

UNCANONICAL IMPERIAL PORTRAITS IN THE EASTERN ROMAN PROVINCES

THE CASE OF THE KANELLOPOULOS EMPEROR

ABSTRACT

1. This article grew out of a paper originally presented at the Archaeological Institute of America Annual Meeting in Atlanta, Georgia, in 1994. I am indebted to many scholars for their contributions and advice, especially those who read this article in earlier stages, including Alan Shapiro, Andrew Stewart, Fred Kleiner, and the anonymous reviewers for *Hesperia*. Their helpful comments and insightful suggestions caused me to rethink and rework this article significantly, and I am deeply grateful. Thanks also to all who supplied photographs: Maria Andreadaki, Vanna Niniou-Kindelis, and George Skoulas, Chania Museum; Mari Aurenhammer, Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna; Ünal Demirer, Antalya Museum; Roland Étienne, École française d'Athènes; Axel Filges, Deutsches Archäologisches Institut, Istanbul; Ev. Giannoussaki, National Archaeological Museum, Athens; Helle W. Horsnæs and Jørgen Steen Jensen, National Museum, Copenhagen; Jan Jordan, American School of Classical Studies at Athens, Agora Excavations; Ilona Trabert, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin-Preussischer Kulturbesitz Antikensammlung, Berlin; Bekir Tuluk, Efes Müzesi, Seljuk; Deutsches Archäologisches Institut, Athens; Staatliche Antiken Sammlungen, Munich; and William E. Metcalf, American Numismatic Society.

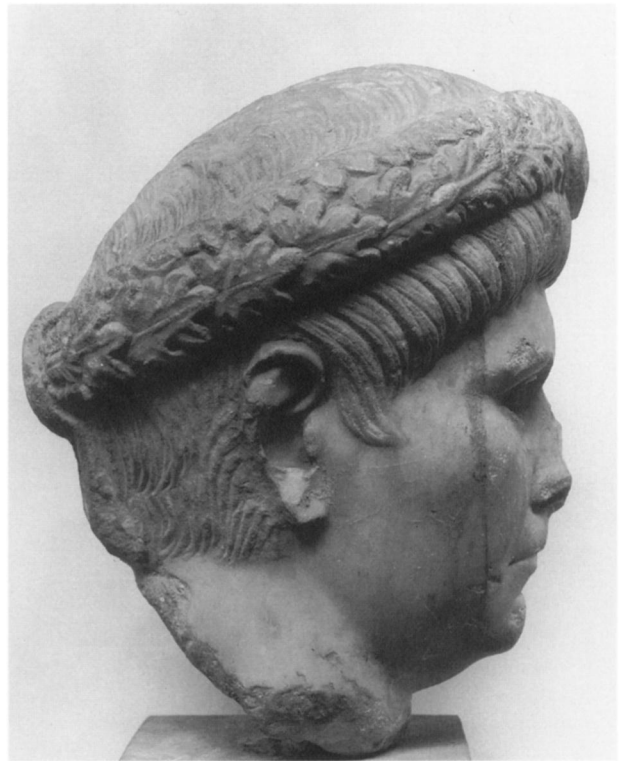
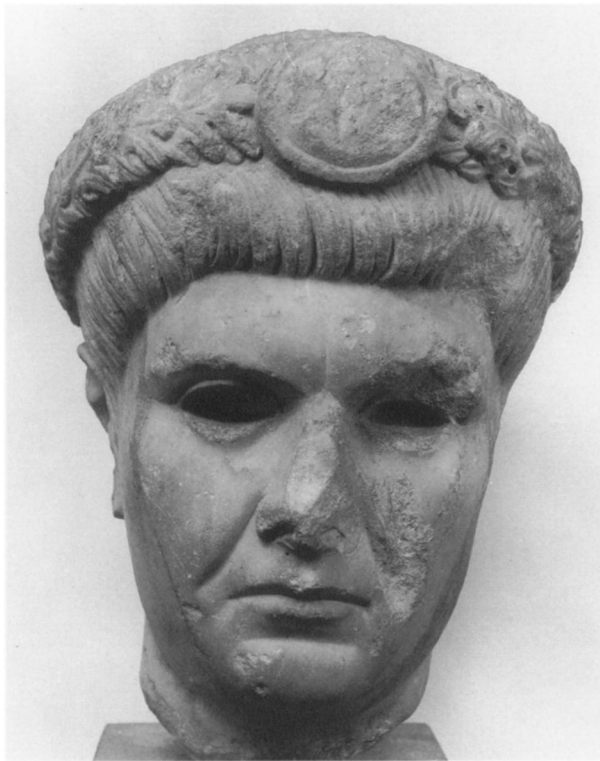
2. Pekáry 1985, pp. 81–83.

3. It appears to be Pentelic; Dontas 1975, p. 521.

The identity of the imperial portrait in the Kanellopoulos Museum in Athens has baffled modern viewers. The portrait lacks an inscription and the provenance is unknown, although it is probably from the Roman East. The portrait bears the imperial attribute of a *corona civica* yet its features do not closely resemble those of any emperor. Comparison with other provincial imperial portraits in sculpture and on coins reveals that deviation from Roman canonical types is common, a finding also supported in the ancient literature. Stylistic analysis places the portrait in the early 2nd century, so the Kanellopoulos Emperor is probably Trajan.

In the collections of the small but impressive Kanellopoulos Museum, located on the northern slopes of the Acropolis in Athens, an imperial portrait is displayed (Figs. 1–4).¹ The identity of the figure cannot be easily determined by conventional methods. The imperial status of the image is secure. The portrait, measuring 35 cm in height, is greater than life size, a common characteristic of Roman imperial portraits.² In addition, the portrait is of very high quality, both in material and carving. It was sculpted from a good block of finely grained white marble.³ The eyes, now missing, were originally inlaid in a contrasting material that would certainly have added a richness to the sculpture and no doubt also provided it with a sense of liveliness, now entirely absent from the blank stare and impassive expression that currently greet the viewer. The only surviving attribute is a leafy crown embellished with a central jeweled cameo, on which faint traces of a relief can be detected.

The crown on the portrait guarantees the imperial status of the person represented. Exact interpretation of wreaths worn in Roman portraits is often difficult because so many types are known from literary sources, but this particular wreath is clearly intended to show a garland of multilobed leaves woven together (although the lack of detail in the execution does not allow for much textural variety). The crown represents oak leaves, which are multilobed, rather than laurel leaves, which have a single lobe and are the only other type of leaf regularly used in Roman crowns. Oak leaves were used in the *corona civica*, the headdress at one time awarded to



Romans who saved the lives of fellow citizens in battle. From the time of Claudius onward the *corona civica* became a special attribute worn only by the emperor.⁴ The oak was sacred to Jupiter, and it grew abundantly throughout the Roman empire, making its use in the *corona civica* both practical and a symbol of divine sanction. Here, the presence of the central jewel may have been intended to indicate further a special category of *corona civica*, the gilded oak-leaf wreath given to a *triumphator*.⁵ Throughout most of the Imperial period both the *corona civica* and the *corona triumphalis* were exclusive attributes of the emperor.⁶

4. *Glandiferi maxime generis omnes, quibus honos apud romanos perpetuus: hinc civicae coronae, militum virtutis insigne clarissimum, iam pridem vero et clementiae imperatorum, postquam civilium bellorum profano meritum coepit videri civem non occidere* ("They are practically all of the acorn-bearing class of oak, which is ever held in honour at Rome, because from it are obtained the Civic Wreaths, that glorious emblem of military valour, but now for a long time past also an emblem of the emperors' clemency, ever since, owing to the impiety of the civil wars, not to kill a fellow-citizen had come to be deemed meritorious"). Plin. *HN* 16.2.6–3.7; trans. H. Rackham, *Pliny, Natural History* (Cambridge, Mass., 1945), p. 391. See also Plin. *HN* 16.12–

13; Gell. *NA* 5.6; Sen. *Clem.* 1.26.5.

5. Massner (1988) suggests that the presence of the central jewel on the crown of a northern Greek portrait in the late 1st or early 2nd century turns the leafy wreath into an attribute of a priest or a magistrate. Her argument is made primarily because she finds this head's lack of conformity to any emperor's known portrait type so troubling that she wants to deny that its crown is an imperial attribute. For supporting evidence she cites three portraits from Thasos, all of which wear leafy crowns with central medallions, and all of which have been identified as Roman rulers (Julius Caesar, Claudius, and Claudius/Nero?). None of them closely adheres to any known portrait type. Massner

Figure 1. Kanellopoulos emperor, frontal view. Kanellopoulos Museum. Courtesy Deutsches Archäologisches Institut, Athens (neg. 83/229)

Figure 2. Kanellopoulos emperor, right profile. Courtesy Deutsches Archäologisches Institut, Athens (neg. 83/230)

suggests that the portraits do not represent recognizable individuals, but rather priests. This is, however, a particularly difficult argument for the Kanellopoulos head, on which the leaves are clearly defined as oak, a material exclusively used for imperial crowns, and the medallion is impressively large. Additionally, the inlaid eyes and large size of the portrait point to its imperial status. Moreover, the attested origin in northern Greece is not secure (see note 7 below), and therefore it may not belong geographically with this group at all.

6. *RE* IV, 1901, cols. 1639–1640, s.v. *corona* (G. Haebler); Heinen 1911, p. 152, note 2; Alföldi 1935, pp. 10–12; Versnel 1970, pp. 74–77; Maxfield 1981, pp. 70–81, 97.



Figure 3. Kanellopoulos emperor, left profile. Courtesy Deutsches Archäologisches Institut, Athens (neg. 83/231)

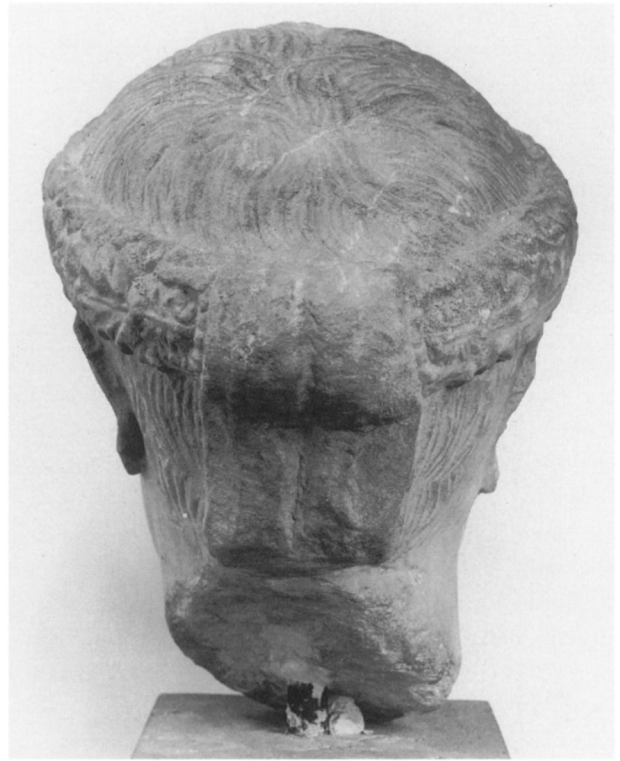


Figure 4. Kanellopoulos emperor, rear view. Courtesy Deutsches Archäologisches Institut, Athens (neg. 83/232)

Therefore, because of its crown, size, and rich inlay originally present in the eyes, the portrait can be none other than that of a Roman emperor. The face, however, does not readily conform to known portrait types of any imperial figure. The ancient viewer would have known whose image was intended by the inscription that accompanied the portrait and also perhaps from the context in which it was displayed. But today, with the inscription and context lost,⁷ modern viewers are left wondering who the artist intended to represent.

Some Roman emperors can be immediately ruled out. The sparse use of the drill indicates that this sculpture represents an emperor whose portrait type was created during a time when coloristic effects of light and shadow (normally achieved through deeply drilled areas in the stone) were not the preferred aesthetic in imperial portraits. This deeply drilled style was first used in imperial portraits under Hadrian, and was especially admired in the portraits of the Late Antonine and Severan emperors, as exemplified in numerous images of the emperors Lucius Verus, Commodus, and Septimius Severus.⁸ Exuberant use of the drill is lacking on the Kanellopoulos head, however, suggesting that the portrait should be placed either before Hadrian or after Septimius Severus.

7. The only information known about the provenance of the head is that Paul Kanellopoulos, who assembled the entire collection in the museum before donating it to the Greek government, is reported to have bought the piece in Thessaloniki; Dontas 1975, p. 527.

8. Portraits from these eras survive in abundant numbers and compilations of them are likewise numerous. Among the most important and well-illustrated volumes are Wegner 1939; McCann 1968; Poulsen 1974 (see pp. 95–100, 103, 105–106, 109–110, 130–132; nos.

76–78, 80–84, 88, 90–92, 97–99, 128–130; pls. 121–124, 129–139, 141–146, 150–153, 202–207); and Fittschen and Zanker 1985 (see pp. 62–98, nos. 58–85, pls. 66–104, suppl. pls. 39–66, 96, with references).

Further clues are provided. The sculpture is extremely well preserved, and its smooth, polished cheeks betray no trace of facial hair. In the post-Severan 3rd century, the soldier emperors wore beards, usually variations on the close-cropped type favored by Caracalla.⁹ The only exceptions were child emperors, such as Gordian III. Elimination of the 3rd-century emperors as candidates pushes the later date into the early 4th century. The Kanellopoulos artist must therefore have intended to represent an emperor who ruled either before Hadrian or from Constantine's time onward.

Finally, the style of the *corona civica* on the Kanellopoulos portrait, carved in fairly low relief and with a central jewel, finds its best parallels in the 1st century A.C. in a portrait of Claudius found in Thasos, now in the Louvre,¹⁰ and another of Augustus now in the Capitoline.¹¹ All three of the crowns display a similarly undetailed treatment of the leaves, with little or no use of the drill to define them, and all bear a central jewel. Although the broad swath of material covering the termination of the *corona civica* at the back of the head on the Kanellopoulos portrait is a feature not normally seen in Rome until the early 4th century,¹² it appears in provincial imperial portraiture more than 200 years earlier.¹³ Since the Kanellopoulos portrait is probably from the Greek East, this feature does not support the later date.

George Dontas has argued that the portrait in the Kanellopoulos Museum was meant to represent an unusual and uncharacteristically classicizing image of the Tetrarch Galerius, who died in 311, shortly before Constantine's accession.¹⁴ This identification was accepted by James D. Breckenridge, and the piece was identified as Galerius in the exhibition *The Age of Spirituality*, shown at the Metropolitan Museum of Art in 1977–1978.¹⁵ Dontas makes his case for the identification of the portrait on the basis of a report that the head had been purchased in Thessaloniki, the city that served as Galerius's capital when he was Caesar of the eastern empire under the Tetrarchy. Stylistic comparisons with a tondo portrait from the “small arch” of Galerius in Thessaloniki¹⁶ and a portrait, probably of Galerius, in Copenhagen¹⁷ are included in his discussion.

Neither of these arguments is compelling. Even if the Kanellopoulos portrait came originally from Thessaloniki, other imperial images are known from that city, a strategic military and trading port, closely linked to Rome in many ways. The Archaeological Museum in Thessaloniki contains several imperial portraits, including those of Augustus, Septimius Severus, and Alexander Severus. A provenance of Thessaloniki does not ensure that the portrait represents Galerius.

Moreover, the stylistic comparisons that Dontas cites are not close. The two portraits he discusses as examples of Galerius's portraiture are similar to each other in some respects, including the rendering of the forehead, eyebrows, and eyes. Yet the Kanellopoulos head differs from both in precisely these areas. It exhibits a smooth, unlined forehead, with gently arched eyebrows. The eye sockets reveal the size of the eyes; they were not especially large, and were not emphasized by directed compositional lines to become the focal point of the face, as in the other portraits. The locks of hair are treated with more individuality; each lock is longer and straighter than those

9. Wiggers and Wegner 1971; Poulsen 1974, pp. 161–162, 166, 168–173, nos. 164, 170, 173–177, pls. 262–263, 272–273, 277–286; Wegner, Bracker, and Real 1979; Fittschen and Zanker 1985, pp. 124–127, 130–143, nos. 105–106, 110–118, pls. 128–131, 135–147, suppl. pls. 89, 91–93, with references; Kleiner 1992, p. 361.

10. Musée du Louvre, MA 1226. See de Kersauson 1986, pp. 192–193, no. 90, with references.

11. Museo Capitolino, Stanza degli Imperatori 6, no. 495. Fittschen and Zanker 1985, pp. 7–10, no. 8, pls. 9–10, with references; Boschung 1993, pp. 129–131, no. 45, pl. 38.

12. The earliest examples of imperial portraits with a Roman provenance that display this treatment are from the Constantinian dynastic group set up in Rome in the early part of Constantine's rule, including an over-life-size statue of Constantine himself, now in San Giovanni in Laterano, Rome (Fittschen and Zanker 1985, pp. 144–145, no. 120, pls. 149–150), and the two portraits displayed on the balustrade of the Campidoglio (L'Orange 1933, pp. 58–67, pls. 40–41).

13. For example, on the portrait of Claudius in the National Museum, Athens, no. 430 (Datsoule-Stavridi 1985, pp. 34–35, pls. 25–26), where the treatment of the back of the wreath is similar to that displayed on the Kanellopoulos head.

14. Dontas 1975.

15. Breckenridge 1979, pp. 13–14, no. 6.

16. Daux 1958; Vermeule 1968, pp. 417–418; Rüsche 1969, p. 194, no. M20, fig. 109; Makaronas 1970, p. 50; Meischner 1986, pp. 223–224; Stephanidou-Tiveriou 1995.

17. L'Orange 1933, p. 53, no. 5, figs. 142, 144; Breckenridge 1968, pp. 242–243, fig. 128; Calza 1972, p. 142, no. 54, pl. 36; Poulsen 1974, pp. 188–189, no. 196; pls. 318–319.

on the other portraits. Dontas actually makes little attempt to associate directly the features of the Kanellopoulos portrait with those of either of his comparisons.¹⁸

The Kanellopoulos head also differs stylistically from the Tetrarch's other images. Most identifiable portraits of Galerius were carved in a linear and schematic style, whether in stone or on coins, and he was usually shown bearded.¹⁹ Dontas suggests that the Kanellopoulos portrait was carved at the end of Galerius's life, and that Galerius had shaved his beard in order to follow the fashion set by the young and clean-shaven Constantine.²⁰ He bases this conclusion on the fact that there are both bearded and unbearded figures on the Arch of Galerius in Thessaloniki (303)²¹ and the Arch of Constantine in Rome (312–316),²² showing that the early 4th century was a time of transition. As Dontas himself points out, however, it is the younger men who are clean-shaven, while the older men retain their beards. No examples of older, unbearded men are represented on either of the arches,²³ or elsewhere prior to the year 312, when Constantine himself was first depicted without a beard.

Another possible identity for the Kanellopoulos portrait has been proposed. H. P. L'Orange dates the portrait to the late 4th century, suggesting

18. Dontas's comparison of the features of the portraits consists of a single sentence: "Bien que les pointes des cheveux ne soient pas tournées dans le même sens que sur les deux autres portraits (ici, de droite à gauche), je reconnais le même personnage: un visage large, un peu empâté (davantage encore ici que sur la tête de Copenhague), des cheveux bien peignés, retombant bas sur le front, des sourcils qui se rejoignent sur la racine du nez et remontent aux extrémités, une bouche étroite et amère" (Dontas 1975, p. 529).

19. L'Orange 1984, pp. 26–28, 106–109; Calza 1972, pp. 135–148. Many of Galerius's coins are illustrated throughout *RIC* VI. A few sculpted examples of portraits of an unbearded Galerius do exist. The best known is in the famous porphyry group in Venice (Ragona 1963). Both of the junior emperors in this group are portrayed as clean-shaven, in contrast to the bearded senior emperors. Since none of the four portraits attempts in any way to show the actual physiognomy of the men they represent, the presence or absence of facial hair was apparently not intended to reflect accurately the state of the Tetrarchs' faces. Most scholars agree that beards were used as an

iconographic symbol to suggest the older/senior status of the Augusti in contrast to the younger/junior status of the Caesars.

A porphyry head from Gamzigrad (Srejić 1992–1993; 1995) is also clean-shaven, but since it may have been produced in the same studio in Egypt as the group in Venice, this is not surprising. See Kiss 1984, p. 100, where he argues that because porphyry was such a rare stone, exclusively from the Mons Porphyries Cave in Upper Egypt, few sculptors could carve the extremely dense and hard material. For a discussion of the provenance of porphyry, see Gnoli 1988, pp. 124–126. The Tetrarchic porphyry portraits may have all been created by Egyptian sculptors working near the site of the quarry. It would therefore not be unusual for the sculptors to repeat the iconography of the group portraits, and a status-defining characteristic such as the beard might be missing even in individual images of the junior emperors. The Serbian portrait is dated early in Galerius's rise to power on the basis of portrait busts in his imperial crown, a feature that would only have appeared on one of the Caesars of the first Tetrarchy (Srejić 1992–1993, p. 41), and the sculptors (who would

never have seen the emperor) might therefore have wanted to continue the symbolism of his clean-shaven status.

The only other unbearded portrait of Galerius known to me is the portrait roundel from his small arch in Thessaloniki. The details of this image were finished in paint (Vermeule 1968, p. 418), so although no beard was carved on the image, one was apparently painted on afterward. Galerius is always represented as bearded on his coins.

20. Dontas 1975, p. 531. Constantine's first definitively dated appearance without a beard on his coins was in the year 312, after Galerius was already dead; L'Orange 1984, pp. 58–80.

21. Makaronas 1970; Pond Rothman 1977; Engemann 1979; Meyer 1980.

22. Wace 1907; L'Orange and von Gerkan 1939, pp. 22–23, pls. 6–20, 45; Giuliano 1955, pls. 30–47, 52–53; Richardson 1975.

23. At least no examples are visible. The poor state of preservation of the arch in Thessaloniki makes it impossible to make any definitive statement about the faces of many of the men represented there.

that it represents Theodosius I.²⁴ This identification is also argued by Jutta Meischner in a series of articles citing both formal and historical evidence. The formal arguments are unconvincing, as no recognizable portraits of Theodosius in the round have survived,²⁵ and his image is known only in low relief, as, for example, in the portrait on his famous Missorium²⁶ and on his coins. These existing portraits are flat and generally schematic,²⁷ and show virtually no correspondence to the Kanellopoulos head in either style or physiognomic detail.²⁸ Additionally, the presence of a *corona civica*, as on the Kanellopoulos portrait, is unlikely so late in the 4th century, when the standard imperial headdress had long been the jeweled diadem.²⁹

The Kanellopoulos portrait almost certainly represents neither Galerius nor Theodosius. As both Dontas and Breckenridge acknowledge,³⁰ however, it bears definite allusions to the standard portrait type of another emperor, the most admired general of all: Marcus Ulpius Traianus, better known as Trajan. These scholars see a deliberate attempt by Galerius to mimic the features of his hero, but could the portrait instead represent Trajan himself?

Stylistically, the image suggests a portrait type that had its origins in the early 2nd century. The tools used to carve the portrait were the point, chisel, and gouge, with little or no use of the drill. The head exhibits a strong sense of realism, yet the arrangement of the facial lines presents a clear, simple pattern created by the edges of the cheeks, brows, vertical division of the forehead above the nose, and horizontal line between the chin and the mouth. These are standard features of early-2nd-century portraiture.³¹ The gentle facial modeling and finely finished surface con-

24. L'Orange 1984, pp. 28, 106. His rationale for this identification is based mainly on the suspected provenance of Thessaloniki.

25. None, at least, that is well accepted. A few attempts to identify Theodosius I in sculpted portraits have been made by various scholars, but they are all extremely problematic. See Kiilerich 1993, p. 84, note 248, for specific examples, and pp. 94–95 for a general summary of the problem of recognizing individual emperors of the Theodosian dynasty.

26. Meischner (1996) argues that the identity of the central figure on the Missorium is Theodosius II rather than Theodosius I, thus removing this portrait from her consideration. This identification is unlikely, however, as the emperor on the Missorium is shown between two coregents and Theodosius II only had one. Delbrueck 1933, p. 200, pls. 94–98; L'Orange 1933, pp. 67–72, pl. 171; Rumpf 1957, p. 20, pl. 16.73; Arce 1976; Kiilerich 1993, p. 19.

27. Delbrueck 1933, pp. 200–202; L'Orange 1933, pp. 66–77.

28. Scholars such as L'Orange (1984), Meischner (1988, 1990, 1993), and Kiilerich (1993) maintain that there was a classical revival during the Theodosian era, and thus want to place this portrait at that time and see it as the work of a sculptor with an interest in classical forms.

29. Wreathed headdresses were replaced as imperial insignia in 326 by Constantine, well before the elevation of Theodosius in 379, and sculptural examples of them are extremely rare afterward. They disappeared entirely in numismatic imperial portraits; Delbrueck 1933, pp. 53–66. Meischner's argument (1995, pp. 438–439) that the *corona civica* on the Kanellopoulos portrait was revived to mark the occasion of Theodosius's marriage to Galla in 387 would be more convincing if there were any literary or representational evidence that an oak-leaf crown was the mark of a bridegroom, but none exists. Her suggestion that

Theodosius's son Honorius wears a leafy crown on the Rothschild cameo, also perhaps made for his wedding, is difficult to accept. Honorius's headdress on the cameo is certainly not meant to represent oak leaves, and seeing any kind of leaf in it is dubious, for the headdress appears as a fairly standard example of a jeweled diadem made of a double row of roughly oval gems. For references and a discussion of the Rothschild cameo, see Kiilerich 1993, pp. 92–94 and Meischner 1993. Typical examples of the jeweled diadem can be seen on portraits of the emperors roughly contemporary with Theodosius: Arcadius(?) (ruled 395–408), in Istanbul (Inan and Alföldi-Rosenbaum 1979, pp. 138–139, no. 82, pl. 74.1–2), or Valentinian/Valens (jointly ruled 364–375, Valens alone until 378) in Florence (Fittschen and Zanker 1985, pp. 158–159, no. 126, suppl. pl. 95:a, c–d).

30. Dontas 1975, pp. 523, 530–531; Breckenridge 1979, p. 13.

31. *Agora* I, p. 29.

Figure 5. Trajan, Staatliche Antiken Sammlungen, Glyptothek, Munich, no. 335. Courtesy Museum



32. Athens, National Museum, no. 384. Lattanzi 1968, pp. 34–35, no. 2, pl. 2:a–b; Graindor 1915, p. 292, no. 2, fig. 10; *IG II²* 2021.

33. Athens, National Museum, no. 392. Lattanzi 1968, pp. 35–36, no. 3, pl. 3:a–b; Graindor 1915, p. 304, no. 4, fig. 11.

34. All the Type I images accepted by Fittschen and Zanker are listed, including bibliography, in Fittschen and Zanker 1985, p. 39. They admit eight portraits into this category. The Kanellopoulos portrait can be most closely associated with this type, although very loosely. In this case, the emperor is depicted as considerably older than he is in the others.

35. Munich Glyptothek, no. 335. Gross 1940, p. 132, no. 72, pl. 32:b; Bernoulli 1891, p. 81, no. 58.

36. This trait is found on virtually every obverse portrait of Trajan in Roman Imperial coinage. See Strack 1931, pls. 1–10; Kent 1978, pls. 74–77; *BMCRE* III, lxix, note 2, pls. 9–45; and *RIC* II, pls. 8–12.

trast markedly with the abrupt, almost mechanical carving of the hair, which can be compared to the carving on portraits of *kosmeti* from Athens, especially Heliodoros, dated by inscription to A.D. 100–110/1,³² and an unidentified male from the same era.³³ The Kanellopoulos portrait is also likely to have come from an early-2nd-century Attic workshop, and no emperor of this period fits this iconography as well as Trajan.

The facial features of the Kanellopoulos portrait present an older and more obese version of Trajan than his more familiar official images, yet certain stylistic similarities with his official portraits, especially those of his first portrait type, are clear.³⁴ His Type I portrait in Munich (Fig. 5),³⁵ for instance, shares many features with the Kanellopoulos portrait, including an almost identical arrangement of thick, comma-shaped locks of hair combed forward onto the forehead and curved slightly under and to the side. Both portraits also exhibit similar broad, flat planes of the cheeks; deep furrows running from the edge of the nose to the mouth; and long, thin lips. Even their facial proportions are similar. Additionally, the Kanellopoulos portrait also exhibits a protruding ridge above the eyes, a standard Trajanic feature common to all of his portrait types and a trait especially visible in his official numismatic portraiture.³⁶

Despite this stylistic evidence, Dontas, Breckenridge, L'Orange, and Meischner all prefer to see other emperors in the Kanellopoulos image because its overall effect is not the same as that conveyed in standard portrait types of Trajan. Is this a valid reason to reject the identification? As shown below, provincial imperial portraits often do not closely resemble the official, canonical images of rulers made in Rome. The characteristics of this portrait point most clearly to Trajan, despite the lack of resemblance to his official types.

THE PROBLEM

The study of Roman imperial portraiture has long been dominated by the belief that images of various imperial figures can be divided into categories based upon prototypes now lost. Such prototypes are usually thought to have been created in association with a landmark event in the emperor's rule, such as the winning of a war, the acquisition of some new title, or the celebration of a *decennalia*, so these prototypes can be arranged chronologically. They would have been devised in imperial circles, and were intended to create official images for the reigning emperor and his family. Portraits based on the official models were then circulated throughout the empire via a process that is only imperfectly understood,³⁷ perhaps through the use of plaster or terracotta models and certainly in part by their prominent display on the obverses of Roman Imperial coins. Numismatic portraits, in fact, are the best surviving record of what the models must have looked like, and the identity of the emperor and often the date of issue are confirmed by the legends that accompany the portraits. The conventional scenario is that when a provincial city wanted to erect a portrait of the reigning emperor, the sculptor commissioned to create it would follow a model based on whatever prototype was currently circulating and produce an image as close to it as possible. Extant imperial portraits can then be analyzed and classified according to the prototype they followed.

The most important characteristic that modern scholars use to categorize extant images is hairstyle, determined by coiffure patterns depicted on the coins. The facial features are considered only secondarily. The customary approach of modern scholars is to compare the labeled numismatic images on official coins with unlabeled portraits in sculpture. The chronological order of the numismatic types is also used to determine the chronological availability of the now-lost models, for the use of a portrait model provides at least a *terminus post quem*. An important underlying assumption driving this methodology is that the overall process of erecting and commissioning an imperial portrait was subject to some form of either overt or covert central control by the emperor or his inner circle, so that adherence to whatever officially approved portrait was currently in use may be expected in all or most instances.

This method has proven effective in so many cases that the identity of large numbers of anonymous portraits has been determined with assurance. Often such close correspondence to specific features can be seen, even in portraits from the far reaches of the empire, that identifications

37. Swift 1923 and Stuart 1939 remain the standard references for the circulation of portrait models. For a more recent discussion and emphasis on cities on the receiving end of this imperial propaganda, see Rose 1997a, pp. 57–59 and especially Rose 1997b.

can be confidently assigned. Scholars have come to rely on the prototype-replica model for identification, and rarely have different scenarios been considered. It is postulated that in Roman times, when a portrait was erected in a provincial city, local artists would reproduce the latest official portrait of an emperor as well as they could. Because some sort of control by Rome over the quality of the portrait is assumed, images that deviate from official prototypes are thought to reflect the unavailability of a suitable model; misunderstanding by local artists; or a lack of skill in execution. Portraits that do not possess features similar enough to those of known types to be recognized may be misidentified or ignored. This focus on internally recognizable images that, however loosely, reflect a specific, centrally devised prototype has largely excluded less easily recognizable representations of emperors, that is, images that do not conform to a standard canon of features and that lack identifying inscriptions.³⁸

But were images throughout the Roman world intended to be recognized by their appearance alone, without context or inscription? Repeatedly, scholars have been forced to acknowledge that some imperial portraits, particularly away from Rome, deviate dramatically from official types³⁹ and can be included in a replica series only by granting a great deal of creative license to the local sculptor, or by postulating special circumstances in the creation of a specific portrait. For example, Klaus Fittschen, who has worked extensively on provincial images as well as on centrally created ones, has noted the phenomenon of the “blurring” of types in some portraits of the long-ruling, popular emperor Hadrian.⁴⁰ Fittschen demonstrates that some of Hadrian’s portraits consist of combinations of features taken from more than one of the officially sanctioned images of the emperor. Nonetheless, Fittschen regards each of them as a special case. He remains firmly committed to the idea that sculptors normally created their portraits with conscious intent to mimic the current prototype provided by Rome, and can offer no explanation for why others worked eclectically,

38. Rose (1997b) discusses the evolution of scholarship in Roman portraiture studies from the Renaissance onward, and also notes the central position given historically to the process of identifying and cataloguing images according to type, as well as the historical disregard of context or provenance. As he points out, traditional scholars have created a centuries-old focus on connoisseurship and privileged the analysis of the images themselves, so that the function and use of the portraits in their original settings were issues, until recently, only rarely considered. Rose challenges the underlying assumption that the portraits were in some way under the control of the emperor or his inner circle by reminding his readers on

p. 109: “One issue in particular must be kept in mind: emperors did not set up portraits of themselves; provincial cities set up portraits of the emperor in gratitude for or in anticipation of Imperial benefactions.” As he goes on to discuss, the direct supervision of the installation of the portrait was normally carried out under local rather than central authority. Thus the appearance of the final product was subject to a variety of regional factors, including the economic and artistic resources available to the city, the abilities and training of the local artists, and the accessibility of imperial portrait models. The result, as is clearly visible by examination, is that provincial portraits can be quite diverse.

39. An especially powerful example

of this deviation is visible in the imperial portrait group from Cyrene found in 1989 (Walker 1994). The eight statues in this group representing members of the Julio-Claudian family must all have been carved by a local workshop and are lacking in nearly any suggestion of Roman influence. It is clear that the sculptors did not follow measured models, nor attempt to give more than a vague allusion to the Roman features of their subjects. It is inconceivable that these portraits could have been approved by anyone whose goal was to present a standardized appearance of members of the imperial family.

40. See Fittschen 1982; and especially Fittschen 1984.

especially as the portraits he examines were neither all provincial nor all produced by a single workshop.

More recently, Cécile Evers has addressed the phenomenon of “blended” portraits in her work on representations of Hadrian,⁴¹ agreeing in principle (although not in specific detail) with Fittschen’s conclusions. Evers proposes a chronological explanation for these blended portraits. She can suggest this only by rejecting some of Fittschen’s examples and revising others to reflect different official models than the ones he proposed. Thus, the portraits that Evers includes in this category are only those that supposedly used two chronologically successive models rather than two randomly selected ones. She then concludes that the sculptors were in fact clinging to features of an old type while introducing some characteristics from a new one (so that these portraits should be more properly thought of as “transitional types” rather than blended ones), and she explains the whole phenomenon in terms of the personal choices made by the sculptors. Both Evers and Fittschen regard portraits with characteristics of more than one official type as relatively isolated instances, and both assume that despite the exceptional cases of these blended types, adherence to the currently sanctioned official image from Rome was normally the goal of provincial sculptors.

Paul Zanker has also investigated the variety of provincial images of several emperors, not only from the East, but from North Africa and the western provinces as well.⁴² He, too, found in many of them a lack of conformity to type. Zanker freely acknowledges the vastness of the variety present in the provincial portraits, and he proposes a wide number of case-by-case scenarios to account for it. Yet no matter how remote the influence, Zanker, like Fittschen and Evers, usually ties the provincially produced portraits to the sequence of Roman prototypes,⁴³ and always presumes that, one way or another, the sculptor’s intention was to re-create the visual details of an officially sanctioned model or models. By giving such a priority to the prototype, all of these scholars imply that Roman rather than civic concerns were the primary force determining the appearance of the portraits.

The problem of the lack of standardization of provincial portraits was also raised by Jale Inan and Elisabeth Rosenbaum in discussions of the portraits of Hadrian in their two extensive catalogues of Roman portraits excavated in Turkey. They state that “the portraits of Hadrian from the provinces vary considerably in type and frequently are very poor likenesses.”⁴⁴ Their difficulties with these images can be easily seen by examining the results of their attempts to associate their portraits of Hadrian with his official types. In their first catalogue of portraits from Asia Minor, seven images identified as Hadrian are included. Among these they found only two based clearly on Hadrian’s official types.⁴⁵ One was too badly damaged to be analyzed,⁴⁶ and the other four are clearly not based on imperial prototypes.⁴⁷ In their second catalogue of portraits from Asia Minor,⁴⁸ six more portraits of Hadrian were accepted. Of these, they were unable to determine a clear Roman prototype for four of them.⁴⁹ More than half of the thirteen portraits of Hadrian presented in these two volumes were thus apparently created independently of Roman models. De-

41. Evers 1994, pp. 267–271.

42. Zanker 1983.

43. Zanker 1983. See, for example, his discussion of the bronze portrait recovered from the Thames River (pp. 16–18) or the bronze portrait from Cilicia now in the Louvre (pp. 22–23). These both provide him with particular difficulty as he labors to connect them with official imperial types of Hadrian and Nero, respectively.

44. Inan and Rosenbaum 1966, p. 72.

45. From the Asklepieion in Pergamon (Inan and Rosenbaum 1966, p. 70, no. 31, with references), and Miletus (Inan and Rosenbaum 1966, p. 70, no. 32).

46. A relief from the Library of Celsus in Ephesus (Inan and Rosenbaum 1966, p. 71, no. 34, with references).

47. From Perge (Inan and Rosenbaum 1966, pp. 68–69, no. 29, with references); the Temple of Trajan in Pergamon (pp. 69–70, no. 30, with references); Ephesus (pp. 70–71, no. 31, with references); and Kadirli, now in Istanbul (pp. 71–72, no. 35, with references).

48. Inan and Alföldi-Rosenbaum 1979.

49. From the Via Tecta in Pergamon (Inan and Alföldi-Rosenbaum 1979, pp. 94–95, no. 43, with references); the Nymphaeum in Perge (pp. 95–96, no. 45, with references); Seleucia Pieria (pp. 98–99, no. 47); and Izmir (pp. 99–100, no. 48).

spite the problems that the prototype-replica scenario creates in dealing with provincial images, however, these scholars all deny that sculptors may have had the freedom to accept, modify, or only loosely refer to current models and prototypes given to them by Rome.

But what if this was the case? Provincial sculptors may have created imperial portraits by following a general verbal or written description or through a passing visual acquaintanceship with an image but no measured model. The pressure on provincial cities to honor and flatter the emperor was strong, for it demonstrated their loyalty to Rome and often led to important benefits. Yet access to sculptors and workshops was limited, and portraits were expensive. Not every city would have had the resources or the desire to arrange for a current model to be measured and followed, especially if the consequences of failing to do so were minimal. Since inscriptions and setting were the main determinants of portrait identity for the local population, and few viewers would have been familiar enough with imperial propaganda to recognize coiffure patterns or exact facial proportions, it makes sense that not every civic government would ensure that sculptors had access to the latest models. It is far more likely that sculptors had a less precise description to follow—perhaps written or oral—or had a general visual familiarity with a portrait displayed in a neighboring city. While permission was sought from the emperor to allow the erection of his portrait, local officials were responsible for the process of commissioning and installing it.⁵⁰ In small, remote cities, a Roman official familiar with the specifics of the emperor's image would rarely have been on hand to interfere, but even in more major centers where Roman representatives were probably present, attention to how closely the latest models were followed would vary according to individual interest. The sculptor of the Kanellopoulos emperor was probably trained in Athens, but the portrait itself may have been made elsewhere, where no measured model was available, and without a patron concerned with following imperial propaganda. In light of the astonishing variety present in provincial imperial portraits, this scenario may be the most workable explanation.

LITERARY EVIDENCE FOR UNCANONICAL PROVINCIAL PORTRAITS

In addition to the evidence provided by extant portraits and surviving statue bases, ancient authors have provided important evidence for determining the authority behind the process of commissioning and erecting imperial portraits. A particularly enlightening ancient comment comes from the letters of Marcus Cornelius Fronto to his former pupil, the emperor Marcus Aurelius. In a passage expressing his affection and longing for young Marcus during a period of separation, Fronto wrote:

You know how in all the money-changer's bureaus, booths, book-stalls, eaves, porches, windows, anywhere and everywhere there are likenesses of you put before the public, most of them badly painted, and modeled or carved in a plain, not to say sorry, style of art. Yet at

50. Rose 1997b, pp. 110–111.

the same time your image, however dissimilar it is, never meets my eyes without forcing a smile from my lips.⁵¹

This passage tells us that the images of the emperor were displayed prominently throughout the Roman world but were often badly made and poor likenesses. Yet, despite this, Fronto knew that these images were meant to represent Marcus Aurelius. This knowledge was probably based in part on the settings for the portraits, which reinforced their imperial identity. At the time that Fronto wrote the letter, however, between the years 145 and 147, Marcus was not the primary ruler, but merely heir apparent, so he was only one of several imperial family members whose portrait could have been displayed in these locations. Therefore, for Fronto to have known the images represented Marcus himself, they would probably have borne inscriptions. It is unlikely that the ancient viewer was meant to recognize the image of a particular member of the imperial family on the basis of the appearance of his portrait alone, out of context and without a label.

The situation Fronto describes, however, does not represent quite the same scenario as that of the Kanellopoulos emperor. The artistic quality of the portraits Fronto saw was quite poor, while the Kanellopoulos emperor is the product of a highly skilled, sophisticated sculptor. Nevertheless, Fronto's testimony is important because he makes clear both the ubiquitous display of imperial portraits and the uneven quality of the images. Both of these factors imply a local rather than central authority. A centralized process would be much more likely to ensure both quality and consistency in the appearance of the portraits, and overseeing the large numbers of images on display would strain the resources of any central office. While Fronto does not speak directly to the issue, the prototype-replica scenario of portrait production is also challenged by his testimony. The different artistic, material, and economic resources of the cities and the different goals and requirements for the erection of a portrait can explain both the diversity that Fronto describes and the evidence supplied by the extant portraits themselves. If the process were under Roman control, a higher quality and greater consistency would surely have prevailed, and these portraits would have conformed more directly to currently sanctioned official models.

Another important ancient source on the question of central versus local control over a provincial imperial portrait is found in the writings of Flavius Arrianus, who served in various administrative positions under Hadrian. Shortly after he was appointed governor of Cappadocia, he embarked on a journey to inspect the Black Sea coast. His log of this voyage, which took the form of a letter addressed to his emperor, begins:

At Trapezus. . . the altars are still standing, of stone so rough that the letters are not clear; and the Greek inscription was engraved with mistakes, as though written by barbarians. I decided, then, to rebuild these altars in white marble and to furnish them with inscriptions with clear letters. Your statue is successful in its posture—facing the sea—but as far as the execution goes, it does not resemble you, neither is it beautiful. Send therefore a statue worthy

51. *Scis ut in omnibus argentariis mensulis pergulis tabernis protectis vestibulis fenestris usquequaque ubique imagines vestrae sint volgo propositae, male illae quidem pictae pleraeque et crassa, lutea immo, minerva fictae sculptaeve; quom interim numquam tua imago tam dissimilis ad oculos meos in itinere accidit, ut non ex ore meo excusserit rictum osculi.* Loeb Classical Library, C. R. Haines, ed., *The Correspondence of Marcus Cornelius Fronto I* (Cambridge, Mass., 1919), p. 207.

of bearing your name, in the same attitude; the place is wholly suitable for an eternal memorial.⁵²

The statue of Hadrian that distressed Arrian apparently did not excite the same response in the people of Trapezus; at least, no one had been sufficiently disturbed by its lack of beauty or its lack of resemblance to the emperor to replace the statue or prevent display. Although their satisfaction cannot be determined, the original dedicators of the monuments had presumably approved the poorly executed statue and flawed inscription before installation. It was the imperial representative to the area, a man familiar with both the emperor's actual appearance and the emperor created by imperial propaganda, who complained about the statue and undertook to replace the altars and inscriptions. Arrian was no doubt reporting his dissatisfaction in order to highlight his own interventions on Hadrian's behalf and therefore encourage the emperor to think well of him, but it is notable that Arrian chose an imperial shrine to command the attention of the artistically inclined emperor. Here is a case in which an imperial authority took over a process that had initially been carried out by local officials; such interference was clearly exceptional, and not a matter of course. This is solid evidence for a normal process of local rather than Roman control. If a Roman governor with less interest in the aesthetics of the shrine had been appointed rather than Arrian, the imperial area might have stood unchanged, with a statue that did not resemble the emperor and with mistake-filled inscriptions. The number of other imperial shrines in the East containing statues that did not look like the intended emperor cannot be determined, of course, but this passage shows that they did exist.

Arrian's comments are also interesting because he appeals to Hadrian to send a new and better statue. Although he commissioned the new altars and inscriptions himself, he did not replace the statue, and instead asked the emperor to do so. This suggests that Arrian, accustomed to the official portrait of Hadrian, despaired of finding a local sculptor able to create an image that would satisfy him, and he appealed to Hadrian himself to send a properly approved portrait rather than accept the kind of image provincial artists would produce. Arrian took his role as Rome's representative seriously, and wanted to have the statue in the shrine express qualities approved by the emperor.

Fronto and Arrian therefore provide testimony suggesting that variety and diversity in the appearance of imperial portraits would be normal rather than unusual, expected rather than surprising. Since the hundreds of cities and towns in the empire that erected portraits of emperors did so according to their own means and motives, generalized resemblance shaped by local taste rather than rigid adherence to a chronologically limited prototype would necessarily prevail.

Still another revealing passage from ancient literature that sheds light on the process of portrait-making comes from a letter written during the time of Trajan by the younger Pliny to the scholar Vibius Severus. Pliny asked his friend to secure permission from two of his fellow townsmen for portraits of them to be made. With his request, he included cautionary statements about how the artist should create the portrait:

52. Εἰς Τραπεζοῦντα ἤκομεν...καὶ οἱ βωμοὶ ἀνεστᾶσιν ἤδη, λίθου μέντοι γε τοῦ τραχέος, καὶ τὰ γράμματα διὰ τοῦτο οὐκ εὐδὴλα κεχάρακται· τὸ δὲ Ἑλληνικὸν ἐπίγραμμα καὶ ἡμαρτημένως γέγραπται, οἷα δὲ ὑπὸ βαρβάρων γραφέν. Ἐγὼ καὶ οὖν τοὺς τε βωμοὺς λίθου λευκοῦ ἀναθεῖναι, καὶ τὰ ἐπιγράμματα ἐγχαράξαι εὐσήμοις τοῖς γράμμασιν. Ὁ μὲν γὰρ ἀνδριὰς ἔστηκεν ὁ σὸς τῷ μὲν σχήματι ἡδέως (ἀποδείκνυσιν γὰρ τὴν θάλατταν), τὴν δὲ ἐργασίαν οὕτε ὁμοίός σοι οὕτε ἄλλως καλός· ὥστε πέμψον ἀνδριάντα ἄξιον ἐπονομάζεσθαι σὸν ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ τούτῳ σχήματι· τὸ γὰρ χωρίον ἐπιτηδειότατον εἰς μνήμην αἰώνιον. Arr. *Peripl. M. Eux.* 1.1–4; trans. N. Hannestad, *Roman Art and Imperial Policy* (Aarhus 1986), p. 201.

I beg, moreover, you would employ some skillful hand in this work; for if it is difficult to draw an exact likeness from life, it is much more so to preserve it in copying what is itself a copy; so I desire you would not suffer the painter you select to deviate from the latter, not even for the better.⁵³

Pliny must have been speaking from his own visual experience when he encouraged Vibius Severus to beware of artists who might alter a portrait model, even to improve it. Born of high rank and status in the Roman world, Pliny had no doubt seen various versions of the portrait of his emperor that did not conform well to official models put out by Rome. From this passage it is clear that artists might take matters into their own hands and deviate from a model, so when he himself commissioned a portrait, he specifically requested that an artist who would not do this be chosen. Pliny's passage confirms that not all artists could be relied upon to follow a model closely, and further supports the likelihood that no centralized control existed over the quality of an emperor's portrait.

UNCANONICAL PROVINCIAL PORTRAITS OF HADRIAN AND TRAJAN

Fittschen, Evers, Zanker, and Inan and Alföldi-Rosenbaum all single out the provincial portraiture of Hadrian as being particularly susceptible to deviation from canonical types. This is in part, no doubt, because of the large corpus of Hadrianic portraits. The widely traveled emperor frequently made great benefactions to cities he visited, and it was potentially advantageous for a civic government to display a portrait of him prominently. Thus, cities large and small, regardless of resources or access to good models or workshops, erected his image. Many of these portraits have survived. With Hadrian, therefore, a particularly large body of evidence exists to document his appearance in the provinces. The diversity of these portraits and the lack of conformity to imperial types can be examined by looking at provincial portraits of Hadrian from Greece and Asia Minor.⁵⁴ While many of these portraits exhibit local or regional styles of workmanship that can be seen in other works from the same area, in the portraits shown here variations actually preempt the traits of the official prototypes and are more crucial to the overall appearance of the portraits than the features that adhere to an imperial model. This implies that priority was given to the local sculptor, not the Roman prototype, in the creation of a portrait.

A portrait from Perge (Figs. 6, 7),⁵⁵ for example, with its upwardly inclined head and dramatically twisted neck, mimics Hellenistic ruler iconography rather than more sober Roman propaganda. Details such as the sharply carved eyebrows that continue down the edge of the nose and the hard-edged carving overall show a classicizing tendency that may be a holdover from Trajanic times. Facial proportions are cubic and solid, and the arrangement of the hair compares only loosely to that on any of Hadrian's official types (the closest is the Stazione Termini type). This combination of features is most likely the result of the local sculptor's own

53. *Peto autem, ut pictorem quam diligentissimum adsumas. Nam cum est arduum similitudinem effingere ex vero, tum longe difficillima est imitationis imitatio; a qua rogo ut artificem, quem elegeris ne in melius quidem sinas aberrare.* Plin. 4.28; trans. W. Melmoth, revised by W. M. L. Hutchinson, *Pliny: Letters* (Cambridge, Mass., 1957), p. 351.

54. Portraits examined here are limited to ones known to have been displayed in the Greek-speaking provinces of the Roman world, because this is the probable context of the Kanellopoulos emperor. I have not attempted a thorough empire-wide analysis, but my preliminary impression is that this situation exists all over the empire.

55. Antalya Museum, no. 2649. Inan and Rosenbaum 1966, pp. 68–69, no. 29, pls. 19:2, 21; Fittschen and Zanker 1985, pp. 44–45; Vermeule 1968, pp. 259, 392, no. 16, fig. 140; Evers 1994, pp. 84–85.



Figure 6. Hadrian, from Perge, frontal view. Antalya Museum, no. 2649. Courtesy Museum



Figure 7. Hadrian, from Perge, right profile. Courtesy Antalya Museum

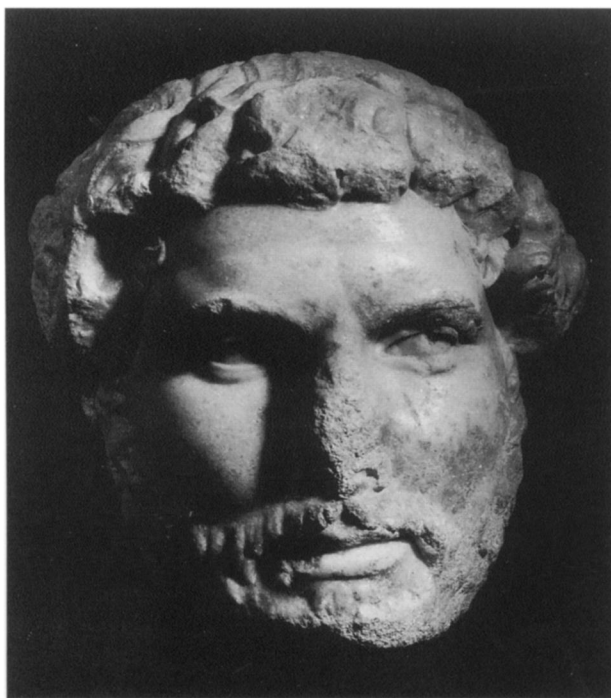
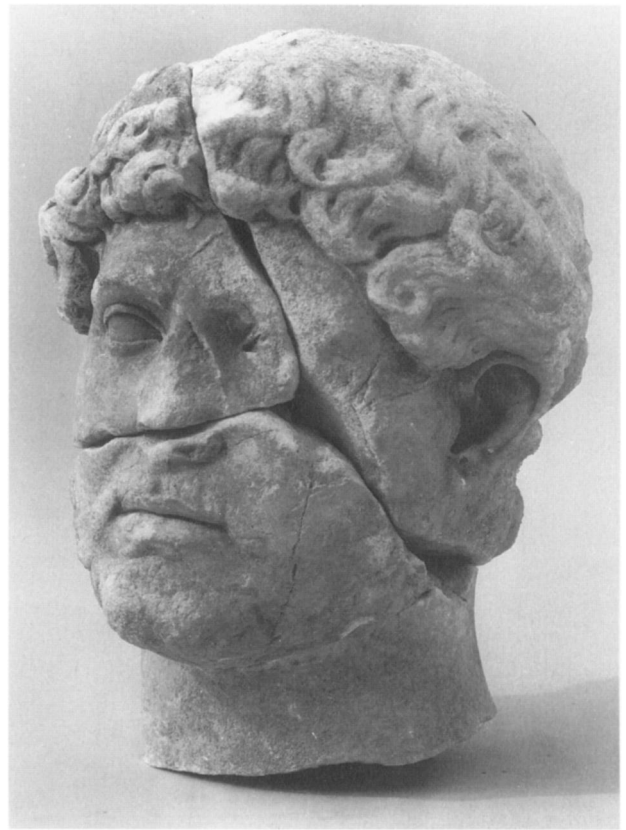


Figure 8. Hadrian, from Ephesus, frontal view. Kunsthistorisches Museum, no. I 857, Vienna. Courtesy Museum (neg. III 14249)



Figure 9. Hadrian, from Ephesus, left profile. Courtesy Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna (neg. II 6743)



training and the tastes of his patrons. While the portrait retains some allusions to Hadrian's official types in the arrangement of the hair and beard, it does not clearly follow any of his prototypes.⁵⁶

Hadrian's portrait from Ephesus (Figs. 8, 9) also reflects a different tradition than is found in any of his Roman models.⁵⁷ This portrait, with its blocky, cubic facial proportions, small narrow eyes, and roughly sketched locks of hair, suggests a more youthful and benign emperor than the one represented in his official types, and scholars have had to admit that it does not comfortably conform to any of them.⁵⁸

56. Fittschen, in Fittschen and Zanker 1985, pp. 44–45, acknowledges this, and states that it shows a breakdown in the transmission of official types. Yet here, as elsewhere, he implies that this is an aberration. Inan and Rosenbaum (1966, pp. 68–69) also note that it is not a replica of any of Hadrian's official types and designate it "an individual creation based on a model at least related to the 'Stazione Termini' type." They attempt to explain this by noting the date (121, provided by the inscription), early in Hadrian's reign, and suggest that the portrait was produced too early to comply with

official propaganda (although as they acknowledge, three of Hadrian's official portrait types had already been established by then). Evers (1994, pp. 84–85) associates it more solidly with the Stazione Termini type, but admits that it represents a Hellenistic variant of it.

57. Found in the tower of Mithradates, now in the Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna, no. I 857. Wegner 1956, pp. 38–39, 116, pl. 18; Giuliano 1959; Inan and Rosenbaum 1966, pp. 70–71, no. 33, pl. 20:1–2; Vermeule 1968, p. 392, fig. 139; Fittschen and Zanker 1985, p. 47; Evers 1994, pp. 97–98, no. 147, ill. 24–25.

Figure 10. Hadrian, from Pergamon, frontal view. Bergama Museum, no. 783. Courtesy Deutsches Archäologisches Institut, Istanbul (neg. 66/57)

Figure 11. Hadrian, from Pergamon, three-quarter view. Courtesy Deutsches Archäologisches Institut, Istanbul (neg. 66/94)

58. Vermeule (1968, p. 392) calls it an "original creation of a local sculptor using Hellenistic ruler portraits as models," while Inan and Rosenbaum (1966, p. 71, after Wegner 1956, p. 38) state that "it does not slavishly copy one of the official types but seems to be related more to the type 'Chiaramonti 392' than to any of the other established types." Fittschen and Zanker (1985, p. 47) include it with replicas of the "Vatican Chiaramonti 392," but acknowledge that it has connections to the Stazione Termini type as well. Only Evers (1994, p. 197) has no difficulty with it as a faithful replica of the Chiaramonti 392 type.



Figure 12. Hadrian, from Thasos. Thasos Museum, no. 2346. Courtesy École française d'Athènes (neg. 59.329)

Hadrian's portrait from Pergamon (Figs. 10, 11)⁵⁹ presents yet a further variation. Although badly damaged, it is clear that the eyes, set close together on the face, are not typical of his other portraits in either shape or placement. The wide, thin-lipped mouth and full fleshy cheeks are also unexpected features for the canonical imagery of this emperor.⁶⁰

The portrait of Hadrian from Thasos (Fig. 12)⁶¹ has also baffled scholars searching for a direct prototype. This image, carved in a crisp, dry style, exhibits so much individual variation, especially in the hair, that it cannot really be associated with a specific portrait type.⁶² The beard, hair, large nose, wide mouth, and small eyes all create an impression that only loosely recalls standard Hadrianic images. The style of the production clearly fits within the local workshop tradition, as many other sculptures from Thasos exhibit these traits, but the significance of it here is that the local style overrides any attempt to follow directly a Roman model.

A final example of provincial variety in the portraits of Hadrian can be seen in the surviving portrait from Dictynnaion in Crete, now in Chania (Figs. 13, 14).⁶³ The toss of the neck, arrangement of the beard, fullness of the chin, and simplified shape of the mouth are all inconsistent with Hadrian's features in his canonical types, and scholars cannot agree on the model that this image follows.⁶⁴

Uncanonical portraits of Trajan have also been identified in the Greek East. Though less numerous than those of his successor, these portraits nonetheless demonstrate a marked disregard for his "official" models. In their first volume of portraits from Asia Minor, Inan and Rosenbaum include only one portrait of Trajan that they accept as following an established type.⁶⁵ Four portraits of Trajan are included in the second volume. Of these, they found only one that possibly follows a Roman prototype.⁶⁶ They determined that the other three⁶⁷ were closer to Trajan's *decennalia* type than any other, but did not fit comfortably into that series. Thus, of

59. Bergama Museum, no. 783. Horn and Boehringer 1966, p. 474; Inan and Alföldi-Rosenbaum 1979, pp. 94–95, no. 43, pl. 36:1–2; Wegner and Unger 1984, p. 128, pl. 7:1; Fittschen and Zanker 1985, pp. 46, 51; Evers 1994, pp. 150–151, no. 89.

60. Evers (1994, pp. 150–151) and Inan and Alföldi-Rosenbaum (1979, pp. 94–95) follow Horn and Boehringer (1966, p. 474), and believe that this is not a direct replica of any of Hadrian's known types, but rather is somewhere between the Stazione Termini and Chiaramonti 392 types. Fittschen, on the other hand, in Fittschen and Zanker 1985, p. 51, sees it as a combination of the Rollockenfrisur type (on the left side) and the Stazione Termini type on the front and right sides, and Wegner and Unger (1984, p. 128) believe that it follows the Rollockenfrisur type exclusively.

61. Thasos Museum, no. 2346. Rolley and Salviat 1963; *ArchDelt* 18 (1963), p. 259, pls. 296:a, 297; Vermeule 1966, p. 55; Vermeule 1968, p. 259, fig. 139; Wegner and Unger 1984, p. 140; Fittschen and Zanker 1985, p. 46, note 5e; p. 51, note 8c; Evers 1994, pp. 187–188, no. 138.

62. Even Evers (1994, p. 187) is troubled by this portrait, finally deciding that it is a variant of the Rollockenfrisur type. Fittschen, in Fittschen and Zanker 1985, p. 46, note 5e, sees it as a blend of the Rollockenfrisur and the Stazione Termini types.

63. Chania Museum, no. 82. Found in 1913 near an aqueduct and milestone bearing his name (*ICr* II, no. 6). Vermeule 1968, pp. 391, 443, no. 7, fig. 136.

64. Vermeule (1968, p. 443) notes that the portrait bears a "dreamy look," and suggests that it represents a Cretan

version of the emperor "much more Hellenistic in flavor" (p. 391). Wegner (1956, p. 95) and Datsoule-Stavridi (1970, pp. 48–50) suggest it is after the Chiaramonti 392 type, while Fittschen, in both Fittschen and Zanker 1985, p. 50, and Fittschen 1984, p. 200, no. 32, pl. 64:c–d, identifies it as an example of the Rollockenfrisur type.

65. From Pergamon (Inan and Rosenbaum 1966, p. 68, no. 28, with references).

66. A fragment from Ephesus from Hanghaus II, Raum SR 5 (Inan and Alföldi-Rosenbaum 1979, p. 93, no. 41, with references).

67. From Ephesus (Inan and Alföldi-Rosenbaum 1979, pp. 91–92, no. 39, with references); Istanbul (pp. 92–93, no. 40, with references); and Silifke (p. 93, no. 42, with references).

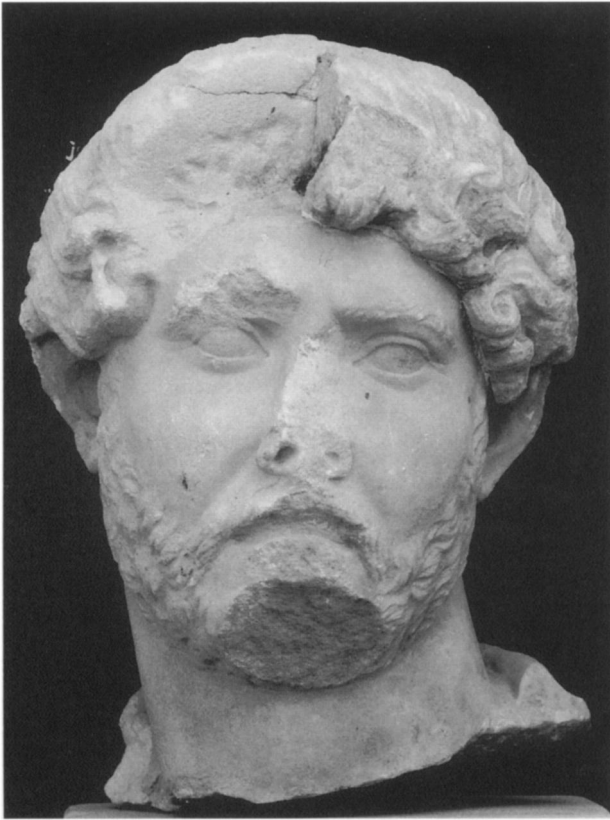


Figure 13. Hadrian, from Dictynnaion, frontal view. Chania Museum, no. 82. Courtesy Museum

Figure 14. Hadrian, from Dictynnaion, left profile. Courtesy Chania Museum

the five portraits of Trajan they discuss in the two volumes, only two clearly echo an official Roman model.

The portrait of Trajan from Ephesus (Figs. 15–17),⁶⁸ found in the cryptoporticus of Domitian's temple, bears distinctly un-Trajanic features such as a wide, smiling mouth; long, narrow head; broad cheeks; and prominent, rounded chin. It can be identified as Trajan largely because its findspot suggests an imperial portrait;⁶⁹ it is well over life size at 42 cm; and stylistically, it resembles an image of Trajan more than any other emperor. The shape and carving of the eyes and pattern and linear definition of the hair bear enough similarities to Trajan's official images that the identification has largely been accepted by scholars,⁷⁰ yet it does not appear to follow any particular model.

An undisputed portrait of Trajan from the Greek East, found in the Temple of Trajan at Pergamon (Figs. 18, 19),⁷¹ reveals yet another variation from the standardized types of Trajan's official images. In this portrait, despite the disfiguring break over the right eye, it is clear that the hair is curlier and the locks more widely spaced than normal, and the proportions of the face are longer and thinner than expected. The somber look created by the heavily furrowed brow is unusual in a portrait of an emperor whose appearance is typically confident and optimistic. Yet its findspot and size (80 cm) make it difficult to see anyone else represented in this image.

A final example of an untraditional Trajanic portrait is one in the Silifke

68. Seljuk Museum, no. 11/37/72. Türkoglu 1972, pp. 28–30, pls. 5–6; Inan and Alföldi-Rosenbaum 1979, pp. 91–92, no. 39, pl. 33.

69. A portrait of Germanicus was also found in this area: Scherrer 1995, p. 96.

70. Fittschen and Zanker (1985), however, do not list it with any of Trajan's portraits.

71. Pergamonmuseum, Berlin. Blümel 1933, pp. 15–16, no. R35, pl. 33; Giuliano 1959, p. 172, no. VII.3, fig. 23. Part of an acrolithic standing statue. Accepted as a *decennalia* type in Gross 1940, pp. 61, 93, 127, no. 26; Inan and Rosenbaum 1966, p. 68, no. 28, pl. 17:1–2; and Fittschen and Zanker 1985, p. 42, note 1.

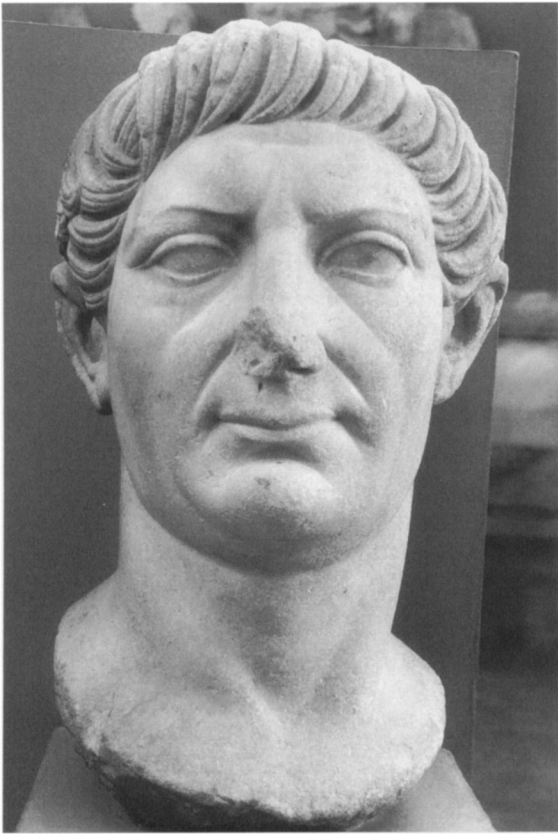


Figure 15. Trajan, from Ephesus, frontal view. Efes Müzesi, Seljuk, no. 11/37/72. Courtesy Museum

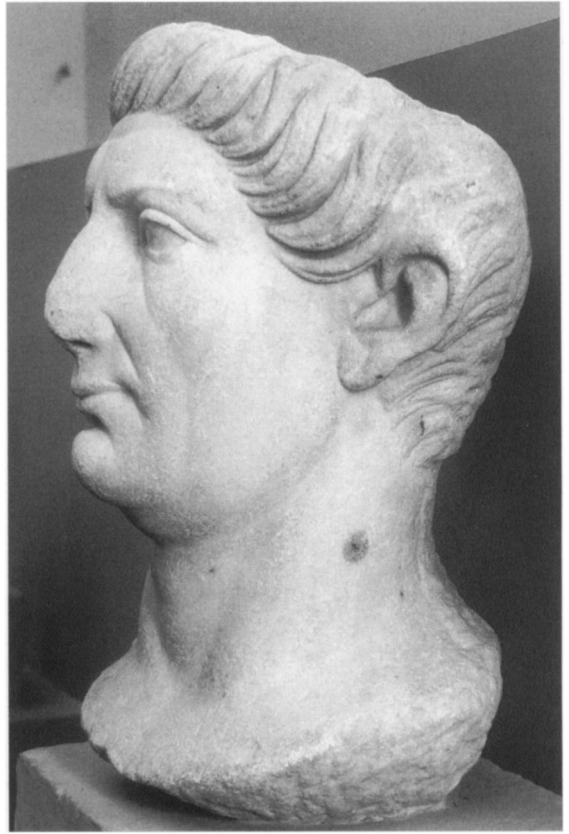
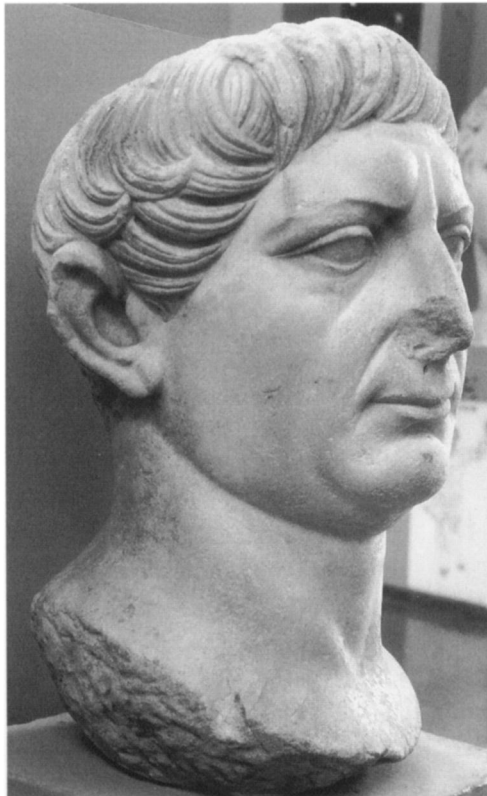


Figure 16. Trajan, from Ephesus, left profile. Courtesy Efes Müzesi, Seljuk

Figure 17. Trajan, from Ephesus, three-quarter view. Courtesy Efes Müzesi, Seljuk



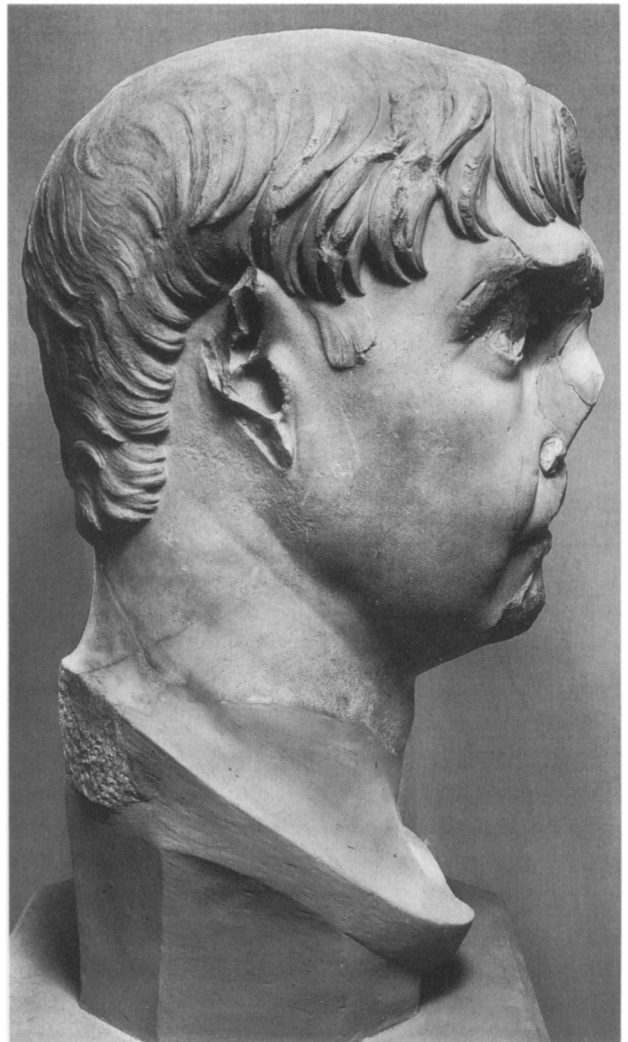
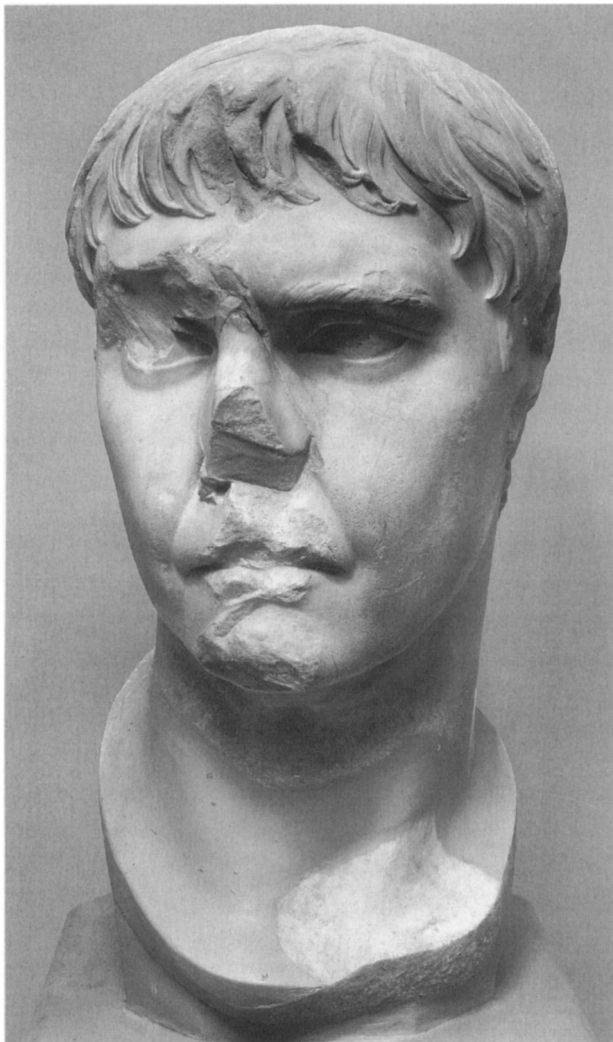


Figure 18. Trajan, from Pergamon, frontal view. Pergamonmuseum, Berlin. Courtesy Staatliche Museen zu Berlin-Preussischer Kulturbesitz Antikensammlung (neg. SK 7336)

Figure 19. Trajan, from Pergamon, right profile. Courtesy Staatliche Museen zu Berlin-Preussischer Kulturbesitz Antikensammlung (neg. SK 7337)

Museum, from ancient Seleucia ad Calycadnum.⁷² Although this portrait is in poor condition, it certainly represents an emperor, as it bears the imperial attribute of a *corona civica* with a central jewel, and is colossal in size. Like many of the others, including the Kanellopoulos portrait, its identity must be established by process of elimination, and the carving style and surviving indications of the arrangement of the hair preclude all other choices but Trajan. Yet the long, thin face, fleshy cheeks, and head tilted down toward the left shoulder are characteristics not seen in any of his official types.

Besides these generally accepted portraits of Trajan and Hadrian, more problematic and controversial portraits are known. I include them here as possible examples of uncanonical portraits of these emperors, although conclusive evidence of their identity is lacking and scholars do not agree on whom they represent. The first of these, a portrait from the Athenian Agora (Figs. 20, 21), deviates drastically from Trajan's conventional portraits, and its provenance offers no help with the identification. Some schol-

72. Silifke Museum, Inan and Alföldi-Rosenbaum 1979, pp. 93–94, no. 42, pls. 35:3–4. They propose that the portrait may have been made after the *decennalia* type, but acknowledge that it must not have followed it closely.

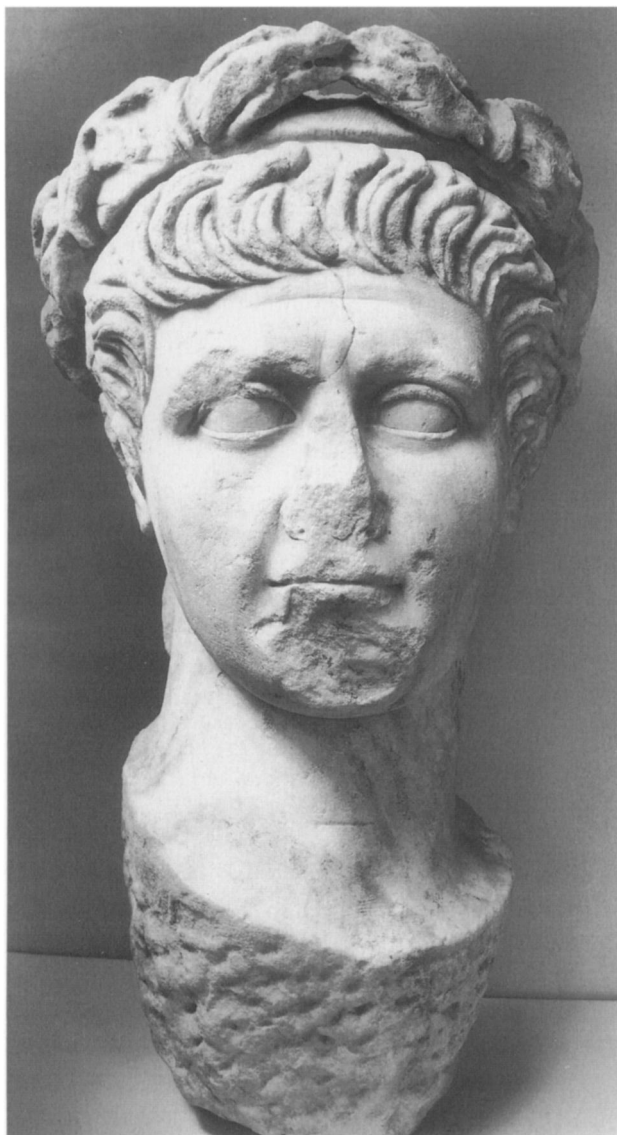


Figure 20. Trajan, from the Agora, Athens, frontal view. Agora Museum, no. S347. Courtesy American School of Classical Studies at Athens, Agora Excavations (neg. 3-140)



Figure 21. Trajan, from the Agora, Athens, right profile. Courtesy American School of Classical Studies at Athens, Agora Excavations (neg. 3-141)

ars do not accept it as a portrait of Trajan at all.⁷³ Yet its wreathed head-dress strongly suggests that it was created as an imperial portrait, its over-life-size dimensions support that assertion, and its hairstyle, although somewhat fuller and more plastically rendered than on most images of Trajan, clearly mimics the pattern of locks seen in other portraits of the *Optimus Princeps*. Trajan seems the most likely candidate, despite the uncanonical appearance of the portrait.

73. Agora Museum, no. S347. For example, Fittschen and Zanker (1985) do not include it with the portraits of any emperor. Harrison, in *Agora I*, p. 27, no. 17, pl. 12, originally published it as a priest of the Flavian period. She later revised her opinion,

however, and in *AgoraPicBk 5*, fig. 11, identifies the image as Trajan. She has revealed in conversation that she was persuaded by C. C. Vermeule that the portrait was an emperor, and became convinced that it was Trajan after a discussion with Margarete Bieber.



Figure 22. Hadrian, from the Olympieion, Athens, frontal view. National Museum, Athens, no. 249. Courtesy Museum

Another example of an unusual portrait that has been identified as Trajan is a bronze tondo from Ancyra, famous for its high quality and shield-portrait format. This portrait has not gained universal acceptance as a representation of the emperor, however, and most scholars who identify it as Trajan see it as posthumous.⁷⁴ The short, thin locks of hair, weary expression, modeling of the facial structure, and angle of the profile are all unparalleled in Trajan's official types. If this is meant to be his portrait, considerable variation from his official types must be acknowledged.

74. Ankara Museum, no. 10345. Inan and Rosenbaum (1966, p. 15, note 2, no. 286, and p. 208, pl. 161) reject it entirely as an imperial portrait, and identify it as a portrait of a private citizen. Their reasoning is largely due to the facial characteristics, especially the forehead, which they feel deviate too markedly from standard Trajanic features. Additionally, they note that the plastic rendering of the irises and pupils in the

eyes forces a Hadrianic or later date. They do not consider the possibility that the portrait could be posthumous.

The portrait originally adorned a wall in the imperial bouleuterion. It is identified as Trajan in Kosan 1957; Gökçe 1957; Giuliano 1959, p. 146, no. VIII.1; and Budde 1965 and 1966. Budde suggested initially that Trajan's father was represented, but later claimed it was Trajan himself.

Vermeule (1965, p. 376) argues that Trajan was the most important benefactor of Ancyra, and notes that on the reverses of local coins of Ancyra featuring Trajan are allusions to his extensive building program for the city. Therefore the portrait ought to represent Trajan, for he was likely to have been given an honor of this sort. Vermeule agrees that the portrait might be posthumous.

The portrait from the precinct of the Temple of Olympian Zeus in Athens (Fig. 22) has been associated with Hadrian, and provides another example.⁷⁵ The portrait conforms in some ways to the easily recognizable features of Hadrian's official images. The arrangement of the beard, set of the mouth, and shape of the face recall the Stazione Termini type. Yet the Athenian portrait has several unique qualities, such as the liberal drillwork used in the creation of the hair, the long locks on the forehead and over the ears, the straight eyebrows, and the expanse of the upper eyelids. These features create an image that does not closely imitate the model provided by Hadrian's official portraiture, and the identification has been problematic.⁷⁶ The artist who skillfully executed this sculpture would have had ready access to portraits of the popular emperor, whose numerous images were prominently displayed throughout the empire, with many in Athens itself, and still chose not to follow any particular prototype or to imitate closely many of his canonical features.

NUMISMATIC EVIDENCE FOR UNCANONICAL PROVINCIAL PORTRAITURE

In addition to the sculpted portraits, an extensive body of evidence for the appearance of imperial portraits in the provinces survives in the form of local coinage. Although they have been overlooked or dismissed by scholars of Roman imperial portraiture, the obverses of Roman provincial coins⁷⁷ minted locally by various cities or provinces throughout the empire depict clearly labeled portraits of Roman emperors.⁷⁸ These coins, which are local products minted with little or no supervision from Rome, bear the portrait of the reigning emperor on the obverse and the ethnic of the issuing body on the reverse. In coins issued by official Roman mints, the portraits on the obverses certainly demonstrate the official imagery. On local provincial coins, however, the source of the portrait types is much less secure. This local coinage, made of bronze rather than precious metal, served as small change in local marketplaces for widely circulating Roman silver brought to the cities by armies or Roman officials. Few of these bronze

75. National Museum, Athens, no. 249. Graindor 1934, pp. 272–273, fig. 25; Weber 1954, p. 368; Datsoule-Stavridi 1985, pp. 44–45, no. 249, fig. 42; Romiopoulou 1997, p. 80, no. 80.

76. Evers (1994, pp. 281–282), Fittschen (1984, p. 204), and Zanker (1983, p. 14, after Hekler 1912, p. xxvii) all maintain that the portrait represents a private individual with Hadrianic features. Vermeule (1954, p. 255) also questioned its identification as Hadrian, but later reversed his opinion (Vermeule 1968, pp. 40, 258) and accepted the portrait as a probable posthumous image of Hadrian made in Antonine times.

Wegner (1956, pp. 40–41, 62, 93, pl. 26:b, and again in Wegner and Unger 1984, p. 110); Datsoule-Stavridi (1985, pp. 44–45); Harrison (*Agora* I, p. 39, pl. 45); and Bracker (1968, p. 77) all believe that the portrait represents Hadrian.

77. The awkward and confusing term “Greek imperial” is gradually being replaced by the more appropriate designation “Roman provincial.” Butcher 1988, pp. 9–13.

78. Roman provincial coins have recently received more attention, a trend that began with the publication of H. von Aulock's private collection of

these coins in the *SNG Deutschland* series and in Kraft 1972. Both of these works focused on the eastern provincial issues. The most recent project involving these coins is the new series *Roman Provincial Coinage*, only two volumes of which have thus far appeared: Burnett, Amandry, and Ripollès 1992; and Burnett, Amandry, and Carradice 1999. Others are in various stages of preparation, but the enormous volume of local coinages in later eras (particularly the 3rd century) makes the cataloguing tasks for these later volumes so much greater that none of the others are yet ready for press.

coins traveled beyond their immediate areas, and thus were subject to little, if any, scrutiny from Rome. Portraits of the emperors on the provincial coins present a bewildering variety of types, many of which would have been completely unrecognizable in Rome.⁷⁹ Examination of the portraits on these coins makes it clear that the image of the emperor had much greater regional variation and flexibility than standard literature on the Roman portrait usually allows.⁸⁰

Although Roman provincial coins were produced throughout the eastern empire until the reforms of Diocletian in the year 284, the vast majority of the surviving coins date from the Severan and post-Severan periods. For reasons that are yet unclear, fewer examples of local coins are known from earlier centuries of Roman rule. Thus evidence from the 2nd century is less abundant than it is from later eras. Local coins depicting Trajan and Hadrian do exist, however, and some conclusions can be drawn from the appearance of the portraits on their obverses. Diversity in the depiction of the rulers can be conclusively established, as has been overwhelmingly documented on the more numerous examples from the 3rd century.

Numismatic portraits of Trajan from the Greek world did not always show him with features similar to those seen on his official portraits. For example, a coin from Roman Crete with Trajan on the obverse (Fig. 23:a)⁸¹ depicts a remarkably idealized and youthful emperor, with small eyes, large jaw, and smooth forehead. This portrait offers a striking contrast to the mature, small-jawed emperor with prominent forehead ridge who was normally shown on coins struck at official imperial mints. On a coin from Smyrna (Fig. 23:b),⁸² Trajan is shown with a most untypical square head, pointed nose, and smooth forehead. It is clear from these inscribed examples that eastern die-engravers could portray Trajan quite differently than did their counterparts in Rome. The label makes the identification unambiguous, despite the fact that the portrait is not readily recognizable as Trajan to those familiar with his official iconography.

Portraits of Hadrian also appear in unusual ways on the provincial coinage. On a coin issued by Corinth (Fig. 23:c),⁸³ Hadrian is shown as slight and youthful, with small features and a long, thin nose, in contrast to the more robust and mature appearance on his official coins. On a Lacedaemonian coin (Fig. 23:d),⁸⁴ some of his features are borrowed from Roman models while others are inexplicably altered. Here, similar treatments of the hair and proportions of the face are juxtaposed with very different profiles and shapes of the heads. On the Lacedaemonian coin, the squat proportions of the head and bulbous representation of the back of the skull are quite unlike the long, thin proportions normally depicted on Roman coins. In a portrait used on coins produced in Roman Crete (Fig. 23:e),⁸⁵ Hadrian is shown with an uncharacteristically square head, sharp chin, and linear features, creating an overall appearance that is quite different from his standard, official images. Thus, great deviation from the official images on coins as well as in the sculpture of both Trajan and Hadrian as they were known in Rome was entirely possible in the Greek world.

Although provincial coins are not directly comparable to provincial portraits in sculpture, the categories are parallel in many ways, particularly

79. Despite recent interest in other aspects of the Roman provincial coins, they have normally not been considered in portraiture studies. This is probably due to the fact that, although early modern numismatists had occasionally attempted regional studies of the provincial coins (e.g., Imhoof-Blümer 1897; Waddington, Babelon, and Reinach 1910; von Fritze 1913; and Bosch 1935), the sheer number of coins was so overwhelming that these early attempts were left incomplete. Additionally, the provincial coins in the British Museum were excluded from *RIC* and barely discussed in *BMC*, as they do not fit comfortably into either category. Thus, early portraiture specialists were either unaware of the existence of provincial coins or believed them useless in their own pursuits, and no tradition of utilizing them was established.

80. In my Ph.D. dissertation (Riccardi 1996), I documented this variety for the years A.D. 235–270 in the Greek-speaking provinces of the Roman world. Only about a tenth of the portraits on the coins that I examined (representing 261 out of 2,570 dies and more than 12,000 coins) showed any reliance whatsoever on the portraits that appeared on coins produced in official mints.

81. *SNG Cop* 581.

82. *SNG Aul* 2209.

83. *SNG Cop* 284.

84. Grunaeur-von Hoerschelmann 1978, pl. 24.xxx.vii.19.

85. *SNG Cop* 582.

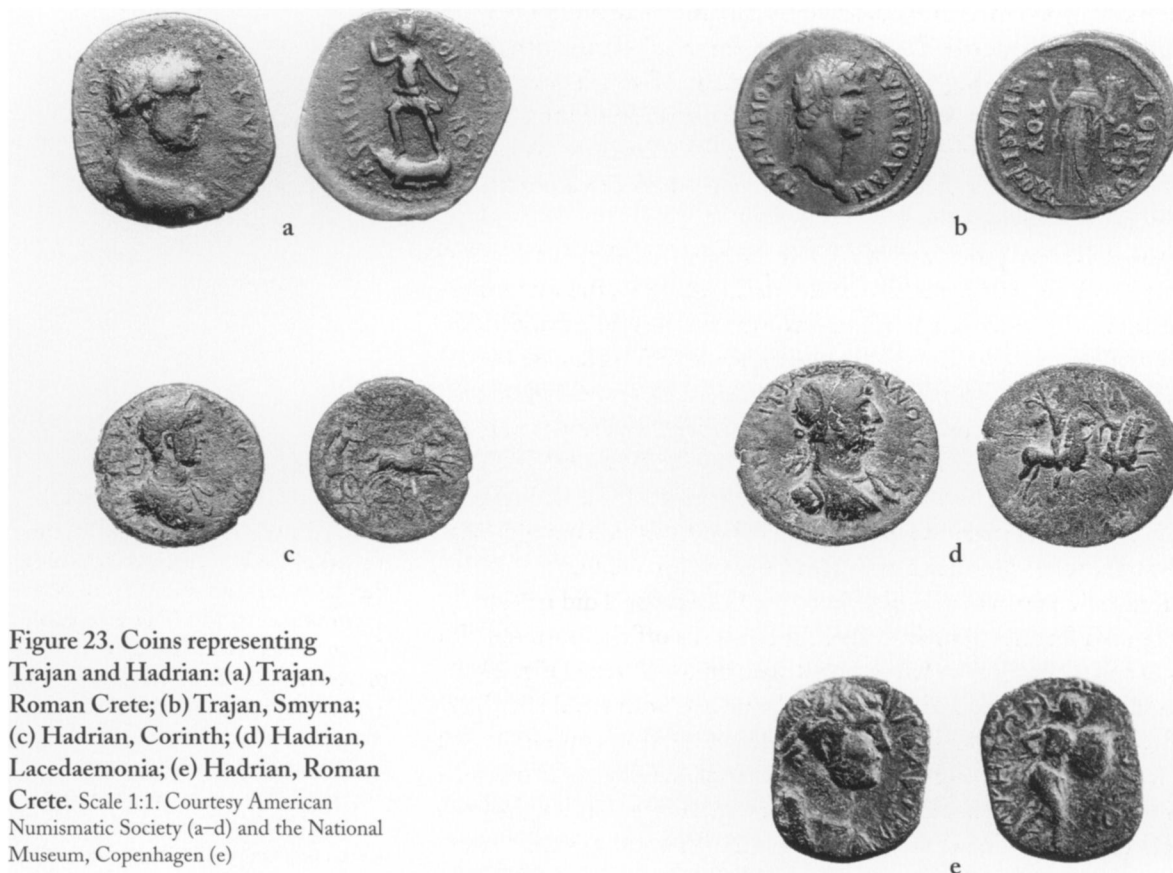


Figure 23. Coins representing Trajan and Hadrian: (a) Trajan, Roman Crete; (b) Trajan, Smyrna; (c) Hadrian, Corinth; (d) Hadrian, Lacedaemonia; (e) Hadrian, Roman Crete. Scale 1:1. Courtesy American Numismatic Society (a–d) and the National Museum, Copenhagen (e)

86. For example, an edict from Pergamon issued in Hadrian's time requires that certain products be purchased only with bronze, others only with silver, requiring customers to exchange their coin at the money-changers' tables for a fee. Because moneychangers had to buy their licenses from the city, this system ensured revenue. Butcher 1988, pp. 25–26.

87. Coins were issued for many reasons, including for the occasion of civic festivals or an imperial visit, to show off monumental building projects, or to display various honors and titles awarded to the city. Macro 1980, pp. 682–684; Harl 1987, pp. 1–11.

in their relationship to Rome. The Romans allowed cities in the East to continue their local coinages in bronze (although they took over nearly all the minting in precious metal), but the remarkable diversity present in the imperial portraits makes clear that they did not watch the minting process very closely. Despite the fact that these coins did not circulate widely, they did fulfill unique and important functions, both economically⁸⁶ and in terms of civic pride,⁸⁷ yet the lack of conformity of the obverse portraits to accepted imperial iconography illustrates little or no supervision from Rome. I have argued above that the same situation existed with the display of the emperor's portrait in civic centers, local agoras and theaters, and imperial cult areas. Rome was normally consulted in the initial stages of that process as well, yet the actual supervision of the installation was left up to the local magistrates, who may or may not have required a standardized version of the emperor's image. In neither case does the evidence support a general intention to adhere first and foremost to the latest portrait models from Rome, but rather it reveals a much more haphazard and loose relationship to the portrait models, whereby in some places at some times a close, up-to-date model is followed, and in other places at other times, it is not. Examination of provincial portraits, whether sculptural or numismatic,

shows that the local artist frequently was allowed to alter a Roman model in favor of local stylistic influences and in accordance with his own training and skills.

This brief survey of numismatic and sculptural portraits shows that the images of Hadrian and Trajan were remarkably variable in the Greek East, with great flexibility in the treatment of their features. Virtually no characteristic of either emperor's official iconography was consistently represented in these images, and faithfulness to current Roman types was often of less concern than carving the portrait in a local style to fit local taste. Modern scholars who exclude any possibility of inspiration but the prototype-replica model are at a loss to identify portraits that do not fit into these categories, and portraits that lack context or setting can be easily misidentified. The Kanellopoulos emperor is a case in point.

In conclusion, the evidence provided by provincial portraits of emperors, both in sculpture and on coins, and by the testimonies of Fronto, Arrian, and Pliny the Younger makes clear that unconventional types must have been more abundant in the ancient world than we in the modern world can recognize. Even Trajan and Hadrian, long-ruling emperors with well-known official images, were represented throughout Greece and Asia Minor in ways that deviated radically from their conventional appearances. Thus we cannot necessarily identify solely by physiognomy and hairstyle the many imperial portraits found without inscriptions throughout the Roman world. Images of the emperors were vastly flexible, influenced by far more than the types determined in Rome, and provincial artists did not always slavishly imitate the models they were provided. The Kanellopoulos portrait in Athens need not be identified by postulating a series of exceptional circumstances. If one allows that the artist who created it only loosely followed an imperial model, the portrait's true identity as Trajan can be restored.

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