, *Die Skulpturen des Vaticanischen Museums III*, i, Berlin/Leipzig 1936
- Mattusch = C. Mattusch, *Greek Bronze Statuary, From the Beginnings through the Fifth Century B.C.*, Ithaca, N.Y. 1988. (Mattusch's book became available too late to be taken into account in the text of this study; references have been inserted in the footnotes.)
- Michaelis = A. Michaelis, *Ancient Marbles in Great Britain*, C. Fennell, trans., Cambridge 1882
- Pandermalis = D. Pandermalis, *Untersuchungen zu den klassischen Strategenköpfen* (diss. University of Freiburg), Berlin 1969
- Pietrangeli = C. Pietrangeli, "La Villa Tiburtina detta di Cassio," *RendPontAcc* 25, 1949/1950, pp. 156–182
- Pietrangeli, 1958 = C. Pietrangeli, *Scavi e scoperte di antichità sotto il pontificato di Pio VI*, 2nd ed., Rome 1958
- Richter = G. Richter, *The Portraits of the Greeks I*, London 1965
- Ridgway = B. Ridgway, *Fifth Century Styles in Greek Sculpture*, Princeton 1981
- Ridgway, *Copies* = B. Ridgway, *Roman Copies of Greek Sculpture: The Problem of the Originals*, Ann Arbor 1984
- Rolley = C. Rolley, *Greek Bronzes*, R. Howell, trans., London 1986
- Robertson = M. Robertson, *A History of Greek Art*, Cambridge 1975
- Visconti = E. Q. Visconti, *Musée Pie-Clémentin I*, Milan 1818, VI, Milan 1821

The latest studies available for reference in this article were published in 1988.

This article is an expanded version of a talk first given at the 87th General Meeting of the Archaeological Institute of America, Washington, D.C., 29 December, 1985 (abstract, *AJA* 90, 1986, pp. 207–208). It is dedicated to the memory of Peter H. von Blanckenhagen, from whose lectures at the Institute of Fine Arts, New York University, I first learned about ancient sculpture. My thanks go to Richard Brilliant for discussing several relevant issues with me, to Dietrich von Bothmer for reading the manuscript and making many valuable suggestions, and to Columbia University for funding the necessary travel. Certain museums made it possible for me to study objects under special conditions: I am particularly grateful to Dr. Carbonara, Rome, Museo Barracco; Dyfri Williams, London, British Museum; Tina Oldknow, Los Angeles County Museum; Joan Mertens, New York, Metropolitan Museum; J. Robert Guy, formerly Princeton, University Art Museum; and Elena Lattanzi, Soprintendente alle Antichità di Calabria, Reggio di Calabria, Museo Nazionale. The following people helped with bibliographic and other details: Elizabeth Bartman, James Beck, John

History, for example, deals with metals: bronze, copper, iron, and lead. Here, as the making of statuary is included among common uses for bronze, the author lists famous artists who employed the medium, along with some of their works (Pliny, *NH* 34.53–92). References in Book Thirty-four have prompted recognition in Roman marble copies of famous lost Greek bronze statues, such as Polykleitos' Doryphoros (Pliny, *NH* 34.55). Pliny's text also mentions a renowned Olympian Perikles by the sculptor Kresilas (*NH* 34.74), another famed work which may be counted among lost masterpieces in bronze. Kresilas' Perikles was but one of many images of Athens' greatest statesman of the 5th century B.C.² In Classical Greece, such monumental portraits normally depicted important men full-length. "A portrait for a Greek constituted a whole statue, for the body seemed to him as expressive of personality as the features."³

A handful of Roman marble copies reproduces the same helmeted male head, which looks as if it could have belonged to a 5th-century B.C. Greek statue. The two best known examples, now in the British Museum (Pl. 113) and the Vatican Museum (Pl. 114), were found in the environs of Rome, at Tivoli, in the 18th century.⁴ Both have been preserved on herms, the shafts of which still bear an inscribed name: Perikles. The Vatican example elaborates further: ΠΕΡΙΚΛΗΣ ΞΑΝΘΙΠΠΟΥ ΑΘΗΝΑΙΟΣ.⁵ This helmeted head type, thereby, is identified as a portrait of Athens' greatest statesman. It shows Perikles as a mature man with idealized yet distinctive features typical of the Classical period: strong brows arch over a straight nose with a depression at the bridge, and a sober mouth with full lower lip. The curly beard is short and finely trimmed. The hair is also short, yet somewhat fuller and more tightly curled; it provides a cushion for a helmet of Corinthian type, worn pushed up high atop the head. Perikles' lofty headgear sets off the glance of his heavily lidded eyes, capping his noble facial expression. The type is also known from a poorly preserved head in the Museo Barracco, Rome, formerly in the Castellani Collection

Burleigh, Mark Caponigro, Alan Chapman, Andrew Clark, Brian Cook, Ross Day, John Mac Laren, Elizabeth Milleker, Mary Moore, James Romano, Stuart Pyhrr, Maria-José Strazzulla Rusconi, Michele Salzman, and especially Alan Shapiro. Any remaining mistakes, of course, are my own.

² Cf. Plutarch, *Perikles* 3.2. Plutarch (*Perikles* 31.4) mentions a portrait of Perikles in Pheidias' Amazonomachy relief on the shield of the Athena Parthenos; see Richter, pp. 103–104, fig. 444 (detail, Strangford Shield, London, B.M. 302): Perikles traditionally has been identified as the figure in an Attic helmet whose face is covered by an arm. Any portrait identification, however, appears to be a later invention; for bibliography and reconstructions of the shield see E. Harrison, "Motifs of the City-siege on the Shield of Athena Parthenos," *AJA* 85, 1981 (pp. 281–317), pp. 310–311 and V. Strocka, "Das Schildrelief—zum Stand der Forschung," in *Parthenon-Kongress Basel*, E. Berger, ed., Mainz 1984, I, pp. 188–196, II, pp. 409–410. The "Perikles" of the shield has recently been associated with the "Pilos-wearer": see H. Meyer, "Ein Neues Piräusrelief, zur Überlieferung der Amazonomachie am Schild der Athena Parthenos," *AM* 102, 1987 (pp. 295–321), pp. 302–308 and p. 317, fig. 7, p. 320, fig. 8.

³ G. Richter, *Collection Latomus*, XX, *Greek Portraits: A Study of their Development*, Berchem/Brussels 1955, p. 12.

⁴ See pp. 492–493 below and Appendix, pp. 500–502.

⁵ Herm of Perikles, Vatican 525, Museo Pio-Clementino, Sala delle Muse 269: see Lippold, pp. 86–88, pl. 15; Helbig⁴ I, no. 71 (H. von Heintze). Herm of Perikles, London, B.M. 549, Townley Collection: see A. Smith, *A Catalogue of Sculpture in the Department of Greek and Roman Antiquities, British Museum I*, London 1892, pp. 288–289. The shaft of the herm in the British Museum is broken beneath the inscribed name, and the lower part is missing; the inscription might originally have been longer.

(Pl. 115:a, b), and from a lively work in Berlin, found in 1901 on the Greek island of Lesbos (Pl. 115:c, d).⁶

The portrait herm, a variation upon standard Greek types (Archaic Hermes-headed herms and subsequent herms of other deities and mythological figures), appears to have developed during the last half of the 1st century B.C., in Roman Republican times. Portrait heads of famous Greek men (e.g., philosophers, poets, orators, statesmen), dissociated from their sculptured bodies, were placed upon (tapering) shafts, enlivened only by genitals and perhaps an inscription.⁷ The resulting concoction was less cumbersome than a life-sized statue and was especially appropriate for a learned gallery of famous Greeks in, for example, a Roman villa or private house.⁸ Specific impetus to fabricate a herm with a head excerpted from a Greek portrait statue came from the copying process itself. Plaster casts of bronze originals, from which copies were made, were assembled from partial casts. In these the head and neck were always an integral piece, separate from the rest of the body.⁹

All the known Perikles copies appear to have been made after casts taken from the head of a single bronze statue. In addition to the above-mentioned particularities of portrait type, critical dimensions of the four extant heads correspond relatively closely. The face, from

⁶ Since the neck of the Perikles, Rome, Museo Barracco 198 (ex Castellani) is not preserved, the restoration as a herm is not based on sufficient evidence; see Helbig⁴ II, no. 1886 (H. von Heintze) and G. Barracco and W. Helbig, *La Collection Barracco*, Munich 1893, I, p. 37; II, pl. 39. On the first three Perikles copies see also ABr, pls. 411–416. For the Perikles, Berlin, Staatliche Museen Sk. 1530, see C. Blümel, *Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Katalog der Sammlung antiker Skulpturen*, IV, *Römische Kopie griechischer Skulpturen des fünften Jahrhunderts v. Chr.*, Berlin 1931, p. 5, pls. 8 and 9 and E. Rohde, *Griechische und römische Kunst in den Staatlichen Museen zu Berlin*, Berlin 1968, p. 101, fig. 78. The Berlin head, carved together with neck and part of chest, was made for insertion, probably into a statue rather than a herm. For all the marble copies see Richter, pp. 103–104, figs. 429–435, 437–439. A fragmentary marble head, Princeton, University Art Museum, Alden Sampson Collection, has been less securely associated with this portrait-type: Richter, no. 5, p. 103, figs. 442 and 443; C. Vermeule, *Greek and Roman Sculpture in America*, Berkeley 1981, no. 28, p. 55; but cf. Pandermalis, p. 31 and Ridgway, *Copies*, p. 55. Not enough of the helmet is preserved for it to be relevant here. This study necessarily employs the original edition of Richter rather than the abridged and revised version (R. Smith, ed., Ithaca, N.Y. 1984). For the strategos head Munich Glyptothek 299, at one time identified with the Perikles portrait (ABr, pl. 418 and 419), now usually considered a classicizing creation, see B. Vierneisel-Schlörb, *Glyptothek München, Katalog der Skulpturen*, II, *Klassische Skulpturen des 5 und 4 Jahrhunderts v. Chr.*, Munich 1979, no. 45, pp. 502–505; pp. 506–507, figs. 242–245.

⁷ H. Wrede, *Die antike Herme*, Mainz 1986, pp. 2, 5–8, 17–30, 59–61, 71–79; Pandermalis, p. 104. See also for classification R. Lullies, *Die Typen der griechischen Herme*, Königsberg 1931; for citations in ancient literature see L. Curtius, *Die antike Herme*, Leipzig 1903, pp. 3–6.

⁸ Wrede, *op. cit.*, pp. 59–61, 75, 79; E. Harrison, *The Athenian Agora*, XI, *Archaic and Archaistic Sculpture*, Princeton 1965, pp. 125, 128; T. Lorenz, *Galerien von griechischen Philosophen- und Dichterbildnissen bei den Römern*, Mainz 1965, pp. 20–26, 39–42, 58–59; on display see J. Raeder, *Die statuarische Ausstattung der Villa Hadriana bei Tivoli*, Frankfurt 1983, pp. 243–249; on herms, *ibid.*, p. 298 with note 518, pp. 358–359. For the Perikles herms in the so-called Villa of Cassius see R. Neudecker, *Die Skulpturausstattung römischer Villen in Italien*, Mainz 1988, pp. 65–66, 229, 232–234. On the great Roman demand for portraits, which “encouraged mass production,” see M. Bieber, *Ancient Copies, Contributions to the History of Greek and Roman Art*, New York 1977, p. 186. Whether the original Greek portrait was a herm or a statue was once a question, e.g., Furtwängler, pp. 270–271.

⁹ The evidence for partial casts: C. Landwehr, *Die antiken Gipsabgüsse aus Baiae, Griechische Bronze- statuen in Abgüsse römischer Zeit*, Berlin 1985, pp. 20–23 and C. von Hees-Landwehr, *Griechische Meisterwerke in römischen Abgüssen*, Frankfurt 1982, pp. 17–18, fig. 14. On partial casts enhancing eclecticism see Ridgway, *Copies*, p. 33.

bottom of beard to bottom of helmet, is *ca.* 19–20 cm. high (approximately life-sized), and the total height, from bottom of beard to top of helmet, is *ca.* 40–41 cm.¹⁰ The only major variation among the Perikles copies is the shape of the cranium (deformed: Vatican, Berlin, Barracco *versus* normal: British Museum), and to this detail, which is the central concern of the present study, we shall return shortly. In general, the heads of Perikles belong to an ever-shrinking corps of copies still believed to reflect some lost Classical original with a high degree of accuracy.¹¹

Despite the multitude of ancient Perikles portraits that once existed, the extant group of marble copies has regularly been associated in modern times with Kresilas' Olympian Perikles.¹² The bronze Classical original usually has been dated within the third quarter of the 5th century B.C. and often has been considered a posthumous dedication.¹³ According to preserved inscriptions, Kresilas came from Kydonia, Crete, but as a major sculptor frequently worked in Athens. Kresilas' portrait of Perikles must have been not only full-length but also very likely heroically nude; it may well have stood on the Akropolis.¹⁴

¹⁰ The following measurements appear in Richter, p. 103; Vatican herm: H. of head 38.8 cm., Barracco head: H. 38 cm., British Museum herm: H. of head 41.2 cm., H. of face to beneath helmet 20.1 cm. These differ slightly from recent measurements. According to the British Museum, herm of Perikles: H. of head 40.2 cm., H. of face 19.4 cm. The author's measurements, Vatican herm: H. of head 40 cm., H. of face 19.75 cm.; Barracco head: preserved H. 37 cm., H. of face 19 cm. Blümel (footnote 6 above), p. 5, Berlin head: H. of face to beneath helmet 20 cm. For mechanical copying and the pointing device, see G. Richter, *Ancient Italy, A Study of the Interrelations of Its Peoples as Shown in Their Arts*, Ann Arbor 1955, pp. 37–40 and, specifically on copies of portraits, see *eadem*, "How Were the Roman Copies of Greek Portraits Made?" *RM* 69, 1962, pp. 52–58.

¹¹ Robertson, I, pp. 335–336; Boardman, p. 206, fig. 188. Cf. Ridgway, *Copies*, pp. 55–56, 67–68 on suggested non-5th-century sources for the Perikles type, but she concedes (p. 56) "the extant herms are not incompatible with Attic style around 440 B.C." and Ridgway, p. 180, on the possibility of the type being a Roman, 1st-century (after Christ) invention. For copies as products of Roman art, both as classicizing *Umbildungen* and new creations, see P. Zanker, *Klassizistische Statuen*, Mainz 1974, pp. xv–xx.

¹² Strong identification with Kresilas (Pliny, *NH* 34.74) begins with FrW, p. 214; cf. A. Conze, "Griechische Portraittköpfe," *AZ* 26, 1868 (pp. 1–2), p. 2. See also, e.g.: J. Bernoulli, *Griechische Ikonographie I*, Munich 1901, p. 109; Furtwängler, pp. 270–272; E. Suhr, *Sculptured Portraits of Greek Statesmen*, Baltimore 1931, pp. xi–xii; Lippold, p. 88; *EAA* IV, pp. 405–407, *s.v.* Kresilas (P. Orlandini); Richter, pp. 103–104; J. Charbonneaux, R. Martin, and F. Villard, *Classical Greek Art (480–330 BC)*, J. Emmons, trans., New York 1972, pp. 172, 174.

¹³ Richter, p. 104; for an earlier dating see Ridgway, *Copies*, p. 56, but compare the case for a posthumous portrait requiring a post-429 date in D. Metzler, *Porträt und Gesellschaft*, Münster 1971, pp. 221–222.

¹⁴ On Kresilas see Furtwängler, pp. 267–270; *EAA* IV, pp. 405–407 (P. Orlandini). For a bronze statuette (Hartford, Wadsworth Atheneum 1917.820) possibly connected with the type, see E. Bielefeld, "Bronze-statuetten des Wadsworth Atheneums in Hartford/Connecticut," *AntP* I, 1962, pp. 39–41, pls. 30–37; A. Kozloff, D. Mitten, *et al.*, *The Gods Delight, The Human Figure in Classical Bronze*, Cleveland 1988, no. 58, pp. 312–315. See also W. Gauer, "Die Griechischen Bildnisse der Klassischen Zeit als politische und persönliche Denkmäler," *JdI* 83, 1968 (pp. 118–179), pp. 141–143. For association of the Hartford statuette with later *strategos* types influenced by Kresilas' Perikles, see G. Dontas, "Bemerkungen über einige attische Strategenbildnisse der klassischen Zeit," *Festschrift für Frank Brommer*, Mainz 1977 (pp. 79–92), pp. 80–83, 89. The assumption of an Akropolis location depends on Pausanias, 1.28.2. For controversial Akropolis statue-base fragments (which might have belonged to Kresilas' Perikles): H. Lolling, *'Επιγραφὰὶ ἐκ τῆς Ἀκροπόλεως*, Athens 1889 (no. 2: pp. 35–37), p. 36; Richter, figs. 434:d, 436; A. Raubitschek, "Zur Perikles-statue des Kresilas," *ArchCl* 25–26, 1973–1974, pp. 620–621. See also G. Richter, *Collection Latomus*, LIV, *Greek Portraits IV. Iconographical Studies: A Few Suggestions*, Berchem/Brussels 1962, pp. 12–16, pls. 2–4. On location, appearance, and significance (not necessarily posthumous) see also T. Hölscher, "Die Aufstellung des Perikles-Bildnisses und ihre Bedeutung," *WürzJbb*, n.s. 1, 1975, pp. 187–199, now reprinted in

Such widespread agreement on association of the inscribed head type with this particular portrait, while we have no absolute proof, surely is grounded on Pliny's reference to Kresilas' work, which plays on Perikles' name and his fame (*NH* 34.74):

... Olympium Periclen dignum cognomine, mirumque in hac arte est quod nobiles viros nobiliores fecit.

... Olympian Perikles worthy of his epithet and the amazing thing in this art [*sc.* technique of bronze sculpture] is that it made noble men yet more noble.¹⁵

Modern scholars have continued to interpret this fine image in accordance with details of Perikles' biography that have come down to us, primarily in Thucydides and Plutarch.¹⁶ These accounts focus on Perikles as a public personage in the maturity and old age of his life:¹⁷ his blend of military and political acumen, which secured his almost unchallenged, lengthy rule as general and statesman in Athens, as well as his supreme gifts as orator. Archaeologists may focus above all on Perikles' recorded role in Athenian art: his bold appropriation of funds from the Delian league in order to implement the visionary building-program for the Akropolis.

For Furtwängler, Kresilas' Olympian Perikles was "das rechte bild des Lenkers eines demokratischen Staates, wie er sein sollte, zu sehen, wo dem innerlich Besten und geistig Vornehmsten von den anderen die Leitung zugestanden wird."¹⁸ For Hekler, the face revealed "ein überaus kluges, harmonisches Wesen, dessen Überlegenheit nicht zum mindesten in der sicheren Selbstbeherrschung und im bewusst vornehmen Betragen vor der Öffentlichkeit wurzelte. . . ."¹⁹ For Suhr, "... the 'Pericles' of Kresilas will always stand as the statesman for all time."²⁰ For Richter, it expressed "his austerity and nobility, . . . his intellectual interests and sensitiveness to art. . . ."²¹ For Pollitt, the portrait is "aloof but aware."²²

Another aspect of Perikles' image is almost equal in importance to the memorable face which first attracts the viewer's eye. The famous Athenian is not represented bareheaded

Griechische Porträts, K. Fittschen, ed., Darmstadt 1988, pp. 377–391. Cf. Pandermalis, pp. 28, 100, 103–104 and E. Buschor, *Das Kriegerertum der Parthenonzeit*, Burg bei Magdeburg 1943, pp. 4–6. For less likely associations with Kresilas and the Perikles see Vierneisel-Schlörb (footnote 6 above), pp. 84–86. See Mattusch, pp. 191–192 on Kresilas and Perikles' portrait.

¹⁵ Whenever no edition is given in a footnote, for either Pliny, *NH*, or Plutarch, *Perikles*, the translation is my own. The Loeb editions are used for the texts. I extend thanks to Mark Caponigro for help with the assessment of existing translations and with new translations.

¹⁶ E.g. Thucydides, 1.139.4–144.4; 2.34.8–46.2; 2.59.2–65.10 and, of course, in Plutarch, *Perikles*.

¹⁷ The best modern attempt to discover the man behind the ancient texts remains A. Burn, *Pericles and Athens*, New York 1966 (1st ed., 1948); p. 21: "It is our great loss, then, that even Plutarch has, as sources on Pericles the man, only comedy, which caricatured, or political writing, mainly hostile, or the tradition of the next century based on memories of old men, who were young when Pericles was already the 'prime minister.' Pericles wrote nothing; and no one who knew him really well wrote a memoir of him." See also F. Schachermeyer, *Perikles*, Stuttgart 1969, esp. pp. 88–105 and H. Bengtson, *Griechische Staatsmänner des 5. und 4. Jahrhunderts v. Chr.*, Munich 1983, pp. 109–146.

¹⁸ Furtwängler, p. 273; cf. Bengtson, *op. cit.*, pp. 124, 142, 145.

¹⁹ A. Hekler, *Die Bildniskunst der Griechen und Römer*, Stuttgart 1912, p. ix.

²⁰ Suhr (footnote 12 above), p. xxi.

²¹ Richter, p. 104; see also *eadem*, "The Greek Portraits of the Fifth Century B.C.," *RendPontAcc* 34, 1961/1962 (pp. 37–57), p. 43.

²² J. Pollitt, *Art and Experience in Classical Greece*, London 1972, p. 100.

but wearing a Corinthian helmet, the most venerable and long-lived historical Greek helmet type. Invented in the late 8th century B.C., it displayed the impressive technology of being raised from a single sheet of bronze. Its closed shape, designed to be worn down covering the face, afforded optimum protection in battle. Early on, the helmet became standard in the panoply of the hoplite phalanx.²³ The Corinthian helmet was progressively streamlined in form. Representations in art show that by the latter part of the 6th century it fitted tightly enough to be worn pushed up by a warrior not directly engaged in combat.²⁴ This alleviated certain disadvantages of the casque when pulled down over the face, for the wearer not only must have been hot and uncomfortable but surely suffered impaired hearing and peripheral vision.

Finally, during the 5th century, an imposing Corinthian helmet perched loftily atop the head came to be associated with military command, specifically signifying the office of *strategos* in Athens. This commander-in-chief of the armed forces came to be recognized as the highest Athenian official, politically as well as militarily. A diverse series of Roman copies of male heads helmeted in this manner has been taken to reflect Greek portraits of *strategoí*.²⁵ The only extant copies inscribed with a name, however, are of the portrait under consideration here, which, probably justifiably, has served to identify the entire genre.²⁶ Perikles, himself, was elected to the important post an extraordinary 15 times in succession, every year from 443 B.C. until his death from the plague in 429.²⁷ He epitomized the Classical *strategos*, and the helmet in his portrait has been called an insigne of his rank.²⁸

Plutarch's *Life*, in addition to outlining Perikles' deeds, achievements, and character, preserves evidence of his physical appearance. His facial features supposedly bore a remarkable resemblance to those of Peisistratos (Plutarch, *Perikles* 7.1), but alas we know nothing of the 6th-century tyrant's appearance. A second particularity is described more graphically (Plutarch, *Perikles* 3.2): "his head was rather long and out of due proportion" (*προμήκη δὲ τῇ κεφαλῇ καὶ ἀσύμμετρον*).²⁹ Plutarch's primary source here was Attic comedy, where, evidently, Perikles' cranial deformity had been exploited mercilessly for caricature (*Perikles* 3.2–3).³⁰

²³ A. Snodgrass, *Arms and Armour of the Greeks*, Ithaca, N.Y. 1967, pp. 49–52. The Protocorinthian Chigi olpe (Rome, Villa Giulia 22679), ca. 640 B.C., shows hoplites in phalanx formation wearing Corinthian helmets: P. Arias, M. Hirmer, and B. Shefton, *A History of Greek Vase-painting*, London 1962, pls. 116 and IV; but cf. A. Gunter, "Early Greek Vase Painting and the Chronology of Phalanx Warfare" (lecture, Washington 1985), abstract in *AJA* 90, 1986, p. 186. See also J. Wary, *Warfare in the Classical World*, New York 1980, pp. 34–37.

²⁴ Snodgrass, *op. cit.*, pp. 93–94. Cf. Pl. 123:a, b.

²⁵ *Ibid.*; Pandermalis, especially pp. 9–10, 88–89, 103–104. On the historical issue see E. Badian, "Archons and Strategoi," *Antichthon* 5, 1971, pp. 1–34 and C. Fornara, *Historia Einzelschriften*, XVI, *The Athenian Board of Generals from 501 to 404*, Wiesbaden 1971, pp. 1–39.

²⁶ Pandermalis, p. 9.

²⁷ See Plutarch, *Perikles* 16.3, 21.2. Perikles also appears to have been elected *strategos* in 448/47 and (Thucydides, 1.114.1) in 447/46. Bengtson (footnote 17 above), pp. 113, 124. Evidently Perikles was defeated in 445/44; see Fornara (footnote 25 above), pp. 47–48, 55.

²⁸ E. Curtius, "Zur Symbolik der alten Kunst, no. 3, Der Helm des Perikles," *AZ* 18, 1860, col. 40; and generally accepted, e.g., Conze (footnote 12 above), p. 2; FrW, p. 213; Bernoulli (footnote 12 above), p. 111; Furtwängler, p. 273; see also Pandermalis, p. 9.

²⁹ *Plutarch's Lives* III, B. Perrin, trans., Cambridge, Mass. 1916 (repr. 1984), p. 9.

³⁰ For all references preserved from Attic comedy, see J. Schwarze, *Zetemata*, LI, *Die Beurteilung des*

οἱ δ' Ἀττικοὶ ποιηταὶ σχινοκέφαλον αὐτὸν ἐκαλοῦν· τὴν γὰρ σκίλλαν ἔστιν ὅτε καὶ σχῖνον ὀνομάζουσι.

The Attic poets used to call him "Schinocephalus" for sometimes they call the squill a schinos.

Plutarch's vivid comic analogy refers to the bulbous root of the *Urginea Scilla* or *Scilla maritima*, a plant of the lily family. The red variety may have been the sea-onion of Homer. Both red and white squills were known in ancient times and still grow along the shores of the Mediterranean (Pl. 120:b, d). Bulbs are globular to ovoid in shape and unusually large, often weighing more than four pounds. From classical antiquity until the early 20th century, they were commonly employed in medicine as a diuretic and to combat symptoms of the common cold.³¹ According to Pierre Pomet's *A Compleat History of Drugs* of 1712, "The Root is an Onion or Bulb as big as a Child's Head, compos'd of thick Coats or Spheres that are red, juicy, viscous, and encompassing one another. . . ."³² I do not know any reference in ancient literature that explores the source of Perikles' schinocephaly, which might have been a birth defect rather than an inherited family trait or a post-natal accident, since the latter possibilities were more likely to have been recorded.

In Plutarch's word image evoking the statesman's peculiar head shape, schinocephaly is augmented by references to the famous Odeion built by Perikles (*Perikles* 13.5), the first enclosed hall for musical contests in Athens. Its exterior, which had a circular and sloping, pointed roof, was said to reproduce the Persian king Xerxes' tent at Plataia. Plutarch quotes Kratinos' *Thracian Women*, which poked fun at Perikles as follows (*Perikles* 13.6):

ὁ σχινοκέφαλος Ζεὺς ὅδε προσέρχεται τῷδεῖον ἐπὶ τοῦ κρανίου ἔχων. . . .

This schinocephalus Zeus is approaching wearing the Odeion upon his cranium. . . .³³

How the audience's laughter must have doubled at this broad comedic jest when an actor entered the scene wearing a Perikles mask, readily indentifiable by its grotesquely enlarged, squill-shaped head!³⁴

The allusions of contemporary Attic poets to Perikles' cranial peculiarity contrast sharply with Plutarch's comment about portraits of Perikles in the fine arts (*Perikles* 3.2):

Perikles durch die attische Komödie und ihre historische und historiographische Bedeutung, Munich 1971, esp. pp. 28–29, 32–33, 59–60, 66–69, 98–99, 131, 183.

³¹ *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, 11th ed., XXV, London 1911, p. 747; C. Leyel, *Cinquefoil, Herbs to Quicken the Five Sences*, London 1957, pp. 150–151; L. Baily, *Standard Cyclopaedia of Horticulture III*, New York 1963, s.v. *Scilla* (J. Harshberger; pp. 3116–3119), p. 3116; and O. Polunin and A. Huxley, *Flowers of the Mediterranean*, London 1981, p. 214. Modern studies are mostly concerned with the flowers; for illustrations of the bulbs of the two major species of squill known in antiquity see Pl. 120:b, d; L. Fuchs, *De historia stirpium*, Basel 1542, p. 782 and P. Pomet, rev. Lemert and Tournefort, *A Compleat History of Drugs*, R. and J. Bonwicke and R. Wilkin, London 1712, pp. 100–101, pl. 39.

³² Pomet, *op. cit.*, p. 101.

³³ The Odeion is mentioned also by Pausanias (1.20.4) and Vitruvius (5.9.1). See Travlos, pp. 387–391; H. Knell, *Perikleische Baukunst*, Darmstadt 1979, pp. 77–79, 109; Bengtson (footnote 17 above), p. 126; and on special significance for Perikles, Burn (footnote 17 above), p. 131. Plutarch's passage must refer to Perikles' head shape rather than to his wearing of a helmet. The form of casque, which comes to mind, the pilos, for example, would not have been suitable headgear for a commanding officer of Perikles' time; cf. Meyer (footnote 2 above), *loc. cit.* I shall deal with the iconography of helmets elsewhere.

³⁴ Schwarze (footnote 30 above), pp. 66–67; see also Metzler (footnote 13 above), pp. 147–151.

... αἱ μὲν εἰκόνες αὐτοῦ σχεδὸν ἅπασαι κράνεσι περιέχονται, μὴ βουλομένων, ὥς ἔοικε τῶν τεχνιτῶν ἐξουειδίζειν.

... the images of him, almost all of them, wear helmets, because the artists, as it would seem, were not willing to reproach him with deformity.³⁵

Plutarch's text thereby brings to mind the one notorious variation in detail between the two inscribed Roman marble copies of the *strategos'* portrait. Whereas on the British Museum herm (Pls. 113, 116:a, b) the upper curving surface of a normal skull is visible through the eye openings of the pushed-up Corinthian helmet and a space exists between top of head and casque, on the Vatican herm (Pls. 114, 116:c) locks of hair entirely fill the eye openings. This peculiar detail of the Vatican copy, as we shall see, has always been thought to suggest Perikles' elongated skull rising beneath the casque.

For generations, the favor of scholarly opinion has swung like a pendulum between the two versions. Scholars in the late 18th and early 19th centuries, beginning with E. Q. Visconti, appeared to favor the deformity by connecting it with Plutarch's text.³⁶ Mid to later 19th-century scholars rejected "*diese Hässlichkeit*,"³⁷ whereupon Furtwängler, contradicting the dominant 19th-century tradition, maintained that this unusual feature of the helmeted Vatican version, "wird ein Zug des Originals sein, da hierdurch offenbar die dem Perikles eigene hohe Kopfform angedeutet war," and that Kresilas "denselben als charakteristisch, soviel es ging, wenigstens durch die offenen Augenlöcher erkennen liess."³⁸

Over the course of world history, cranial peculiarities of important personages were shown intentionally in the art of certain places at certain times. Several non-Greek examples, demonstrating differing relationships between the significance of cranial deformity in reality and its visual representation, can provide a foil for the aesthetic ideals of 5th-century B.C. Greece in life and art. Subsequently, we may review in a clearer perspective the preponderant opinions of 20th-century scholars.

In New Kingdom Egypt during the 14th century B.C., members of the pharaoh Akhenaten's family commonly were represented with elongated skulls.³⁹ Contrary to what once was believed, head-binding of infants apparently was not practiced at the court. Cephalometric X rays of preserved royal mummies have revealed abnormal cranial similarities among some of Akhenaten's ancestors. Although Akhenaten's own mummy has not been surely identified, it probably displayed this family trait: an elongated head. This head type (somewhat exaggerated) became a stylistic convention in Amarna art because the peculiar

³⁵ Perrin (footnote 29 above), *loc. cit.*

³⁶ Visconti, VI, pp. 163–164 and 164, note 1. I have consulted the Milanese, French edition (commonly available in libraries), which incorporates Visconti's own revisions; his work was originally published in Italian in 1784–1802.

³⁷ FrW, p. 213. In the mid-19th century, the theory of the helmet as a sign of Perikles' rank was proffered to counter Plutarch's reference to it as concealing Perikles' cranial deformity (footnote 28 above). E. Braun (*Die Ruinen und Museen Roms*, Braunschweig 1854, pp. 405–407) first rejected deformity in the portrait, stressing that the helmet associated Perikles as general with the armed goddess of Athens, Athena.

³⁸ Furtwängler, pp. 271, 273.

³⁹ Such as the royal princesses; see C. Aldred, *Akhenaten and Nefertiti*, New York 1973, e.g., no. 16, p. 102, stela of royal family, Berlin, Ägyptisches Museum 14145; no. 88, p. 160, head of a princess, Berlin, Ägyptisches Museum 21223; and no. 130, p. 197, sunk relief of nurse with her royal charge, New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, N. Schimmel Collection (note the contrast in the latter of normal and elongated skulls).

appearance of the ruler was instituted as an aesthetic ideal.⁴⁰ Significantly, not all the individuals depicted with the deformity in art actually had it in life. Even Akhenaten's successor, Tutankhamon, whose normal-headed mummy is known, was given an ideally deformed cranium in an early portrait.⁴¹

In Precolumbian Mesoamerica of the 7th to 9th centuries after Christ, the Maya of the Late Classic period actually modified themselves physically to conform to an ideal of long-headedness. In this geographic area, malleable heads of newborn infants were pressed between boards, so that the skulls, flattened "fore and aft", matured with a raised projection at the top.⁴² Thus in Mayan art we see not merely beautified likenesses but the reflection of an aesthetic deformation actually imposed in life. For example, in a wall painting of ca. A.D. 790 at Bonampak depicting the ruler Chaaan-muan with subordinates and captives, all the last, who have been stripped for torture and sacrifice, plainly exhibit the distinctive Mayan physiognomy. The victorious Maya, by contrast, wear fancifully elaborate, towering headdresses, designed cleverly so as to defy gravity and balance without toppling, supported by means of their cranial humps.⁴³

In Renaissance Florence of the early 15th century, one of Donatello's powerfully imagined, over-life-sized marble prophets, designed for an exterior niche on the cathedral's bell tower, was praised highly for a brutally realistic ugliness, unknown in art since (Roman) antiquity. Especially renowned was the grotesquely large, bald head, from which this beloved statue's nickname was derived: *Zuccone* or Big Squash(-head).⁴⁴

In Classical Athens, a traditional, even old-fashioned, Corinthian helmet worn pushed up, with its towering, hollow casque, might simply have been particularly suited to surmount Perikles' elongated head comfortably, and whenever he was armed for military command, locks of hair might well have been visible through the eyeholes of the great *strategos*' helmet. But his deformed head, which deviated from the Athenians' normative conception of

⁴⁰ Not only Akhenaten but also, unusually, his queen, Nefertiti, wears a tall headdress, perhaps to enhance the suggestion of desirable cranial elongation: *ibid.*, pp. 54–55. On deformity see also *An X-ray Atlas of the Royal Mummies*, J. Harris and E. Wente, ed., Chicago 1980, esp. p. 349, table 10.1: Comparisons . . . of Craniofacial Complex and pp. 351–354, 358–359, Appendix: Cephalometric Measurements of New Kingdom Pharaohs.

⁴¹ Portrait head of Tutankhamon on lotus blossom, Cairo, Egyptian Museum JE 60723; see *Tutankhamun*, Hanover (Kestner Museum) 1980, no. 40, pp. 140–141; also Aldred (footnote 39 above), pp. 55, 197 and Harris and Wente, *op. cit.*, fig. 1:14. On royal deformities as an ideal in Amarna art cf. J. Breckenridge, *Likeness, A Conceptual History of Ancient Portraiture*, Evanston 1968, pp. 51, 56–57, 60–61.

⁴² Surmised from later practices in the Yucatan: M. Coe, *The Maya*, 4th ed., London 1987, p. 158; described and related to what is seen in art by S. Morely, *The Ancient Maya*, 3rd ed., Stanford 1956, p. 163. The source for both is an important edition of a 16th-century text, *Papers of the Peabody Museum of American Archaeology and Ethnology, Harvard University, XVIII, Landa's "Relación de las Cosas de Yucatan"*, A. Tozzer, ed., Cambridge, Mass. 1941, p. 88 and note 372, pp. 125, 129.

⁴³ Coe, *op. cit.*, p. 103, fig. 71, pp. 104–105; M. Miller, *The Murals of Bonampak*, Princeton 1986, esp. pp. 113–118, 124–129, 160–161 on the physical composition of actual headdresses known from art and pls. 2 (right), 48, 49, 50. See Tozzer, *op. cit.*, p. 88, note 372 on Maya deformed heads as "better adapted to carry loads."

⁴⁴ H. Janson, *History of Art*, 2nd ed., New York 1977, pp. 383–384, "pumpkin-head". On antique associations of *quattrocento* realism in portraiture see Hekler (footnote 19 above), p. xlvii, and for the "Zuccone" ([Habakkuk] Florence, Museo dell'Opera del Duomo), see also H. Janson, *The Sculpture of Donatello*, Princeton 1963, p. 40, figs. 15:d, 16:a, 17:c and J. Pope-Hennessy, *Donatello*, Florence 1985, p. 68, figs. 71:3–72:4.

human physical beauty, was an easy target for caricature. While Perikles commonly may have been dubbed “Big Bulb-” or “Onion-head” in Greek comedy, could an analogous reference to his cranial peculiarity have occurred in High Classic visual art? Would a major sculptor have felt free to include an aberrant physiognomic trait in a monumental portrait during the 5th century B.C.?⁴⁵

The responses of most scholars in the 20th century have been based on defining what would have constituted portraiture in Classical Greece. In the 1950’s, Schweitzer answered the Perikles question in the affirmative: “Wenn die Andeutung des literarisch bezeugten Spitzkopfes durch die Haupthaare, die in den Augenlöchern des Helmes gezeigt werden, nicht nur Kopistenzutat sein sollten, wäre dies die erste Erfassung eines individuellen und zwar abnormen Zuges im Idealbild. . . .”⁴⁶ For Schweitzer, Kresilas’ Perikles thereby was a landmark, standing at the crossroads between the early Greek “*Idealbild*” and the subsequent “*Idealporträt*”. Richter viewed historical portraits of men from the 5th century as “faithful likenesses” tempered by the style of the period: “life-size sculptured Roman copies give us not a fictitious but a real visualization of these individuals”; “. . . they combine in an extraordinary way the representation of the type and the individual—the type of a high-minded statesman and of the individual Perikles. . . .”⁴⁷ Although noncommittal in *Portraits of the Greeks* on the controversial deformity, Richter ultimately accepted some “curiously individual details,” such as the hair in the eyeholes, which she believed to show “Perikles’ high skull.”⁴⁸

The following earlier 20th-century opinions are especially relevant in the present context. Hekler’s comments of 1912 on Classical portraiture and the Perikles expressed a somewhat contrasting understanding:

Die griechische Kunst des fünften vorchristlichen Jahrhunderts hat noch kein eigentliches Porträt hervorgebracht. Die Sehnsucht nach Schönheit und Harmonie, welche die ganze Anschauungsweise der Menschen in dieser Epoche bestimmt, has alles Charakteristische, was den Rahmen des Typischen durchbrechen wollte, instinktmässig zurückgewiesen. . . . Physiognomische Treue kann natürlich auch das Perikles-Bildnis nicht beanspruchen.

⁴⁵ Cf. Classical vase painting, e.g., the caricatured portrait which must be Aesop (with the fox) on the tondo of an Attic red-figured cup by the Painter of Bologna 417 in the Vatican: *ARV*², no. 183, p. 916 and *Paralipomena*, p. 430. See Richter, p. 72, fig. 264; Helbig⁴ I, no. 978 (E. Simon). Aesop, *fl.* early 6th century B.C., was not an aristocratic Athenian but was said to have been a cripple and a former slave from a remote part of the Greek world. See footnote 46 below.

⁴⁶ B. Schweitzer, “Griechische Porträtkunst,” *Acta Congressus Madvigiani 1954* III, Copenhagen 1957, p. 11, also pp. 19–21, 26, 31, 35–36, 38; reprinted in *Zur Kunst der Antike* II, Tübingen 1963, pp. 168–188, along with his other fundamental articles “Studien zur Entstehung des Porträts bei den Griechen” (1940), pp. 115–167 and esp. pp. 139–141, 146–147 and “Bedeutung und Geburt des Porträts bei den Griechen” (1957), pp. 189–197. *Ibid.*, pp. 193–197: literary descriptions of Sokrates as Silenus-like, e.g., in Plato, *Symposium* 215A–216D, 221D–E and Xenophon, *Symposium* 5.5–7, in addition to masks used in comedies and satyr plays, apparently paved the way for ugly sculptured portraits of the Greek philosopher. See also Robertson, I, pp. 509–510 and Richter, pp. 109–119, figs. 456–473.

⁴⁷ G. Richter, *Collection Latomus*, XXXVI, *Greek Portraits II, To What Extent Were They Faithful Likenesses?*, Berchem/Brussels 1959, pp. 39, 41; *eadem*, *RendPontAcc* 34 (footnote 21 above), p. 57 and see also Richter, p. 94.

⁴⁸ G. Richter, *Sculpture and Sculptors of the Greeks*, 4th ed., New Haven/London 1970, p. 179; see Bengtson (footnote 17 above), p. 111. Cf. Richter (*RendPontAcc* 34 [footnote 21 above], p. 57), who perceives in 5th-century portraiture “the stress on the personality as a whole without fortuitous details.”

Der Drang nach dem Typisch-Schönen triumphiert noch über den Drang zum Persönlich-Charakteristischen. Alles Zufällige, Disharmonische ist den Zügen abgestreift worden.⁴⁹

Unfortunately Hekler remained silent about the all-important variation.

E. G. Suhr in 1931 saw Classical art and portraiture as ideal, conveying the character rather than the physical likeness of the subject.⁵⁰ While avoiding a critique of specific copies, he emphatically stated his opinion regarding the Perikles question: "The helmet was placed upon the head of Pericles to denote his capacity as a general; to suppose that it is meant for the mere purpose of concealing a deformed head is incorrect, and if Pericles had been portrayed without a helmet, we may be sure that his head would have been as perfect as any other. Such a departure would be utterly out of harmony with the trend of the period."⁵¹ The Classical sculptor, evidently, would have performed the plastic surgery a Classical physician could not.

More recent scholarly opinion, which has followed in the same vein, has been diametrically opposed to the schinocephalic interpretation of Furtwängler, Schweitzer, or Richter. Realistic individualization, let alone a reference to physical deformity, has been deemed unacceptable in High Classical portraiture, which is said to have produced only ideal types.⁵² Pandermalis's dissertation, *Untersuchungen zu den klassischen Strategenköpfen*, even includes an X-ray drawing of the London herm (Fig. 1), in which a completely normal form for Perikles' head is traced beneath the raised Corinthian helmet. For him, only this copy (Pl. 113), which answers in the negative the question of Perikles' "Zwiebelköpfigkeit",

⁴⁹ Hekler (footnote 19 above), pp. viii–ix.

⁵⁰ Suhr (footnote 12 above), p. xi.

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, p. xix. Cf. E. Pfuhl, "Die Anfänge der griechischen Bildniskunst" (1927), reprinted in *Griechische Porträts* (footnote 14 above), pp. 229–230 and R. Hinks, *Greek and Roman Portrait-Sculpture*, London 1935, p. 5: "the bust is consequently an abstraction."

⁵² Cf. Breckenridge (footnote 41 above), pp. 5, 87, 90, 93; V. Zinserling, "Bemerkungen zur Porträtkunst der Hochklassik," in *Das Problem des Klassischen als historisches, archäologisches und philologisches Phänomen, Görlitzer Eirene Tagung, 1967 IV*, 1969 (pp. 21–28), pp. 21–22 and L. Giuliani, "Individuum und Ideal. Antike Bildniskunst," in *Bilder vom Menschen in der Kunst der Abendlandes. Jubiläumsausstellung der Preussischen Museen Berlin 1830–1980*, S. Waetzoldt, ed., Berlin 1980 (pp. 43–86), pp. 45–47, 62–63, no. 18. These scholars thereby have seen the idealism of the High Classical period as a retreat from the realism of the Early Classical (Severe) style, e.g., a Roman herm of Themistokles, Ostia (discovered 1939): Richter, pp. 97–98 with figs. 405–408; cf. K. Schefold, *Die Bildnisse der antiken Dichter, Redner und Denker*, Basel 1943, pp. 19–20. I have not been able to consult E. Voutiras, *Studien zu Interpretation und Stil griechischer Porträts des 5. und frühen 4. Jahrhunderts* (diss. University of Bonn 1980). In the 1980's a new emphasis on a broader role for realism in portraiture of the Classical period developed among scholars who accept as a portrait the Porticello bearded male head from a bronze statue of the second half of the 5th century B.C., Reggio di Calabria, Museo Nazionale; see K. Fittschen, "Griechische Portraits—Zum Stand der Forschung," in *Griechische Porträts* (footnote 14 above; pp. 1–38), pp. 13–19. Cf. Rolley, p. 48, a "real portrait" reminiscent of philosopher types. The Porticello head, however, may depict a mythological creature, a centaur or "old man of the sea": see B. Ridgway, "The Bronzes from the Porticello Wreck," in *Archaische und klassische griechische Plastik: Akten des Internationalen Kolloquiums, vom 22.–25. April 1985 in Athen II*, H. Kyrieleis, ed., Mainz 1986 (pp. 59–68), pp. 67–68 and C. Eiseman and B. Ridgway, *The Porticello Shipwreck, A Mediterranean Merchant Vessel of 415–385 B.C.*, College Station, Texas 1987, pp. 105–106 and p. 64, fig. 5:1–6. See also Ridgway, pp. 120–121, 180, and pp. 179–180, figs. 116–118 for the portrait head from Cyrene, the so-called Arkesilas IV; on the latter see also Richter, pp. 104–105, figs. 453–455. See Mattusch, pp. 199–200 and pp. 210–211 for a typological definition of 5th-century B.C. portraiture which takes into account the Porticello head.

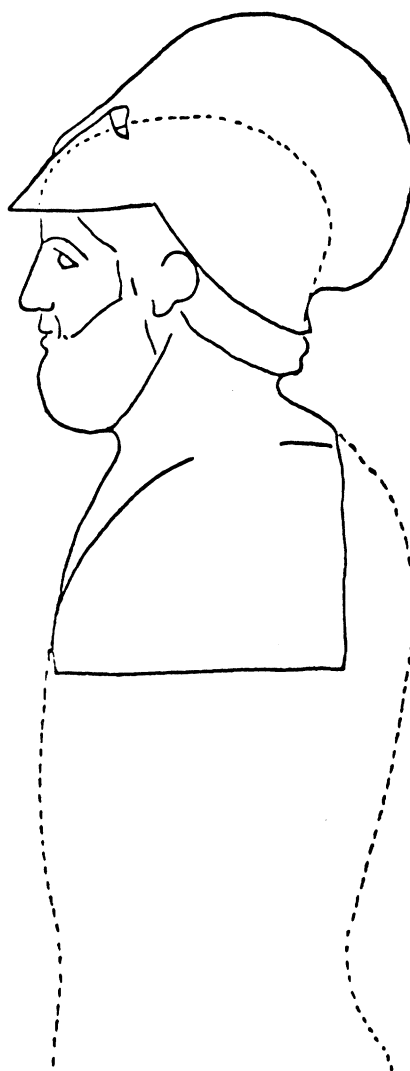


FIG. 1. Reconstruction by D. Pandermalis: Herm of Perikles, London, British Museum 549. After D. Pandermalis, *Untersuchungen zu den klassischen Strategenköpfen* (diss. University of Freiburg), Berlin 1969, p. 29, fig. 1

could be true to the lost Classical portrait.⁵³ Hölscher concurs on the authenticity of empty eyeholes and normal rounded head in the London copy, which also preserves the turn in Perikles' neck.⁵⁴

The locks of hair which fill the eyeholes of the helmet on the Vatican herm (Pls. 114, 116:c) have been explained primarily as an addition made by the Roman copyist to illustrate in marble the deformed shape of Perikles' head known from literature.⁵⁵ The detail,

⁵³ Pandermalis, p. 29, fig. 1.

⁵⁴ Hölscher (footnote 14 above), p. 195.

⁵⁵ Pandermalis, p. 29; *EAA* IV, p. 407, *s.v.* Kresilas (P. Orlandini).

alternatively, might be seen as a copyist's unambitious approach to execution of the sculptural surface: "I have been working on this one herm far too long already—why bother to hollow out the helmet's eyeholes?"

Thus, specialized scholarly studies seem to have solved the problem of the major variation between the inscribed Roman herms of the Perikles portrait on an aesthetic or stylistic basis. The British Museum version has been accepted overwhelmingly as more faithful to the lost Greek original. Survey books no longer mention the issue of Perikles' head shape and illustrate only the London copy.⁵⁶ The Vatican version evidently has fallen so far into disfavor that even references to it are often suppressed.

The irksome issue of head shape in Perikles' portrait, however, may have been laid to rest prematurely. The other two secure copies have not always received adequate attention alongside the inscribed herms in scholarly discussions. The Museo Barracco copy (Pl. 115:a, b) is poorly preserved indeed, its surface quite worn. The Berlin copy (Pl. 115:c, d), although missing most of its nose and part of a cheekpiece of its helmet, is otherwise well preserved and fine in quality, sculpturally lively and detailed.⁵⁷

Richter's observation about the particular feature of concern here is curiously unspecific. Under each of the four copies she records, "Hair seen through eye openings of helmet," and she concludes that the copies "must all have been faithfully reproduced from the same Greek original, with only occasional variations in details, such as the showing of the hair through the eye openings of the helmet which occurs in some copies and not in others."⁵⁸

Careful examination permits a more definitive conclusion. The Berlin head recalls the Vatican version: the eyeholes of the pushed-up Corinthian helmet are not hollowed out but filled with even more richly carved curls of hair.⁵⁹ Even the Museo Barracco copy sheds light on this detail: here again the eyeholes are not hollowed out; and, despite its poor condition, "Durch das linke Augenloch des Helmes werden zwei Haarlocken sichtbar."⁶⁰ The unusual elongated head, covered with curly hair and rising to fill the eye openings of Perikles' pushed-up Corinthian helmet, occurs on three of the four preserved marble copies (Berlin, Museo Barracco, Vatican). Only the British Museum version reveals the rounded top of a normal head through the hollowed-out eyeholes of the helmet.⁶¹ Should the unique copy continue to be considered the truest copy?

The British Museum herm (Pl. 113:a) has been praised for reflecting the original statue, not only in the eyeholes of its helmet but by displaying the turn in Perikles' neck and hence the inclination of his head. The Vatican herm (Pl. 114), of course, is not necessarily

⁵⁶ E.g., Charbonneaux *et al.* (footnote 12 above), p. 172, fig. 186; Boardman, p. 206, fig. 188; S. Woodford, *An Introduction to Greek Art*, Ithaca, N.Y. 1986, p. 148, fig. 220. Cf. Pollitt (footnote 22 above), p. 100, fig. 45 and Robertson, I, p. 336; II, pl. 112:a.

⁵⁷ See footnote 6 above, and on the Berlin copy see also R. Kekulé von Stradonitz, *BWPr*, LXI, *Über ein Bildnis des Perikles in den Königlichen Museen*, Berlin 1901, Robertson, I, p. 336, and Ridgway, pp. 180–181.

⁵⁸ Richter, pp. 103–104. Ridgway (pp. 180–181) seems to accept the hair seen through the eyeholes but does not specify on which copies it appears; she does not indicate that the London herm differs, and she conflates the Berlin head with the London herm.

⁵⁹ Cf. Blümel (footnote 6 above), p. 5.

⁶⁰ Helbig⁴ II, no. 1886 (H. von Heintze); cf. Barracco and Helbig (footnote 6 above), p. 37 and G. Barracco, *Catalogo del Museo di scultura antica Fondazione Barracco*, Rome 1910, p. 27, fig. 96.

⁶¹ Hölscher (footnote 14 above), p. 195 and Pandermalis, p. 29.

less true in the latter details, since it is broken at the neck; the head, which undoubtedly belongs, has been reset level on the shortened stump.⁶² A few scholars never have considered the British Museum herm best in terms of general execution of sculptural detail and have bestowed the position of truest to the lost bronze original on the Vatican copy.⁶³ “Die ursprüngliche, bronze-mässige Strenge der Einzelformen lässt sich . . . am besten an dem vatikanischen Exemplar erkennen.”⁶⁴ For Lippold, “Die vaticanische ist scharf und sauber gearbeitet, der strenge Character des Vorbildes war gut gewahrt; einzelnes, wie die Bildung der Oberlider, wohl übertrieben.”⁶⁵

Such variations in style, on the other hand, e.g., the cold, severe classicism of the Vatican version and the softer, weaker, “romantic” handling of the British Museum copy, may be attributable, in part, to different periods in the history of Roman art when each was carved.⁶⁶ The British Museum herm, dated variously between Hellenistic and Trajanic times, could well be an early Imperial or even an Augustan copy. The more precise copy style of the Vatican herm suggests closer adherence to a bronze original and thereby a Hadrianic, 2nd-century date.⁶⁷ The Vatican copy, finally, should not be labeled as “worse” than the British Museum version and cast aside quite so readily but rather appreciated for its significant differences.

In sum, the usual questions have been asked, and they have been answered, but not always in the same way. Which copy is best preserved? What is the style of each copy? Which copy is best in quality? What did the lost Classical original look like? Which copy is most true to the lost Classical original? Indeed, was there a lost Classical original? The

⁶² As was pointed out carefully by earlier observers, e.g., ABr, pls. 413 and 414; Furtwängler, p. 271; Lippold, p. 87; L. Laurenzi, *Ritratti Greci*, Florence 1941, p. 90. The Vatican head is turned slightly toward the viewer's right, but the tilt is missing. For the British Museum herm see footnote 56 above. Evidence for the orientation of the Berlin and Barracco heads is not preserved; see footnote 6 above. Cf. Suhr's criticism of the Vatican Perikles (footnote 12 above), p. 25; on breaks and restorations see pp. 493–499 below and Appendix, p. 501.

⁶³ E.g., ABr, pls. 413 and 414; Helbig⁴ I, no. 71; *EAA* IV, 1961, p. 407, *s.v.* Kresilas (P. Orlandini).

⁶⁴ Hekler (footnote 19 above), p. ix.

⁶⁵ Lippold, p. 88.

⁶⁶ There has not been scholarly agreement on the stylistic dating of the Roman copies; see Ridgway, *Copies*, p. 55, Ridgway, pp. 180–181, and R. Kekulé von Stradonitz, *Strategenköpfe*, Berlin 1910, pp. 31–32, where the Berlin copy is latest, the London earliest; but according to Pandermalis (p. 25), the Berlin copy is earliest (early to mid-1st century after Christ). For a too early dating of the British Museum herm on the basis of its inscription see ABr, pls. 411 and 412. R. Brilliant, in conversation, has given a valuable assessment of the generalized handling of Augustan copies. The Barracco copy has been called Antonine by Pandermalis (p. 27) but Hadrianic, on the basis of the sharp corners of eyes, hair, and mouth, by H. von Heintze (in Helbig⁴ II, no. 1886). Pandermalis (pp. 26–27) and Neudecker ([footnote 8 above] p. 232) classify the Vatican copy as late Hadrianic and the London Perikles as early Trajanic. For the dating of Roman copies see H. Lauter, *Zur Chronologie römischer Kopien nach Originalen des V. Jahrhunderts*, Erlangen 1969, esp. pp. 8–36.

⁶⁷ Compare the similarity of the quadratic lettering of the inscription on the Vatican herm with that on herms from Hadrian's Villa, especially the find by Pirro Ligorio in the 16th century, illustrated in Lorenz (footnote 8 above), pl. 12, after Naples, Biblioteca Nazionale cod. XIII B 7, pp. 413, 415. Lorenz (pp. 24, 26) does not attribute the two inscribed Perikles herms, although found in the same villa, to the same series. On Hadrianic dating of the Vatican herm according to the epigraphy, see Neudecker (footnote 8 above), p. 66, note 656.

relativist copy critique, which, heretofore, has been employed in isolation in attempts to answer the Perikles question, can lead only in a circle. To move beyond the bewildering variety in what others have written, it is necessary first to separate the consideration of copy veracity (to the typology of Greek portraiture or to the style and aesthetics of Greek art) from the question of copy head shape. The two inscribed herms thereby may be approached from two entirely different directions, in two new appraisals, which will comprise Parts II and III of this study.

II. THE RIACE BRONZE STATUES AND THE VATICAN PERIKLES HERM

Bronze masterpieces by famous Classical sculptors mentioned in literary sources, regrettably, have not come down to us. Exposure, fire, war, and looting, as well as the inherent convertibility of bronze itself, have taken their toll. Fortunately, we do have direct knowledge of monumental work in the bronze medium. Originals have been unearthed sporadically, and, in the present century, a harvest of Greek bronze statues has been reaped from the sea. The latter were usually bounty on Roman cargo ships and either were jettisoned at times of distress or went down with the vessels themselves.⁶⁸ The pair of bronze statues salvaged off the coast of Riace, Italy in 1972 counts among the most spectacular of the underwater finds. Since they hail from Italian waters and lack the defined context often afforded by terrestrial excavation or a well-preserved shipwreck, they have tantalized scholars with a myriad of questions with undocumentable answers.⁶⁹ These statues, exhibited in the Museo Nazionale, Reggio di Calabria after meticulous conservation, are commonly referred to as A and B (Pl. 117). The roughly mid-5th-century B.C. date and Greek origin for the Riace bronze statues now championed by most scholars⁷⁰ is accepted here and will be given further support in the following discussion.

Each of the bronze statues from Riace is an over life-sized (about two meters high) image of a nude, mature man standing in contraposto. Although the identity of the missing objects once held in their right hands is elusive, each statue obviously carried a shield, lost

⁶⁸ See W. Fuchs, *Der Schiffsfund von Mahdia*, Tübingen 1963; P. Bol, *Die Skulpturen des Schiffsfundes von Antikythera*, Berlin 1972; Eiseman and Ridgway (footnote 52 above). See also J. Frel, *The Getty Bronze*, rev. ed., Malibu 1982 and Houser, e.g., Artemision Zeus, ca. 460 B.C., pp. 78–79; Artemision Jockey and Horse, ca. 150 B.C., pp. 87–94; Marathon Boy, ca. 350–25, pp. 104–107. Compare the cache of bronze statues found in the Piraeus, perhaps abandoned just before shipping: Rolley, p. 16; Houser, pp. 50–69; Mattusch, pp. 5–7.

⁶⁹ See C. Sabbione, "Dal rinvenimento all'esposizione museografica," *Due bronzi I*, pp. 9–16, for circumstances of discovery and appraisal of find context; see also Rolley, p. 16 and Mattusch, pp. 7–9.

⁷⁰ See *Due bronzi II*: e.g., G. Dontas, "Considerazioni sui bronzi di Riace: proposte sui maestri e sulla provenienza delle statue," pp. 277–296; A. Giuliano, "I grandi bronzi di Riace, Fidia e la sua officina," pp. 297–306. See more recently, e.g., Boardman, pp. 53–54 (and note that the cover illustration is the head of Riace statue A); P. Bol, *Antike Bronzetechnik, Kunst und Handwerk antiker Erzbildner*, Munich 1985, pp. 166–169; Rolley, pp. 44–46; and Mattusch, pp. 8–9, 207–208. For a late dating (100 B.C. to Hadrianic), on the other hand, see, e.g., B. Ridgway, "The Riace Bronzes: A Minority Viewpoint," *Due bronzi II*, pp. 313–324 and also D. von Bothmer, review of B. von Freytag gen. Löhringhoff, D. Mannsperger, and F. Prayon, *Praestant Interna. Festschrift für Ulrich Hausmann*, Tübingen 1982, *AJA* 89, 1985, p. 361; but also cf. C. Houser, "The Riace Bronze Statues, Classical or Classicizing?" *Source* 1.3, 1982, pp. 7–11.

save for the arm band, on the left arm.⁷¹ The justification for restoring another piece of lost, once attached armor to both Riace statues shall be the concern here.

The Riace find occupies a central place in the present study because it preserves many important features of bronze technology, only some of which are displayed clearly by other extant Greek originals. Today, of the Classical portrait of Perikles (which may have been Kresilas' Olympian), the head only is known from copies (Pls. 113–115), and so the discussion here will focus on aspects of the technology of heads. One striking feature, for example, was the enhancing of the bronze surface by inlays of other materials that accent color and texture naturalistically. The uses of ivory, marble, or glass and colored stones for eyes, fringes of bronze or copper for the lashes, more copper for the lips, and even silver for teeth, all are known from other Greek bronzes, such as the Charioteer of Delphi (Pl. 118:a, b), dated to the 470's B.C.⁷² Undoubtedly, the original bronze portrait of Perikles also was embellished in this way. Since evidence for this colorism is not preserved on its Roman marble copies, without our knowledge of other Greek statues in bronze originals, such inlay of a variety of materials would not be ascribed to the Perikles.⁷³

Conversely, another feature of bronze technology commonly reflected in Roman marble copies was either overlooked or misinterpreted in the past because it was not observed on extant Classical originals; now the heads of the Riace bronze statues enable us to view in an entirely different light the question of head shape in the lost portrait believed to be Kresilas' Olympian Perikles, which was a monumental helmeted bronze statue.

Statue B's head (Pls. 117:b, c, 118:c) has been more readily understood in its present, incomplete state. The skull is peculiar: bald-looking and melon shaped. It obviously was designed to serve as a concealed support for a bronze helmet, fashioned separately and now lost.⁷⁴ The missing casque, which must have been of Corinthian type, was worn pushed up (cf. Pls. 113, 114). Busignani has reconstructed the general appearance by means of a photomontage, in which the marble Corinthian helmet of the Perikles portrait in the Vatican has been positioned on B's head (Pl. 118:d).⁷⁵

⁷¹ The arms of B may have been restored from those of A: see E. Formigli, "La tecnica di costruzione delle statue di Riace," *Due bronzi I* (pp. 107–142), pp. 120–22, 127, also pp. 102–105. See Mattusch on the different alloy of B's arms as evidence of a South Italian origin (p. 206) and on their similarity in pose as evidence that the Riace statues were made from the same model (p. 208).

⁷² On colorism in monumental bronze sculpture see P. Bol, *OlForsch*, IX, *Grossplastik aus Bronze in Olympia*, Berlin 1978, pp. 87–98; *idem* (footnote 70 above), pp. 148–156 (cf. pp. 104–107 on chryselephantine technique); and Mattusch, p. 99. On the Riace statues see C. Sabbione, "La Statua A," *Due bronzi I* (pp. 157–186), pp. 157, 161, 163 and *idem*, "La Statua B," *Due bronzi I* (pp. 187–210), pp. 187, 192–193. On the dated Charioteer of Delphi, see F. Chamoux, *FdD* IV, v, *L'Aurige*, Paris 1955, pp. 26–31; Boardman, caption to figure 34; Houser, pp. 21–29; *idem* on his silver teeth (footnote 70 above), p. 8, and "Silver Teeth: Documentation and Significance," paper presented at the 88th General Meeting of the Archaeological Institute of America, abstract, *AJA* 91, 1987, pp. 300–301 and forthcoming article in *BCH*.

⁷³ E.g., owing to the technology of the reproduction process the eyelashes of bronze originals did not appear on the plaster casts from which marble copies were made: Landwehr (footnote 9 above), p. 16. Mainly in the "pseudo-bronze style" were lips outlined to suggest metal inlay; see Lauter (footnote 66 above), pp. 93, 99–103. Perhaps on copies of the Perikles portrait lips and eyes originally were painted.

⁷⁴ See Formigli (footnote 71 above), p. 130 and Sabbione (footnote 72 above), pp. 187–191; holes in the ears may have been employed for its attachment. Cf., e.g., Houser (footnote 70 above), p. 8.

⁷⁵ A. Busignani, *Gli eroi di Riace*, Florence 1981, pp. 108–109, fig. 33.

Since Statue A's head (Pls. 119, 120:c), on the other hand, is fully endowed with hair, most scholars thus far have believed it to have been bare. The skull is covered completely with wavy strands of hair which fall in long, serpentine curls and are bound by a broad band, to which something apparently was once fastened. At first, a wreath or headband sheathing in some precious metal was suggested for the lost attachment.⁷⁶ In the special edition of the *Bollettino d'Arte* devoted to the Riace statues, Sabbione raised the possibility that there had been an affixed helmet, and Di Vita reconstructed Statue A with the open helmet worn by armed runners, the *hoplitodromoi* (Fig. 2).⁷⁷ This type, the Chalcidian, which was developed during the last third of the 6th century B.C., is closely related to the so-called Attic helmet. The former has fixed, rounded cheekpieces, the latter, usually, moveable ones. Both types are more open than the Corinthian helmet and were designed so that, when worn fully down on the head, both the ears and much of the face would be left free.⁷⁸ Di Vita correctly understood traces on Statue A's headband as resulting from the anchoring of a helmet and interpreted the large hole at the top of the head as having been used for insertion of a (lost) supporting post secured to the crown of the (lost) casque. His proposed helmet model, however, does not adequately explain the technological details of this bronze head.⁷⁹

Whereas either the large hole or the traces on the headband could indicate that something merely was attached later on, another distinctive trait proves that Statue A's head was specifically designed to wear a helmet. Comparison with the heads of other Classical Greek bronze statues, which are bound by fillets or diadems, such as that of the Charioteer of Delphi (Pl. 118:a, b) or the so-called Arkesilaos IV from Cyrene, reveals that A's skull is elongated (Pl. 119).⁸⁰ This elongation is neither, as Ridgway proposed, a stylistic characteristic indicating a later Severizing work of post-Classical date,⁸¹ nor, as Harrison thought, an iconographic element indicating recent removal of a helmet.⁸² A's cranial deformity, like that of Statue B, must have served as a helmet support. On B's head stippled copper plaques have been positioned strategically: (1) center front, over the hairline, beneath the division between the cheekpieces of the (lost) pushed-up Corinthian helmet and (2) at the height of

⁷⁶ W. Fuchs, "Zu den Grossbronzen von Riace," *Boreas* IV, 1981 (pp. 25–28), p. 25; the interpretation of A's head as probably wreathed and B's head as helmeted (the helmet sometimes incorrectly said to be Attic) has been repeated in most literature thus far, e.g., Boardman, captions to figs. 38 and 39; Rolley, p. 46, captions to figs. 19 and 20. For further misinterpretation of A's "wreath", cf. Houser, p. 119. On the alternative of a silver or gilded-silver sheathing for the band around A's head see E. B. Harrison, "Early Classical Sculpture: The Bold Style," in *Greek Art, Archaic into Classical*, Leiden 1985 (pp. 40–65), p. 62, note 67; cf. footnote 86 below. For confusion over A's having had shield and diadem, but supposedly no helmet, see C. Rolley, "Delphes? Non!" *Due bronzi* II (pp. 327–330), pp. 328, 330, note 6.

⁷⁷ See Sabbione (footnote 72 above), pp. 159–161: his suggestions for Statue A include a Corinthian helmet; A. di Vita, "Due capolavori attici gli oplitodromi-eroi di Riace," *Due bronzi* II (pp. 251–276), pp. 265–270, and p. 269, fig. 20. Lattanzi has found that Statue A definitely wore a helmet, and di Vita argues for Attic rather than Corinthian (which would cover the hair); see discussion following Ridgway's article in *Archaische und klassische griechische Plastik* (footnote 52 above), p. 68. Compare on the probability of A's head being helmeted, as well as B's, Mattusch, pp. 8, 203, note 89.

⁷⁸ Snodgrass (footnote 23 above), pp. 69–70; Chalcidian helmets, figs. 24, 48.

⁷⁹ Di Vita (footnote 77 above), pp. 265–267, p. 269, fig. 20, and see *Due bronzi* I, p. 76, fig. 45 for the hole at the top of A's head.

⁸⁰ For the Cyrene head see footnote 52 above.

⁸¹ Ridgway (footnote 70 above), p. 313.

⁸² Harrison (footnote 76 above), pp. 48–49 and p. 62, note 77.



FIG. 2. Reconstruction by A. di Vita: Head of Riace Statue A with a Chalcidian helmet (drawing A. Ortega). After *Due bronzi* II, p. 269, fig. 20

its eyeholes (Pls. 118:c, 120:a). These transformed the originally visible portions of his elongated skull into a felt or leather cap worn under his helmet. The rest of B's helmet support, not meant to be seen, is a generic bronze surface, unembellished by naturalistic detail.⁸³

The fact that A's elongated skull, by contrast, was fully endowed with hair (Pl. 119) can be explained by reconstructing a helmet fashion both structurally and visually daring for bronze sculpture, which takes into account all the traces of attachment and which would leave much of A's head visible.⁸⁴ The specific solution may be found preserved in Attic vase painting, where fanciful fashions in helmetry could be represented with ease. The armed goddess Athena in the hero scene on the Niobid Painter's red-figured calyx-krater in the

⁸³ Sabbione (footnote 72 above), pp. 187–191. Statue B's cranium was cast separately and joined; see Formigli (footnote 71 above), p. 130, p. 131, fig. 28, a feature known from other 5th-century bronzes, cf. Charioteer of Delphi (Pl. 118:a, b) and Porticello head, Mattusch, pp. 133–134, 199. See footnotes 92 and 93 below; cf. Pl. 122:a, c.

⁸⁴ Whereas Bol ([footnote 70 above], pp. 171–172) recognizes that the traces of attachment on A's head must be for a helmet, he believes that the volume of the cranium is natural and that the head was entirely covered by the missing casque. Cf. Ridgway (footnote 70 above), p. 324, note 3; she believes A's head had to be bare and that the holes, if for attachment, could only have helped secure a long, thin object.

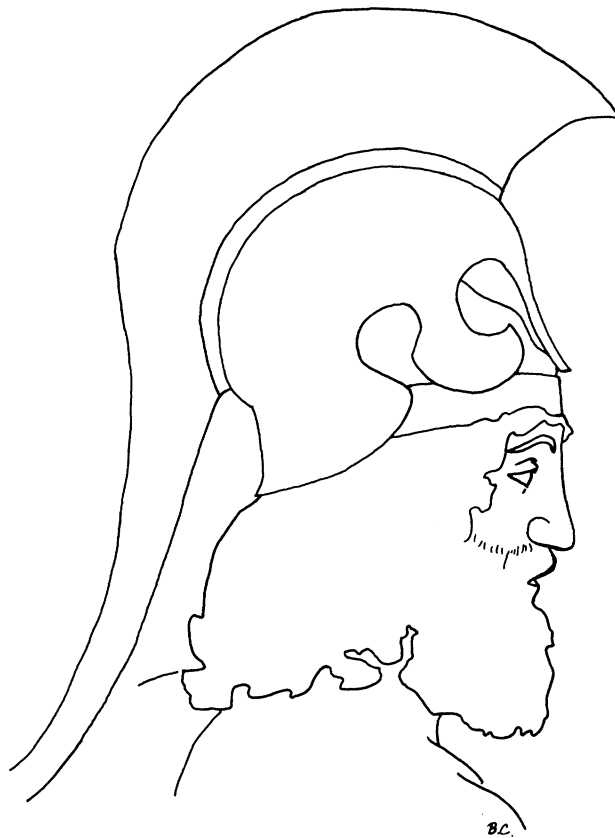


FIG. 3. Reconstruction: Head of Riace Statue A in a pushed-up Corinthian helmet with nose guard (drawing by the author)

Louvre (Pl. 124:c) wears a model of Chalcidian helmet with a nose guard.⁸⁵ This Athena, however, does not wear the casque fully on in the normal way but pushed up high, with the tip of the nose guard resting upon her diadem and thereby exposing the entire top of her head. This helmet fashion suits Statue A both aesthetically and technologically (Fig. 3, Pl. 120:c). The neck guard and rounded cheekpieces were attached to A's headband (Pl. 119:b, c). The nose guard was affixed to a small hole at the center front of A's head, above the band (Pl. 119:a), unaccounted for in Di Vita's reconstruction (Fig. 2).⁸⁶ (The

⁸⁵ G 41; *ARV*², p. 601, no. 22; *Paralipomena*, p. 395 and *Beazley Addenda*, p. 130; E. Simon, M. and A. Hirmer, *Die Griechischen Vasen*, Munich 1976, pls. 191–193. Compare the young warrior putting on a Chalcidian helmet, Attic red-figured cup signed by Phintias as potter, ca. 510–500 B.C., Athens, N.M. 1628: *ARV*², p. 25, no. 1; *Beazley Addenda*, pp. 74–75; and the exhibition catalogue *The Human Figure in Early Greek Art*, Athens/Washington, D.C. 1988, no. 50, pp. 140–141.

⁸⁶ See footnote 79 above. The unusual shape of Di Vita's proposed helmet (Fig. 2) must derive in part from his attribution of holes in A's headband, resulting from the attachment of the neck guard of a helmet, to the attachment of peculiar truncated cheekpieces. On the statue itself the broad band encircling A's head is not described naturalistically as either a tied strip of cloth (cf. fillet of Charioteer of Delphi [Pl. 118:b]) or as a diadem (cf. Pl. 124:c). Although the back of the band would have been concealed by the helmet, at least its front portion could well have been covered by a detailed silver or silver-gilt sheathing; this certainly would

front profile of A's extended cranium even curves forward at what once was the point of contact with the nose guard of the helmet.) Finally, to assure the structural solidity of A's helmeted head, the particularly delicately poised, lofty crown of his pushed-up Chalcidian helmet probably required extra support by a special central post in addition to the elongated cranium. Since the surface of much of A's head beneath the pushed-up helmet would have been seen by the viewer, it was covered with long, wavy locks of hair.

Both of the Riace bronze statues, with their elongated skulls (Fig. 3, Pls. 117, 118:c, 119, 120:c), suggest that the deformed Vatican herm (Pls. 114, 116:c), rather than the normal-headed British Museum version (Pls. 113, 116:a, b), must be the Roman copy truest to the lost Classical bronze Perikles in a towering Corinthian helmet. Contrary to prevailing opinion, a schinocephalic portrait of Perikles did exist in Classical sculpture. Its cranial deformity, however, was technological, a structural necessity, and not originally intended to be physiologically descriptive. On the lost bronze statue, the curly locks seen through the eyeholes, just as the cap on Riace Statue B and the hair on Riace Statue A, functioned to disguise the neutral surface of the cranial helmet-support by transforming it into a seemingly naturalistic sculptural form.⁸⁷ The (once) helmeted Riace statues must have had a certain kinship with the Perikles iconographically as well as technologically; the different headgear fashions must have alluded to the role of each (now unknown) character in life.

There is, furthermore, a stylistic affinity between Riace Statue A and the portrait of Perikles considered here. Significantly, Harrison has recently demonstrated convincingly that the most important features of Statue A's head all recur together only in the Vatican version (Pls. 114:c, 119:a). Harrison points to "the strong forms and the tightly curled ends of the hair with round holes at the centers of the curls . . . the long eyebrows with their narrow soffits and the angles where the eyebrows meet the bridge of the nose . . . the hooded eyes of Statue A with their swollen lids. . . . The full lower lips are similar and so is the structure of the mustache. . . . Even the little hooked curl below the right corner of the mouth occurs in both."⁸⁸ Together Riace bronze statues A and B enable us to appreciate the

have been in accord with the colored materials used elsewhere on both of the Riace statues (see p. 480 above and footnote 72). If A's band were a diadem that stood out from the head at its upper edge, visually it could have seemed to support the lower tip of the nose guard of A's (lost) Chalcidian helmet. I have refrained from drawing a conjectural headband sheathing in Figure 3. The Chalcidian helmet in my reconstruction is a simplification, based on real helmets as well as representations in vase painting; while it has been modulated to suit the traces of helmet attachment still visible on A's head, the lost original certainly could have differed from it in details of shape and the degree of ornamentation.

⁸⁷ My thanks to Leo Steinberg for suggesting the inclusion here of other technological distortions of physical form in Greek sculpture. Non-naturalistic depressions, for example, occur on monumental bronzes; see Houser, p. 74, on the Chatsworth Apollo, British Museum (considered either Classical or classicizing): an indentation runs around the head where a separate wreath once may have been attached, and p. 79, on the so-called Zeus from Cape Artemision, Athens, N.M. 15161: a channel crosses the palm of the hand, where the now-lost weapon would have been held. Distortions of the face, related to vantage point or pose, occur in preserved marble sculpture as early as the Archaic period (e.g. the Rampin head [of the horseman, Athens, Akropolis Museum 590], Paris, Louvre 3104: J. Boardman, *Greek Sculpture. The Archaic Period*, London 1978, fig. 114) and in later bronze sculpture as well (cf. Charioteer of Delphi: Chamoux [footnote 72 above], pls. 16.2, 21.2). For interpretation of facial distortions as related to the position of the head and their later history see L. Schneider, *Asymmetrie griechischer Köpfe vom 5. Jh. bis zum Hellenismus*, Wiesbaden 1973, esp. pp. 3–4, 22, 39–40, 49.

⁸⁸ Harrison (footnote 76 above), pp. 54–55.

Vatican herm as an especially true replica, reflecting the head of a Classical bronze statue extraordinarily closely in both technological and stylistic detail.

During the 5th century B.C. elongated heads may have been structurally normal for helmeted bronze statues. Important evidence for this conclusion is preserved in Roman marble copies of other lost Classical bronzes.⁸⁹ In Book Thirty-four Pliny mentions works in bronze by the Classical sculptor Myron (*NH* 34.57–58) including “a Satyr gazing with wonder at the pipes and Athena.”⁹⁰ Thus a bronze group of Athena and Marsyas, which Pausanias (1.24.1) may have seen on the Akropolis, has been reconstructed from Roman marble copies.⁹¹ The military paraphernalia of this young Athena, from *ca.* 450 B.C., appears to have been limited to a spear, held in her right hand, and a Chalcidian helmet, not worn down over her face but pushed high up atop her head (Pl. 121:a). This Chalcidian helmet is propped up differently than the one in the Niobid Painter’s red-figure depiction of the goddess (Pl. 124:c). The Athena of Myron’s Marsyas group wears a soft (Persian) cap underneath as a cushion to help bolster the large helmet on its lofty perch.⁹² The side flaps of the cap are folded up under each ear aperture. At the top front, the cap bunches around the nose guard, thereby filling the eye openings of Athena’s raised Chalcidian helmet. This cap-covered head, reflected on all the preserved Roman marble copies, must have served technologically in the lost bronze Classical original as a structural helmet support. The Chalcidian helmet would have been fashioned separately and then attached to an elongated cranium, which was masked wherever visible by the cap.⁹³ Myron’s Athena is the earliest monumental Classical bronze with a high cranial helmet support, known to me, that has been reflected in Roman marble copies.⁹⁴

With regard to the Perikles, the foremost example of an elongated head employed as helmet support occurs on a fine Roman copy in the Metropolitan Museum (New York, M.M.A. 25.116) of a wounded warrior wearing a Corinthian helmet pushed up high atop his head (Pl. 121:b). Although the Greek work reflected here has not been identified beyond question, this copy has often been associated with the *volneratus deficiens* by Kresilas, of *ca.* 440–430 B.C., another bronze statue mentioned by Pliny (*NH* 34.74).⁹⁵ Here the upper

⁸⁹ Suhr ([footnote 12 above] p. 25) noted “cone-shaped” heads on other Roman marble copies but was unable to explain them.

⁹⁰ *The Elder Pliny’s Chapters on the History of Art*, K. Jex-Blake, trans., repr. Chicago 1976, pp. 45, 47.

⁹¹ See G. Daltrop, *Grupo Mironiano di Atena e Marsia nei Musei Vaticani*, Vatican City 1980 and G. Daltrop and P. Bol, *Athena des Myron*, Frankfurt 1983.

⁹² For the iconographic significance of the cap see E. Knauer, “Still More Light on Old Walls? Eine ikonographische Nachlese,” in *Studien zur Mythologie und Vasenmalerei. Konrad Schauenburg zum 65. Geburtstag am 16. April 1986*, E. Böhr and W. Martini, edd., Mainz 1987, pp. 121–126.

⁹³ Bol ([footnote 70 above] pp. 130–134, figs. 85–87) employs the head of Myron’s helmeted Athena to demonstrate the manufacture of large bronzes. Bol, despite his understanding of Riace Statue B’s once-helmeted head, assumes head and helmet of the Athena were cast in a single piece. For the Frankfurt reconstruction of Myron’s group see footnote 91 above. Cf. pp. 488–489 below and footnote 109.

⁹⁴ The style of Myron’s Athena should correspond roughly in date with the Parthenon metopes: F. Brommer, *Die Metopen der Parthenon*, Mainz 1967; cf. B. Ridgway, *The Severe Style in Greek Sculpture*, Princeton 1970, p. 86 and Robertson, I, pp. 343–344. The original bronze statue should have been manufactured not long before the male figures from Riace; for the latter’s stylistic relationship with Myron see Dontas (footnote 70 above), pp. 283–284.

⁹⁵ The head of the only other known copy, in the British Museum, is not preserved. See J. Frel, “The Volneratus Deficiens by Kresilas,” *BMAA* 39, 1970/71, pp. 170–177 and *idem*, “The Wounded Warrior in

portion of the pushed-up Corinthian helmet is missing, but enough remains beneath the break to preserve some of the curly locks of hair which must have filled the eyeholes and thereby served to conceal the extended cranial helmet support of the bronze original (cf. Pls. 114:c, 118:c).

Another helmeted statue from the 5th century B.C., a colossal Athena, is known from many Roman marble copies and must have been very famous. The type has been dated variously between 435 and 410 B.C. and goes under the name Velletri, after the findspot of the copy in the Louvre. The bronze original has not been securely identified.⁹⁶ The Athena Velletri's helmet sits especially high atop her head; it is an even taller and more elegant model of Corinthian helmet than the already mature form of the casque worn by the Perikles.⁹⁷ In order to rest in this particularly elevated position, the cheekpieces spread apart slightly for the helmet to hold fast about her head. When looking up at this giant Athena, one can see the hair, all across her forehead, beneath the helmet. The upper part of her head, visible around the nose guard of the helmet and in the eye openings, normally has been overlooked. This area may be examined easily on the Lansdowne bust (Pl. 121:c), which, conveniently, is missing the lower part of the cheekpieces. Somewhat beneath the tip of the nose guard the individual strands of hair terminate in a straight line across the head.⁹⁸ Above that level, on all the copies, a smooth, curving form rises to fill the eyeholes. This form is difficult to interpret but cannot be the result of a copyist failing to hollow out the space within the helmet. Perhaps the original Athena Velletri type wore a tall pilos, the fabric of which was clearly differentiated by color, copper red for example, from her silver or gold-hued casque (cf. copper plaque, Riace Statue B, Pls. 118:c, 120:a). This unusual

New York and London," *AA (JdI 88)* 1973, pp. 120–121; opposing arguments by E. Langlotz, "Zur Deutung des 'Protesilaos' in New York," *AA (JdI 86)* 1971, pp. 427–442 and *idem*, "Die Wunde des 'Protesilaos'," *AA (JdI 92)* 1977, pp. 84–86. For the designation as Protesilaos, the first Greek killed at Troy: G. Richter, "A Statue of Protesilaos in the Metropolitan Museum," *MMS I*, 1928/29, pp. 187–200; on p. 194 in note 25 she attributes this identification to E. Warren; and *eadem*, *Catalogue of Greek Sculptures in the Metropolitan Museum of Art*, Cambridge, Mass. 1954, no. 27, pp. 22–23 with pls. 25 and 26. See also *EAA VI*, pp. 494–495, s.v. Protesilaos (E. Paribeni); Boardman, caption to fig. 237. Cf. G. Despinis, "Zur Deutung des sogenannten Protesilaos in New York," in *Beiheft AntK*, XVI, *Kanon, Festschrift Ernst Berger*, M. Schmidt, ed., Basel 1988, pp. 87–90, identification as Palamedes.

⁹⁶ For the type see E. Harrison, "Alkamenos' Sculptures for the Hephaisteion: Part I, The Cult Statues," *AJA* 81, 1977, esp. pp. 150–156, 164–178; her late dating of 420–410 B.C. is convincing. See also Ridgway, pp. 176–177, and for a traditional view, S. Howard, "The Lansdowne Bust of the Athena of Velletri," *Los Angeles County Museum of Art Bulletin* 17, 1965 (pp. 3–15), pp. 3–7. On the copies see P. Karanastassis, "Untersuchungen zur kaiserzeitlichen Plastik in Griechenland, II: Kopien, Varianten und Umbildungen nach Athena-Typen des 5. Jhs. v. Chr.," *AM* 102, 1987 (pp. 324–428), pp. 350–359, 416–422.

⁹⁷ On the mature form of Corinthian helmet with tongued-shaped nose guard, inset eyeholes, and offset skull see Snodgrass (footnote 23 above), pp. 93–94, 140, note 7, fig. 40; *OIBer III*, 1938/39, pls. 44 and 45 (but with ear cut-out), and V, 1941/42 (1956), pls. 36 and 37. Harrison (*op. cit.*, pp. 168–169) attributes variations in the helmets and their positions to the styles of different artists.

⁹⁸ Los Angeles County Museum of Art 49.23.1, ex London, Lansdowne Collection. 18th-century restorations have been removed: see Howard (footnote 96 above), pp. 6–11; p. 9: "all of the corroded antique surfaces were rubbed to a uniformly smooth finish." For the bust with restorations and its closeness to a bronze original see A. Smith, *Catalogue of the Celebrated Collection of Ancient Marbles the Property of the Most Honourable The Marquess of Lansdowne. Christie Sale Catalogue*, London 1930, no. 64, p. 44. Although the ledge just above the hair may have been enhanced in the overworking, compare the head of this Athena type, Leningrad, Hermitage (Harrison [footnote 96 above], p. 172, fig. 36).

feature of the marble copies undoubtedly served technologically in the bronze original as an elongated support for Athena's towering helmet. On most of the copies the area around the eyeholes, nose guard, and cheekpieces is deeply undercut; this detail reinforces the conclusion that a separate helmet was affixed to the elongated head of the lost statue. It is interesting to note that the 5th-century original postulated for the Athena Velletri often has been attributed to the same artist as the Perikles, Kresilas.⁹⁹

While the cranial helmet support, in isolation, is not adequate evidence for securely attributing a body of works to a particular artist, the use of this technological device could have developed as normal methodology within a particular fabric. The fact that many of the examples pointed out here have long been associated with Classical Greek originals in Athens, and even on the Akropolis, may have special significance.

The peculiar helmet support also may be a criterion for dating monumental bronze sculpture, including the Riace statues and the lost Perikles. While our knowledge of originals is limited, this feature appears to have belonged specifically to bronze technology of the 5th century B.C. Perhaps as early as the turn of the 4th century, it was replaced by different practices throughout the Classical world. Such a conclusion may be drawn from observation not merely of copies but of extant large bronzes, intentionally designed to sport head-coverings of various types, ranging from military headgear to drapery.

The so-called Mars from Todi (Vatican, Museo Gregoriano Etrusco 13886; Pl. 122:a), although a local product in classic style from Etruria of *ca.* 500 B.C., affords the most pointed comparison with the Riace statues.¹⁰⁰ This life-sized cuirass statue originally wore a helmet, now lost. The technology employed to construct his helmeted bronze head is evident, now that a casque restored in the 19th century, from a model by Thorvaldsen, has been removed.¹⁰¹ Here the entire cranium is missing. Remarkably, it is not lost; it simply never existed. The face and neck were cast as a hollow mask, terminating precisely along the outline of a helmet, evidently Attic in type, which was fashioned separately and mechanically joined to the rest of the head. The helmet was set directly over a ledge at the level of the hairline in front and attached by rivets or pins to projecting tabs (one is visible at the center back of the neck).¹⁰² Mars's casque was worn fully on, rather than pushed up, but the

⁹⁹ On the history of attribution to Kresilas see Howard (footnote 96 above), pp. 4, 13–14, note 3; Furtwängler, pp. 303–311.

¹⁰⁰ F. Roncalli, *Il 'Marte' di Todi, Bronzistica Etrusca ed ispirazione classica* (MemPontAcc, ser. 3, XI, ii), Vatican City 1973. The statue originally carried a separately attached patera and a (lost) spear (pp. 24–33). Roncalli (pp. 77–91) has placed the Mars at the end of the 5th century B.C.; the statue traditionally has been dated to the early 4th century: see Helbig⁴ I, no. 736 (T. Dorn) and O. Brendel, *Etruscan Art*, Harmondsworth 1978, pp. 316–317 and caption to fig. 237. For technological similarities between the Riace bronze statues and the Mars see Formigli (footnote 71 above), esp. pp. 107, 112, 129–130, 140, note 83.

¹⁰¹ Roncalli, *op. cit.*, pp. 24–33, 45; p. 12, fig. 2; p. 28, figs. 38 and 39; p. 47, fig. 66.

¹⁰² *Ibid.*, pp. 38, 40, pl. 6. On types of joins see H. Lechtman and A. Steinberg, "Bronze Joining: A Study in Ancient Technology," in *Art and Technology, A Symposium on Classical Bronzes*, S. Doeringer, D. Mitten, and A. Steinberg, edd., Cambridge, Mass. 1970, pp. 5–7. Compare the once-helmeted head of a statue of Mars from Coligny, Lyons, Museum de la Civilisation Gallo-Romaine: Rolley, fig. 6. Formigli ([footnote 71 above] p. 141, note 84) emphasizes the technical similarity between the separately made skull of Riace Statue B (cf. footnote 83 above) and the Todi Mars's craniumless head; but it is rather the difference between the two (the top of the Mars head was never completed beneath a separate [lost] helmet) which is overwhelmingly significant.

statue, nevertheless, displays an essential change in approach to the technological construction of a helmeted bronze head, not limited to Etruria.

Post-5th-century large bronzes from other Hellenized fabrics also display the use of facial masks or "half heads", which lack crania, beneath various types of headgear attached as separate pieces. For example, the "Lady from the Sea" (Izmir, Museum of Archaeology, of the 3rd century B.C.), the Ackland Head ([said to come from Turkey] Chapel Hill, North Carolina, Ackland Memorial Art Center, of the 2nd century B.C.), and the Satala Head ([*ex Castellani*, said to come from Armenia] London, British Museum, of the 1st century B.C.), are all partial female heads completed by separate veils or mantles.¹⁰³ There is a technological relationship between the bronze Athena in the Piraeus Archaeological Museum (Pl. 122:b) and these later bronze heads that demonstrates their special relevance here.¹⁰⁴ This post-5th-century Athena wears a Corinthian helmet pushed up. The eyeholes of her helmet are entirely empty; she has no head-top either normal or extended. On this bronze statue a separate pushed-up helmet has been set upon a craniumless facial mask and appears to be joined metallurgically by soldering.¹⁰⁵

The above comparanda, all bronze originals dating from the end of the 5th century B.C. or later, suggest that both the Riace statues and the lost portrait of Perikles (as reflected in the Vatican type) belong to a technologically different phase of ancient bronzeworking. That these three statues must have been more primitive is suggested by analogies for the attachment of helmets preserved on Greek originals from the Athenian Akropolis that date to the beginning of the 5th century B.C.

The earliest work, Akropolis Museum 621, is a fragment of a marble statue, a male head which apparently once sported an attached bronze helmet.¹⁰⁶ The evidence for this lost

¹⁰³ C. Mattusch, *Casting Techniques of Greek Bronze Sculpture, Foundries and Foundry Remains from the Athenian Agora with Reference to Other Ancient Sources*, diss. University of North Carolina 1975, pp. 230–239, pls. 80:a, b, 82:a, b; B. Ridgway, "The Lady from the Sea: A Greek Bronze in Turkey," *AJA* 71, 1967, pp. 329–334, pls. 97:1, 99:6, 100:12; S. Immerwahr, "A New Greek Bronze Head in the Ackland Museum," *Hesperia* 38, 1969, pp. 150–156, pls. 42–44.

¹⁰⁴ This statue, found in 1959 in the Piraeus, has been believed to be a 4th-century B.C. original (e.g. K. Schefold, "Die Athene des Piräus," *AntK* 14, 1971, pp. 37–42, pls. 15 and 16; Houser, pp. 50–51, 58–60), but on technological and historical grounds a date of ca. 100 B.C. now also must be considered (cf. Rolley, p. 52, p. 50, fig. 22 and footnote 68 above).

¹⁰⁵ Mattusch (footnote 103 above), p. 236. No technological investigation of the Piraeus Athena has been published. This bronze statue contributes to understanding the so-called "closed" eyeholes, eye openings filled with a smooth marble surface, appearing on helmets of certain Roman marble copies reflecting Greek bronze originals dating from ca. 400 B.C. and after: e.g., head of Athena Giustiniani, Berlin K 180, Blümel (footnote 6 above), pl. 73; *strategos* herm, Vatican 518, Lippold, pp. 70–72, pl. 17 and Helbig⁴ I, no. 85 (H. von Heintze). This feature may be explained by the method of copy manufacture. Hollow eyeholes of helmets on bronze originals must have been plugged with clay or another substance when casts were taken. Cf. Landwehr (footnote 9 above), p. 15 and Hees-Landwehr (footnote 9 above), pp. 16–17, fig. 12, on filling hollow drapery folds with clay. On casts such eyehole plugs registered as smooth surfaces, which copyists often either did not bother or know to remove in carving the marble. A Roman marble copy of an Athena related to the Piraeus type, Louvre MA 530.9840309, wears a helmet with "closed" eyeholes (*AntK* 14, 1971, pl. 16:4). A different matter are filled helmet eyeholes in Classical low-relief sculpture: see footnote 118 below.

¹⁰⁶ H. Schrader, E. Langlotz, and W.-H. Schuchhardt, *Die archaischen Marmorbildwerke der Akropolis*, Frankfurt 1939, no. 315, p. 231, pl. 142; M. Brouskari, *The Akropolis Museum, A Descriptive Catalogue*, Athens 1974, pp. 96–97, figs. 180 and 181. See also Washington, D.C. exhibition catalogue (footnote 85

metal part is threefold: traces of paint on the hair stop in a clear circle at the point the lower rim of a helmet would have reached; the upper surface of the head, which would have been concealed beneath the casque, is left rough; and a large hole at the top of the head would have been fitted with a post to support the lofty headgear. The posthole presages the construction of the helmeted head of Riace Statue A; the lost helmet of Akropolis 621, however, must have been Corinthian in type.

A second male head from the Athenian Akropolis, N.M. 6446 (Pl. 122:c), of *ca.* 490–480 B.C. is made of bronze. Here the skull has a plain surface with visible tool marks, which indicate that this head was once covered by a now lost bronze (Corinthian) helmet. The cranium, moreover, is extended because it was designed specifically as a helmet support, the only other original example in bronze of this remarkable feature to have come down to us.¹⁰⁷

The cranium of the marble head is of normal shape, and while that of the bronze head is elongated, it is not so exaggerated as the crania of the Riace bronze statues (Pls. 118:c, 119:a).¹⁰⁸ This scant evidence may indicate progressive experimentation in how to set a separate helmet on the head of a statue most securely. Over the course of the 5th century B.C. crania appear to have changed from normal to ever more extended shapes and, finally, to have been omitted entirely.¹⁰⁹

In conclusion, an appraisal of technological evidence indicates that both Riace bronze statues were helmeted and, furthermore, that their helmets were attached in a manner not commonly employed in monumental bronze sculpture after the 5th century B.C. By analogy, the Vatican type (Pls. 114, 116:c) among the Roman marble copies of Perikles' portrait, on which locks of hair covering an extended cranium can be seen through the eyeholes of a pushed-up Corinthian helmet, reflects observable technology, and hence, contrary to prevailing opinion, should reproduce closely the appearance of a helmeted head from a Greek bronze statue of the mid- to late 5th century B.C.

above), no. 65, pp. 178–179. In published photographs only the rough edge of the hole at the top of the head can be made out.

¹⁰⁷ A. de Ridder (*Catalogue des bronzes trouvés sur l'Acropole d'Athènes*, Paris 1896, pp. 290–292, fig. 277) notes a rivet and a hole used to attach the lost helmet; S. Casson, *The Technique of Early Greek Sculpture*, Oxford 1933, p. 157; Bol (footnote 70 above), p. 171, fig. 123; Rolley, fig. 13; Mattusch, pp. 91–93 and fig. 5:2. See especially Houser (footnote 70 above), p. 8, well described as a “domed head” and cf. Boardman (footnote 87 above), fig. 207.

¹⁰⁸ The lower and not naturalistically finished head-tops of these earlier statues probably would not have been visible through the eyeholes of their pushed-up helmets. On the Roman marble copy of a *strategos* portrait (Rome, Museo Barracco 180), the best preserved example of the so-called Miltiades type (Pandermalis, pp. 11–14, pls. 1 and 2; ABr, pls. 971 and 972; Helbig⁴ II, no. 1861 [H. von Heintze]), the Corinthian helmet has hollowed-out eyeholes through which a slightly raised head-top can be seen. If the portrait type were to go back to a bronze original of *ca.* 480–470 B.C., it would reflect a relatively early stage of helmet attachment in the 5th century. This head is now cleaned, but its surface is very worn. On the type see also Kekulé von Stradonitz (footnote 66 above), pp. 5–9. The relevant area on another copy in Munich, Glyptothek 172, ABr, pls. 21 and 22, now “de-restored”, has not been preserved: Viernseis-Schlörb (footnote 6 above), pp. 1, 6, figs. 1–4.

¹⁰⁹ The change in the technology of bronze sculpture involving omission of the cranium entirely may have been prompted, in part, by the realization that headgear, when cast separately in bronze (rather than raised), was sufficiently sturdy to be joined directly to the facial mask of a statue, obviating the need for extra internal support. See Giuliano (footnote 70 above), p. 301 for a suggested association of bronze crests with silver inlay from Delphi with the lost helmets of the Riace bronze statues.

Two important questions cannot as yet be answered: (1) how soon after the creation of the Perikles was its technological helmet support first misinterpreted by viewers as a physiognomic feature (the statesman's deformed head); and (2) what effect did this mistaken perception have on the subsequent history of art?

III. WESTERN TASTE AND THE BRITISH MUSEUM HERM

The unique feature on the Roman marble copy of Perikles' helmeted portrait in the British Museum (Pls. 113, 116:a, b), hollow eye openings which reveal a normal, rounded head inside the casque, championed by modern scholars as stylistically appropriate for a Classical portrait, certainly seems correct when compared with many original works of Greek art. The best-preserved representations of helmet wearers occur in vase painting. Already in the Archaic period black-figure painters carefully indicated that eyeholes of pushed-up Corinthian helmets cleared the tops of wearer's heads. For example, on an Attic black-figured calyx-krater of ca. 520 B.C. by the Rycroft Painter (Toledo Museum of Art; Pl. 123:a), Achilles and Ajax both wear Corinthian helmets pushed up, the better to play a board game.¹¹⁰ Here the reserved orange background of the pot peeps through the gaping eyeholes of the black-glazed helmets.¹¹¹

In red-figure vase painting of the 5th century B.C., we find sophisticated renderings of the relevant detail.¹¹² On an Attic red-figured kalpis by the Berlin Painter in New York (Pl. 123:b),¹¹³ for example, the heroes Achilles and Ajax once again wear pushed-up Corinthian helmets. Here the artist handles the eyehole area of each helmet somewhat differently.

¹¹⁰ Toledo Museum 63.26: *Paralipomena*, p. 149, no. 23 bis; *Beazley Addenda*, p. 44; *CVA*, Toledo 1 [USA 17], pls. 17–19 [797–799].

¹¹¹ The emphatically empty eyeholes of Attic vase painting bring to mind the head of a dying giant in a pushed-up Corinthian helmet, sculptured in high relief, on a tufa metope, Palermo, Museo Nazionale Archaologico, from Selinous, Temple F, ca. 500–480 B.C.: V. Tusa, *La scultura in pietra di Selinunte*, Palermo 1984, no. 11, pp. 118–119, pls. 9 and 10 and J. Charbonneaux, R. Martin, and F. Villard, *Archaic Greek Art*, J. Emmons and R. Allen, trans., New York 1971, p. 266, fig. 308 (best detail of eyeholes). B. Ridgway, *The Archaic Style in Greek Sculpture*, Princeton 1977, pp. 245–246: "The giant defeated by Athena throws back his head and shows his teeth in a scream, while the empty eye-holes of his uptilted helmet function almost as a presage of death." For empty eyeholes on marble sculpture in the round cf. Athens, N.M. 1933, head of a warrior with pushed-up Corinthian helmet, early 5th century B.C., from pedimental sculpture, Aigina, Temple of Aphaia; Boardman (footnote 87 above), p. 156 and fig. 206:2; see also the catalogue of the Glyptothek, Munich, D. Ohly, *Die Aeginetan, Die Marmorskulpturen des Temples der Aphaia auf Aegina*, I, *Die Ostgiebelgruppe*, Munich 1976, pp. 36–37 and pl. 17. For an Early Classical example from Sicily see the helmeted marble head, Syracuse Museum, R. Holloway, *Influences and Styles in the Late Archaic and Early Classical Greek Sculpture of Sicily and Magna Graecia*, Louvain 1975, pp. 35, 50, figs. 218 and 219.

¹¹² The representation of the eyehole area of pushed-up Corinthian helmets sometimes is unclear in Attic red figure because vase painters did not always distinguish between black of hair and black of ground, e.g. Boston, Museum of Fine Arts 01.8037, Attic bilingual amphora, side A, by the Andokides Painter (*ARV²*, p. 4, no. 7; *Paralipomena*, p. 320; *Beazley Addenda*, p. 71; J. Boardman, *Athenian Red Figure Vases. The Archaic Period*, London 1975, fig. 2:1); New York, M.M.A. 1972.11.10, Attic red-figured calyx-krater by Euphronios (D. von Bothmer, *Greek Vase Painting*, New York 1987, no. 19, pp. 34–39); Munich, Museum antiker Kleinkunst 2305, Attic red-figured amphora, side A, by the Kleophrades Painter (*ARV²*, p. 182, no. 4; *Paralipomena*, p. 340; *Beazley Addenda*, p. 93; R. Lullies and M. Hirmer, *Griechische Vasen der reifarchaischen Zeit*, Munich 1953, pls. 49 and 50).

¹¹³ M.M.A. 65.11.12: *ARV²*, p. 1634, no. 75 bis.

At the left, a wavy, reserved line separates the black-glazed hairy top of the beardless Achilles' head from the black-glazed background. At the right, the top of Ajax' head also is glazed black to indicate hair, but here the use of reserve above suggests empty space within the helmet.¹¹⁴

Even in the white-ground technique vase painters do not fail to suggest the hollowness of the eyeholes of a Corinthian helmet. On an Attic funerary lekythos by the Inscription Painter (New York, M.M.A. 06.1021.294), a warrior at the right wears a Corinthian helmet in the familiar pushed-up manner (Pl. 124:a). His hair has been brushed on in black glaze, but only the white color of the engobe shows through the empty eyeholes of his helmet. A woman, at the left of the central tomb, carries a Corinthian helmet, held securely by the insertion of her thumb through its open eyeholes.¹¹⁵

In Classical red figure, the Niobid Painter reserved a fine line to define the head-top of his Chalcidian helmeted Athena on the calyx-krater in the Louvre (Pl. 124:c).¹¹⁶ The attention paid to this small detail seems remarkable, but such use of reserve was standard. On a similar Classical Athena by the Spreckels Painter on a red-figured calyx-krater in New York (Pl. 124:b),¹¹⁷ a carefully placed sliver of reserve separates the black-glazed rounded top of the goddess's head from the black-glazed space visible above it through the eyehole of her pushed-up Corinthian helmet. The corresponding detail carved in marble on the London Perikles (Pls. 113:b, 116:a) likewise describes carefully the commonly observed human norm.¹¹⁸ The Spreckels Painter's goddess seems to provide a fine Classical Athenian parallel for the British Museum version of Perikles' Corinthian helmeted portrait. Not Perikles' infamous schinocephaly but the empty space and normal rounded head-top seen through the eyeholes seem to suit the classic style of art as well as the idealized typology of Classical portraiture; above all, they fit neatly within the expected parameters of 5th-century taste.

In the 5th century B.C., however, as we have seen in Part II (pp. 480–487, 489 above), the anatomical trait expected on the basis of style, normal head-shape, was distorted to an elongated cranium in the case of bronze statues sporting fashionably pushed-up helmets in order to serve the requirements of sound construction (Fig. 3, Pls. 117, 118:c, 119, 122:c).

¹¹⁴ Cf. the helmeted head of Iolaos on Athens, N.M. Akr. 2591, Attic black figure on white-ground plaque by Paseas: *ABV*, p. 400, no. 3; *Paralipomena*, p. 160; B. Graef and E. Langlotz, *Die antiken Vasen von der Akropolis zu Athen* IV, Berlin 1925, pl. 110, no. 2591.

¹¹⁵ *ARV²*, p. 749, no. 11. Compare for grasping Corinthian helmets through the eyeholes Paris, Louvre CA 1527, Attic red-figured cup by Skythes, *ARV²*, p. 83, no. 12; *Paralipomena*, p. 329; *Beazley Addenda*, p. 84; Boardman (footnote 112 above), fig. 91; and Athens, N.M. 1818, Attic white-ground lekythos by the Achilles Painter, *ARV²*, p. 998, no. 161, p. 1677; *Paralipomena*, p. 438; *Beazley Addenda*, p. 152; Robertson, II, pl. 107:a, b.

¹¹⁶ See footnote 85 above.

¹¹⁷ M.M.A. 07.286.66. *ARV²*, p. 617, no. 2; *Paralipomena*, p. 398; *Beazley Addenda*, p. 132; see G. Richter and L. Hall, *Red-figured Athenian Vases in the Metropolitan Museum of Art* II, pl. 126, and Agrigento exhibition catalogue *Veder Greco, Le necropoli di Agrigento*, Rome 1988, no. 62, pp. 200–201.

¹¹⁸ In Classical low relief, eyeholes of pushed-up Corinthian helmets were not hollowed out but left filled with a smooth, flat surface; indication of head-top or empty space must have been conveyed by paint. Cf. Athens, Akropolis Museum 695, marble relief of Athena, ca. 470–460 B.C., Charbonneaux *et al.* (footnote 12 above), fig. 118; London, British Museum, Parthenon frieze, slab North 22, ca. 440 B.C., F. Brommer, *Der Parthenonfries* II, Mainz 1977, pl. 80. On the role of paint see B. Ridgway, "Painterly and Pictorial in Greek Relief Sculpture," in *Ancient Greek Art and Iconography*, W. Moon, ed., Madison, Wisc. 1983, pp. 193–208 and p. 206, note 3.

What significance has this for the London Perikles? However correct its hollow eyeholes may seem stylistically in comparison with representations in other media such as vase painting, they do not reflect the technology of a Corinthian-helmeted bronze original from the High Classical period. The much-praised unique feature on the Roman marble copy of Perikles' portrait in the British Museum must be a later variation.

To have executed a normal cranium beneath the helmet in marble certainly was an ambitious undertaking! It required not only hollowing out a section of the interior of the casque and indicating the recessed head-top within the eyeholes but leaving the bridge of the nose-piece entirely freestanding. When and why would such a striking change have been made? The initial impulse would be to ascribe the difference to the maker of the Roman marble copy. On a plaster cast, from which a copyist would have worked, evidence for the technological function of the extended cranium already would have been blurred.¹¹⁹ While, as we have seen in Part I (p. 478 above), the preserved Perikles copies in the Vatican and Museo Barracco have been dated well into the 2nd century after Christ, the one in the British Museum always has been believed to have been made earlier (cf. Pls. 113–115:a, b).¹²⁰ Its softer and more generalized style would have satisfied a different taste, for example, than the hard and precise rendering of the Hadrianic Vatican copy. Perhaps on the London version a sensitive sculptor not bound by the rigors of Hadrianic copying altered the troublesome detail, which he perceived as an indication of the historical Perikles' well-known deformity.

As attractive as the above scenario may seem, a hitherto unrecognized explanation emerges when we recall that the British Museum and Vatican Perikles herms (Pls. 113, 114) are important not only as Roman reflections of a major Greek portrait type but also as venerable pieces in the puzzle of post-Renaissance Western culture: they have been known for over two hundred years.¹²¹

A basic outline of the early modern history of these herms, which is especially relevant here, can still be extracted from a maze of conflicting documentation. The two famous herms came to light in the period dubbed by Michaelis "the Golden Age of Classic Diletantism".¹²² Both appear to have been excavated in a Roman villa near Tivoli in 1779.¹²³ The herm with the fuller Greek inscription was discovered first and joined the collection of the *Museo Pio-Clementino* in the Vatican, founded in 1770 to help limit the exodus of antiquities from Rome.¹²⁴ This Perikles was installed in the magnificent *Sala delle Muse*

¹¹⁹ On casts and copying see footnotes 9 and 10 above.

¹²⁰ See footnote 66 above.

¹²¹ For antiquities documented as known in the West since the Renaissance see P. Bober and R. Rubinstein, *Renaissance Artists and Antique Sculpture, A Handbook of Sources*, London 1986 and F. Haskell and N. Penny, *Taste and the Antique, The Lure of Classical Sculpture 1500–1900*, New Haven/London 1981.

¹²² Michaelis, chap. II, pp. 54–128.

¹²³ See Appendix, pp. 500–502.

¹²⁴ Michaelis, pp. 94–95; L. Hauteceur, *Rome et la Renaissance de l'antiquité à la fin du XVIII^e siècle*, Paris 1912, pp. 58–69; C. Pietrangeli, "Il Museo Clementino Vaticano," *RendPontAcc* 27, 1951–1952, pp. 87–109 and *idem*, "Archaeological Excavations in Italy 1750–1850," in *The Age of Neo-Classicism*, London 1972 (pp. xlii–lii), pp. xlvii–xlix; S. Howard, "An Antiquarian Handlist and Beginnings of the Pio-Clementino," *Eighteenth-Century Studies* 7, 1973 (pp. 40–61), pp. 40–43, 49 and H. von Steuben, "Das Museo Pio-Clementino," in *Antikensammlungen im 18. Jahrhundert*, H. Beck, P. Bol, *et al.*, ed., Berlin 1981, pp. 149–158.

where it still stands.¹²⁵ The second portrait herm of Perikles, which ultimately was allowed to be exported, was acquired by Charles Townley, then considered the greatest English private collector; it was usually prominently displayed thereafter in the main drawing room of his London house on Park Street (now Queen Anne's Gate), Westminster.¹²⁶ Townley's marbles were acquired by the British Museum after his death in 1805.¹²⁷

Given the prestigious collections to which both of the inscribed Perikles herms belonged in the 18th century, it is instructive to consider the practices common at that time in the treatment of archaeological objects to ready them for proper exhibition and publication. In the 1700's newly excavated antiquities were not merely reassembled; "... no one doubted the principle that restorations must be made."¹²⁸ These repristinated antiquities were arranged carefully in elegant surroundings; collectors demanded finished works of art, which they perceived as organically whole creations.¹²⁹

For the most part the newly discovered marbles came out of the earth in a wretched plight, broken, mutilated, corroded, or encrusted with the dirt of centuries. It was therefore always made a great point that they should be properly cleaned—often to the great detriment of their freshness—and vamped up with old or new, additions. Only after such treatment could they be regarded as fit for a *salon*. . . . Many purchasers flattered themselves with the belief that they were in possession of a genuine, well-preserved antique, when in reality only the smallest part of it was ancient. . . . "At Rome," says an eye-witness, "you may often see broken statues made into busts or heads. I myself have looked on while statues were sawn in half and attached to marble slabs as reliefs, or conversely, while figures in good condition were sawn off a relief, and a principal figure thus frequently made out of a subordinate one. From this we can see what traps are laid for the learned. . . . I only say this

¹²⁵ Von Steuben, *op. cit.*, pp. 157–158; Helbig⁴ I, no. 71. See C. Vermeule, *Greek Sculpture and Roman Taste*, Ann Arbor 1977, pp. 72–73 for influence of excavations in Roman villas on the design of the Vatican Museums.

¹²⁶ Visconti, VI, p. 164, note to p. 160; H. Ellis, *The Townley Gallery of Classic Sculpture in the British Museum* I, London 1846, p. 9, and pp. 1–12 on Townley. See also J. Dallaway, "Memoir of Townley," *Illustrations of the Literary History of the Eighteenth Century* III, London 1818, pp. 721–742; E. Edwards, *Lives of the Founders of the British Museum*, London 1870 (repr. New York 1969), pp. 369–380; Michaelis, pp. 96–99; *The Dictionary of National Biography*, L. Stephen, ed., XIX (repr. London, n.d., LV–LVII, 1898–1899), s.v. Towneley or Townley, pp. 1024–1025: "He had his favourite busts of Clytie, Pericles, and Homer engraved for an occasional visiting card"; and see also Cook, p. 37. For the painting by Johann Zoffany, a partly fictitious depiction of Townley with some of his marbles in the library of his Park Street house, 1783 (painted before acquisition of the Perikles, see Appendix, p. 502; Discobolos added 1792), see Cook, fig. 30 and M. Webster, *Johann Zoffany 1733–1810*, London 1976, no. 95, p. 72. I would like to thank Brian Cook for supplying information on the location of the Perikles in Townley's house, from unpublished Townley catalogues, in a letter of 4 May, 1988.

¹²⁷ Ellis, *op. cit.*, pp. 10–12; B. Cook, "The Townley Marbles in Westminster and Bloomsbury," *The British Museum Yearbook*, 2, *Collectors and Collections*, London 1977, p. 56 and Cook, p. 59. Townley first left the collection to his family, provided a private gallery was built for the marbles. When there were not enough funds to do so, the marbles were purchased at £20,000 for the British Museum.

¹²⁸ Michaelis, p. 67, and see p. 68 on the Elgin Marbles, which were not restored ("the first to break the spell") at the insistence of Antonio Canova. Cf. the Belvedere Torso, Haskell and Penny (footnote 121 above), pp. 311–314 and p. 312, fig. 165.

¹²⁹ C. Picon, Bartolomeo Cavaceppi, *Eighteenth-century Restorations of Ancient Marble Sculpture from English Private Collections*, London 1983, p. 16; D. Kocks, "Antikenaufstellung und Antikenergänzung im 18. Jahrhundert in England," in *Antikensammlungen im 18. Jahrhundert*, Berlin 1981 (pp. 317–326), pp. 319, 325; Hautecoeur (footnote 124 above), pp. 58–59.

to call attention to the fact of the difficulties which, in a few centuries time, antiquaries will have with the antiquities of our manufacture."¹³⁰

The Perikles herms have not figured in discussions concerned with the massive and deceptive restorations of the period. They appear to be, comparatively speaking, well preserved and to have only relatively reliable modern additions. The first Perikles was restored for the *Pio-Clementino* in 1780 by Giovanni Pierantoni, a follower of Bartolomeo Cavaceppi, the greatest restorer of ancient sculpture in 18th-century Rome.¹³¹ Catalogue descriptions of the Vatican herm list the fairly extensive, albeit evidently straightforward and readily identifiable restorations. The piece had to be reassembled from four fragments, resulting in the incorrect orientation of the head;¹³² it required many added parts, including not only the nose, but the entire right cheekpiece of the helmet, parts of the ears, and the left shoulder. There is also recutting in the curls of hair and a chiseling away of the surface of the shaft where the genitals once were located.¹³³ An army of sculptors worked for the Vatican in refurbishing antiquities for display;¹³⁴ many of the same men also worked for Roman dealers. I have discovered neither the restorer nor the date and place of restoration of the British Museum's Townley herm;¹³⁵ when the work was done these two portraits of Perikles already may have been in different hands. It cannot be assumed that they were restored either by the same artist or together as a pair. All catalogue descriptions of the London herm agree that "the nose, and a few splinters in front of the helmet, are the only modern restorations which the head now before us has received."¹³⁶

While restored additions, breaks, and damages on both, for the most part, can be distinguished even in photographs, the same is not always true for the engravings, which are the earliest published images. In 1787, James Stuart and Nicholas Revett's extraordinary *The Antiquities of Athens* illustrated the Townley herm for the first time (Pl. 125:a).¹³⁷ This publication depicts the London Perikles as virtually complete and intact; nothing signifies that the nose and bits of the cheekpieces of the helmet are separate, later additions. Only

¹³⁰ Michaelis, pp. 83–84, quoting Casanova.

¹³¹ Pietrangeli, 1958, p. 142. On Pierantoni and other restorers employed by the Vatican, see Howard (footnote 124 above), p. 59 and note 54 and *idem*, *The Lansdowne Herakles*, Malibu 1978, pp. 18–20. On the history of the Vatican's acquisitions and their restoration see C. Pietrangeli in G. Lippold, *Die Skulpturen des Vaticanischen Museums* III, ii, Berlin 1956, pp. 532–559. On Cavaceppi see pp. 497–498 and footnote 153 below.

¹³² See p. 478 above, footnote 62; Appendix, p. 501.

¹³³ Lippold, p. 87. The back of the casque of the Vatican Perikles' helmet is split off so that the rear profile terminates in a relatively flat, vertical edge. Whether or not the flat back was enhanced by trimming in the 18th century, it enables the Perikles to fit into an allocated spot against a wall, aligned with the other herms as well as the banding of the marble floor in the carefully designed Sala delle Muse.

¹³⁴ See footnote 131 above; Pietrangeli, 1958, p. 5.

¹³⁵ The Townley papers will be examined by Gerard Vaughan in his Oxford thesis.

¹³⁶ *A Description of the Collection of Ancient Marbles in the British Museum* II, London 1815, pl. 32. Cf. Ellis (footnote 126 above), II, p. 4; FrW, p. 213; Smith (footnote 5 above), p. 289.

¹³⁷ Vol. II, p. 42 (end of chap. 5); published in London, 1787 (repr. New York 1980). Their friend Gavin Hamilton supposedly conceived the revolutionary Athenian venture but was unable to participate; see Michaelis, pp. 73–74 and Hautecoeur (footnote 124 above), pp. 100–101. Hamilton's special influence might lie behind Stuart and Revett's inclusion of this antiquity in an English private collection: the Perikles once passed through the painter-dealer's own hands; see Appendix, pp. 500–502 on Hamilton's role as Townley's source for the herm.

some abrasion at the broken bottom of the herm and a wavy lower edge of the right cheek-piece of the helmet hint that the antiquity has not come down to us in pristine condition. The still missing portions of the letters of Perikles' name have been reinserted. The engraver indulged in the restorer's art.

A more archaeologically accurate approach was taken in the British Museum's first illustration of the Townley herm in the "splendid publication" of its "Marbles" from 1815 (Pl. 125:b).¹³⁸ Delicate lines indicate the restored segments in the center front at the bottom of the cheekpieces of the helmet, as well as Perikles' added nose. Abrasion and losses at the bottom tip of the nose guard of the helmet and at the bottom and sides of the herm are indicated as well. Furthermore, the actual preserved state of the *Perikles* inscription is given. This approach was followed in Sir Henry Ellis's publication of the Townley Gallery in 1846 (Pl. 125:c).¹³⁹ In Ennio Quirino Visconti's publications of the Perikles in the *Museo Pio-Clementino*, on the other hand, none of the engravings reveal that the Vatican's antiquity ever had been damaged or restored (Pl. 126).¹⁴⁰ And when the two Perikles herms finally were published side by side in the *Archäologische Zeitung* of 1868, both seemed to be in perfect condition.¹⁴¹

It is instructive to compare the British Museum's 1815 or 1846 illustrations of the Townley Perikles herm (Pl. 125:b, c) with photographs, such as the fine early examples in Brunn, Arndt, and Bruckmann, *Griechische und römische Porträts* of 1891¹⁴² and modern views (Pls. 113, 116:a, b), and, of course, with the object itself. Engraved indications of damages and restorations accord rather well with what can be seen in old photographs, in current photographs, and in the British Museum today, with one exception. The freestanding bridge of the nose guard of the Corinthian helmet, which spans the hollowed-out cavity within the eyeholes, is cracked clear through at top and bottom. The bridge is abraded along both sides. The exterior of the nose guard continues the contour of the forehead of the helmet; the interior has been brought to a careful, smooth curve inside the eyeholes. Its marble surface closely matches the patina of the rest of the object. The nose-guard fragment evidently fits into the solid casque break to break. Why is this section of the nose guard not broken in the archaeologically accurate, early illustrations of the British Museum? Fresh damage during the second half of the 19th century has not been recorded. The fragment does look antique and must have been perceived as either a remaining ancient repair or a re-inserted piece of the ancient marble. Since only the edges of non-ancient repaired parts were denoted by fine boundary lines in published illustrations of the herm, the broken aspect of the nose guard was suppressed.

To my knowledge, the fact that the nose guard of the Corinthian helmet on the copy in the British Museum is broken has been overlooked, and it is easy to understand why this

¹³⁸ *A Description of the Collection of Ancient Marbles* . . . (footnote 136 above), pl. 32 and see Michaelis, p. 151.

¹³⁹ Ellis (footnote 126 above), II, p. 3.

¹⁴⁰ Visconti, VI, pl. 29 and *idem*, *Iconographie grecque ou recueil des portraits authentiques des empereurs, rois, et hommes illustres de l'antiquité* I, Milan 1824, pl. 15 (originally published in Italian, 1812; cf. footnote 36 above).

¹⁴¹ Conze (footnote 12 above), pl. 2; save for a damaged pi on the inscription of the British Museum Perikles.

¹⁴² Pls. 411–412. Cf. also Charbonneaux *et al.* (footnote 12 above), p. 173, fig. 186.

apparently joining section never has been pointed out, let alone designated as suspect, before now. Indeed, the above-mentioned archaeological interpretations of the nose-guard fragment are not impossible. (1) The original nose-guard fragment, fortuitously, might have been found along with the herm and, although broken off (by a considerable blow?), happened to be preserved perfectly in a single, reinsertable piece. (2) The nose guard might have been broken and repaired in antiquity, and, fortuitously, this ancient restoration happened to be found, perhaps even still *in situ*. Herms, especially vulnerable to tipping because of their slender shafts, often were repaired in antiquity.¹⁴³ Finally, however, a third possibility certainly is no less plausible: the broken nose guard in question might be part of an unusually deceptive 18th-century restoration (many of which even employed ancient marble).¹⁴⁴

That the upper and lower inner edges of the bridge fragment do not now fit into the helmet perfectly (protruding slightly, especially at the join with the bottom of the eyeholes), in itself is hardly adequate evidence for condemnation nor is the abrasion of the fragment on its upper and side surfaces but not on its inner surface. Full realization that something is wrong with the eyehole area of the Corinthian helmet on the British Museum herm stems instead from what one does not see.

Perikles' hair peeps out from under the lower edge of his helmet; cropped short, it forms a dense cushion of tight, springy curls. While the copyist has paid most attention to the locks visible from the front, giving them sharp contours and carefully drilled centers, he has not failed to sculpture individual curls of hair all the way around (Pl. 113). It is a curious contrast that, beneath the ambitiously hollowed-out eyeholes of the helmet, no curly locks of hair appear on the top of Perikles' head (Pls. 113:a, 116:a, b). The rounded head-top is relatively smooth (although somewhat lumpy at the left side); its surface is not naturalistically descriptive. Would the suggestion of curls of hair in this difficult-to-reach spot on the British Museum copy have been relegated to now missing paint? On the other three extant marble copies of this portrait (Vatican, Berlin, Barracco; Pls. 114, 115, 116:c), however (leaving aside the question of head shape), plastic locks consistent with the rest of Perikles' coiffure were carved on the part of the head visible through the eyeholes of the helmet.¹⁴⁵ As we have seen in Part II, moreover, on other Roman marble copies with raised helmets held to be close reflections of lost 5th-century bronze originals (Pl. 121), whatever is revealed through the open eyeholes, be it human hair or the fabric of a cap, commonly is described naturalistically in a plastic manner.¹⁴⁶ The Riace statues reveal the care taken on bronze originals in covering the surfaces of heads visible beneath helmets with descriptive detail (Pls. 118:c, 119, 120:a, c).¹⁴⁷ The generic, smoothly carved surface of Perikles' head-top on the marble copy in the British Museum (Pls. 113, 116:a, b) cannot be said to

¹⁴³ Lecture by E. Harrison, "Ancient Repairs, Reworking, and Reuse of Greek Sculpture," 29 April, 1988, Marble Symposium, Malibu, J. Paul Getty Museum. On ancient repair and recutting of herms see *eadem* (footnote 8 above), e.g., no. 156, pp. 142–144; no. 158, pp. 144–145; no. 159, p. 146; no. 163, pp. 148–149; no. 205, p. 160; no. 214, p. 166; no. 216, p. 167.

¹⁴⁴ A. H. Smith ("Gavin Hamilton's Letters to Charles Townley," *JHS* 21, 1901 [pp. 306–321], p. 307), for example, quotes from a letter written by Hamilton in 1779, "In the year 1769 I employed my sculptor to go with another man to Villa Adriana in search of Marble to restore statues."

¹⁴⁵ See pp. 476–477 above and footnotes 59–60.

¹⁴⁶ See pp. 485–487 above.

¹⁴⁷ See pp. 481–484 above, Fig. 3, and Pls. 118:c; 119:a, b, c; 120:a, c.

duplicate the corresponding area of a lost Classical bronze original.¹⁴⁸ This simplified feature, furthermore, also appears to be stylistically inconsistent with the work of the otherwise sensitively attentive hand of the Roman copyist who made the head. The broken nose guard, in conjunction with the smooth, rounded head-top, suggests that at some point in its history this herm suffered recutting in this area. The random and uneven edges of the supposedly joining nose-guard fragment imply a modern repair of the eyehole area intended to fool, more than an ancient repair simply intended to fix.¹⁴⁹ The rounded head-top and space nestled within the eyeholes of the Corinthian helmet on the British Museum herm certainly would have been easier to carve if the nose guard had been inserted (or even reinserted) afterwards.¹⁵⁰

An examination of the helmets of the two inscribed herms further widens the distance between them (Pls. 113, 114). The Vatican Perikles' helmet is a striking model of the mature Corinthian type.¹⁵¹ It has the characteristic tongue-shaped nose guard which curves into the wide and deeply recessed soffits of the brow at the upper edge of the eyeholes. In profile view the nose guard extends straight down from the protruding brow. The descending line of the inner edges of the cheekpieces parallels that of the nose guard. The profile of Perikles' helmet rather resembles that of the casque worn by the Spreckels Painter's Athena (Pl. 124:b).

The profile of the helmet worn by the British Museum Perikles is different. Here, beginning at a smooth brow, the bridge of the nose guard curves inward from the forehead area. The entire profile undulates instead of descending straight and sure. The lowest intact part of the cheekpieces extends downward at a raking angle. Significantly, the eyehole area is more streamlined than the Vatican example, from the less tongue-shaped (damaged) nose guard to the thinner receding soffits and smooth brow.¹⁵²

Perhaps these variations in the appearance of the British Museum Perikles can best be comprehended by ascribing a greater role than has ever been suspected to the reworking by some unknown 18th-century restorer. In order to be more specific about the London Perikles' normal head-top, as seen through the hollow eyeholes of his helmet (the feature of central concern in this study), it is necessary to examine more closely the art and philosophy of restoring antiquities then in vogue. In the late 1700's the concept of archaeologically accurate and restrained restoration had just begun to dawn. That the discrepancy between the new theory and actual practice remained great, however, is exemplified by the work and writings of the prolific restorer-dealer Bartolomeo Cavaceppi (ca. 1716–1799).¹⁵³ While

¹⁴⁸ Perikles, for example, does not appear to be wearing a smooth cap under his helmet in this portrait.

¹⁴⁹ For the nose-guard area of the British Museum Perikles see p. 495 above, and for an ancient repair see especially the herm, Athens, Agora S 2452, Boardman, fig. 142.

¹⁵⁰ Cf. the Munich version of the Barracco Miltiades type, ABr, pls. 21 and 22. The nose guard of its entirely modern helmet was intentionally restored as broken, but the restorations have now been removed; cf. footnote 108 above.

¹⁵¹ See footnote 97 above. Both the Berlin and Barracco copies are damaged in the relevant area, but still straight profiles suggest their helmets would have corresponded with the Vatican copy.

¹⁵² The unscathed head-top adjacent to the damaged nose guard may be a further sign of post-excavation, rather than ancient, repair.

¹⁵³ See the 1958 dissertation by S. Howard, *Bartolomeo Cavaceppi: Eighteenth-century Restorer*, New York 1982, esp. pp. 206–221, 228–234 and *idem*, *Dizionario biografico degli Italiani* XXII, s.v. Bartolomeo Cavaceppi, Rome 1979, pp. 549–551. Greater restraint is associated with the transition from late Rococo to Neo-

today Cavaceppi's more intricate assemblages are considered pastiches, the techniques he employed in restoration work, from the smallest to the largest job, are of great interest here. "Even on close inspection the restored portions are extremely difficult to distinguish from the antique core."¹⁵⁴ His modern joins were made to resemble "accidental breaks"; new parts could be fretted and stained to look antique, and surfaces of the whole were often cleaned and polished or buffed to look uniform.¹⁵⁵ At that time, even when a relatively complete ancient prototype that could have guided a proper restoration was known, it was not necessarily followed. The most famous example is Charles Townley's version of Myron's Discobolos, which, despite its alien and wrongly poised head, the owner praised over the almost intact copy, now known as the Lancelotti.¹⁵⁶

Moreover, we must not forget that restoration entailed not only the addition of missing parts but also the elimination of undesirable features. On a statue of an athlete in Berlin, for example, Cavaceppi "removed all the pubic hair."¹⁵⁷ On a herm of Bacchus in the Townley Collection the genitals, or the remains thereof, were chiseled off entirely.¹⁵⁸ Marbles were usually restored in Italy before export and sale, but we possess an amazing example of an English collector implementing his own particular taste in the case of Charles Townley's competitor, Henry Blundell, Esq. of Ince-Blundell Hall.

Mr. Blundell's account of his transmutation of an hermaphroditic group, purchased at Lord Besborough's sale, is entertaining. Three children were represented crawling on the breast of the larger statue. He says, "The figure was unnatural and very disgusting to the sight, but by means of a little castration, and *cutting away the little brats*, it became a *Sleeping Venus*, and as pleasing a figure as any in the collection. Its easy attitude in a sound sleep, and the finess of the sculpture, are much noticed by the connoisseurs."¹⁵⁹

In conclusion, when excavated in the 18th century from the site of an ancient Roman Villa in Tivoli, the Vatican Perikles (Pl. 114) had suffered losses, including part of its nose and most of the right cheekpiece of its Corinthian helmet, but the entire nose guard and the curls of hair within the eyeholes of the helmet were preserved intact (Pl. 116:c). The strange head shape of this image was comprehended immediately on the basis of Plutarch's description of Perikles' schinocephaly, "his head was rather long and out of due proportion," and

Classicism; cf. the attitude of Antonio Canova in S. Howard, "The Antiquarian Market in Rome and the Rise of Neo-classicism: A Basis for Canova's New Classics," *Studies on Voltaire and the Eighteenth Century* 153, 1976, pp. 1057–1068; cf. footnote 131 above. Picon (footnote 129 above), pp. 14–16: Cavaceppi did restorations for the Vatican as well as Gavin Hamilton, and his products found their way into major 18th-century British collections, including Townley's. See also Cavaceppi's *Raccolta d'antiche statue, busti, teste cognite ed altre sculture antiche* I–III, Rome 1768, 1769, 1772, where he published many of the antiquities he had restored.

¹⁵⁴ Howard, 1982 (footnote 153 above), p. 24.

¹⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 17–18 and *passim*; Picon (footnote 129 above), p. 17.

¹⁵⁶ Cook, p. 42, fig. 40 and pp. 43, 53; S. Howard, "Some Eighteenth-century Restorations of Myron's 'Discobolos'," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 25, 1962, pp. 330–334, pl. 46. For the "Lancelotti Discobolos", found in 1781, see Haskell and Penney (footnote 121 above), no. 32, pp. 199–202, fig. 104.

¹⁵⁷ Howard, 1982 (footnote 153 above), p. 129, fig. 273.

¹⁵⁸ Smith (footnote 5 above), no. 1608, p. 43; the catalogue is not clear about this detail, but it is apparent on the object in the British Museum.

¹⁵⁹ Ellis (footnote 126 above), pp. 69–70, note 23.

the famous passage, "... the images of him, almost all of them, wear helmets, because the artists, as it would seem, were not willing to reproach him with deformity."¹⁶⁰ Visconti published the Plutarch association in the catalogue of the *Museo Pio-Clementino*.¹⁶¹

The second (British Museum) Perikles herm (Pl. 113), found shortly thereafter at the same site by the same excavator, also had suffered damage, especially along the central front axis of its head. The nose was missing, as were the bottom ends of the cheekpieces of the Corinthian helmet. It must have been injured as well in the eyehole area of the helmet. By the standards of the 18th century this "Marble" was sorely in need of restoration.¹⁶² But if the eyehole area was damaged, why was it not repaired to match the already renowned Vatican version? The cunning details of hollow eye openings and rounded head-top on the London Perikles, undoubtedly, must have been a matter of taste. Despite a preserved correct, archaeological prototype (the Vatican Perikles), in an 18th-century renovation any damage to the detail perceived as the famous Athenian's deformity would more likely have prompted alteration than proper replacement; hence, we may explain the "transmutation" of a "disgusting" feature into a normal one on the Townley herm.¹⁶³

Today, in the British Museum, the herm guards the entranceway to the Duveen Gallery housing the Elgin Marbles. Most of the Townley Collection, resplendent with original 18th-century restorations, is to be seen in the basement of the Museum, in the Wolfson Galleries.¹⁶⁴ Surely, the unusual version of Perikles' portrait in London would be more readily comprehensible to 20th-century eyes if viewed amongst its fellow Townley Marbles.¹⁶⁵

It is to be hoped that this study has dissipated clouds which have gathered around the heads of a pair of venerable antiquities. New evidence provided by the elongated crania of the Riace bronze statues, considered in conjunction with the post-excavation restorations of

¹⁶⁰ Perrin, *loc. cit.* (footnote 29 above), translation of Plutarch, *Perikles* 3.2.

¹⁶¹ Visconti, VI, pp. 163–164. On pl. 29 of Visconti's volume VI for the Pio-Clementino, however, the raised cranium is virtually suppressed (Pl. 126:a, b). Visconti (*Iconographie* [footnote 140 above], p. 190, note 1) did not like these early engravings (cf. footnote 36 above) and had the Vatican Perikles re-engraved *ca.* 1812 for this later publication on portraiture, Milan edition 1824, I, pl. 15 (Pl. 126:c, d), where locks of hair are shown distinctly in the eyeholes of Perikles' helmet.

¹⁶² Cf. Picon (footnote 129 above), p. 16; Smith (footnote 144 above), e.g., p. 315 and note 5 for Hamilton's own descriptions of restorations; and Dallaway (footnote 126 above), III, p. 728 for the dealer Thomas Jenkins' famous comment about unrestored antiquities.

¹⁶³ See the quotation from Blundell, p. 498 above. The present study has been restricted to visual analysis and the historical evidence for restoration. It should lead to further examination of the British Museum Perikles. Consultation with scientists at the 1988 Marble Symposium, Malibu, J. Paul Getty Museum, however, has suggested that, given the 18th-century practices of employing ancient marble for repairs and of smoothing the surfaces of antiquities, in addition to recutting, scientific tests probably would not provide conclusive proof either for or against the specific restoration of the eyehole area on the London Perikles proposed here.

¹⁶⁴ E.g., in the Townley Collection a marble bust of Athena was fitted with a new bronze helmet by Albacini; Smith (footnote 5 above), III, no. 1571, pp. 26–27 and Cook, p. 36, fig. 34. For inaccuracies of restorations in the Townley Collection, see Cook, pp. 51–53. Compare copies of the Athena Velletri, with restored helmet cheekpieces (footnotes 96 and 98 above). For a description and illustration of the Townley exhibit see Cook, p. 62 and p. 63, fig. 58. For restoration patchwork see also illustrations in Picon (footnote 129 above), e.g., no. 8; F. Poulsen, *Greek and Roman Portraits in English Country Houses*, G. Richards, trans., Oxford 1923; and G. Waywell, *The Lever and Hope Sculptures*, Berlin 1986.

¹⁶⁵ For the Museum's original Townley Galleries see J. Crook, *The British Museum*, London 1972, pp. 67–68, fig. 25.

the Perikles herm has helped lay to rest an inveterate and embarrassing question about a great Classical portrait which once must have stood on the Athenian Akropolis. The “schinocephalic” Perikles of the Vatican type at last has been elevated to its rightful position as truest to the (lost) bronze original and the British Museum herm set within the context of 18th-century antiquarianism. Earlier discussions of Perikles’ portrait have gone astray by interpreting in physiognomic or stylistic terms a technological characteristic of helmeted Greek bronze statues from the 5th century B.C., which, nearly two millennia ago, may also have deceived Plutarch (*Perikles* 3.2).

APPENDIX

CIRCUMSTANCES OF THE DISCOVERY OF THE INSCRIBED PERIKLES HERMS

Conflicting citations on almost every point of their early history, including finder, findspot, and date, occur in both secondary literature and contemporary references to the two inscribed herms of Perikles (Pls. 113, 114). The most often repeated version of the discovery stems from Visconti’s early publication of the Vatican herm in his *Museo Pio-Clementino*.¹⁶⁶ He stated that both were found at the same time in a papal excavation near Tivoli in the “*Pianella* of Cassius” and that one, in exchange for other herms, was given to Gavin Hamilton, from whom it passed into Townley’s collection. *A Description of the Collection of Ancient Marbles in the British Museum* of 1815 repeats Visconti’s story and find date of 1781.¹⁶⁷ Charles Townley’s own *Parlour Catalogue* of his collection from 1804 also gives a 1781 date, but in the earliest unpublished notebooks and manuscript catalogues relating to the Townley marbles the find date is given as 1780.¹⁶⁸

Gavin Hamilton was Townley’s most trustworthy supplier of antiquities. The Scottish painter was perhaps the leading excavator-dealer in Italy during the latter part of the 18th century.¹⁶⁹ Smith published the surviving transcripts of Hamilton’s letters to his client, calling attention to another account of the discovery and provenance of each of the two herms.¹⁷⁰ The pertinent letter, unfortunately now lost, was summarized by Dallaway in 1800: “Mr. H. discovered a Perikles at the *Oliveto* of Tivoli (now Mr. Townley’s), a repetition of that in the Mus. Pio-Clem. found at the *Lake of Castiglione*, with the helmet.”¹⁷¹ A curious contrast is provided by the report on 17 April 1779 in the *Diario ordinario del Cracas* announcing the discovery of the herm with the “*figlio di Santippo Ateniese*” inscription “*nell’Oliveto di Tivoli chiamato la Pianella di Cassio*.”¹⁷² The transcription of the long inscription leaves no doubt that this first-found Perikles is the Vatican copy.

¹⁶⁶ See footnote 36 above; Visconti, VI, p. 160, note, pl. 29; I, pp. 93–94, 99 and cf. *idem*, *Iconographie* (footnote 140 above), p. 190, note 1. On the importance of E. Q. Visconti and his work see J. Labus in Visconti, I, pp. 19–54; Hauteceur (footnote 124 above), p. 69. This appendix focuses on evidence for the Perikles herms; for a general summary of excavation at the “Villa of Cassius” see Neudecker (footnote 8 above), pp. 229–234.

¹⁶⁷ Under pl. 32; cf. footnote 122 above, FrW, p. 213, and Richter, p. 103.

¹⁶⁸ For the *Parlour Catalogue* see Cook (footnote 127 above), pp. 56–59. Brian Cook has generously provided the relevant information from unpublished Townley papers and manuscripts in his letter cited in footnote 126 above. Perhaps based on Townley’s own records is the assertion of J. Dallaway (*Anecdotes of the Arts in England*, London 1800, p. 317) that the two herms were discovered “in 1780, at the Pianura di Cassio.”

¹⁶⁹ D. Irwin, “Gavin Hamilton: Archaeologist, Painter, and Dealer,” *ArtB* 44, 1962 (pp. 87–102), pp. 87–92 and Michaelis, pp. 73–74, 80–81, 94; *Dictionary* (footnote 126 above), VIII, (repr. n.d., vols. XXII–XXIV, 1890), s.v. Hamilton, Gavin, pp. 1039–1040; Pietrangeli, 1972 (footnote 124 above), pp. xlvii–xlix; Howard (footnote 124 above), pp. 44–47, 49, 55.

¹⁷⁰ Smith (footnote 144 above), pp. 317–318.

¹⁷¹ *Ibid.* and Dallaway (footnote 168 above), p. 380.

¹⁷² Pietrangeli, 1958, p. 146.

Another citation from 1779 (29 May) in the *Diario di Roma* concerning the discovery “*nella villa di Bruto presso Tivoli*” of “*altra Erme di Pericle conservatissima con sua iscrizz^{ne} greca*,” must be for the British Museum’s Townley herm.¹⁷³ In 1936 Lippold, adding to the confusion, argued that the Vatican and British Museum Perikles herms were found together, along with other herms and also the famous Muses in 1774 in the “Villa of Brutus” to the south of Tivoli, rather than in the “Villa of Cassius,” which he believed to lie to the north.¹⁷⁴

Pietrangeli’s investigations have shed the most light on sorting places, people, and objects into a likely sequence of events.¹⁷⁵ Terraced remains of a late Republican villa to the south of Tivoli, on the slopes of Mt. Ripoli, had been referred to as the “Villa of Cassius” at least since the end of the 16th century. These ruins were sometimes confused or conflated with those of an adjacent site, which had come to be known, equally arbitrarily, as the “Villa of Brutus”.¹⁷⁶ In the 18th century the De Matthias family owned an olive grove on the “Villa of Cassius” site; the place now was called the *Pianella di Carciano*. Beginning in 1773, Domenico de Angelis, another important antiquarian, received permits to excavate in this olive grove, which he called “*la Pianella di Cassio*.”¹⁷⁷ In 1779 Pope Pius VI initiated an additional round of excavations at this rich site under a newly appointed papal inspector, Giovanni Corradi, ensuring that everything found went to the Vatican and that a certain percentage of the total value was given to the owner of the property.¹⁷⁸

Correspondence about this excavation between Corradi and Giovanni Battista Visconti, Winckelmann’s successor as Papal Commissioner of Antiquities, is preserved. Corradi notes his discovery of the first herm on 12 April, 1779. This clearly is the Vatican copy: the head had been broken from the herm shaft, and the excavator did not connect the parts, thereby failing to identify Perikles until the following day.¹⁷⁹ Corradi recorded the second on 18 May: “*questa mattina si è trovato un Erme conservatissima e similissima a quella del Pericle con la celata alzata, e a me pare che sia l’istessa fisionomia con questa iscrizione /ΕΠΙΚΛΗ/*.”¹⁸⁰ Notation of the missing pi in an inscription limited to the name Perikles indicates the latter must be the British Museum herm. Corradi’s dates are corroborated by the above-mentioned (only slightly confused) reporting of the finds in the Rome daily newspapers. Thus the discovery of both herms should be placed in 1779 rather than in 1774, 1780, or 1781.

The two Perikles herms, along with other antiquities found in the olive grove, were taken to Rome, still in 1779, where their value was estimated by Gavin Hamilton as 45 scudi.¹⁸¹ The herm found first was retained by papal authority for the *Pio-Clementino*, evidently partly on the basis of its longer inscription in elaborate block letters.¹⁸² The immediate history of the second herm is not

¹⁷³ *Ibid.*

¹⁷⁴ Lippold, pp. 67, 99. Cf. Bernoulli (footnote 12 above), p. 108 (a combination of “Villa of Brutus” find-spot with a 1781 date) and Helbig⁴ I, p. 55.

¹⁷⁵ Pietrangeli, pp. 157–181. See also Ridgway, *Copies*, p. 63, note 44, but she mentions only Pietrangeli, 1958, pp. 139–146.

¹⁷⁶ Pietrangeli, pp. 158, 161–162, 164. For these sites today see F. Coarelli, *Lazio*, Bari 1985, pp. 99–101.

¹⁷⁷ Pietrangeli, p. 158 and Pietrangeli, 1958, p. 139.

¹⁷⁸ Pietrangeli, p. 172 and Pietrangeli, 1958, p. 142.

¹⁷⁹ Pietrangeli, p. 172.

¹⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 174. “*Celata*” used by the excavator to describe Perikles’ Corinthian helmet was a type, the sallet, which developed in Mediaeval and Renaissance Europe; see L. Boccia, *Dizionarii terminologici*, II, *Armi difensive dal medioevo al età moderna*, Florence 1982, p. 27 with pls. 17–19 and L. Tarassuk and C. Blair, *The Complete Encyclopedia of Arms and Weapons*, New York 1982, p. 412. The name is thought to derive from the Latin, *caelata*, *Oxford English Dictionary* IX, Oxford 1933 (repr. 1961), p. 53.

¹⁸¹ Pietrangeli, p. 175 and Pietrangeli, 1958, p. 142.

¹⁸² See Pasquale Massi, *Indicazione antiquaria del Pontificio Museo Pio-Clementino in Vaticano*, Rome

clear. It may have come into the possession of Gavin Hamilton (evidently by exchange and not by excavation) sometime after his appraisal.¹⁸³ In any event, Hamilton reportedly sold this herm to Charles Townley for £50, but it was not allowed to be exported to England until several years later, perhaps in 1784.¹⁸⁴ Some doubt may be cast on this date as well by Vatican records indicating that the second Perikles herm was first sold to another artist-dealer, Giovanni Volpato, for 150 scudi in 1785.¹⁸⁵ Nonetheless, already in 1787 Stuart and Revett published the London portrait of Perikles in *The Antiquities of Athens* (Pl. 125:a).¹⁸⁶

BETH COHEN

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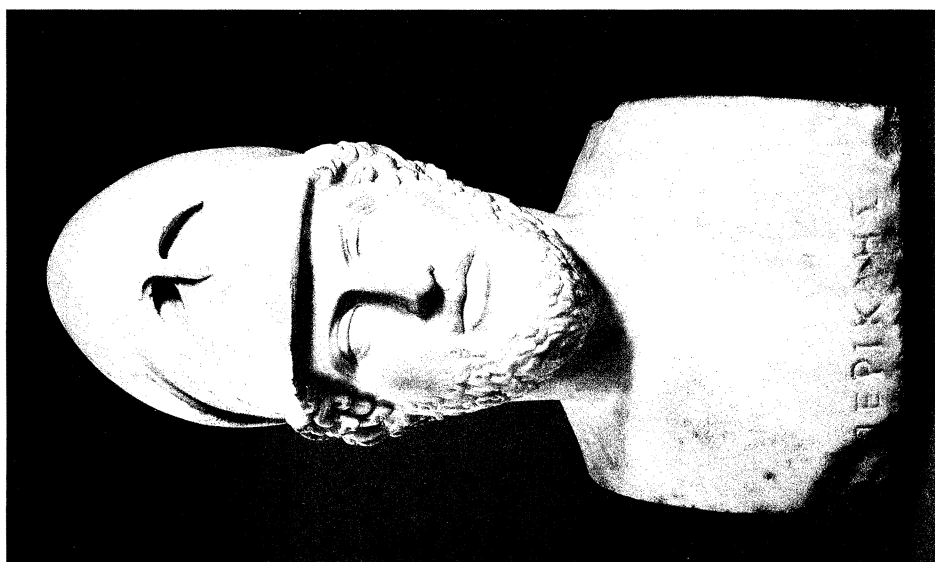
1792, no. 24, p. 115. The Vatican retained the works considered best preserved and of highest quality: Howard, 1978 (footnote 131 above), p. 20.

¹⁸³ Visconti, VI, p. 160, note 1.

¹⁸⁴ Cook, p. 37. This Perikles herm is not listed among antiquities known to have been exported from Rome during the years in question, see A. Bertolotti, "Esportazione di oggetti di belle arti da Roma per l'Inghilterra nei secoli XVI, XVII e XVIII," *Archivio storico artistico, archaeologico e letterario della città e provincia di Roma* 4, 1880 (pp. 74–90), pp. 86–87.

¹⁸⁵ See Pietrangeli, p. 175 and Pietrangeli, 1972 (footnote 124 above), p. xlvii.

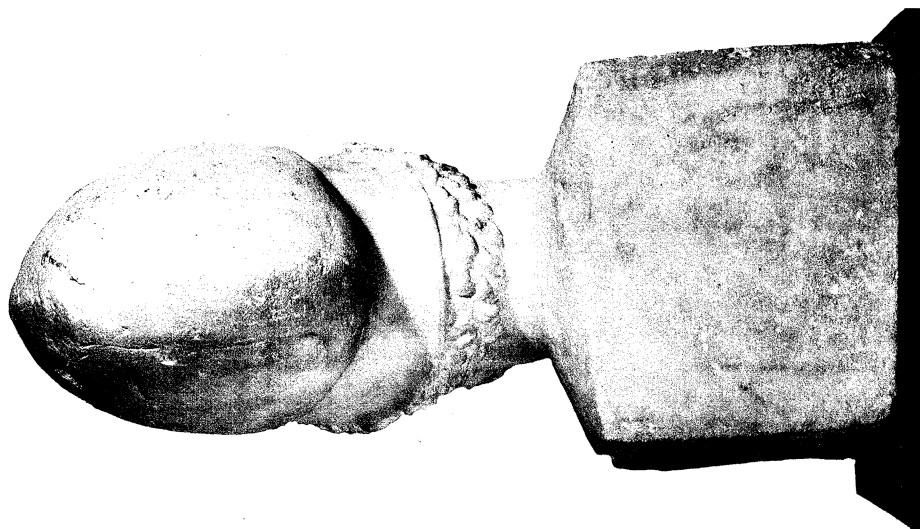
¹⁸⁶ Footnote 137 above and Part III, pp. 494–495 above.



a. Herm of Perikles, London, British Museum 549.
Photograph courtesy Trustees of the British
Museum, London



b. Left side of British Museum Perikles



c. Back of British Museum Perikles

BETH COHEN: PERIKLES' PORTRAIT



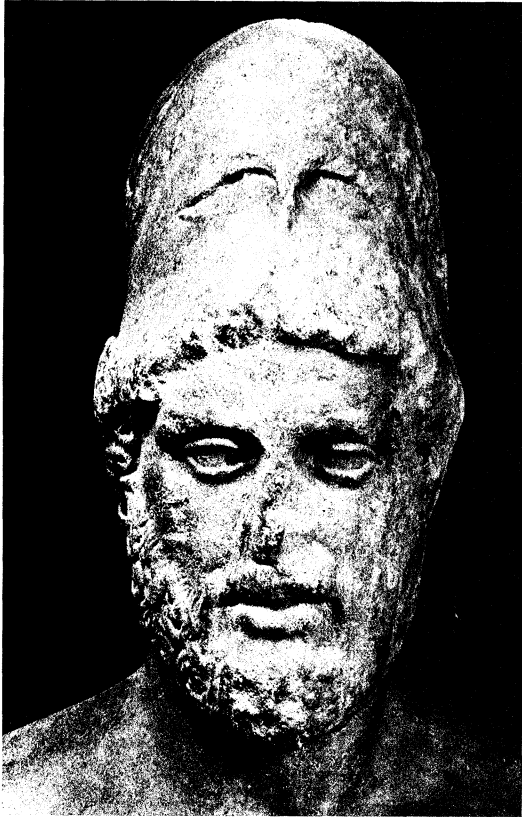
a. Herm of Perikles, upper portion, Vatican, Museo Pio-Clementino 525. Photograph courtesy Monumenti Musei e Gallerie Pontificie, Vatican City



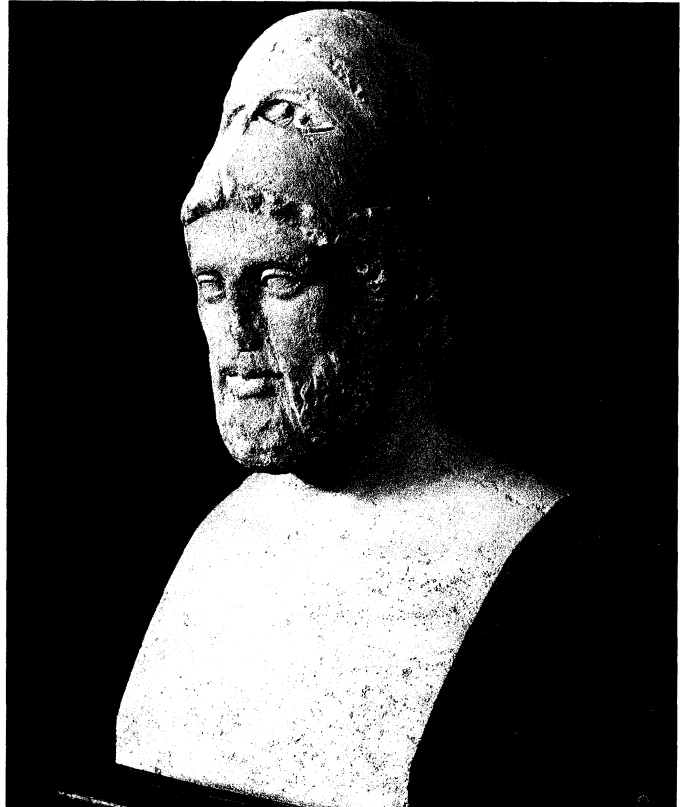
b. Head of Vatican Perikles, left side



c. Head of Vatican Perikles



a. Head of Perikles, Rome, Museo Barracco 198. After ABr, pl. 415



b. Three-quarter view of Museo Barracco Perikles. Photograph courtesy Alinari, Florence/Art Resource, New York



c. Head of Perikles, Berlin, Staatliche Museen 1530. Photograph courtesy Staatliche Museen zu Berlin



d. Left side of Berlin Perikles



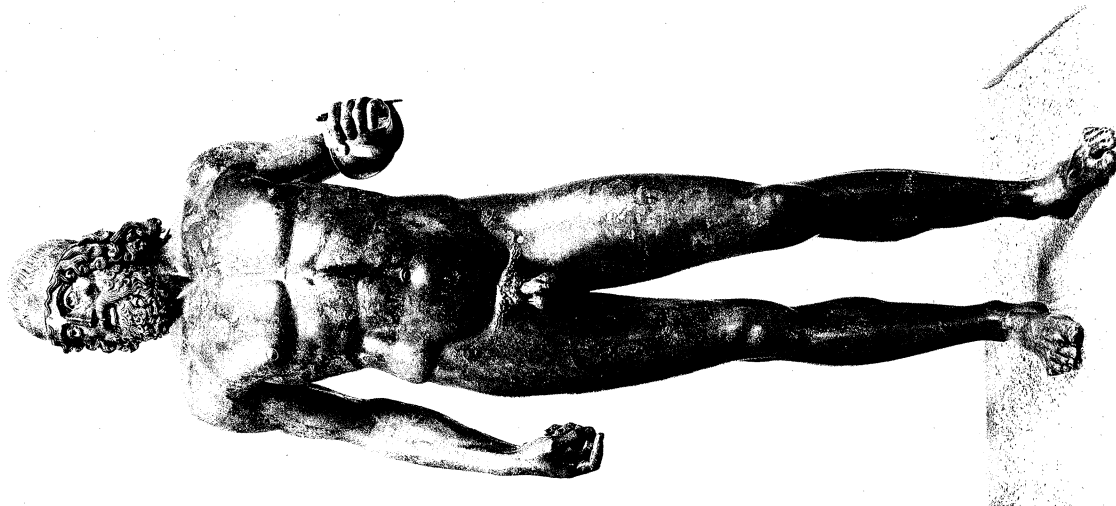
a. Herm of Perikles, detail of head and helmet, left side, London, British Museum 549. After ABr, pl. 412. Courtesy Trustees of the British Museum, London



b. Front of British Museum Perikles, detail



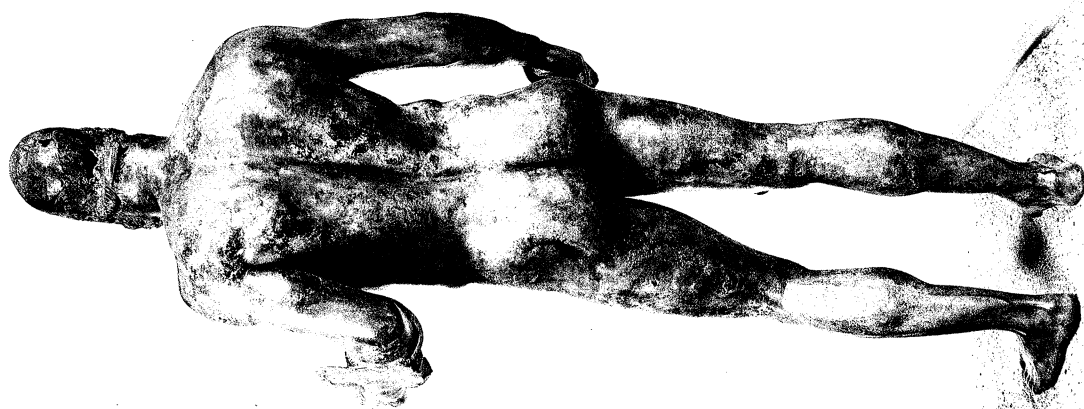
c. Herm of Perikles, detail of helmet, Vatican, Museo Pio-Clementino 525. Photograph courtesy Monumenti Musei e Gallerie Pontificie, Vatican City



a. Riace bronze Statue A, Reggio di Calabria, Museo Nazionale. Photograph courtesy Alinari, Florence/Art Resource, New York



b. Riace bronze Statue B, right side, Reggio di Calabria, Museo Nazionale. Photograph courtesy Alinari, Florence/Art Resource, New York



c. Back of Statue B

BETH COHEN: PERIKLES' PORTRAIT



a. Head of Charioteer, Archaeological Museum, Delphi. Photograph courtesy Bildarchiv Foto Marburg/Art Resource, New York



b. Left side of Charioteer. Photograph courtesy Alinari, Florence/Art Resource, New York



c. Riace bronze Statue B, upper part, Reggio di Calabria, Museo Nazionale. Photograph courtesy Alinari, Florence/Art Resource, New York



d. Photomontage: head of Statue B with helmet of Vatican Perikles. After A. Busignani, *Gli Eroi di Riace*, Florence 1981, fig. 33



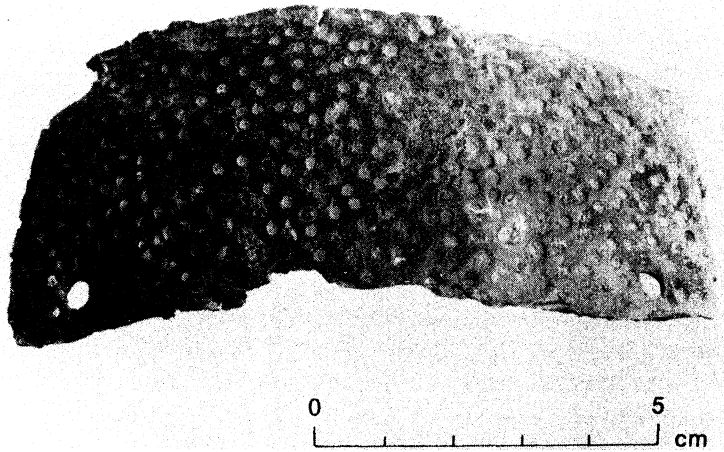
a. Head of Riace bronze Statue A, Reggio di Calabria, Museo Nazionale. Photograph courtesy Alinari, Florence/Art Resource, New York



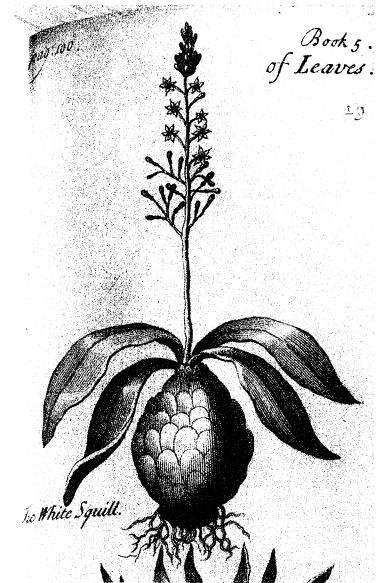
b. Upper part of Statue A, left side



c. Head of Statue A, back view



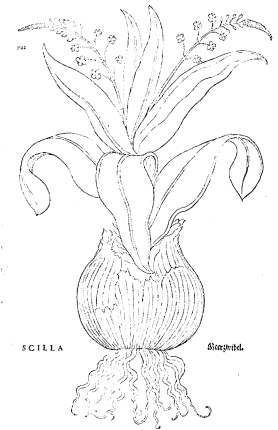
a. Stippled copper plaque from head of Riace bronze Statue B, Reggio di Calabria, Museo Nazionale. After *Due bronzi I*, p. 189, fig. 6



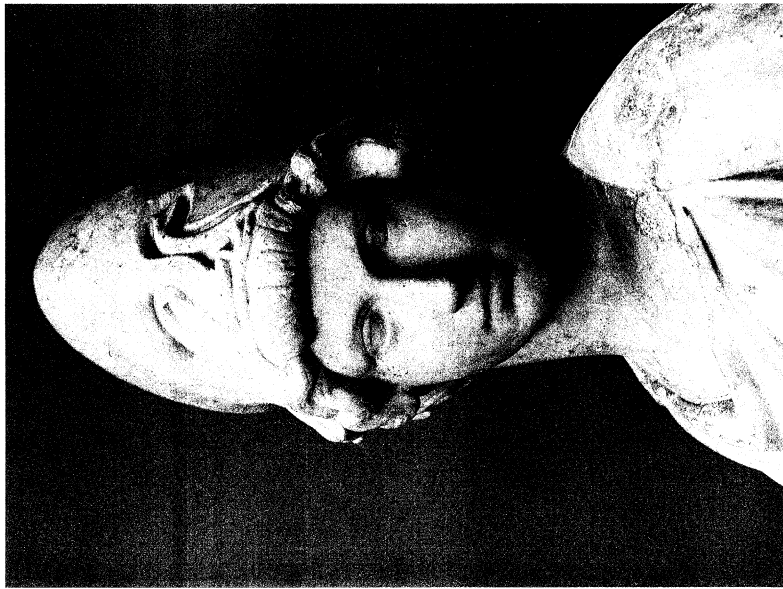
b. Engraving of White Squill. After P. Pomet, rev. Lemert and Tournefort, *A Compleat History of Drugs*, London 1712, pl. 39



c. Head of Riace bronze Statue A, right side, Reggio di Calabria, Museo Nazionale. After *Due bronzi II*, pl. A, 16



d. Engraving of *Scilla maritima* (Red Squill), L. Fuchs, *de Historia Stirpium*, Basel 1542, p. 782. Photograph courtesy the New York Academy of Medicine Library



a. Head of Athena, detail of Roman marble copy of 5th-century-B.C. Greek bronze statue, attributed to Myron, Frankfurt, Liebieghaus 195. Photograph Ursula Edelmann; courtesy Städtische Galerie Liebieghaus, Frankfurt



b. Corinthian helmeted head of wounded warrior, Roman marble copy of 5th-century-B.C. Greek bronze statue, New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, Hewitt Fund, 1925, 25.116. Photograph courtesy Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York

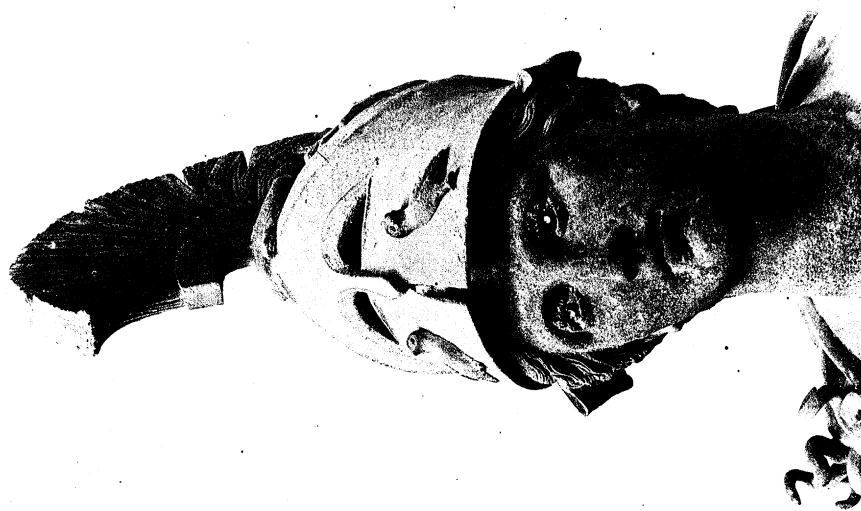


c. Bust of Athena (Velletri type), Roman marble copy of 5th-century-B.C. Greek bronze statue, Los Angeles, Los Angeles County Museum of Art, William Randolph Hearst Collection 49.23.1. Photograph courtesy Los Angeles County Museum of Art

BETH COHEN: PERIKLES' PORTRAIT



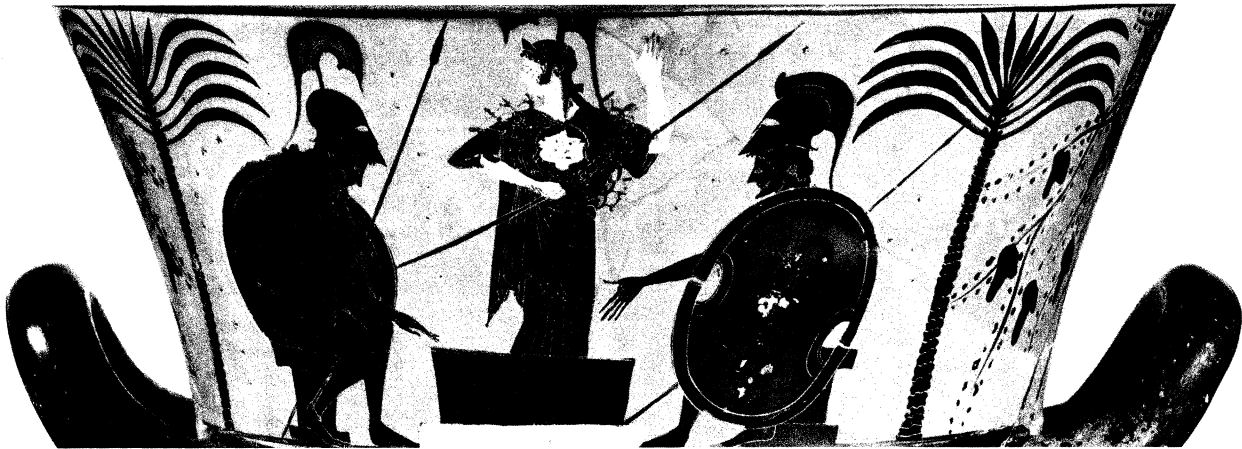
a. Head of Mars from Todi, Vatican, Museo Gregoriano Etrusco 1388. Photograph courtesy Monumenti Musei e Gallerie Pontificie, Vatican City



b. Head of Greek bronze statue of Athena, Piraeus, Archaeological Museum. Photograph courtesy D.A.I. Athen, neg. no. 70/1310



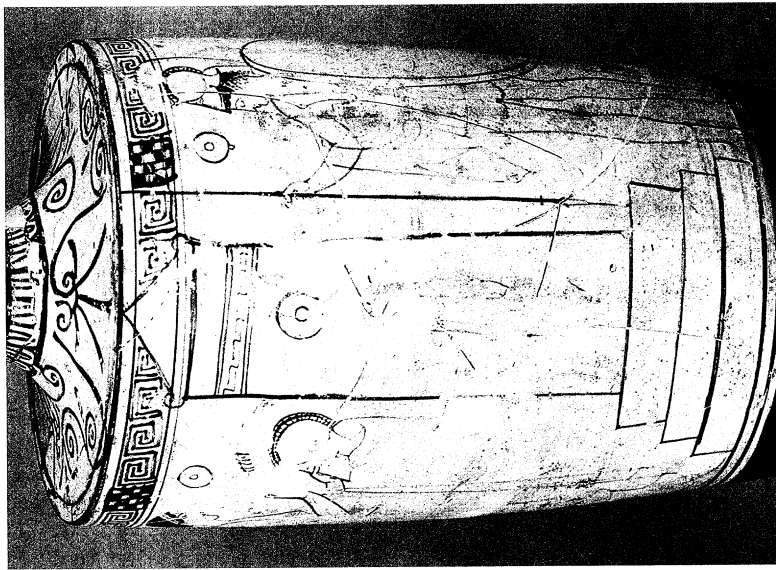
c. Greek bronze male head from the Akropolis, Athens, National Museum 6446. Photograph courtesy D.A.I. Athen, neg. no. Hege 2095



a. Achilles and Ajax playing a board game, Attic black-figured calyx-krater, attributed to the Rycroft Painter, Toledo Museum of Art, gift of Edward Drummond Libbey 63.26. Photograph courtesy Toledo Museum of Art, Toledo, Ohio



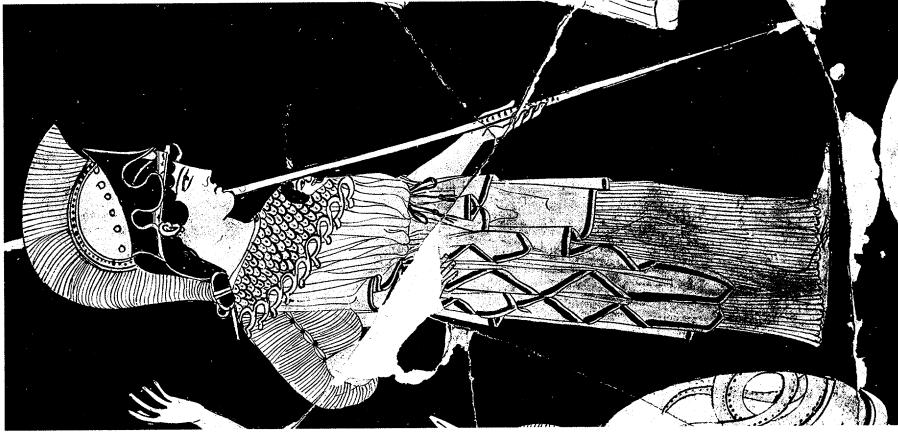
b. Achilles and Ajax playing a board game, detail, Attic red-figured kalpis, attributed to the Berlin Painter, New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, purchase 1965, Arnold and Janetta Whitridge Gift 65.11.12. Photograph courtesy Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York



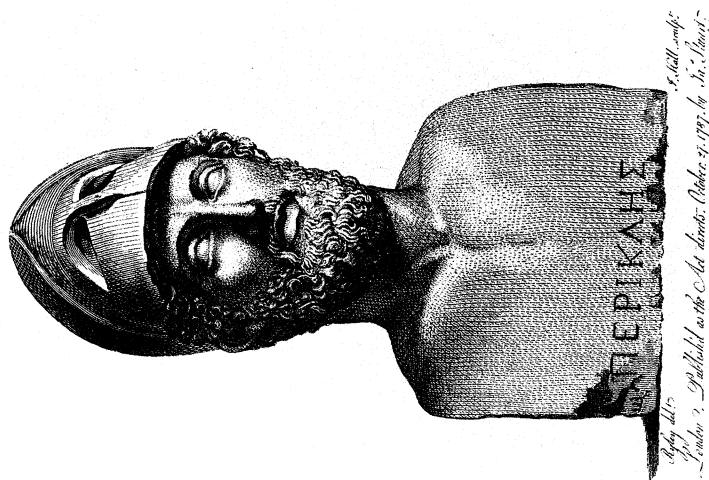
a. Woman and warrior at tomb, Attic white-ground lekythos, attributed to the Inscription Painter, New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, Rogers Fund, 1906 06.1021.294. Photograph courtesy Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York



b. Athena, detail, Attic red-figured calyx-krater, attributed to the Sprechels Painter, New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, Rogers Fund, 1907 07.286.66. Photograph courtesy Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York



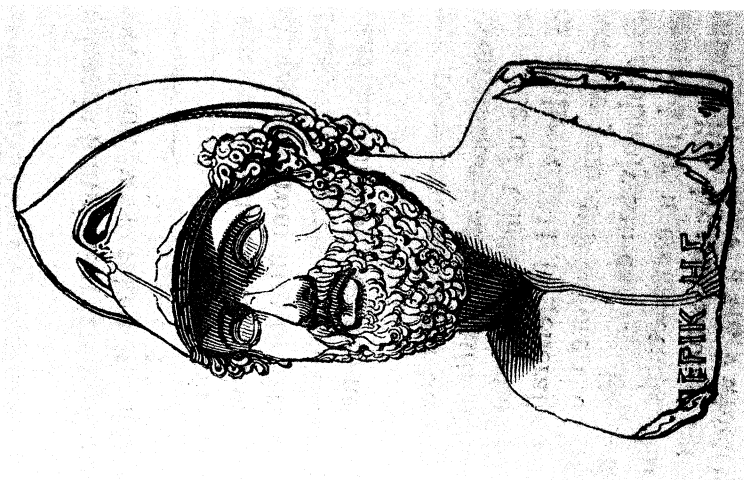
c. Athena, detail, Attic red-figured calyx-krater, attributed to the Niobid Painter, Paris, Louvre G 41. Photograph courtesy Musée du Louvre, Paris



a. Engraving after herm of Perikles, London, J. Stuart and N. Revett, *The Antiquities of Athens* II, London 1787 (repr. New York 1980), chap. 5, p. 42



b. Engraving after herm of Perikles, London, British Museum, *A Description of the Collection of Ancient Marbles in the British Museum* II, London 1815, pl. 32



c. Engraving after herm of Perikles, London, British Museum, H. Ellis, *The Townley Gallery* II, London 1846, p. 3



a. Engraving after herm of Perikles, Vatican, E. Q. Visconti, *Musée Pie-Clémentin* VI, Milan 1821, pl. 29



b. Engraving after herm of Perikles, Vatican, right side, E. Q. Visconti, *Musée Pie-Clémentin* VI, Milan 1821, pl. 29



c. Engraving after herm of Perikles, Vatican, E. Q. Visconti, *Iconographie grecque* I, Milan 1824, pl. 15



d. Engraving after herm of Perikles, Vatican, left side, E. Q. Visconti, *Iconographie grecque* I, Milan 1824, pl. 15