

# THE ATHENIAN AGORA

RESULTS OF EXCAVATIONS

CONDUCTED BY

THE AMERICAN SCHOOL OF CLASSICAL STUDIES AT ATHENS

VOLUME I

## PORTRAIT SCULPTURE

BY

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THE AMERICAN SCHOOL OF CLASSICAL STUDIES AT ATHENS

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## PREFACE

The object of the present volume is to publish all the portrait sculpture that has been found by the American School of Classical Studies at Athens in the excavation in the Athenian Agora since the beginning of that excavation in 1931. The most recently discovered of the pieces discussed came to light during the season of 1952. The term "portrait sculpture" is not capable of absolute definition, and I have had to make some arbitrary decisions as to what it shall embrace. Thus several headless torsos which were certainly those of portrait statues have been included at the end of the catalogue in order to give examples of the *kinds* of statues to which the surviving heads belonged, but draped female statues of the pre-Roman period have been omitted. Statues of women cannot be distinguished from those of goddesses so long as the heads are missing, and it is easier to study all draped female statues together. Heads from grave reliefs of the Roman period which seemed to show portrait characteristics have been included, but no attempt has been made to include headless fragments from gravestones of any period.

The main body of the text takes the form of a catalogue. For the benefit of the non-specialist reader who desires information on a single object, I have tried, at the risk of a certain amount of repetition, to make the catalogue discussion of each piece intelligible by itself. For the still more casual consultant who has not the time to read a few pages of text I have attempted to include some kind of date in the heading of each item. It is hoped that all readers will realize with what caution these are to be used. In every case such labels should be taken as indicating only the *typological date* of the work in question, not the absolute limits for the time of its actual creation. Thus a portrait which shows the same style as portraits of Maximinus Thrax might be labelled "period of Maximinus Thrax," but this would not mean that, since Maximinus reigned for only three years, there are only three years during which the portrait in question could have been carved. Allowances must always be made for the differences between conservative and progressive artists in any one period, and the range for the possible actual date of execution of a given piece will always be somewhat wider than that given for the typological date.

The sequence of heads in the catalogue is roughly chronological. Pieces which I was unable to date closely generally follow those which could be more accurately placed, e.g. a head dated "second half of the third century" comes after those dated "period of Gallienus" even though it may, for all we know, be earlier than they.

I have added to the catalogue a general introduction explaining the original uses of the portraits and the contexts in which they were found, and a concluding section containing certain general observations on the style and chronology of Roman portraits made in Athens that have been suggested to me by the study of the Agora portraits.

A number of the portraits published here have already appeared in campaign reports in *Hesperia*. In the case of those published before 1940 the number and size of the views shown in *Hesperia* and the quality of their reproduction are sometimes superior to what has been possible in the present volume. Readers are therefore urged to refer to these earlier publications as well as to the illustrations given here.

For advice and criticism which has been extremely helpful in the preparation of this manuscript I owe especial thanks to Homer A. Thompson, Field Director of the Excavations in the Athenian Agora, as well as to Margarete Bieber, Rhys Carpenter and William B. Dinsmoor. Lucy Talcott, in charge of the records of the excavations, has rendered invaluable assistance with innumerable details. All the photographs of Agora portraits discovered since 1940 and many new photographs of pieces found earlier are the work of Alison Frantz. The others are by Hermann Wagner. I have included in the text a list of the photographs of portraits from outside the Agora which I have used for comparative purposes. I wish to thank especially Emil Kunze, Director of the German Archaeological Institute in Athens, and his assistants, Franz Willemsen and Ulrich Hausmann, for making negatives available for use at this time. For information on various special problems connected with the portraits I am indebted to Harald Ingholt, Christos Karouzos, James H. Oliver, Henry S. Robinson, George Stamires, Meriwether Stuart and Eugene Vanderpool.

My initial work on the portraits in Athens was done during my tenure of a Fulbright Scholarship in Greece in the year 1949-50. The manuscript, in substantially its present form, was submitted as a dissertation to the Faculty of Philosophy of Columbia University in May, 1952 and has been microfilmed.

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## ABBREVIATIONS AND BIBLIOGRAPHY\*

- A.B. = *Griechische und römische Porträts*, herausgegeben von Paul Arndt, fortgeführt von Georg Lippold. Munich, F. Bruckmann, from 1891
- A.J.A. = *American Journal of Archaeology*
- Alföldi, *25 Jahre römisch-germanische Kommission* = András Alföldi, "Die Vorherrschaft der Pannonier im Römerreiche und die Reaction des Hellenentums unter Gallienus", pp. 11—51
- Allard Pierson Stichting, *Bijdragen* = Allard Pierson Stichting, Universiteit van Amsterdam. *Archaeologisch-Historische Bijdragen*. Amsterdam, from 1932
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- Annuario* = *Annuario della [r.] scuola archaeologica di Atene e delle missioni italiane in oriente*
- Die Antike* = *Die Antike, Zeitschrift für Kunst und Kultur des klassischen Altertums*
- Arch. Anz.* = *Archäologischer Anzeiger*
- Archaeologiai Ertesítő, Magyar Tudományos Akadémia*. Budapest
- Ath. Mitt.* = *Mitteilungen des deutschen archäologischen Instituts, Athenische Abteilung*
- B.C.H. = *Bulletin de correspondance hellénique*
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\* This list is meant to serve both as a list of abbreviations and as a selected bibliography. All abbreviated items are included, but not all items included are abbreviated.

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## INTRODUCTION

Within the very heterogeneous mass of sculpture of the Roman period that has been unearthed in the American excavations of the Athenian Agora, the portraits form a group of more than routine interest. A number of those here presented have already appeared in preliminary campaign reports by the field directors of the excavations,<sup>1</sup> and a few of those published in the earlier years have been further discussed by other scholars in various contexts.<sup>2</sup> Nevertheless, none has been so thoroughly studied nor so accurately evaluated as not to reward additional study in connection with the other members of the Agora series.

Strictly speaking, the sixty-odd portrait heads, torsos and fragments published here form a group only in the sense that they all have numbers in the inventory of Agora finds and that the marbles themselves reside in the Agora Museum and storerooms. Nearly but not quite all were found in the recent American excavations of the ancient market square and its immediate environs. Many of them must originally have stood in the marketplace itself, but the contexts in which they were found are often so far removed in time from the period when the portraits stood intact that we must allow also for the possibility of some wanderings in space. In the course of centuries portraits have undoubtedly strayed both into and out of the Agora area. Fragments of grave monuments from the Kerameikos turn up fairly frequently in the excavations, and bits of sculpture and inscriptions from the Acropolis are not unknown there. On the other hand, at least one portrait which certainly stood in the Agora itself is now in the Athens National Museum, having been found in the German excavations of the end of the last century,<sup>3</sup> and so is not included in the present study. Even so, a group such as that with which we are confronted, in spite of its inevitable lack of coherence, offers definite practical advantages for study. The group is small enough to permit a detailed examination of each piece and yet large enough to give a representative sampling of the main types and styles of portrait sculpture that occur in Athens during the five centuries that it covers.

Hitherto the study of Athenian portrait sculpture in the Roman period has suffered from too much selectivity. Certain pieces have been singled out for attention because they were outstanding in quality or because they illustrated points of special interest; the mass of portraits, the necessary background against which these special cases ought to be evaluated, has been largely neglected. In only one case, that of the valuable series of portraits of kosmetai published by Graindor,<sup>4</sup> has a whole group of Athenian portraits been the object of a systematic study. Many more portraits must be treated in this way before it can be said that we know enough about Greek portraits of the Roman period to draw positive conclusions concerning their relation to Roman portraits in general.

<sup>1</sup> Nos. 1, 3, 7, 11, 14, 17, 19, 20, 25, 28, 35, 36, 37, 39, 41, 43, 44, 46, 51, 56, 57, 64.

<sup>2</sup> Nos. 1, 3, 7, 28, 56, 64.

<sup>3</sup> Portrait head of Antoninus Pius found near the Temple of Apollo Patroos (Hekler, *Arch. Anz.*, 1935, cols. 404f., figs. 7 and 8).

<sup>4</sup> *B.C.H.*, XXXIX, 1915, pp. 241-401.

The publication of material from an excavation, even when, as here, the finding-places offer little reliable evidence for chronology, has a certain special value. The excavator must examine each piece impartially and face the problems that it presents. Though he may sometimes find himself wishing that a given piece could be buried again quietly and forgotten, he can never have his wish. If a single marble refuses to conform to his most cherished theory, it is the theory, not the marble, that must go. And if there are questions to which he cannot find the answers, he must be willing to say so openly and to offer the questions to others for solution. The Agora portraits interest us not because they are unique, but because they are representative. Most of the questions that they raise cannot be answered on their evidence alone. The detailed attention here given to this single group may seem disproportionate when one considers that a much larger mass of material of equal value lies neglected in the storerooms of the Athens National Museum. It is to be hoped, however, that the present study will demonstrate sufficiently the interest of such material to inspire similarly detailed treatment of other Athenian portraits in the future.

#### FINDING-PLACES

The finding-places of the Agora portraits may be grouped under six main headings:

I. *Herulian debris*. This includes not only destruction levels on the floors of houses destroyed by the northern barbarians who sacked Athens in A.D. 267 but also filling of wells and holes with debris resulting from the cleaning-up that took place following the disaster. Portraits in this group must have been made before 267.

II. *The filling of the "Valerian Wall."* This wall, built around A.D. 280 as a fortification behind which the Athenians might retire in case the barbarians returned, was constructed almost entirely of re-used material. The two outer faces of the wall consisted largely of squared blocks: architectural members of buildings that had suffered in the invasion, inscribed stelai, the shafts of herms and the like. Into the filling were thrown smaller stones of irregular shape, a class which occasionally included portrait heads. Since the two Agora portraits from the "Valerian Wall" are very much earlier than the third century, the *terminus ante quem* that the wall provides is of no importance for their dating, but for some of the portraits of kosmetai discovered in 1861 in another section of the wall, the date of the wall itself is of vital importance.<sup>5</sup>

III. *Late Roman walls and fills*. This includes post-Herulian structures and deposits down to and including the seventh century.

IV. *Medieval and modern walls and fills*. By far the largest number of portraits comes from such contexts.

V. *Marble dumps in the excavations*. A piece for which such a provenience is listed is one which, being fragmentary and poorly preserved, was not recognized at the time it was unearthed as being worth recording but was later noticed and brought in to be inventoried. Only one of our portrait heads comes from such a context. It is probable, however, that many fragments from the shattered torsos of draped portrait statues of the Roman period now form part of the marble piles in the Agora.

VI. *Unspecified contexts outside the Agora*. Occasionally a workman employed in the excavations brings in a piece of sculpture that has been found outside, and this is then inventoried

<sup>5</sup> On the question of the date of the "Valerian Wall" and the portraits from it, see below, p. 91.

along with the Agora finds and kept in the Agora storerooms. Two such foundlings have been included here, since they are pieces of some interest which would not otherwise be published.

The following list will make it clear how much (and how little) relation there is between the date of most pieces and their finding-places:

I. *Herulian debris*

No. 11	Julio-Claudian
14	Early Flavian
19	Trajanic
30, 35, 36	Antonine
38	A.D. 215-225
41	A.D. 225-250
48 (?)	Gallienian

II. "*Valerian Wall*"

7	Augustan
23	Hadrianic

III. *Late Roman*

3	First century B.C.
8	Julio -Claudian
15, 18	Flavian
20	Trajanic
25, 56	Hadrianic
26 (?), 28, 57-61, 63	Early Antonine
39	A.D. 215-225
45	Period of Trebonianus Gallus
47	Third century (?)
51	Second half of third century (?)

IV. *Medieval and Modern*

4, 5, 6	First century B.C.
9, 10	Julio-Claudian
16, 17	Flavian
21, 22	Trajanic (?)
24, 27	Hadrianic
29, 31, 32, 33, 34	Antonine
1	Hadrianic or Antonine copy of a classical Greek type
37	Caracallan
40, 42	A.D. 225-250
43	A.D. 235-250
44	Middle of third century
46	Gallienian (?)
49	Gallienian
50, 52	A.D. 270-300
53, 54, 55	Fourth century
64	Fifth century

V. *Marble Dump*

12

Julio-Claudian

VI. *Outside the Agora*

2

First century B.C.

13

Julio-Claudian.

## MATERIAL

All our portraits are of marble. The ancient Agora must have been rich in bronze portrait statues of both the Greek and the Roman periods, but it was scarcely to be expected that any of these would survive intact in a city which has been constantly inhabited since antiquity and has undergone so many vicissitudes. What was not stolen by the civilized plunderers of Athens or destroyed by the barbarian would almost certainly have been melted down in times of need, military or economic. Thus we find in the excavations only the remains of bronzes too utterly shattered to have been salvageable even in antiquity, tiny corroded bits that may once have been parts of great statues, but what parts we are no longer able to discern.<sup>6</sup> It is only the works in marble, a cheaper material than bronze and used by and large for less important portraits, that have come down to us in a form that can still be studied. By far the greater number of these are made of Pentelic, that is to say of white Attic marble.<sup>7</sup> The quality of the stone used varies greatly, and there is generally a direct relationship between the quality of the marble and the carefulness of the workmanship. One portrait, No. 4, a bust belonging to the first century B.C., is of fine-grained Parian marble. Three, Nos. 19, 20 and 23, are of coarse-grained island marble. These three are perhaps all products of a single workshop and belong to a period when a hard, polished surface finish was considered desirable. Not only in their finish but in their modelling these portraits are reminiscent of work in hard, colored stone. It may be that the beginning of a vogue for porphyry in the time of Trajan<sup>8</sup> had something to do with the preference for this kind of surface in Trajanic and early Hadrianic sculpture.

## FORMS OF PORTRAITS

Most of the portraits in the round had originally one of three forms: (1) portrait statues, either carved in one piece or with the head carved in a separate piece and set into the torso; (2) busts; and (3) herms. A fourth possibility, that of reclining figures on the lids of sarcophagi, cannot be ruled out, though there is no evidence to suggest specifically that any of our heads comes from such a figure.<sup>9</sup> In Roman times the majority of full-length statues had the heads carved separately from the bodies. A poorer grade of marble could be used for the perfunctorily carved draped torso; only the head demanded a more expensive material.<sup>10</sup> The junction be-

<sup>6</sup> The fragments of bronze statues from the debris of the Odeion (Thompson, *Hesperia*, XIX, 1950, p. 82, pl. 54) are better preserved than most.

<sup>7</sup> In Athens a piece of white marble which is not island marble may generally be assumed to be Pentelic. It is perhaps more difficult to identify Pentelic marble with certainty in the case of pieces not known to have any connection with Attica.

<sup>8</sup> See Delbrück, *Antike Porphyrwerke (Studien zur spätantiken Kunstgeschichte*, VI, Berlin and Leipzig, 1932), p. 19.

<sup>9</sup> Sarcophagus heads are generally life-sized and carved in very much the same style as other portrait heads, so that there is no sure criterion for distinguishing them. They sometimes have extra marble at the back of the neck to strengthen it, but this is not always the case (cf. L'Orange, *Studien*, figs. 14 and 23).

<sup>10</sup> Carving of the head separately, though especially common in the Roman period, was not confined to it. The economy made possible by the use of small blocks of marble and the greater ease with which a head could be worked if set at a convenient height on the workbench led to the use of this method even in classical Greek works in which the draped torso was carved with great care and in marble of good quality (e. g. the torso of the Athena from the east pediment of the Hephaisteion, Thompson, *Hesperia*, XVIII, 1949, pl. 51). Cf. also B. Ashmole, *J. H. S.*, LXXI, 1951, p. 19, note 40.

tween the flesh and drapery at the base of the neck was the logical place for the joint between the two pieces. The torso was hollowed to receive a tenon on the bottom of the piece which comprised the head and neck. Sometimes this tenon was deep and had the form of a frustum of a cone (e.g. Nos. 17, 23 and 51); sometimes it was made to fit a shallower cutting (e.g. Nos. 11 and 24). Ten Agora portrait heads in all (Nos. 1, 10, 11, 17, 23, 24, 35, 36, 51 and 52) have tenons for setting into draped torsos. It is typical of the fortunes of excavation that none of the portrait heads that we have in the Agora fits any of the torsos that are preserved. Of the latter the most notable is that of a colossal statue of Hadrian in armor (No. 56). Several male torsos in civilian dress (Nos. 57–62) wear the himation. The only one wearing a toga is a strangely square late Roman statue of a magistrate (No. 64) which had the head (now lost) carved in one piece with the body.

The female portraits must have employed the familiar Hellenistic draped types that were repeated over and over in Roman portrait statues of women. A fragment to which no head can be assigned (No. 63) repeats a type that occurs at Olympia in no less than four female statues of Roman date. Roman statues in which the head was covered by a veil or by a part of the mantle drawn up over the head generally had the top part of the head-covering carved in one piece with the head,<sup>11</sup> but the Agora has at least one example (No. 33) of a different scheme: the face and the front of the neck, together with what hair appears from beneath the edge of the mantle, are carved in a separate piece which is dowelled into the hollow hood of the mantle behind. This scheme is found in several female statues of the first century B.C. from Magnesia on the Maeander.<sup>12</sup> A second Agora portrait (No. 12) probably comes from a statue of this type, though it is too fragmentary to permit a certain decision.

Heads of statues carved all in one piece naturally break off at the neck, as do those which are broken from busts or herms. In the many cases in which we have only the head, broken off in this way, it is impossible to say which of these forms the portrait originally had. The two fourth century female heads (Nos. 54 and 55) probably come from statues, since they have extra marble left at the back of the neck to strengthen it.<sup>13</sup> There are five portrait busts in our collection: Nos. 4, 7, 14, 19 and 29. One complete portrait herm (No. 25) is preserved, and fragments of the upper part of the herm shaft survive in a second (No. 39). It is quite probable that many of our heads that are broken off at the neck come from herms. Since the rectangular herm shaft forms a useful building stone once the head is removed, many heads of herms must have been deliberately knocked off for this purpose. Probably not all were so fortunate as the heads of the kosmetai which were used in the same structure with their shafts; many must have been left lying or thrown away as rubbish. Inscriptions tell us that others besides kosmetai had portraits in herm form<sup>14</sup> and also that the same person might be represented both in a herm and in a full length statue.<sup>15</sup> Herms were commonly set up out of doors and in porticoes, palaestrae and the like (though they occur also in the atria of houses at Herculaneum and Pompeii); the bust was essentially an indoor form of portrait. Statuettes also might serve for the adornment of houses. Our No. 9, a miniature portrait head, and No. 20, about one-third life-size, may have belonged to statuettes.

<sup>11</sup> A good example in which the jointing shows clearly in the photograph is Hekler, *Bildniskunst*, pl. 173, showing a portrait of Augustus in the Terme.

<sup>12</sup> Watzinger, *Magnesia am Maeander*, p. 199, figs. 198–200.

<sup>13</sup> Being fourth century, they would not be from sarcophagus figures, since sarcophagi were no longer made in Attica by that time.

<sup>14</sup> E. g. our No. 25.

<sup>15</sup> E. g. *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 3667 and 3668.

Only a few of our portraits are definitely over life-size. Nos. 17, 28, 34 and 54 are sufficiently above the normal dimensions to suggest that the persons represented are something more than ordinary Athenian citizens. Some other portraits (e.g. Nos. 39 and 44) exceed only slightly the measurements of the average human face and so have been counted as life-sized, since that is how they appear to the casual observer and that is no doubt how they were thought of by their sculptors. No. 39 is a herm portrait and No. 44 may well have been one too. It is possible that less necessity was felt here to adhere strictly to natural size than in heads of statues, which would require bodies in proportion.

Those portraits in relief that we have very probably come from gravestones which originally stood in the Kerameikos cemetery. In none of them is there more preserved than the head, or a fragment thereof, with some of the immediately adjacent background adhering. Since these heads are intended as portraits, they are included here although they are generally less individual than the full-scale portraits in the round and cannot be so closely dated. Nos. 5, 6, 13, 21, 22, 27 and 32 belong to this class. Their positions in the chronological series must be taken as approximate at best.

Nos. 30, 35, and 36, all life-sized portraits belonging to the Antonine age, are unfinished and provide interesting illustrations of the final stages of work in the completion of a Roman portrait. No. 35 shows that the eyes and eyebrows were engraved before the final smoothing of the flesh surfaces. Measuring-points survive on both Nos. 35 and 36. These would seem to imply mechanical reproduction of the portraits from models, but the minor variations in details and dimensions that are apparent when one compares different Athenian copies of a single portrait<sup>16</sup> make it clear that portraits were copied with rather more freedom than were the masterpieces of classical art that were reproduced for the Roman market. The presence of unfinished portraits in the Agora is not surprising, since we know that there were sculptors' workshops near by.<sup>17</sup> More surprising is the fact that all three of these Antonine portraits were found in contexts that can be associated with the Herulian invasion which took place about a century after they were made. No. 36 was found in a hole in the floor of a sculptor's workshop; it may have been kept at first as a sample or for a possible re-use of the marble and later as a curiosity. No. 35, found with debris from a dwellinghouse, seems to have been used as decoration, or perhaps again as a curiosity, an "antique."

Of the actual sculptors who created our portraits we know very little.<sup>18</sup> Some portraits show technical similarities that suggest a common source, but in making such rapprochements I have preferred to use the word "workshops," as being a rather indefinite term and so appropriate to the present state of our knowledge. I am inclined to believe that if one were to subject all the Athenian portraits of the Roman period now extant to a systematic technical and stylistic analysis it might be possible to distinguish hands and workshops as they are distinguished, for example, in the study of red-figured vases. This kind of study would be particularly interesting if it could be combined with a study of other types, e.g. copies and architectural sculpture, in order to determine how far they overlap and to what extent they influence one another. Such

<sup>16</sup> Compare, for example, our No. 49 with the portrait in Eleusis of which it is a replica (Pl. 46, e). The distance from the mouth-line to the upper wrinkle of the forehead is 0.12 m. in the Eleusis head and 0.129 m. in the Agora head. In the two portraits L'Orange, *Studien*, cat. nos. 11 and 12, figs. 25-27 and 29 (no. 12 shown in our Pl. 46, d) there is a 5 mm. difference in the distances from the mouth-line to the forehead hair.

<sup>17</sup> See below, p. 49 and p. 92, note 16.

<sup>18</sup> P. Graindor, in *Athènes sous Auguste*, pp. 210-245 and *Athènes de Tibère à Trajan*, pp. 171-188 lists and discusses those Athenian sculptors of the periods in question whose names have come down to us in inscriptions or in literary references. The names of sculptors who made portraits are mostly found inscribed on bases or headless torsos. The makers of the portrait heads that he mentions are all anonymous.

a large-scale commissioner of sculpture as Herodes Atticus<sup>19</sup> must have had a whole army of sculptors working for him, and these may well have tended to work together in what could be called a "school." In times of less prosperity things may have been done on a more individual basis.

### SUBJECTS

The variety of persons represented in the Agora portraits is even greater than the variety of their forms. Romans and Greeks of both sexes and of all ages are portrayed. The list of kinds of honorary inscriptions given in *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 3<sup>1</sup>, Table of Contents, VII, Class 8 may be taken as a list of possibilities: (1) Roman emperors, (2) kings and queens, (3) Attic magistrates, priests and sacred boys and girls, (4) kosmetai, gymnastic officials and ephebes, (5) men distinguished in civil and military life and men famous in arts and letters, (6) other Greek men, (7) Attic women, (8) Roman men of note, (9) Roman women, (10) illustrious men of an earlier age honored in Roman times. Portraits of all these classes may have been set up in or near the Agora in ancient times. Section (1), Roman emperors (which includes empresses), is represented by No. 33 in our collection and doubtless by several others not so readily identifiable. (2) is probably not represented by any of the pieces that we have, though we cannot, of course, be sure of this. Sections (3) and (4) probably comprise a large proportion of our portraits. No. 25, the only one identified by an inscription, represents Moiragenes the son of Dromokles, the *eponymos* of the tribe Hippothontis. Several portraits (Nos. 3, 17, 24, 29, 40, 43 and 49) have fillets or wreaths which probably mark them as priests, though No. 17 may possibly be an emperor so summarily rendered that we have not succeeded in identifying him. The subject of the female portrait No. 35 must be either a priestess or a lady of the imperial family. Three heads of little boys, Nos. 41, 42 and 46, may represent children initiated into the Eleusinian Mysteries. No. 44 shows so strong a resemblance to a portrait of an ephebe from the "Valerian Wall" that it seems not at all unlikely that it represents a kosmetes, and there may well be other portraits of kosmetai among our group. No. 1 is the only head we have belonging to group (10), though there is ample evidence that others existed.<sup>20</sup>

That the women in our group are outnumbered by the men (15 out of 55 heads) is not surprising. Except for gravestones, where the representation of the sexes would naturally be about equal, there are fewer occasions for honoring women with portraits. It is probable, accordingly, that among our female portraits there is a higher proportion of members of the imperial family to native Athenians than there is among the men. It can be only by chance that there are no female portraits of the third century preserved in our series, for there are a number of them among the unpublished portraits in the Athens National Museum.

Nos. 20 and 45 may represent negroes, though neither is so skillful and unmistakable a race portrait as the fine Attic head in Berlin identified by Graindor as Memnon, one of the favorite pupils of Herodes Atticus.<sup>21</sup> In these Athenian portraits no inference as to the social status of the person portrayed can be drawn from his race. The lady, No. 20, wears an elaborate headdress that suggests rank or at least wealth. No. 45, on the other hand, is so thug-like in appearance that it is easier to think of him as an athlete than as a member of the upper social circles of a university town.

<sup>19</sup> Cf. K. Neugebauer, *Die Antike*, X, 1934, pp. 92-121.

<sup>20</sup> E. g. a headless herm inscribed "Anakreon" (Inv. I 2061). H. A. Thompson, *Hesperia*, XIX, 1950, p. 132, suggests that the seated figures in front of the Odeion represented famous philosophers of the past.

<sup>21</sup> Blümel, *Römische Bildnisse*, R 73, pl. 45; Graindor, *B.C.H.*, XXXIX, 1915, pp. 402-412.

For the most part, however, the people of our portraits must be the members of the late Athenian aristocracy, people whose pride in their ancestry increased as their achievements in the contemporary world diminished in importance. It is easy to laugh at these pompous little people as we read the lengthy genealogies on their statue-bases and the absurdly archaistic verse in which they too often couch their feeble claims to immortality, but when we look at their faces sympathy follows scorn. It is true, as they say, that they are the descendants of Perikles and Themistokles, and it is equally true that we are theirs. No countenance from the great age of Greece which holds our admiration today as it held theirs then is so close to the spirit of our own times as the face of the little boy, No. 46, who looks out at the world with anxious eyes, unreassured either by the noble blood that runs in his veins or by the wreath of the antique religion that encircles his head.

# CATALOGUE

## 1. PORTRAIT OF HERODOTOS (?)

Plate 1.

Inv. S 270. Found in 1933 built into a modern house just south of the south end of the Stoa of Attalos (Q 13).\*

Pentelic marble. H. 0.45 m., W. 0.21 m., H. chin to crown approximately 0.28 m.

Nose broken off; eyes, mustache and lower lip chipped and battered; minor scars in forehead and beard.

Published by T. L. Shear, *Hesperia*, IV, 1935, p. 402, figs. 28-29; *A.J.A.*, XXXVII, 1933, p. 544, fig. 5 A; A. Hekler, *Arch. Anz.*, 1934, col. 260, no. 4, figs. 5-6.

The head is made with a tenon, a frustum of a cone in shape, for setting into a draped statue. The clothing was evidently drawn up close around the neck in front as well as in back. It is the portrait of an elderly man, bearded and with a long fringe of hair draping the sides and back of his otherwise bald head. The highest part of the head is far forward, and the top slopes back from there to join the rather flat back of the head. The hair in back is only roughly blocked out, as is the small strip of the back of the neck that is visible between the hair and the edge of the tenon. That on the sides falls in two ranges of lank, flame-shaped locks coarsely carved with the flat chisel. In front of the ears the divisions between the locks are emphasized by deeper channels cut with the drill. Only the lobes of the ears are visible. The emergence of the hair from the bald dome of the head is indicated by scratchy engraved lines. The beard is long, extending almost to the base of the throat. A very deep, coarse channel divides it down the center, and the locks curl away symmetrically to either side with a corkscrew motion. A single flame-shaped lock descending from the hollow below the lower lip masks the upper part of the channel. The drill is freely used to separate the locks of the beard. The mustache covers the upper lip and droops far down past the corners of the mouth.

The modelling of the face, like the carving of the hair and beard, is coarse and simplified but not lacking in vigor. The concavity of the temples continues across the lower part of the forehead in front, emphasizing by contrast the powerful dome above. Two thin, horizontal wrinkles of equal length and a third, shorter one below them are harshly engraved in the forehead. Two vertical wrinkles separate the eyebrows, which dip at their inner ends and arch high at the outer. The eyebrow hairs seem to have been indicated by coarse diagonal incisions. The eyelids are heavy, and there is a strong groove below the lower lid. Crow's-feet at the corners of the eyes are represented by perfunctory engraved lines. The pupils of the eyes are not drilled, nor are the irises engraved. The sunken cheeks and the deep diagonal depressions below the eyes suggest the age of the subject and enhance his gravity of mien. The flesh of the face shows crisscross marks of a fine rasp. The marks of a coarser rasp appear on the sides of the neck.

In spite of its coarse workmanship and its present battered condition, this portrait conveys an extraordinarily noble impression. Hekler has identified the head as Herodotos,<sup>1</sup> and the argu-

\* For the grid reference, in parentheses, see Plate 49.

Notes for each catalogue number will be found at the end of the item.

ments in favor of this identification seem to outweigh those against it. Our head has in common with the three inscribed herms that form the main basis for our iconography of Herodotos<sup>2</sup> all but one of their essential features. The herms show the same high forehead with the same pattern of wrinkles and the same long side locks that curve out beside the temples to give more width to the head at this point. The strong, simple pattern of the features and the striking division of the beard into two spiral sections confirm the resemblance. A minor difference appears in the direction of the spirals of the beard, parallel in the herms and symmetrically opposed in the Agora portrait. The single major difference is that while our portrait shows the top of the head bald the herms show it covered with broad flat locks. The rather inorganic arrangement of these locks, which appear to be plastered onto the head instead of growing out of it, and the way in which they detract from the effectiveness of the portrait incline one to accept Hekler's suggestion that they are a copyist's addition.<sup>3</sup> Coins of Halikarnassos of the Roman period which show a portrait of Herodotos depict him generally with some hair above the forehead, but exceptional examples reveal a bald forehead and curly hair.<sup>4</sup> Apparently there was no constant tradition in this matter. Except for the Agora head, all the surviving sculptural portraits of Herodotos repeat the type of the herms, including the hair on the top of the head.<sup>5</sup> Evidently this was the popular version in Roman times, but the Agora portrait may well convey more of the ultimate original on which all are based. The original of the herm portrait has generally been considered a creation of the early fourth century,<sup>6</sup> but dissenting opinions place it on the one hand in the late fifth century<sup>7</sup> and on the other in late Hellenistic or even Roman times.<sup>8</sup>

Some resemblance in technique to the sculptures belonging to the second period of the Odeion in the Athenian Agora suggests an early Antonine date for our copy, though it might conceivably be Hadrianic or even Trajanic. For the form of the statue we have no evidence except the fact that the drapery surrounded the neck closely. This suggests that a chiton was worn under the himation, a scheme common both in seated and standing statues in Roman times.

<sup>1</sup> *Arch. Anz.*, 1934, col. 260, no. 4. Shear, *Hesperia*, IV, 1935, p. 402, mentions this identification without accepting it, preferring to leave the portrait unidentified. Graindor, *Bustes et statues-portraits d'Égypte romaine*, p. 74, note 301, is equally skeptical.

<sup>2</sup> (1) A double herm in Naples in which Herodotos is joined with Thucydides (Bernoulli, *G.I.*, I, pls. 18–19; A.B., 128–9; Laurenzi, pl. 5, no. 19). (2) A single herm in Naples (Hekler, *Bildniskunst*, pl. 16; Bernoulli, *op. cit.*, pl. 19). (3) A single herm in New York, the Metropolitan Museum of Art (Pl. 43, a; Schefold, *Bildnisse*, p. 161, 2 — erroneously said to be in Naples; Richter, *Handbook of the Classical Collection* [New York, 1930], p. 272, fig. 192; Graindor, *Bustes et statues-portraits d'Égypte romaine*, no. 26, p. 74, pl. 23).

<sup>3</sup> *Loc. cit.*, above, note 1.

<sup>4</sup> Hair on forehead: Bernoulli, *op. cit.*, Münztafel II, no. 6; Schefold, *op. cit.*, p. 173, no. 22. Bald forehead: Bernoulli, *loc. cit.*, no. 5; Schefold, *loc. cit.*, no. 23.

<sup>5</sup> Other copies exist in Berlin (Blümel, *Katalog der antiken Skulpturen im Berliner Museum*, V, K 196, pl. 8); in the Albertinum in Dresden (A.B., 767–768); and in Castle Erbach in Germany.

<sup>6</sup> Laurenzi, p. 93, no. 19; Blümel, *op. cit.*, p. 4, no. K 196.

<sup>7</sup> Margarete Bieber informs me that she believes the portraits of both Herodotos and Thucydides were created during the period of the Peloponnesian War.

<sup>8</sup> Schefold, *Bildnisse*, p. 160. The resemblance in the herm portraits to the portrait of Thucydides seems to me scarcely great enough to justify the suggestion mentioned by Schefold that the Herodotos type was invented in Roman times as a pendant to the latter, and in the Agora portrait little resemblance to the Thucydides is to be seen. The addition of hair, if it is an addition, might conceivably be explained, however, by the desire to create a type that would combine gracefully in a double herm with the Thucydides, avoiding the awkward juxtaposition of hair and bald head in the joint between the heads. The decorative simplification of the split beard is possibly an argument in favor of a classicistic origin. Early fourth century portraits (e. g. Lysias, Plato) generally show a simple mass for the beard. Late fourth century and Hellenistic works often divide the mass, but in a freer form than we have here. The portrait on the coins of Halikarnassos, which Schefold, *loc. cit.*, calls early Hellenistic, shows this freer sort of division. So far as I am aware, we have no documented case of the invention of a portrait in Roman times to serve as a pendant to a traditional type.

## 2. PORTRAIT OF A MAN, FIRST HALF OF THE FIRST CENTURY B.C.

Plate 2.

Inv. S 608. Brought in by a workman from outside the Agora area, January, 1936.  
Pentelic marble. H. 0.23 m., W. 0.19 m.

Head broken off in middle of neck. Top of head, made in a separate piece, now missing. The joint surface, a smooth plane at an angle of about 45° to the front plane of the face, dressed with a small point; heavier pick marks visible in the central portion. In the center a small round dowel hole about 1 cm. in diameter. This joint surface the best preserved part of portrait. All the sculptured surface very much corroded and battered.

The portrait is that of a man in early middle age. The head is thrown back and looks up toward the proper right, the neck extended forward. The Adam's apple projects and the tendons of the neck are stretched. The hair follows a more or less Polykleitan scheme, with a parting above the forehead like that of the Doryphoros (though here shifted a bit left of center), pointed locks in front of the ears, and the back hair swept forward on the neck. The hair seems to have been only slightly curly. The modelling of the locks within the hair mass has disappeared completely in the erosion of the surface. The forehead is sharply divided by a horizontal center line, and the lower part projects heavily, most of all in the center over the nose. There was no indentation in profile between the forehead and the nose. The eyes are deep-set and rather small, rolled back under the brows in the Scopasian manner that shows the under surface of the upper lids as wider than their front surface. There are crow's-feet at the outer corners of the eyes and diagonal creases from the sides of the nose past the corners of the mouth. The mouth is pulled down slightly at the corners.

This head shows in exaggerated form the divergence of the axes of head and neck that is characteristic of the "centrifugal" style in Hellenistic portraits,<sup>1</sup> while the heavy features, the deep-set eyes and the uplifted gaze convey the "pathetic" expression that regularly accompanies such centrifugal composition. This style has its origin and finds its best expression in the second century B.C.,<sup>2</sup> but the closest parallels to our head are two portraits in the Athens National Museum in which the style has grown hard and linear and which are therefore regularly dated in the first century B.C., some time before the middle of the century.<sup>3</sup> These two portraits were found together and are of similar workmanship, so presumably contemporary. The portrait of the younger man (Pl. 43, b) has the same bulging lower forehead as has our head, the same wide-based nose and the same heavy toruses of eyebrows overhanging the small eyes. In the age of the person represented our head stands between the young man and his older companion. The portrait of the older man goes much farther than ours in the representation of the wrinkles and small surface irregularities; it may well be that the influence of Roman Republican portraiture is making itself felt here.<sup>4</sup> Ours, on the other hand, like the head of the younger man, is totally Greek in its effect. Both are strongly generalized, and there is no reason to think that either renders very exactly the features of the person portrayed. The workmanship of our portrait, though the condition of the surface makes it difficult to judge, seems to have been of the same summary kind that produced the other two heads. The rendering of the hair on the side of the head in the portrait of the older man, particularly the ends of locks swept forward behind the ears, is very like that of our head. The Doryphoros forehead hair does not occur in the other heads, but such a Polykleitanism is by no means surprising in a work of the first century B.C.

A parallel for the top of the head added in a separate piece of marble is to be found in a first century B.C. portrait in Thera where the top part is still preserved.<sup>5</sup>

Our portrait, even if one considers it apart from its unhappy state of preservation, can scarcely rank as a significant work, but as a purely Hellenistic portrait from the period when

Roman concepts of portraiture were just beginning to influence Greek style, it forms a good starting-point for our Roman series.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Michalowski, *Délos*, XIII, p. 4.

<sup>2</sup> E.g. the splendid bronze portrait head from Delos (Michalowski, *op. cit.*, pp. 1 ff., pls. 1-6) and the portrait of Attalos I of Pergamon (*Altertümer von Pergamon*, VII, pls. 31-2; Hekler, *Bildniskunst*, pl. 75 a and b) with which Michalowski compares it.

<sup>3</sup> Athens N.M. 320 (the older man, A.B. 885-6; Lawrence, *Later Greek Sculpture*, pl. 59 b; Schweitzer, fig. 81; Buschor, *Das hellenistische Bildnis*, fig. 38) and 321 (A.B. 399-400; Lawrence, *op. cit.*, pl. 59 a). In A.B. the head of the younger man is called Julio-Claudian, that of the older man possibly earlier. For the current dating to the second quarter of the 1st century B.C. see Buschor, *op. cit.*, p. 46 and Schweitzer, p. 72 (N.M. 320 only).

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Schweitzer, p. 72: "eine griechische Stilgrundlage, die von einer ersten Einwirkung des stadtrömischen Porträts getroffen wird."

<sup>5</sup> *Thera*, I, pl. 17, p. 224, no. 2.

### 3. PORTRAIT OF A PRIEST, MIDDLE OF THE FIRST CENTURY B.C.

Plate 3.

Inv. S 933. Found April 3, 1933 in a very late Roman deposit, just outside the wheelrace of the fifth century mill in the southeast corner of the Agora (P 13).

Pentelic marble. H. 0.29 m., W. 0.20 m., H. chin to crown 0.235 m.

Head broken off in middle of neck, the break slanting upward to the back. Nose broken off; ears battered, the right more than the left; chin, right cheek, right side of neck and diadem on both right and left sides chipped. The marble discolored by brown spots on left side of head.

Published by T. L. Shear, *Hesperia*, IV, 1935, pp. 402-7, figs. 30-31 (more briefly in *A.J.A.*, XXXVII, 1933, pp. 308 f., pl. 38, 1; *Art and Archaeology*, XXXIV, 1933, p. 288); Poulsen, *Probleme der römischen Ikonographie*, p. 29, pls. 54-55; Laurenzi, *Ritratti Greci*, pl. 43, no. 110; Buschor, *Das hellenistische Bildnis*, pp. 49, 55, fig. 44.

The portrait shows a middle-aged man wearing on his shaven head a rolled diadem which continues around the back of the head without a knot. Above the roll the surface is finished with the rasp. This is more likely due to the fact that the top of the head was not expected to be seen than because hair was to be indicated by paint. There is no suggestion of hair in the very realistically modelled area below the roll and in front of the ears (note the large vein that appears here on each side of the head), and, in view of the elaborately plastic rendering of the eyebrows, it seems unlikely that the hair, had it existed, would have been so neglected. Behind the ears below the roll the rasped surface remains similarly unsmoothed. The face is smoothed but not polished. The head may well have belonged to a herm portrait with a cloak passing around the back of the neck, for a bit of a fold of drapery survives above the break at the back of the neck on the right side.

The features are carved with a strong realism that, nevertheless, shows itself oddly independent of the underlying bony structure of the face. Only in the broad swelling of the cranium above the hollow temples does the bone come into prominence. Elsewhere it is the flesh that builds its own patterns, with trenchant folds and arbitrary swellings, seeking strength through asymmetry and a calculated harshness of line and shadow. The asymmetry may be observed in every system of folds: in the lines across the forehead, the crow's-feet at the corners of the eyes and the wrinkles under the eyes and in the deeper folds around the nose and mouth. The eyebrows are emphatic both in their asymmetry and in their independence of bony structure. In their inner halves they droop low over the eyes, the left lower than the right. The shaggy hairs in the right eyebrow are wavy while those in the left eyebrow are chopped in with stiff, almost vertical strokes. In the outer halves there are no hairs, merely a flattish straight arris slanting sharply down. The eyes themselves are strongly plastic, with heavy lids and the eyeballs very much curved, but they float in the surrounding flesh instead of being socketed into the bone. The cheeks are heavy and tend to sag; the weight of the flesh is suggested by

the downward wrinkles in front of the right ear. The lower outline of the face is a jowl-line rather than a jawline.

In its brief published career this head has been dated anywhere from the second half of the second century B.C. to the forties of the first century B.C.<sup>1</sup> It is, indeed, just individual enough not to fall into any of the ready-made categories, but certain features connect it with a number of well-known portraits, and by plotting these connections we may arrive at some notion as to the position our portrait occupies.

In its independence of bony structure and in the importance given to lines carved into the flesh the portrait shows a resemblance to a group of Roman republican portraits dated around 70 B.C., carved in a style which Schweitzer terms the "wood-cut" style.<sup>2</sup> This is a basically Roman style in which the external impact of experience on the features plays the primary role. The face is conceived of as carved from without by the accidents of life, rather than as moulded from within by the essential character of the man as it is in Greek portraits. It is interesting to note that Schweitzer sees an influence from this class of Roman portraits on the Egyptian portraits of priests, a class which must in turn have influenced our portrait. The rolled diadem indicates that our man is a priest.<sup>3</sup> The shaven head is a mark of the priests of Isis.<sup>4</sup> Whether or not the man is himself an Egyptian we cannot say, but the facial type is close enough to that of the Egyptians to make it a possibility.<sup>5</sup>

In Greek portraits the influence of this Roman style is traceable to varying degrees. A head from Delos that plainly shows the effect of the Roman style nevertheless retains, as Michalowski points out, the Greek use of the bony structure of the face as a foundation for the composition of the portrait.<sup>6</sup> In this respect our portrait is more Romanized than the Delian, but a comparison with any of the genuinely Roman examples<sup>7</sup> shows instantly how great a gap still exists between Greek and Roman. Whereas in the Roman faces the myriad wrinkles, swellings and depressions have an entirely fortuitous look, as though they had really been engraved by the hand of Chance, those in the Greek portrait betray a clear plan in the mind of the sculptor. The lines are fewer and clearer than in their Roman counterpart, and each asymmetry is a calculated variation between two systems that are basically equivalent.

The wrinkles in front of the ear that suggest the sagging of the flesh occur in at least one portrait of the Roman group which we have discussed above,<sup>8</sup> but they are more strikingly represented in two members of the group which immediately follows it in Schweitzer's scheme, that which he has collected around the portrait of Norbanus Sorex, the actor favorite of Sulla.<sup>9</sup> If the famous bronze portrait from Pompeii represents not this Sorex but his son,<sup>10</sup> Schweitzer's dates for the group as a whole must be lowered, but his succession of styles need not be altered. As in the case of other Greek portraits of the first century B.C., it is difficult to determine the absolute chronological position of the Agora head. Until the complicated history of the Greek portrait in this period of influence and counter-influence has been worked out in more detail than it has been at present, the most we can do is to place the Greek portrait somewhere in the wake of the Roman style which it follows. How much of a lag may exist in terms of actual years remains a matter of conjecture. A portrait found in Corinth (Pl. 43, c) belongs essentially to the same type;<sup>11</sup> and the fact that its subject is likewise a priest of some sort is shown by the wreath of thin leaves that he wears on his head, though the unshaven head suggests that he served some other divinity than the one served by our Agora priest. Being found in Corinth, this portrait has as an absolute *terminus post quem* the refoundation at the order of Julius Caesar, probably in 45 B.C., of the city destroyed by Mummius in 146 B.C.<sup>12</sup>

Two other Athenian portraits are related in type to ours though neither is absolutely identical with it in style. A head found in Athens but now in Copenhagen has the shaven head of an Egyptian priest but no fillet.<sup>13</sup> The forehead is furrowed with an elaborate pattern of wrinkles, and the surface of the face is divided by numerous ups and downs of the flesh. Schweitzer classes this head with those of his portraits of old Romans that are done in what he calls the "toreutic" style, the companion to this "wood-cut" style. In degree of Romanization the Copenhagen portrait stands between the Agora priest and the portrait from Delos mentioned above; the tortured surface gives a thoroughly Roman impression, but more remains than in the Agora head of the essentially Greek structure that underlies it. In actual date the Copenhagen portrait cannot be far removed from our head; it may be a few years earlier. A portrait in the National Museum in Athens invites comparison with the portraits of bald or shaven-headed priests, though the head in this case is not bald but has very short hair only lightly engraved into the smoothed surface of the head.<sup>14</sup> The portrait shows some similarity of style and facial structure to the Agora priest, especially in the carving of the eyes and the area around them. Here too asymmetry is deliberately aimed at, and a determined realism manifests itself in the large ungainly ears. The whole is cruder and simpler than the Agora portrait and is probably to be dated somewhat later, a less creative offshoot of the type. All in all, the portrait from the Agora is the best Athenian representative of the type, besides being one of the most interesting of all the portraits discovered in the Agora excavations.

<sup>1</sup> T. L. Shear dates it simply to the Republican Period. F. Poulsen, *Probleme der römischen Ikonographie*, p. 29, finds the Agora portrait so close in "expression and style" to a portrait in Copenhagen which he identifies as that of Attalos III that he feels it must be considered a Hellenistic work of the second century B.C. Buschor, *Das hellenistische Bildnis*, p. 49, groups it with works which he attributes to the forties of the first century B.C.

<sup>2</sup> Schweitzer, pp. 72ff.

<sup>3</sup> F. Poulsen points out (*Mélanges Glotz*, p. 752) that the roll is originally the distinctive attribute of the gods, from which it becomes the property of priests. He makes no distinction in significance between the type which is tied in back like a regular diadem and that which is simply a hoop. He suggests that where the roll is double or triple it must be made of metal. In the case of a simple one such as we have here it is impossible to distinguish the material.

<sup>4</sup> Shear, *Hesperia*, IV, 1935, pp. 404f., suggested as parallels certain portraits which he took to represent priests of Serapis. None of these parallels is exact, however, and indeed the whole question of the insignia of priests of Serapis is far from settled. Whether or not the rolled diadem with the star in front was worn by priests of Serapis, it has nothing whatsoever to do with our portrait. The star does not occur outside Egypt (Graindor, *Bustes et statues-portraits d'Égypte romaine*, p. 57), and the Egyptian portraits which have it do not have shaven heads. No fixed connection has been established between the shaven head and the simple type of roll that our portrait wears. The Athenian shaven priest in Copenhagen (see below, note 13) is without any sort of stephane; a shaven priest from the Agora dating from the third century after Christ, No. 43, wears a wreath of laurel. The Roman portraits identified as priests of Isis commonly have a scar on the head, but no wreath or diadem. Probably with priests of Isis as with priests of the imperial cult the headgear varied from place to place. The shaving is a more basic matter.

<sup>5</sup> Though the majority of the priesthoods of Isis in Greek cities must have been held by Greeks, an inscription from Priene shows that an Egyptian priest was required there for certain elements in the ritual (Nilsson, *Geschichte der griechischen Religion* [Müller, *Handbuch der Altertumswissenschaft*, Munich, 1940], II, p. 120; *Inschriften von Priene*, 195).

<sup>6</sup> *Délos*, XIII, pp. 29ff., pls. 23-24. Michalowski is interested especially in emphasizing the basically Hellenic qualities of the work in spite of the Roman influence observable in its surface details. Schweitzer, on the other hand, stresses the fact that a Roman style, specifically, the "toreutic" style of his group called "portraits of old Romans" is plainly reflected in the Greek work (p. 78).

<sup>7</sup> E.g., Schweitzer, figs. 91, 92, 96.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*, figs. 85-86.

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*, figs. 100-101.

<sup>10</sup> See below, No. 4, note 1.

<sup>11</sup> This portrait will be published by Edward Capps, Jr. in his forthcoming volume on sculpture found at Corinth in the excavations of the American School of Classical Studies (*Corinth*, IX, ii, no. 93, Inv. 1445 a).

<sup>12</sup> For the ancient sources, see Pauly-Wissowa, *R.E.*, Suppl. IV, col. 1033. The date is generally given as around 44 B.C., but William B. Dinsmoor informs me that calculations based on the ancient sources indicate 45 B.C. as the actual year of the foundation.

<sup>13</sup> *Billedtavler*, pl. 34, no. 458 a; Schweitzer, figs. 93 and 107; A.B. 1151-2; Buschor, *Das hellenistische Bildnis*, fig. 43.

<sup>14</sup> N.M. no. 331; A.B. 813.

## 4. PORTRAIT BUST OF A MAN, MIDDLE OF THE FIRST CENTURY B.C.

Plate 4.

Inv. S 739. Found May 2, 1936 in an early Byzantine context north of the Athens-Piraeus electric railway (G 3).

Fine-grained Parian marble. H. 0.43 m., W. 0.171 m., H. chin to crown 0.23 m.

Nose broken off and chin and mouth chipped. A piece gouged out of center of forehead. Both ears broken off. Tenon and edges of bust chipped.

The portrait, a bust made with a tenon for setting into a base, represents a mature man with a full face and thinning hair. The bust is narrow; it does not extend as far as the outer ends of the clavicles on either side. The head is turned slightly toward the right. The hair, very flatly carved in short, linear, pointed locks, is nowhere thick or long enough to alter the contours of the head. It is brushed vertically down on the left side of the head, sweeping toward the right on the back of the head and forward on the right side. The front hair recedes deeply at the temples, leaving a narrow tongue of very short hair in the center. The surface of the broad face is most carefully smoothed, and there is little to break its continuity. A bit of original surface that survives above the bridge of the nose shows that there was a horizontal wrinkle in the forehead. Two vertical frown-wrinkles between the eyebrows and a deep line across the bridge of the nose suggest that the original expression was severe. The lips appear to have been tightly closed. The eyebrows are broken away, but a concave surface above the right eyebrow suggests that they projected. The deep-set eyes are small, with thin, fine lids, and the surfaces surrounding them are smoothly concave. At the outer corners of the eyes are crow's-foot wrinkles so tiny as to be practically invisible. Similarly fine wrinkles, like thin scratches, appear on the sides of the neck. The modelling is nowhere neglected; it is simply smoothed and subdued beyond the point where it can be effective.

It is hard to find an exact parallel for the surface quality of this portrait, but the cut of the hair and the facial type are most closely paralleled in portraits of Roman type dated to the second third of the first century B.C. Schweitzer's "Sorex group"<sup>1</sup> has the same short-cut hair which does not alter the outline of the skull and the same hairline, with an arc over the forehead receding into corners from which the side hair swings down in an S-curve to a point in front of the ears. Even the horizontal fold across the bridge of the nose and the two vertical frown-wrinkles seem to be typical of the Sorex group, though Sorex himself does not have them.<sup>2</sup> In the Sorex group Schweitzer remarks the disappearance of the deeply carved linear detail characteristic of the immediately preceding phase of Roman portraiture. The underlying plastic structure of the head is now expressed through strong highlights and shadows in a continuously moving surface.<sup>3</sup> In our portrait only the negative part of this change seems to have taken place. The "wood-cut" detail has been smoothed away, but the contrast of light and shade has not yet taken its place. This may be due partly to the influence of the material; the very fine white marble invites refinement of surface and minimizes the effect of shadow. It may be due also in part to a failure on the part of the Greek sculptor to understand completely the Roman style which he was following. That the Greek artists were not always so unsuccessful, however, is shown by a fine head from Cyprus in the British Museum, which even surpasses our bust in the delicacy of surface detail (note the minute engraved lines in the hair and the thinness of the eyelids), but in which the strong clear structure beneath the subtly moving surface results in an individual portrait of great power.<sup>4</sup>

Very fine engraved lines, similar to those of the Agora bust, occur on a bronze bust in the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York which belongs, at least in origin, to the Sorex

group.<sup>5</sup> These lines, appearing in the forehead, at the corners of the eyes and on the neck, are somewhat more visible on the surface of the metal than on the white marble of our bust, but they are of the same type. The New York bust was dated by Poulsen around 70 B.C.,<sup>6</sup> but Schweitzer considers it an Augustan adaptation, placing the original near 60 B.C.<sup>7</sup> The fact that so many portraits assigned on the basis of their types to the late Republican Period are not to be considered as originals makes it very difficult to base dating on surface technique. In this respect the Greek portraits are more reliable than the Italian, there being little reason for subsequent copies of the portraits of Romans set up in Greece, but one cannot be absolutely sure, even in the case of our present bust, that the date of the type is the date of the piece itself.

The brushing of the hair in different directions on the two sides of the head occurs in portraits of Cicero, and continues down into the Augustan period, becoming, in fact, a sort of court style of the early Augustan age.<sup>8</sup> It seems not to be common among the portraits which have the short, shallowly carved needle-pointed locks of our bust, and its occurrence here may indicate that the Agora portrait is somewhat later than others of its group. It is, in any case, interesting to have a portrait of this type appear in Athens, a further demonstration of the thorough interpenetration of Greek and Roman portrait sculpture in the first century B.C.

<sup>1</sup> Schweitzer, pp. 79 ff., figs. 99–104, 107–110. M. Bieber, *History of the Greek and Roman Theater* (Princeton, 1939), p. 323, calls the Sorex of the preserved portrait, who is designated in the inscription as a player of secondary roles in comedy, a son of rather than identical with the favorite of Sulla who was *archimimus*. This would lower Schweitzer's dates by twenty to thirty years and would so lessen the apparent gap between the Roman group and its Greek offshoots.

<sup>2</sup> Schweitzer, figs. 104, 109, 110.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 83f.

<sup>4</sup> Hinks, *Greek and Roman Portrait Sculpture*, 18 b (B.M. no. 1879), dated around 50 B.C. (p. 16).

<sup>5</sup> Richter, *Roman Portraits*, no. 8 (with bibliography prior to 1948); Schweitzer, E 3, pp. 79, 81.

<sup>6</sup> F. Poulsen, *Probleme der römischen Ikonographie*, pp. 21 f.

<sup>7</sup> Schweitzer, pp. 79, 143.

<sup>8</sup> R. Carpenter, *Hesperia*, XX, 1951, pp. 42f.

## 5. FRAGMENTARY PORTRAIT HEAD OF A MAN (FROM A RELIEF), FIRST CENTURY B.C. (?) Plate 2.

Inv. S 998. Found February 24, 1938 in a late Byzantine pithos in the northeast part of the Agora area (N 8). Pentelic marble. H. of fragment 0.265 m., H. chin to crown *ca.* 0.23 m.

None of background preserved. Break in back slants down and forward to end in the front of the neck just below the Adam's apple. Front of head broken off down to the eyes.

Nose partly broken away and lips and chin damaged. The whole surface much weathered.

The head seems to have faced directly out from the plane of the relief, with the face somewhat downcast. The back and top of the head are roughly carved, the top showing a central ridge where the sculptor worked downward from both sides in the awkward space close to the background. Apparently none of the hair was finished in more than an impressionistic way. Pointed locks survive in front of the ears, and it looks as though the hair were all brushed forward. The ears project a little; they are coarsely modelled but realistic. The modelling of the face is soft, without sharp edges, grooves or furrows. The lower eyelids are wide; the eyeballs are not drilled. The cheekbones are prominent. The lips are fleshy and loosely parted.

The man portrayed is evidently still fairly young but beginning to show the signs of approaching middle age. A fairly close parallel for the style is to be found in the portrait head of the "Pseudo-Athlete" from Delos,<sup>1</sup> which displays similarly wide lower eyelids and the same soft modelling of the face and the heavy, loosely parted lips. Our head may accordingly be placed,

though the evidence for its dating is slim at best, in the first century B.C. In all likelihood it belonged to a large grave relief.

<sup>1</sup> Michalowski, *Délos*, XIII, pls. 17–18.

## 6. PORTRAIT HEAD OF A WOMAN (FROM A GRAVE RELIEF), FIRST CENTURY B.C. Plate 4.

Inv. S 841. Found March 12, 1937 in a Byzantine context, in a cistern between the Hephaisteion and the Athens-Piraeus electric railroad (E 5).

Pentelic marble. H. of fragment 0.215 m., H. chin to crown 0.17 m., D. of relief *ca.* 0.10 m.

Head broken off from body at base of neck. A small bit of background preserved behind the head and another in front higher up. Back of slab seems not to be preserved. Nose broken away; eyebrows, mouth and chin chipped. The whole piece much weathered. Edges of mantle also chipped.

The head, in three-quarters front view turned toward the proper right, represents a middle-aged or elderly woman who wears a mantle drawn over her head and a mournful expression on her face. The hair is pulled straight back from the forehead. Eyebrows and eyes dip low at the outer corners. The eyelids are thin and the eyes narrow. The cheekbones are prominent, the cheeks sunken, the jaws heavy. The surface of the face seems to have been smoothed, though marks of the rasp remain on the sides of the left cheek.

This head, which is expressive despite its battered condition, is hard to date closely, but in spirit and type it resembles portraits of Roman matrons of the late Republic and early Empire, such as the head of an elderly woman in Copenhagen<sup>1</sup> or the portrait of Viciria in Naples.<sup>2</sup> The figure may well have been represented in the Pudicitia type, a favorite type for elderly women.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Hekler, *Bildniskunst*, pl. 201; A.B. 173–4.

<sup>2</sup> Hekler, *op. cit.*, pl. 205 a. Naples National Museum no. 6168.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Vessberg, pls. 27, 99.

## 7. PORTRAIT BUST OF A YOUNG MAN, 10 B.C. — A.D. 20 Plates 5–6.

Inv. S 356. Found May 5, 1933, the head built into the “Valerian Wall” south of the Stoa of Attalos, the bust in a pit near by, also in a context of the third century after Christ (R 15).

Pentelic marble. H. 0.48 m., W. of bust 0.39 m., H. chin to crown 0.24 m.

Mended from two joining fragments: (1) head, broken off just below chin and (2) bust and neck. A sizable chip missing from left side of neck; minor chips all along break. End of nose, upper part of right ear and rim of left ear broken off. Chips and scratches in eyebrow, nose and left cheek. Some lime incrustation and brown discoloration under chin, on cheeks and on back of head. Surface in good condition otherwise.

Published by T. L. Shear, *Hesperia*, IV, 1935, pp. 407–11, figs. 32–34, pl. 5; *A.J.A.*, XXXVII, 1933, pp. 544f., fig. 5B; *Art and Archaeology*, XXXIV, 1933, p. 289; Poulsen, *Römische Privatporträts und Prinzenbildnisse*, p. 26, pl. 25, fig. 34.

The portrait is in the form of a bust with a tenon at the bottom for setting it into a base, now lost. The bust extends not quite to the outer ends of the clavicles. The chin is slightly raised and the head turned to the proper right so that the face appears in three-quarters view when the bust is viewed from in front. The head in profile is flat on top, with the skull projecting strongly in back. The hair is arranged in overlapping curved locks of a Polykleitan type carved with the chisel in a hard, flat manner out of the smooth hair-cap. The front hair, brushed down over the forehead, forks above the inner corner of the right eye. The side front hair is brushed back from the right temple, forward onto the left temple. In front of each ear is a short, pointed lock whose strands are brushed back with a downward twist just at the end. Behind the ears the

back hair sweeps forward, its ends curled up on the right side of the head and slightly down on the left, leaving in each case a wide, bare space behind the ear. The back hair is cut short at the neckline, and the flat locks on the back of the head lie in perfunctory rows with alternating directions.

Prominent cheekbones and jaws make the face a polygon. It is well modelled, in free, unclassical planes. Edges, as of eyebrows, eyelids and lips, are not quite the sharp arrises of classical and classicizing work nor yet are they blurred completely away as in much late Hellenistic work.<sup>1</sup> The nose, mouth and chin are carved in a central ridge that projects far out beyond the planes of cheeks and eyes. In the side view this creates the impression that the eyes are very deep-set. A slight asymmetry in the shape of the eyes is apparent only when one views the face straight on. The neck is thin, with a very prominent Adam's apple and strongly defined muscles.

This striking portrait was first published as a portrait of Augustus.<sup>2</sup> This identification, though accepted by some scholars,<sup>3</sup> has been vigorously contested by F. Poulsen.<sup>4</sup> It is certain that the work does not belong to any of the established official types reflected on coins and distributed in sculptured replicas throughout the Empire. Further, it is so divergent in certain simple physical traits from the Augustus that we can reconstruct from these wide-spread representations that it seems impossible to consider our bust an original portrait modelled from the Emperor's own features.<sup>5</sup> Our portrait has certain features that *do* belong to Augustus: the angular eyebrows with a faint suggestion of contraction where they meet the high bridge of the nose, the large eyes, wide open and evenly rimmed by their lids, the long, slightly aquiline nose, the high cheekbones, the very mobile mouth with its deep-set corners, the wide jaws and the small, but salient chin. The fact that, for all this, the face does not impress one instantly as being that of Augustus is due largely to the profile of the upper lip, which, instead of being of moderate length and descending straight and flat from the base of the nose, is excessively short and curls outward, projecting considerably beyond the lower lip. The shape of the head in profile is certainly not that of Augustus. It is clear from all the coins and from such sculptured portraits as do not idealize the head into Polykleitan proportions that Augustus's head was high and narrow from front to back.<sup>6</sup> The cranium of the Agora head with its strong projection in back is more like that of Julius Caesar. Furthermore, the pose of the head with the slender neck stretched forward, the Adam's apple very prominent and the chin raised does not correspond to any of the standard types for portraits of Augustus.

A bust from Nola in the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York (Pl. 43, d) has the same long slender neck with prominent Adam's apple and carries the head in a similar pose.<sup>7</sup> It also resembles our portrait in the prominence of the cheekbones and the jawbones and the slight concavity of the side planes of the cheeks between them. The upper lip is short, though not so much so as in our head. The New York portrait was accepted by O. Brendel as a portrait of Augustus earlier than the Prima Porta portrait,<sup>8</sup> though Miss Richter is more cautious as to its identification.

A bust of a thin young man in Thera repeats and intensifies the features which separate the Agora and New York busts from the standard portraits of Augustus.<sup>9</sup> There is the long thin neck with prominent Adam's apple, the raised chin, the short upper lip and the prominent cheek and jawbones with hollow cheeks. The hair over the forehead has the same arrangement as in the New York portrait. The back of the head projects as in the Agora bust. The face appears narrower at the cheekbones and the mouth looks wider than in the other two portraits.

These three heads do not resemble one another closely enough to appear to represent the same person, and yet they show a family likeness. Are they portraits of related persons, i. e. members of some branch of the imperial family, or are they portraits of unrelated persons which were all made under the influence of a common type? One wonders whether the iconography of the Julio-Claudian house will ever be straightened out sufficiently to enable one to determine to what extent private portraits of the period imitated portraits of the imperial family. Looking at the New York bust one feels that it might very well be Augustus himself. Looking at the Thera portrait one feels that it could not be. The Agora bust stands between them; with it anything seems possible but nothing certain.

A great part of the trouble lies in the insufficiency of our knowledge of Athenian style in portraiture during the Julio-Claudian period. If the Agora bust could be dated accurately, the possibilities for its identification could be more clearly limited. A comparison with the portrait of Augustus from the Julian Basilica in Corinth (Pl. 43, f)<sup>10</sup> reveals as many differences as resemblances. There is a certain technical similarity in the carving of the eyes: the slight undercutting of the upper lids, the width and shape of the lower lids, and the continuity of the two lids at the outer corners of the eyes. The incurving of the eyeball at the inner corner of the eye and the position of the line here dividing the membrane from the eyeball is likewise paralleled in this and another Corinth portrait which is probably somewhat later.<sup>11</sup> The definite angle at which the eyebrows meet the sides of the nose in the Agora bust recalls the classicism of the Corinth Augustus and its relatives. Also the hair is carved in almost as hard a fashion as there. But whereas the Corinthian portrait is both cold and dull, an illustration of Augustan classicism at its worst, the Agora portrait is far from dull. First, the face is modelled in many more planes, so that the surface is constantly moving and the lights and shadows give life to the marble, and second, there is a fine tension in the design, especially in the lines of the profile, that holds the thing alive. Even in the three-quarter front view from which the bust was evidently intended to be seen, the profile dominates. It was evidently the element around which the whole portrait was composed. The head-on front view seems to have been the least considered of all. Besides the rather strange effect produced by the projecting central ridge in which nose, mouth and chin are carved, the eyes are obviously unsymmetrical in this view and the mouth looks squashy and ill-formed. One cannot escape the impression that the Agora portrait is in some sense an original creation made expressly for the form in which we have it. Either it is a portrait of a local individual who sat for the sculptor himself or, if it represents some member of the imperial household, the portrait was created from incomplete data, perhaps only a profile sketch, which left the artist a more or less free hand.

For such a combination of freedom with Augustan classicism logic might dictate one of two dates: either (1) the portrait was made at the time when classicism was flourishing, in the last decade of the first century B.C., and its relative freedom is to be explained by the fact that it is not an official portrait (we do not at present know enough about Greek private portraits in this period either to confirm or deny such an hypothesis) or (2) the work is to be dated in the first decades of the first century after Christ at a time when classicism was beginning to decline. The hairdress, which ought to help in deciding between these alternatives, is actually not of much use. The absence of the long hair on the back of the neck which was characteristic of Tiberius and most of the imperial portraits of his period<sup>12</sup> suggests the earlier date, but other features indicate that the coiffure must have been old-fashioned by the time the portrait was made in any case. The clear space behind the ears harks back to the end of the Republic.<sup>13</sup>

The general scheme of the hair arrangement with the forked central mass over the forehead and the side hair brushed in opposite directions on the two sides of the head is perhaps closest to that of Agrippa,<sup>14</sup> though none of the portraits of Agrippa shows such hard, perfunctory carving of the locks. The pointed locks in front of the ears are common throughout the Julio-Claudian period, but their being brushed back instead of forward is unusual. It finds its best analogy in the portrait in the Louvre identified as Antiochus III, not a very helpful parallel.<sup>15</sup>

So long as we find so many partial parallels and so little that is really comparable, it seems best for the time being to give up the attempt to fix on our portrait a definite name or even a definite date. We shall leave it merely to take a place in the mocking gallery of unidentified Julio-Claudians, those Protean princes (or are they private individuals) who as soon as we seem to have grasped them change their semblance and look upon us with the features of someone else.

<sup>1</sup> E.g. the portraits of a man and his wife from Smyrna, the Athens National Museum (N.M. nos. 362-363; A.B. 539-40 and 883-4; Laurenzi, pl. 36, nos. 90-91); the pseudo-athlete from Delos (Michalowski, *Délos*, XIII, pls. 17-18); and the son of Laocoön (Horn, *Röm. Mitt.*, LII, 1937, pl. 41, 2).

<sup>2</sup> T. L. Shear, *Hesperia*, IV, 1935, pp. 407ff.

<sup>3</sup> E. Buschor, *Das hellenistische Bildnis*, p. 59; Hekler, *Arch. Anz.*, 1935, col. 399. Hekler seems also to accept Shear's attribution of our bust to Brendel's Type B, for he suggests comparison of it with the bust from Aquileia (*Röm. Mitt.*, LV, 1940, p. 41, figs. 5-6; Brusin, *Gli Scavi di Aquileia*, pp. 109f., fig. 64). In point of fact the latter is as far from our head both in scheme and in spirit as are the other examples of Type B. A Greek copy of Type B seems to exist in a portrait in Samos (*Ath. Mitt.*, XXV, 1900, p. 166, no. 37; Curtius, *Röm. Mitt.*, LV, 1940, p. 40). This repeats the proper hair formula though it lacks the beard, and it seems to have captured the gloomy expression of its prototype. This portrait, however, like another head in Samos, based on the Prima Porta type (Pl. 43, g; Crome, *Das Bildnis Vergils*, figs. 54-55), modifies the type in the direction of the late Hellenistic "pathetic" portrait.

<sup>4</sup> *Römische Privatporträts und Prinzenbildnisse*, p. 26. Poulsen cites this as an example of an erroneous identification made on the evidence of the hair alone.

<sup>5</sup> In any case, it is highly unlikely that Augustus would have found time to sit for his portrait in Athens, and if he had, the result would no doubt have been a bronze statue, not a simple marble bust. The similarity of the Agora portrait to the coin types cited by Shear, *loc. cit.*, is hardly if at all greater than its similarity to the sculptured portraits of Brendel's Type B, scarcely enough to support Shear's suggestion that the Agora portrait served as a model for the coin portraits.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. H. P. L'Orange, *Δράγμα*, p. 295.

<sup>7</sup> Richter, *Roman Portraits*, no. 27 (with bibliography to 1948).

<sup>8</sup> Brendel, *Ikongraphie des Kaisers Augustus*, pp. 51f. dates the New York bust between 30 and 25 B.C.

<sup>9</sup> *Thera*, I, p. 224, pl. 17.

<sup>10</sup> E. H. Swift, *A.J.A.*, XXV, 1921, pp. 142-157, pls. 5-7; less well illustrated in F. P. Johnson, *Corinth*, IX, p. 71, no. 134.

<sup>11</sup> Swift, *op. cit.*, pp. 248ff., pls. 8-9; Johnson, *op. cit.*, pp. 76f., no. 137.

<sup>12</sup> Cf. A. Wace, *Mélanges Picard*, II, p. 1090.

<sup>13</sup> Cf. portraits of Caesar: Curtius, *Röm. Mitt.*, XLVII, 1932, pls. 50, 53; Hekler, *Archaeologiai Ertesítő*, LI, 1938, pl. 2; Schweitzer, fig. 166; and Pompey: *ibid.*, figs. 124-125; Michalowski, *Délos*, XIII, p. 14, fig. 8 (cf. also the head of a man from the cistern of the House of the Diadoumenos, *ibid.*, pl. 11, which the author compares with Pompey in this respect).

<sup>14</sup> Cf. Curtius, *Röm. Mitt.*, XLVIII, 1933, pls. 30-33, 36-37. Hekler, *Bildniskunst*, pl. 174.

<sup>15</sup> *Ibid.*, pl. 123. *Encyclopédie photographique de l'art*, III, pls. 242-243.

## 8. PORTRAIT OF A LITTLE BOY, JULIO-CLAUDIANT PERIOD.

Plate 7.

Inv. S 1287. Found July 25, 1947 in a late Roman deposit, probably postdating the Herulian destruction of A.D. 267, at the bottom of the valley between the Areopagus and the Hill of the Nymphs, west of the northwest spur of the Areopagus (D 17).

Pentelic marble. H. 0.22 m., W. 0.17 m., H. chin to crown 0.21 m.

Head broken off just below chin in front and just above hairline in back. Front of face much damaged: nose completely gone; mouth broken away, except for indentations at corners; chin chipped. Eyes and eyebrows chipped. Helices of ears broken. Face weathered to a granular surface except for a small patch on right cheek which shows that flesh was originally carefully smoothed. Surface on back of head better preserved.

Mentioned by H. A. Thompson, *Hesperia*, XVII, 1948, p. 178.

The skull is very broad above the ears. The hair is brushed forward to frame the face; the flat, pointed locks, not very curly, are summarily carved with the chisel. The ends above the forehead are all brushed toward the left. The hair on the back of the neck is long enough to

show a break in profile between the back of the head and the nape of the neck. The face, broadest at the temples, tapers to a small pointed chin. The forehead is smooth and rather flat, developed beyond the bulbous stage of early childhood, but the eyebrows overhang the eyes only very slightly as yet. The eyes are round. As H. A. Thompson has pointed out, the breadth of cranium and the prominent bony structure of the face are characteristic of the Julio-Claudian family.<sup>1</sup> The shape of the face is comparable to that in the charming head of Gaius Caesar found in the Royal Gardens in Athens,<sup>2</sup> though the boy of our portrait is younger. The Agora head does not have the intricate arrangement of the forehead hair, a variation of that of Augustus, that generally characterizes portraits of Gaius and Lucius,<sup>3</sup> and since the features are so poorly preserved positive identification seems out of the question. It is possible, on the other hand, that this is a private portrait, but if it is, we must assume a strong influence from the well-known portrait types of the young Julio-Claudian princes.

<sup>1</sup> *Hesperia*, XVII, 1948, p. 178.

<sup>2</sup> Poulsen, *Römische Privatporträts und Prinzenbildnisse*, p. 39, pl. 37, and Hekler, *Arch. Anz.*, 1935, col. 403, no. 3, figs. 5-6.

<sup>3</sup> E.g. the portraits in Corinth: E. H. Swift, *A.J.A.*, XXV, 1921, pls. 10-11; F. P. Johnson, *Corinth*, IX, pp. 72f., nos. 135-136; L. Curtius, *Mitt. d. Inst.*, I, 1948, pl. 25.

## 9. MINIATURE PORTRAIT OF A MAN, JULIO-CLAUDIANT PERIOD

Plate 7.

Inv. S 707. Found March 31, 1936 in a Byzantine context, in the area just north of the Athens-Piraeus electric railway (F 3).

Pentelic marble. H. 0.115 m., W. 0.78 m., H. chin to crown 0.09 m.

Head broken off at base of neck. Nose broken off; chin chipped. Brownish stains on right side of head and patches of lime incrustation on face.

The head is tilted slightly toward the proper left, producing that slight divergence of the axes of head and neck which is characteristic of the centrifugal style of the second century B.C. and which seems to have been so beloved by the Greeks that they continued its use down into imperial times. The left shoulder was higher than the right. The pose of the head makes it unlikely that it comes from a herm. More probably it is from a statuette, or possibly from a miniature bust.

The portrait represents a mature man with a lean, intelligent face. The hair is worn in the style of the time of Tiberius, with short locks ending in a horizontal line across the top of the forehead, little locks in front of the ears, and fairly long hair brushed forward from the nape of the neck. The hair on the back of the head is impressionistically indicated by isolated strokes of the chisel, but the locks over the forehead are carefully delineated, showing a change of direction and a crab's-claw pattern above the right eye. The face, in spite of the small scale, is richly modelled, especially the forehead, and the muscles of the neck are carefully indicated. Cheekbones, jaws and chin are prominent, and the polygonal outline of the face is matched by the silhouette of the head, which is likewise angular. The widest point of the head is above the ears. The marks of the rasp remain visible on the face. The size of the head scarcely permits sharp edges and the use of the rasp has further tended to eliminate them. The resultant effect is attractively impressionistic, and with the original color the piece must have been quite warm and life-like.

There is not much point in trying to identify this little head, for it belongs to the general category of Julio-Claudian princes, among which scholars experience sufficient difficulty in identifying full-scale portraits. The fact that it is a miniature makes it somewhat more likely

that it does represent some imperial person rather than a private Athenian, but the head is best enjoyed for itself, another bit of evidence that the Athenian sculptor, even in a period of decline and cold classicism, retained the skill capable of infusing life and warmth into the tiniest scrap of marble.

#### 10. PORTRAIT OF A WOMAN, JULIO-CLAUDIAN PERIOD

Plate 8.

Inv. S 525. Found February 26, 1935 in a Turkish deposit in the central part of the Agora (M-N 12).

Pentelic marble. H. 0.40 m., W. 0.20 m., D. 0.215 m., H. chin to crown ca. 0.23 m.

Nose, mouth and chin broken off and the break surfaces worn. The whole head badly battered, its surface worn and weathered.

The portrait is made with a short tenon to be set into a draped statue. The hair is parted in the center and a band of waves is drawn back on either side, covering most of the ears. The top hair is smooth of surface, but with an engraved indication of slightly waving strands. The back part of the hair is merely blocked out; it looks as though the hair was thought of as twisted into a pendant knot behind. If so, the end of it may have been carved on the main mass of the statue, as it was in the following portrait, No. 11. Even before the surface was weathered and worn to its present extent, the delineation of the hair seems to have been very sketchy and shallow. The large, round eyes are without engraved detail. The flesh seems to have been smoothed for the most part, but traces of the rasp remain on the sides of the face and neck.

The band of waved hair drawn back to each side from a center part suggests a date in the late Augustan or Tiberian period, provided that our lady is a Roman and that West is right in saying that it was about this time that the *nodus* above the forehead was replaced in the portraits of imperial ladies by this simpler arrangement.<sup>1</sup> If, however, our lady was a Greek, the portrait is not to be too strictly dated on the basis of the coiffure alone.<sup>2</sup> In any case the solid, undistinguished round face with its widely spaced round eyes finds parallels in a number of portraits of ladies of the Julio-Claudian period, all as unidentifiable as this one.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> West, I, p. 127. A band of waved hair framing the face and separate from the hair on the top part of the head occurs in coins of Livia (Bernoulli, *R.I.*, II<sup>1</sup>, pl. 32, 9-12). All these have the hair in a knot on the back of the head. It is to be noted that Mattingly, *B.M.C., Empire*, IV, Introduction, pp. xvii f., note 2 now regards the *Salus Augusta* coin as a portrait of Antonia rather than of Livia, taking the legend to refer to Antonia's part in frustrating the designs of Sejanus. If this is true, the already difficult task of identifying the true portraits of Livia becomes even more so, for this has generally been relied upon as the best of her coin portraits.

<sup>2</sup> A. Mühsam, *Die attischen Grabreliefs in römischer Zeit*, p. 19, dates some Attic grave reliefs showing approximately this coiffure (e.g. Conze, IV, no. 1856) after the middle of the first century. She assumes that it continued to be worn by Athenian ladies of simple tastes who declined to adopt the extravagant "sponge-like curl-dressing" of the Flavian period.

<sup>3</sup> E.g. Hekler, *Bildniskunst*, pl. 203 a (in Copenhagen, Ny-Carlsberg Glyptothek, no. 607, *Billedtavler*, pl. 49) and 203 b (in Rome, Antiquarium), and a portrait from Gortyn in the museum at Herakleion, Crete, published by L. Mariani in *A.J.A.*, I, 1897, p. 270, fig. 3, pl. 12. Mariani, recalling a passage in Ovid, "ora rotunda volunt" (*Ars Amatoria*, iii, 139), suggests that the ladies of this period adopted the simple wave coiffure because it emphasized the round-faced effect. It seems unlikely that the Gortyn head is a portrait of Livia, as Mariani believed, but it may possibly represent the same person as the Copenhagen portrait. Compare in all these portraits the way in which the corners of the mouth are sunk into the plump flesh.

#### 11. PORTRAIT OF A YOUNG WOMAN, JULIO-CLAUDIAN PERIOD

Plates 9-10.

Inv. S 1631. Found April 15, 1952 in the southeast corner of the east stoa of the Commercial Agora, immediately north of the Church of the Holy Apostles, in a level of the second half of the third century after Christ (P 15).

Pentelic marble of choice quality. H. 0.38 m., W. 0.19 m., H. chin to crown 0.226 m.

Tip of nose broken off. Small chips missing from edges of both ears and from hair. Surface fresh and unweathered but with some root marks.

Published by H. A. Thompson, *Hesperia*, XXII, 1953, pp. 55-56, pl. 20b.

This strongly idealized portrait head of a young woman was made with a shallow tenon for setting into a draped statue. With the head is probably to be associated the right hand of a woman holding a phiale mesomphalos which was found in an early Byzantine foundation near the east end of the South Stoa.<sup>1</sup> The mantle of the statue evidently extended high up on the neck in back, and the pendant knot of hair at the nape of the neck was worked on the main mass of the statue. The neck is extended slightly forward and the head turned toward the proper right. The lady wears her hair parted in a continuous center part that runs from the forehead to the nape of the neck. The hair that frames the face is drawn back in loose waves to a point above the ear on each side. Here it is twisted into two rolls that join at the back of the neck to form the knot that hangs down. A narrow ribbon binds them together. The front waves are formed of heavy soft strands carved in high relief with the chisel. Where the crests of the waves adjoin the face, they are undercut. The hair on the top and back of the head is entirely without relief; the slightly waved strands are simply drawn with the chisel in the smoothly rounded surface of the head, crisply on the sides, more sketchily in back. The full, oval face is broad at the top and tapers to a small chin. The forehead is classically smooth. The plane below the conventionally arched eyebrows makes only a very obtuse angle with the plane of the forehead, and the large round eyes are not deep-set. The eyelids are sharp-edged and definite; they appear rather as frames to the eyes than as movable flesh capable of covering them. The nose is thoroughly classicizing; its broad, high bridge continues the line of the forehead with only the slightest dip between. The mouth, very small and delicate in proportion to the rest of the face, is the most personal feature of the portrait. The lips are gently parted. The flesh surface was finished smooth but not polished.

The coiffure is one of those that are illustrated in portraits of Antonia Minor on the coins of Claudius.<sup>2</sup> It is similar to those of our Nos. 12 and 13, though it lacks the small curls that frame the forehead in the former and the waves are less crisply artificial than in the latter. Conceivably the less artificial version is the earlier, though much remains to be clarified in the dating of the late Augustan and Tiberian coiffures. The face shows the influence of the portraits of Livia perhaps more than that of the Antonia portraits. The full cheeks and the wide round eyes set far apart recall those of the statue of Livia in Pompeii<sup>3</sup> and others related to it.<sup>4</sup> The soft front waves, too, are like those in the round-faced portrait of Livia; the Copenhagen portrait often identified as the aged Livia<sup>5</sup> has the crisper waves and the small curls at the sides that seem to herald the Claudian style. The elements which most sharply distinguish our portrait from those of the Empress are the broad-bridged, classically straight nose and the soft mouth with its parted lips. In Livia's portraits the aquiline nose and the determined mouth reveal the ambitious matron who knew how to wield her beauty as a weapon. In fashioning our head the artist seems to have accepted the ideal of beauty represented by the court portraits and applied it to a subject of gentler character.

<sup>1</sup> Inv. S 1627. Pres. L. 0.24 m. *Hesperia*, XXII, 1953, p. 55, pl. 20c. The scale is life-size. The hand is broken off above the wrist; the thumb and much of the rim of the phiale are missing. The marble is Pentelic, similar in quality to that of the head. The surface is fresh and unweathered but blackened by fire, especially on the back of the hand. The careful, precise carving is very similar to that of the head; compare especially the division of the fingers on the hand with the parting of the lips on the head. Similar also is the smooth surface finish which retains an occasional touch of the rasp.

<sup>2</sup> *B.M.C., Empire*, I, pl. 35, 9 (A.D. 41) is perhaps the closest, since it shows the hair twisted behind the ears.

<sup>3</sup> Maiuri, *Bollettino d'arte*, 1930-31, pp. 11ff., figs. 5-7; Kaschnitz-Weinberg, *Mitt. d. Inst.*, III, 1950, pl. 14,1 (front view); Paribeni, pl. 115 (side view).

<sup>4</sup> Poulsen, *Greek and Roman Portraits in English Country Houses*, figs. 33-34 (in Tunis, Bardo Museum).

<sup>5</sup> Delbrück, *Antike Porträts*, pl. 34; A.B. 6-7; Hekler, *Bildniskunst*, pl. 209; *Billedtavler*, pl. 50, no. 614.

## 12. FRAGMENTARY PORTRAIT OF A YOUNG WOMAN, ANTONIA MINOR (?), JULIO-CLAUDIAN PERIOD

Plate 8.

Inv. S 220. Found May 17, 1932 in a marble dump south of the Agora square.

Pentelic marble. Pres. H. 0.21 m., Pres. W. 0.215 m., Pres. D. 0.145 m.

Upper front part of head only preserved. The whole surface severely battered. Of the face only the inner and outer corners of eyes survive. The outlines of the hair can be made out. The front parts of the ears preserved.

The head is probably from a draped statue. On a line with the backs of the ears the carved surface of the hair stops and is replaced by a rough joint surface similar to that on the side of the head No. 33 below. It is not clear whether the much worn present back surface of the fragment is break surface or roughly picked, but here, as there, it seems most likely that the head was covered with a mantle or veil and the face and neck carved separately and inset. In the present portrait, however, the head covering was symmetrically placed. The hair is parted in the center and is combed back in wide waves, leaving the ears uncovered. Ten little ringlets outline the forehead in front, and a semicircular loop of hair emerges from under the waves in front of each ear. The ears are far apart, sloping outward at the tops.

The coiffure, the shape of the forehead and the slope of the ears are all duplicated exactly in a charming head of a young woman in Berlin (Pl. 44, a),<sup>1</sup> of which ours must have been a replica. The only difference is that the Berlin lady is bareheaded, so that we see the rest of the coiffure. The hair is twisted into a small knot on the back of the neck. The head in Berlin is said to have come from a Greek island. A portrait in Malta, tentatively identified as Antonia Minor, the wife of Nero Drusus, shows a lady with exactly the same coiffure and with the same facial proportions, though the work lacks the delicacy of the Berlin portrait, and the face appears heavier and consequently less youthful.<sup>2</sup> The shape of the head, very wide at the top and tapering to a small chin, is that characteristic of the Julio-Claudian family. The coiffure with the center part and wide crimped waves and with the hair twisted into a small knot low in the back is intermediate between that shown in a portrait labelled *Salus Augusta* on a coin of the time of Tiberius, generally taken as a portrait of Livia,<sup>3</sup> and the coiffures of Antonia in post-humous coin-portraits issued under Claudius,<sup>4</sup> where the back hair hangs down in the pendant knot that is common in Claudian female portraits. One of the Antonia coins, minted in Alexandria,<sup>5</sup> shows the single row of small curls framing the forehead. Judging from comparison with the coins alone, the lady of the Berlin and Malta portraits resembles Antonia more than any other ladies of the imperial household, though the facial type differs somewhat from that of the famous statue in the Louvre commonly identified as Antonia, the nose being not so long as in the Louvre portrait, and the whole face consequently more compact. If the Berlin portrait represents Antonia, it is by all odds the loveliest, though it can scarcely be the most accurate, representation of this great lady that has come down to us. The discovery of a replica in Athens strengthens the case for the identification.<sup>6</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Blümel, *Römische Bildnisse*, R 23, p. 11, pl. 16. Blümel dates the head in the first decades of our era, but does not raise the question of the identification.

<sup>2</sup> *Mostra Augustea della Romanità, Catalogo*, 2nd Edition, Rome, pl. 23; 4th Edition, IX, 38 (not illustrated).

<sup>3</sup> *B.M.C., Empire*, I, pl. 24, 2. A recent identification of this coin as Antonia (see above, No. 10, note 1) threatens further to confuse the picture of the iconography of these imperial ladies. All numismatic considerations aside, the face on this coin seems certainly more like that on the other Livia coins than that on the coins of Antonia issued under Claudius.

<sup>4</sup> Bernoulli, *R.I.*, II<sup>1</sup>, pl. 33, 9-12. <sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, pl. 33, 12.

<sup>6</sup> We know that a cult of Antonia as well as one of her husband Drusus was established in Athens, which was apparently the only city to render her this honor (Graindor, *Athènes sous Auguste*, pp. 157f.). The analysis by Hanson and Johnson (*A.J.A.*, L, 1946, pp. 393f.) of portrait inscriptions of Antonia mentions a portrait at Mytilene, set up some time after the death of Drusus in 9 B.C., and one near Troy, set up in the reign of Tiberius. The portrait inscriptions listed range in date from 12 B.C., when Antonia was about twenty-four years old, to after her death at the age of seventy-two. Later portraits seem to have shown her with her youthful face, but with the coiffure brought up to date (West, I, p. 134).

## 13. PORTRAIT OF A WOMAN (FROM A RELIEF), JULIO-CLAUDIAN PERIOD

Plate 10.

Inv. S 805. Brought in from outside the excavations, January 1937.

Pentelic marble. H. 0.188 m., D. of relief, 0.10 m., H. chin to crown 0.18 m.

Head broken off from neck just below chin. None of background preserved, but the line of junction of relief with background visible all around. Nose broken off; chin, mouth, and lower part of right cheek chipped away. Chips also in right eyebrow, edge of hair in front and edge of right ear.

The head, about two-thirds life-size, is broken from a high relief. It faces left in three-quarters view, but the face is completely carved out in the round except for the upper part of the left side. Both eyes and eyebrows are complete and undistorted.

The hair is parted in the center and drawn back in narrow, crinkly waves covering the ear. Behind the ear the hair is twisted down the back of the neck and probably ended in a pendant knot which is now broken off. The eyebrows are not plastically indicated nor are the eyes engraved. The eyeballs project in an almost archaic manner. The face is carefully modelled, with prominent cheekbones and the cheeks hollowed below them. The chin is small but the jaw wide. All the flesh is carefully smoothed, in contrast to the hair, which is left somewhat rough.

The coiffure of this head, with the tight waves in front and the pendant knot behind, places it around the time of Tiberius. The crisp carving of the waved strands of the front hair which gives them the look of overlapping ribbons also appears in a portrait of Livia in Copenhagen.<sup>1</sup>

Portraying a woman of perhaps early middle age, with attractively individual features, this little head has none of the coldly generalized quality of many more pretentious works of its period. Besides giving life and character to his subject, the sculptor has handled the marble with a warmth and ease that is reminiscent of Attic work of a much earlier day.

<sup>1</sup> Delbrück, *Antike Porträts*, pl. 34; A.B. 6-7; Hekler, *Bildniskunst*, pl. 209; *Billedtavler*, pl. 50, no. 614. A similar treatment of the hair is visible on the right-hand figure of a tomb-relief of the period of Tiberius in Ince Blundell Hall, Poulsen, *Greek and Roman Portraits in English Country Houses*, no. 40, p. 60.

## 14. PORTRAIT BUST OF A YOUNG MAN, EARLY FLAVIAN PERIOD

Plate 11.

Inv. S 1319. Found in the burnt debris, resulting from the Herulian sack of A.D. 267, of a large Roman house on the northeast slope of the Hill of the Nymphs (C 16). In the same room was found the bust of an elderly man, below, No. 19.

Pentelic marble. H. including tenon 0.43 m., W. of bust 0.27 m., H. chin to crown 0.20 m.

Back of head split off from the crown down. The break apparently followed the hairline along back of neck. Nose broken off; mouth, chin, eyebrows and ears battered. Front of face and top of head reduced to a granular surface and face grayed by fire. Surface under chin and on neck and bust better preserved. Break surfaces worn.

Published by H. A. Thompson, *Hesperia*, XVIII, 1949, p. 220, pl. 43, 1; *A.J.A.*, LII, 1948, pl. 55c.

The bust, slightly under life-size, has a roughly cut tenon below, presumably for setting into a base. The position of this tenon, at the back instead of the front edge of the bust, is unusual, and it is difficult to imagine what the original form of the base was meant to be. When found, the bust was resting on a makeshift base, the lower part of an unfinished support for a table or basin. The fact that the breaks on the head are worn and that the missing pieces were not found even though the bust was in a sealed deposit suggests that the breakage had occurred long before the year 267. The break at the top bisects an odd, irregularly drilled hole about 0.015 m. in diameter, which penetrates down from the top to a depth of about 0.08 m. A bit of an iron

pin remains in the bottom of the hole. The purpose of this iron pin is not clear. It cannot have been meant to repair the break, of which it seems, if anything, rather to have been the cause.

The subject is a very young man with short, curly hair and with the first fuzzy beard on his cheeks. Both hair and beard have been impressionistically rendered with the chisel and point, giving the effect of the softness of hair without any linear following of the strands. The fuzzily impressionistic effect has, of course, been somewhat heightened by the disintegration of the surface. The face seems influenced by the classical ephebe type of the fourth century B.C. The lower part of the forehead bulges and the bridge of the nose was heavy and straight, with no indentation in profile. The eyes are carved in a manner reminiscent of work in bronze, with sharply defined lids, the lower lid showing a slight flange. This occurs in other portraits of the first and early second centuries after Christ.<sup>1</sup> An element of portraiture is probably to be seen in the fullness of the face, which somewhat exceeds the classical pattern. The right ear appears thick, as though it had suffered the effects of boxing or the pankration, but the present mutilated state of both ears makes it difficult to be sure.<sup>2</sup> The surface of the face was smoothed, but marks of the rasp remain on the neck and bust and around the ears.

The form of the bust would fit a date in the time of Nero or soon after. This pleasant portrait of a cheerful-looking young man is not strongly individualized; probably the subject did not want it to be. Like the college freshman of today, he is at an age when individuality is not so highly prized as is conformity to the accepted pattern.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. No. 17 below. This feature is perhaps commonest in Hadrianic work, but it occurs even in the Julio-Claudian period, e.g. the head of a young woman (perhaps Antonia) in Berlin (Pl. 44, a).

<sup>2</sup> Pancratiast's ears seem to have been considered a respectable mark of gentlemanly interest in athletics, not only a sign of the professional athlete. They occur not only on portraits of ephebes and kosmetai (Graindor, *Cosmètes*, no. 4, p. 304, fig. 11 and no. 21, p. 353, pl. 21) but even on the portrait of Moiragenes (No. 25 below), a mature Athenian official without even an educational connection with athletics. No doubt the thickened ear was accorded the same respect as is shown today for "an old foot-ball injury."

## 15. PORTRAIT HEAD OF A MAN (FROM A RELIEF), FLAVIAN PERIOD

Plate 11.

Inv. S 680. Found March 19, 1936 in loose earth of the fourth century after Christ or later, in front of the north end of the Stoa of Attalos (P 8).

Pentelic marble. H. of fragment 0.15 m.

Head broken off from neck just below the chin. None of background or of line of intersection of background with relief preserved. Break runs outside outer corner of right eye and down through right cheek. Chin chipped away; nose broken off; lips mostly broken away. Ear broken off; eyebrows and hairline battered.

The head is in three-quarters front view, facing to the proper right; the relief is low enough to require a distortion of the face when seen from in front. The subject is clean-shaven and wears his hair cut moderately short, with a straight horizontal line across the forehead and with pointed locks in front of the ears. The hair is carved with the chisel in small flame-shaped locks. The face is strongly modelled, with heavily marked furrows and salient eyebrows and eyelids. It represents a middle-aged man with a serious expression. The look of anxiety which the head has in its present state may be partly caused by the damage it has suffered. The hair style of the piece could be either Julio-Claudian or Flavian, but the modelling of the face and especially the treatment of the eyes favor a Flavian date.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Nos. 18 and 19 below.

## 16. FRAGMENTARY PORTRAIT OF A WOMAN, FLAVIAN PERIOD

Plate 11.

Inv. S 359. Found May 9, 1933 in a modern cellar wall near the southwest corner of the ancient Agora square (J 11).

Pentelic marble. Pres. H. 0.28 m., Pres. W. 0.205 m., H. chin to crown (not including the erection of hair in front) 0.24 m.

Head broken off from neck just under chin. The whole back of head and neck broken off, the break running through both ears. Most of the surface of the front mass of hair broken off; the face battered beyond recognition.

The rough-picked finish of the concave hair surface behind the high front mass of curls suggests that the head may be broken from a relief.<sup>1</sup> The face was round, nay moon-shaped. The eyes and the area around them seem to have been quite flatly modelled. The surface that is preserved on the forehead and under the chin shows that the flesh was carefully smoothed, probably polished. Parts of two rows of snail-shell curls are still visible, a drill-hole in the center of each. They extend down in front of the ears on each side. The lady seems to be wearing the typical hairdress of the time of Domitian. Curls of similar size and regularity and with the same monotonous drilled centers appear on a portrait in the Capitoline called Domitia.<sup>2</sup> Since the back part of our head is missing, however, we cannot date it precisely. The sponge-like curl-dressing of the front hair continued in use through the Trajanic period, and only the styling of the back hair permits a distinction.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> A Flavian female portrait from Chersonesos in Crete (Marinatos, *Arch. Anz.*, 1935, col. 256, figs. 7-8) shows, however, an unfinished back although it is carved in the round.

<sup>2</sup> Hekler, *Bildniskunst*, pl. 239b; Bernoulli, *R.I.*, II<sup>2</sup>, pl. 20, p. 64.

<sup>3</sup> Poulsen, *Greek and Roman Portraits in English Country Houses*, no. 53, pp. 71 f., and figs. 43-44.

## 17. PORTRAIT OF A PRIEST (?), FLAVIAN PERIOD

Plate 12.

Inv. S 347. Found April 21, 1933 in a water deposit inside the mill room of the fifth century mill in the southeast corner of the Agora (Q 13).

Pentelic marble. H. 0.585 m., W. 0.295 m., H. chin to crown (without wreath) *ca.* 0.28 m.

Nose and chin broken off. Right eyebrow and edges of ears chipped. A small chip gone from back of head.

Published by T. L. Shear, *Hesperia*, IV, 1935, pp. 411-413, figs. 35-36; *A.J.A.*, XXXVII, 1933, p. 309, fig. 17.

The portrait is distinctly over life-size. The heavy columnar neck ends at the base in a rough-picked tenon (a frustum of a cone in shape) for insertion in a draped torso. On the head is a large wreath of big laurel leaves fastened to a ribbon which is tied in back, with the ends hanging down on the back of the neck. The top surface of the wreath and the whole back part of it are only roughly carved with the chisel, and the back of the neck is left in a similar state. The hair above the wreath is flatly carved in rows of curved locks radiating from the crown. Below the wreath is a long fringe of lunate locks, covering about half of the forehead in front but leaving the ears bare. The ends of the locks curl in opposite directions away from a parting above the outer corner of the right eye. The back hair is brushed forward in S-curves from the nape of the neck. Drill channels divide the locks over the forehead.

The face is a heavy oval carved with a minimum of modelling. The forehead is marked with an incised horizontal wrinkle just below the hair and two little frown-wrinkles between the eyebrows. The brows project little beyond the enormous flat eyes. The eyeballs curve inward at the inner corners, a feature common in first and early second century portraits. The upper lids

are rather heavy; the lower lids are flanged. The lower part of the face was certainly never distinguished, and the damage it has suffered leaves little worth commenting on. The closing of the mouth is a straight line. There is just enough modelling in the long, thick neck to indicate a slight turn of the head toward the right. The head seems not to be unfinished, for the marks of the rasp on the flesh surfaces have already been partially smoothed away, probably as much as was thought necessary in a work of this type.<sup>1</sup>

This large-scale portrait, done in rather poor marble and poorly finished, was evidently intended for outdoor display. The head was first published as a portrait of Claudius.<sup>2</sup> Later, Meriwether Stuart, in a dissertation on the portraits of Claudius, listed the Agora portrait as wrongly identified.<sup>3</sup> There is, in fact, no particular resemblance to Claudius in the features, and the style seems later than the time of Claudius. The hair style is one which begins in the time of Nero,<sup>4</sup> but in so far as one can judge the sculptural style of the head it seems later still. The use of the drill to separate the locks over the forehead is better paralleled in works near the end of the first century.<sup>5</sup> The carving of the eyes is not unlike that in a portrait of Trajan in the Piraeus Museum.<sup>6</sup> Our portrait, for all its coldly generalized quality, has not the hard smoothness of surface appropriate to the Trajanic or Hadrianic periods. Some portraits of Nerva show a similar arrangement of the front locks (though higher on the forehead) and the general quality of the surface may be matched in portraits of Nerva and in other works of his time.<sup>7</sup>

If, as seems to be the case, this portrait cannot be identified with any emperor who reigned during the period which is stylistically possible for it, we must conclude that it is not an imperial portrait, in spite of the fact that it is over life-size and wears a laurel wreath. The wreath implies that the subject was a priest;<sup>8</sup> the size that he was a person of considerable importance.<sup>9</sup> The coldly generalized style, however, is commoner in portraits of Roman rulers than in those of local worthies.

<sup>1</sup> The sculptor's measuring-points mentioned in *Hesperia*, IV, 1935, p. 411 are in fact non-existent.

<sup>2</sup> See above.

<sup>3</sup> M. Stuart, *The Portraiture of Claudius, Preliminary Studies*, p. 82. Stuart has kindly elaborated in a letter to me his reasons for rejecting the identification. They are summed up in his words: "There simply is not the faintest trace of Claudius in the head."

<sup>4</sup> Cf. the portrait in the Terme, Hekler, *Bildniskunst*, pl. 183. That the style actually developed in the time of Nero may be seen from the coins (*B.M.C., Empire*, I, pls. 38-39). If L'Orange is right in interpreting the final Neronian coiffure (in which the forehead hair stands up like the crest of a wave about to break and the parting over the right eye is eliminated in favor of a continuous arch of parallel crescents) as a sign of apotheosis, of identification with the sun-god (*From the Collections of the Ny-Carlsberg Glyptothek*, III, 1942, pp. 247ff.), then it is clear that the earlier coiffure, that of the Terme portrait, would have been the only one to be perpetuated through imitation by others.

<sup>5</sup> E.g. the portraits of Nerva, Götze, *Mitt. d. Inst.*, I, 1948, pl. 48, A and B. The first, a head on the Cancelleria relief, is a portrait of Domitian that has been reworked into a portrait of Nerva.

<sup>6</sup> W. H. Gross, *Bildnisse Traians*, pl. 27b.

<sup>7</sup> See above, note 5. Above the wreath the hair of our Agora head differs from that of Domitian and Nerva in being cut short in overlapping locks instead of consisting of continuous long wavy strands brushed forward from the back of the head. In this respect our head follows earlier styles.

<sup>8</sup> The significance of wreaths of different types is a subject that has not been sufficiently investigated. It seems established, however, that the wearing of a wreath was primarily religious in meaning and that the Roman emperors wore the wreath by virtue of their priesthood (Pauly-Wissowa, *R.E.*, s.v. Corona).

<sup>9</sup> Over life-size in a portrait does not necessarily imply that the subject is of the imperial family (see below, No. 28, note 12), but portraits of ordinary citizens, such as the kosmetai, were life-sized or under.

## 18. PORTRAIT OF A MAN, LATE FLAVIAN OR EARLY TRAJANIC PERIOD

Plate 13.

Inv. S 1182. Found June 16, 1939 in a late Roman deposit at the northeast foot of the Areopagus (R 22).  
Pentelic marble. H. 0.295 m., W. 0.175 m., H. chin to crown 0.25 m.

Head broken off at the neck in a plane that slants up from base of throat to hairline in back. Nose and ears broken off. Chips missing from top of forehead and left side of chin.

A middle-aged man is represented, clean-shaven and with a receding hair line. The hair is very short, not rendered plastically but engraved in the smoothed surface of the head with little curved lines paired together to suggest pointed locks. The head is very long and narrow in profile as well as in front view. The modelling is realistic in a thoroughly plastic way. Between the deep wrinkles in the forehead the flesh is carefully rounded. A raised vein wriggles down the right side of the forehead. The eyebrows project and overhang the eyes; their salience is emphasized by the marked concavity of the temples. The under sides of the eyebrows near their outer ends are cut as facets intersecting the plane of the forehead in a sharp arris; at the inner ends the irregular overhang of flesh and hair is more realistically shown. Curved incisions represent the hairs. The eyes are deep-set, and a drill-channel separates the heavy upper lids from the overhanging brows. Both lids are thick and wide; the eyes themselves are small, with eyeballs markedly convex. Below the left eye a definite pouch is shown, but below the right eye the transition from lid to cheek is smoothly concave. There is no clearly apparent reason for this asymmetry, unless it be the very slight turn of the head toward the right. In the modelling of the lower part of the face a very simple pattern gives a strongly realistic effect. Cheekbones and chin form prominences over which the flesh is taut. A band of heavy flesh, defined on the outside by modelled grooves that continue down from the inner corners of the eyes and pass under the chin and on the inside by deep folds starting from beside the nose, surrounds the area of the mouth and chin. Behind this chin-strap the flesh of cheeks and jowls sags from in front of the ears, where small pulled wrinkles are visible. The short mouth with lips slightly parted is deeply inset at the corners. The neck is carefully modelled to show folds, tendons and a prominent Adam's apple.

This plastic realism settling into a clear simple pattern belongs to the very late Flavian period or to the time of Trajan. Our head is markedly similar in type to the following portrait,<sup>1</sup> of which the bust form is late Flavian or early Trajanic,<sup>2</sup> but the surface is not of the same hard, smooth, highly polished kind. The portrait of a man from the tomb monument of the Haterii<sup>3</sup> may be compared with ours in several respects: the furrows in the forehead, the prominent veins at the temples, the heavy-lidded, deep-set eyes with undercut eyebrows and the mouth with its slightly parted lips and deep corners. A fragment of a colossal portrait of Nerva in the Forum of Trajan, of which only the lower part of the face survives, is very similar to our head in the proportions and in the treatment of the mouth and the area around it.<sup>4</sup> It is amusing to note that the differences in facial type between the present Agora portrait and the one immediately following correspond to the differences between Nerva and Trajan. The one has Nerva's long, narrow face with small chin and his short, full mouth with the corners pulled in. In the other the broader jaw and chin and the wide mouth with thin lips clamped together recall Trajan's portraits. It is hard to know to what extent such resemblances between portraits of emperors and those of private persons are intentional and to what extent they result from an unconscious influence on the sculptor of the tastes of the times. In any case, they occur often enough to be of interest, a help in the dating of portraits and a hindrance to their identification.<sup>5</sup>

It is interesting, on the other hand, to note the features which our portrait has in common with works of the mid first century B.C., another period of "Roman realism." The very short hair engraved into a smoothed head surface, the deep wrinkles, the prominent veins and even the small wrinkles in front of the ears are all to be found in portraits of the earlier period.<sup>6</sup> In spite of a deep basic difference between the two styles, the resemblances in detail seem almost too many to be explained by an unconscious resurgence of underlying traits of Roman art that

had been repressed by the classicism of the early imperial age. There must have been a revival of vogue not only for the realism of the earlier age but also for certain of the specific tricks by which that effect of realism was obtained. To judge from Athenian portraits such as ours, the Greek artists in this period were not deterred by any native predisposition to classicism from adopting the mode of the times.

Though it is difficult to pin an exact date on our present portrait, the likelihood is that it was made early in the reign of Trajan if not during Nerva's reign. The relatively soft modelling and surface finish of the face (in contrast to the hard polish of the following portrait) have a parallel in the portrait of the kosmetes Heliodoros, set up in the archonship of Fulvius Metrodoros, some time between A.D. 100 and 110/1.<sup>7</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Below, No. 19.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Hekler, *Jahreshefte*, XXI-XXII, 1922-24, p. 188, type III.

<sup>3</sup> Hekler, *Bildniskunst*, pl. 225 a; A.B. 747. Arndt's dating of the male portrait to the late Trajanic or even Hadrianic period on the evidence of the bust-form is difficult to accept. The style of the face shows much more affinity with portraits of Nerva than with those of Trajan. The relatively hard treatment of the surface might bring the date down to the early Trajanic period, but not later.

<sup>4</sup> Götze, *Mitt. d. Inst.*, I, 1948, pl. 56, G.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. above, No. 7 and below, No. 37.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. above, No. 3 (veins and wrinkles); Schweitzer, fig. 101 (wrinkles and short hair); A.B. 813 (Athens National Museum no. 331; short hair engraved in a smooth head surface).

<sup>7</sup> Graindor, *Cosmètes*, no. 2, pp. 292ff., fig. 10. *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 2021. See below, No. 19, note 6.

## 19. PORTRAIT BUST OF A MAN, PERIOD OF TRAJAN (A.D. 98-117)

Plate 14.

Inv. S 1299. Found August 8, 1947 on the floor of a Roman house on the northeast slope of the Hill of the Nymphs (C 16), surrounded by burnt material resulting from the Herulian sack of A.D. 267, in the same room in which was found the bust of a young man, No. 14 above.

Coarse-grained island marble. H. 0.475 m., W. of bust 0.343 m., H. chin to crown 0.25 m.

Nose broken off. Base missing. Otherwise complete.

Published by H. A. Thompson, *Hesperia*, XVII, 1948, p. 178, pl. 56.

The bust is of trapezoidal shape, relatively wide at the bottom. The outside contours of the shoulders are not included. The drapery consists of a chiton over which is worn a himation that covers the left half of the breast and passes behind the neck to slope down along the front edge of the right shoulder. The surface of the drapery is rasped to suggest the matt finish and soft texture of the cloth, though the folds tend to be stiff and rectilinear. Little engraved lines reminiscent of the press-folds dear to Hellenistic sculptors cross the folds here and there.

The subject is an elderly man, bald on top. The short-clipped hair on the sides and back of the head is rendered by little curved incisions (often paired to suggest pointed locks) into a surface which, like the drapery, is rasped for contrast with the highly polished flesh. The face is made up of the same compositional elements as that of the preceding portrait, but the adoption of a hard, continuous surface gives a quite different effect. In the forehead a single very shallow modelled groove takes the place of the three deep furrows of the preceding portrait. The vertical wrinkles from the bridge of the nose become indentations so slight that, though they can be felt with the fingers, they are scarcely visible in ordinary light. The same is true of a slight ridge that crosses the concave space of the temples on each side, doubtless meant to represent the vein. The eyebrows have sharp arrises and flat facets below them all the way along. The hairs are engraved. The eyes are set far back so that they are heavily overshadowed. The lids are thick, again with sharp arrises. The upper lids overlap the lower at the outer corners, con-

tinuing downward to meet the groove that defines the lower edge of the eye socket. The lines of the lower part of the face are essentially the same as in the preceding portrait except that the mouth is now clamped shut and the groove separating the chin from the lower lip has become a definite line forming a low gable.<sup>1</sup> At the right end of this groove is a drill-hole where evidently the sculptor drilled a little too deep in removing the marble in the earlier stages of the work. The outer edges of the lips are barely distinguishable; all the emphasis is on the line of closing.<sup>2</sup> In the new hard treatment of the surface, grooves and folds tend to become offsets or intersections of planes. Protuberances are smoothly rounded; any swelling of the flesh is taut and hard. The ears, completely preserved in the present portrait, are round and thick. The overall effect is that of work in some stone harder than marble. One is reminded of Egyptian portraits in hard, colored stone.

The form of the bust could be late Flavian or early Trajanic,<sup>3</sup> but the style belongs wholly to the time of Trajan. For the surface a good parallel exists in the colossal portrait head of Trajan found in the theater at Ostia, which is thought to date actually from the very beginning of Hadrian's reign.<sup>4</sup> The style of the face and the spirit of the portrait as a whole are close to those of a bust in Naples, which portrays an elderly Roman who wears his hair in the characteristic Trajanic mode.<sup>5</sup> The eyes of the Naples portrait are of the same heavy-lidded type as those of our portrait, with the upper lids overlapping the lower at the outer corners. The arrangement of the drapery is also similar, though the Naples bust is slightly more developed than ours in its outline.

In view of the above parallels a date in the latter part of Trajan's reign seems most probable for our bust, in spite of the fact that the bust form could be a bit earlier. The portrait of the kosmetes Heliodoros, dated on epigraphical grounds between *ca.* 100 and 110/1,<sup>6</sup> seems closer to the style of the Flavian period, and so should be earlier than the Agora bust, which exemplifies the fully developed Trajanic style. The notable achievement of the Trajanic age in portraiture is the production of an effect of strong realism through rigidly controlled compositional and technical means. The masterly technique of the Agora bust and its convincing characterization of its subject show that the Athenian portraitists of this period were not far behind their Roman contemporaries in ability.

<sup>1</sup> This line becomes even more marked in the portrait of Moiragenes, below, No. 25, which must belong to the time of Hadrian.

<sup>2</sup> This is true of a number of Trajanic portraits, e. g. Hekler, *Bildniskunst*, pls. 233, 234 b, 240 b.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Thompson, *Hesperia*, XVII, 1948, p. 178; Hekler, *Jahreshefte*, XXI–XXII, 1922–24, p. 188, type III.

<sup>4</sup> W. H. Gross, *Bildnisse Traians*, no. 74, pls. 33–35; Paribeni, pl. 206. Gross, *op. cit.*, p. 114, suggests that, since the arrangement of the hair in the Ostia portrait recurs only in the Hadrianic Mesopotamia relief on the arch at Beneventum, the type must be that of the Divus Traianus, a type which would presumably have been created immediately after Trajan's consecration.

<sup>5</sup> Hekler, *Bildniskunst*, pl. 233; A.B. 741.

<sup>6</sup> Graindor, *Cosmètes*, no. 2, pp. 292ff., fig. 10; *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 2021. Graindor's *terminus post quem* of 98/99, based on the assumption that this inscription must be later than *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 2017 (archonship of Pantainos), has been demolished by Notopoulos's dating of Pantainos to 115/6 (*Hesperia*, XVIII, 1949, p. 26), but the mention of the *paidotribes* Demetrios in the present inscription prevents a date much before 100, since Demetrios was still active in 126/7 (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 3733).

## 20. SMALL PORTRAIT HEAD OF A WOMAN, PERIOD OF TRAJAN

Plate 15.

Inv. S 1268. Found in a very late Roman deposit at the bottom of the valley between the Areopagus and the Hill of the Nymphs, west of the northwest spur of the Areopagus (D 17).

Island marble. H. 0.116 m., H. chin to crown 0.098 m.

Head broken off at neck in a slanting break. More of neck preserved on left than on right. Chips broken off

the projecting edges of the hairdress in back and one from center of roll over forehead. Nose, lips, chin and right eye and eyebrow battered. A scar on left cheek. Ears battered.

Published by H. A. Thompson, *Hesperia*, XVII, 1948, p. 178, pl. 55.

The broad nose, the high cheekbones and the projecting, seemingly thick lips suggest that the subject may be a negress. Her hair is dressed in one of the elaborate coiffures worn by ladies of the time of Trajan. The front hair is rolled into a kind of puff which frames the face and its ends are twisted into a rope-like strand which runs upward behind the puff to the center front from each side. Because of the break at the top it is not clear what happened in the center. A drilled groove 0.018 m. long in the center just behind the front puff may possibly have served for the attachment of some ornament or elaboration of the hair to serve as akroterion to the gable of the forehead. The rest of the hair is drawn straight back in a great number of tiny braids, and all these braids are wound around in some complicated way to form a great disk-like coil on the back of the head. All the details of this coiffure are lovingly rendered, with equal attentiveness on all sides.

The face is polished, smoothly and delicately modelled. The eyebrows at their outer ends project strongly from the plane of the forehead. The eyes are set wide apart and are rather protruding. The lids are crisply carved, the upper overlapping the lower at the outer corner. The cheekbones, though prominent, are smoothly rounded; below them the face narrows to a long chin. Under the chin the flesh rounds plumply and the curved planes of the face and neck intersect in a clean sharp line.

Both in style and in technique this little head shows its affinity with the preceding portrait, and it is not impossible that the two come from the same workshop. One may compare the plastic prominence given to the eyebrows and eyelids, the preference for smoothly convex surfaces, the use of island marble, and the hard polish imparted to it in the flesh parts. The coiffure would suit a date in the late Trajanic period, since it represents a simplification of the court style of the day.<sup>1</sup> Our lady has dispensed with the elaborate tiara-like erections of curls or braided hair worn by the ladies of the court and in their place has expanded the roll that borders the face in these more pretentious coiffures. The braiding of the strands that go back from the front to the coil on the back of the head is perhaps a shade old-fashioned. Elsewhere it occurs in company with the Trajanic version of the Flavian sponge-like curl-dressing,<sup>2</sup> whereas in the portraits of Matidia and Marciana these strands are merely twisted.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. the portraits of Marciana and Matidia, Wegner, *Arch. Anz.*, 1938, cols. 276ff., figs. 1, 3, 7-13.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. the portrait of a woman in Lansdowne House, Poulsen, *Greek and Roman Portraits in English Country Houses*, no. 53, p. 71, and one in the Berlin Museum, Blümel, *Römische Bildnisse*, R 37, pl. 27. Portraits of Plotina keep the braids but generally dispense with the coil in back. A bust in the Metropolitan Museum in New York, Richter, *Roman Portraits*, no. 63, tentatively identified as Plotina and certainly of Trajanic date, has, however, a medium-sized coil high in back.

## 21. HEAD OF A YOUNG MAN (FROM A GRAVE RELIEF), PERIOD OF TRAJAN(?) Plate 16.

Inv. S 880. Found April 10, 1937 in a late Byzantine deposit north of the Temple of Ares (K 7).

Pentelic marble. H. 0.115 m., W. 0.08 m., D. of relief *ca.* 0.06 m., H. chin to crown 0.095 m.

Head broken off at base of neck. Background broken away around head leaving only a bit of background plane visible on right side of neck. The original roughly picked back surface of slab visible on back of fragment; the slab only 0.03 m. thick at this point. Most of nose chipped off; lower lip and chin somewhat damaged.

The head faces straight out, emerging from the background just a little way behind the ears. The sides of the head and neck intersect the background plane perpendicularly instead of

curving in behind. This makes the neck look unusually thick. The top of the head is wide and domed, the face oval, tapering to a small pointed chin. The hairline over the forehead is a smooth oval ending in a point in front of each ear. The hair is represented as all combed forward from the crown of the head, the locks being indicated by rows of parallel strokes. The ears are enormous, flaring outward as they so often do in front-facing heads on grave reliefs of the Roman period.

The modelling of the face, though sketchy, is careful and competent. Details like the concavity of the forehead above the eyebrow ridges, the hollows below the eyes and the area of soft flesh around the mouth are duly noted. The rasp has been used to round and soften the contours, and in places the marks of the rasp in turn have been partially smoothed away.

The hair combed forward and cut in a smooth arch across the forehead suggests a date early in the second century after Christ. Neither the portrait nor the person it represents is in any way distinguished, but it again illustrates the power of the ordinary Athenian sculptor working in marble to produce an effect of warmth and life even with the most modest means.

**22. PORTRAIT OF A WOMAN (FROM A GRAVE RELIEF), PERIOD OF TRAJAN (?)** Plate 16.

Inv. S 584. Found May 21, 1935 in a modern deposit on the east side of the Agora (P 13).

Pentelic marble. H. 0.15 m.

Head broken off from body at neck and from background all around. Nose broken off.

The head is meant to be seen in three-quarters front view, facing left. The thick hair is parted in the center and drawn back in soft waves leaving the ears uncovered. A veil or mantle covers the top and back of the head, passing behind the ears. The face is a full oval, with almond eyes and a soft, small mouth. The heavy hair is carved with the chisel into broad strands. The ear is only a small shell without interior detail. The surface of the face has been dressed down with the rasp on the side that is meant to be seen; on the side that is away from the spectator the irregularities left by the chisel remain.

The coiffure affords no very good evidence for the dating. This manner of wearing the front hair might be found at almost any time during the first century after Christ or in the early part of the second. The technique of the piece, however, is so close to that of the preceding that a similar date seems likely. Points to be compared are the quality of the rasp-dressed surface, the soft modelling of the mouth, and, above all, the shape of the eyes, which narrow to a very fine point at the outer corners.

Like the preceding, this head has no qualities of distinction that merit special comment. A certain simple charm inherent in the piece as a whole speaks for itself.

**23. PORTRAIT OF A MAN, PERIOD OF HADRIAN (A.D. 117-138)** Plate 12.

Inv. S 837. Found March 3, 1937 in the filling of the "Valerian Wall" under the modern street that runs around the north side of the Acropolis (T 23).

Coarse-grained island marble. H. 0.475 m., W. 0.215 m., H. chin to crown 0.27 m.

Whole front of face split off from top of forehead down to depression between lower lip and chin. Break runs through outer corner of right eye, and tip of right eyebrow is preserved. None of eye or eyebrow preserved on left side. Surface in very good condition otherwise.

The head is made with a rough-picked tenon, a frustum of a cone in shape, for insertion into a draped statue. The man portrayed has short curly hair that clings very close to his head, receding a little at the temples, and a somewhat longer curly beard. The surface of the hair is raised hardly at all above the surface of the skin. Rather the locks are engraved into this surface with the meticulous care of work in bronze. The beard is crisply carved in very neat, short curls, with linear detailing on the surface of the locks, which are rendered in relief and separated from one another by means of the drill. The skin surface is smoothly rounded everywhere and has a high polish. There seem to have been no wrinkles. The eyebrows were engraved with fine strokes running parallel to the curve of the eyebrow arch. The ears are small and carefully modelled, smooth and round and fleshy. The plump neck has no modelling except for the right side, where a slight turn of the head presses the flesh into two rolls.

This polished gentleman, who despite his loss of face has maintained the elegance of his coiffure, belonged probably to the time of Hadrian. The cut of the beard is similar to that shown in the portrait of the kosmetes Onasos, son of Trophimos, who served in the archonship of Claudius Lysiades, sometime in the last decade of Hadrian's reign,<sup>1</sup> while the carving of the individual locks of the beard is best paralleled in a portrait in Berlin whose hair style imitates that of Hadrian himself.<sup>2</sup> The marble used, and the hard polish given to the flesh parts recall the bust of an elderly man, No. 19 above, which seems to belong to the later Trajanic period. The carving of the ears is comparable in these two works, and the short hair of our present portrait may be a modification of the style represented by the earlier portrait. Neither conforms to the imperial coiffure of its period.

In minute attentiveness to surface detail and finish this portrait is excelled by none that has been discovered in the Agora. As to its effectiveness as a portrait there is no way of judging, but one suspects both the sculptor and his subject of a certain lack of imagination.

<sup>1</sup> Graindor, *Cosmètes*, no. 7, p. 313, pl. 17; *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 3744. Lysiades is not dated to the year, but the only unassigned years in the reign of Hadrian are in the thirties. Cf. J. Oliver, *Hesperia*, XI, 1942, p. 85.

<sup>2</sup> Blümel, *Römische Bildnisse*, R 68, pl. 41.

## 24. PORTRAIT OF A MAN, PERIOD OF HADRIAN

Plate 16.

Inv. S 1091. Found June 29, 1938 in a Byzantine foundation near the southeast corner of the Temple of Ares (K 8).

Pentelic marble. H. 0.375 m., W. 0.205 m., H. chin to crown 0.25 m.

A chip gone from top of head (seemingly picked off rather than broken off). Nose broken off; lips, chin and eyebrows chipped. Most of left eye chipped; slighter damage to right eye and eyelids. Hair and face both weathered and worn. Original polished surface preserved only on front of neck.

The head is made with a short tenon to be set into a draped statue, evidently one with a garment coming close up around the neck.<sup>1</sup> The tenon is a narrow piece extending only about 4 cm. below the sternal notch, where the modelled part ends. In the back the tenon slopes down from the hairline. The short hair, in small curls all over the head, covers the tops of the ears. A wreath, evidently of metal, was attached by means of little drilled holes ranged in groups of two or three around the front of the head. In the back are no holes, but the shallow groove indicating the position of the band by which the wreath was fastened continues around the back of the head. Only in front below the wreath are the locks of hair separated with the drill. The very short beard starts in front of the ears and covers the sides of the cheeks and the chin,

but leaves the lower lip free except for a suggestion of a tuft in the center. A thin mustache covers the upper lip. Beard and mustache seem to be rendered by little strokes cutting into a roughened surface.

The face as a whole is round, flattish and pleasant, but carefully modelled throughout. The eyebrows are battered, but the hairs seem not to have been engraved or otherwise represented. Nor do the eyes themselves seem to have been engraved or drilled. The eyeballs are rather flat; the lids are of moderate width and thickness.

The cut of the hair and beard suggest a date in the Hadrianic period, and the fact that the eyes are without engraved detail is against too late a date. The tendency to flatness and rounding off of corners in the lower part of the face points forward to the Antonine period, but the modelling of forehead, eyebrows and eyes retains an angularity reminiscent of late Flavian and Trajanic work.<sup>2</sup> Since the head does not resemble any member of the imperial family, the wreath is doubtless to be interpreted as a sign of priesthood. This is an attractive, well-made portrait, though the features have lost much of their effectiveness through wear.

<sup>1</sup> The statue of a seated philosopher from the Odeion (*Hesperia*, XIX, 1950, pl. 79b) is cut to hold a tenon of this type.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Nos. 18 and 19 above.

## 25. HERM PORTRAIT OF MOIRAGENES, SON OF DROMOKLES, OF THE DEME KOILE,

Eponymos of the Tribe Hippothontis, Period of Hadrian

Plate 17.

Inv. S 586. Found May 24, 1935 in a late Roman deposit in a cistern south of the Hephaisteion (D 10).

Pentelic marble. H. overall 1.52 m.; Base: H. 0.22 m., W. 0.355 m., D. 0.278 m.; Shaft: H. to edge of bust in front 0.985 m., H. to edge of bust in back 1.07 m., W. at base 0.22 m., W. with arms 0.392 m., H. of letters 0.009–0.02 m.; Head: H. chin to top 0.18 m.

Head broken off at neck, joins on with no chips missing. Penis, made in a separate piece, lost. Top of head also a separate piece and now lost.

Published by T. L. Shear, *Hesperia*, V, 1936, pp. 16–17, fig. 14; *A.J.A.*, XXXIX, 1935, pp. 443–444, fig. 7.

Across the top of the shaft below the bust runs the inscription:

Μοιραγένης Δρο-  
μοκλέους ἐκ Κοίλης  
ἐπώνυμος Ἴππο-  
θωντίδος φυλῆς

“Moiragenes, son of Dromokles, of the deme Koile, Eponymos of the tribe Hippothontis.”<sup>1</sup> Since this Moiragenes seems not to occur in any other extant inscription, his date is not determinable by epigraphical means. The Moiragenes mentioned in a prytany list of the tribe Hippothontis, *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1809, may well be a member of the same family, but cannot be identical with our Moiragenes, since the inscription is dated to A.D. 170 or later, too late a date for the style of our portrait.<sup>2</sup> The forms of the letters alone are of little help for the dating.

Moiragenes is clean-shaven and wears his lank hair cut to approximately the length that was popular in the Julio-Claudian age. There is a sort of parting on the right side. Seeing that, though the hair seems to be brushed forward in rather long locks from the crown of the head, the ends rest high up on the forehead, one suspects that Moiragenes' coiffure is conditioned by the desire to conceal a thin spot on top. The carving of the locks is far from the crisp definition of Julio-Claudian hair. The soft, fine texture of thin hair is suggested by light engraving on the surface of locks that are only lightly sketched with the chisel. This sort of treatment is seemingly

related to the "chasing" technique used in the elaborate rendition of curly hair in the very late Hadrianic and early Antonine periods, especially in Athens.<sup>3</sup> The hair on the back of the head is only roughly sketched with the chisel and not chased. The top of the head presents a flat, rough-picked surface. Apparently the crown of the head consisted of a separate piece attached with cement.

In composition the face shows its derivation from works such as the portrait of an elderly man, above, No. 19. Particularly in the area around the mouth is this noticeable. The lines are the same, only simplified, straighter and with a blunter emphasis. The edges of the lips have disappeared altogether.<sup>4</sup> The groove above the chin is more markedly a gable than before. Below the chin the cords of the neck stand out as in the other portrait, but their salience is more obvious, since the rest of the throat is less carefully modelled. The surface no longer exhibits the hard polish that characterizes the earlier work. The convexities of the face are still drastically simplified, but a softer finish, more suggestive of flesh, has again replaced the granite-like quality of the Trajanic portrait.

A more basic difference occurs in the treatment of the eyes and the modelling of the area around them. The eyes are still deep-set under shadowing brows, but the brows no longer have sharp arrises with flat facets below them. They droop in a soft fold over the outer corners of the eyes. The hairs are very sparsely indicated by fine engraving similar to that used on the hair of the head. The eyelids do not overlap at the outer corners, and the lower lids are very thin.<sup>5</sup> The emphasis has shifted from the lids to the eyeballs, in which the irises are now lightly engraved and the pupils hollowed in the conventional cardioid form.

The technical details noted in the treatment of the eyes and the hair point to a date in the Hadrianic or early Antonine period; the survival of the Trajanic facial type and the beardlessness of the subject favor the earlier date. In the series of portraits of *kosmetai*, that of Sosis-tratos of Marathon, set up in the archonship of P. Aelius Phileas, in A.D. 141/2,<sup>6</sup> is the first dated example in which the irises of the eyes are engraved and the pupils drilled. Since the portrait of the *kosmetes* Claudius Chrysippos, dated to the following year,<sup>7</sup> has a similar treatment, it would seem that this innovation had taken hold in Athens by that time. The workshops in which the portraits of *kosmetai* were made probably represent a fair sample of average Athenian practice, neither wildly progressive nor unduly conservative. The portrait of the *kosmetes* Onasos, son of Trophimos, of Pallene, set up in the archonship of Tib. Claudius Lysiades,<sup>8</sup> is in good Hadrianic style and has the eyeballs still uncarved. The archonship of Lysiades is not fixed to a specific year, but the only years still unassigned in Hadrian's reign are in the thirties. Accordingly it would seem that it was in that decade that the practice of drilling the pupils and engraving the irises of the eyes became current among Athenian portraitists.<sup>9</sup>

In any case Moiragenes must be among the earlier Athenian examples. The small, high-placed pupils and lightly engraved irises are characteristic of late Hadrianic and early Antonine work in general, but in the case of Moiragenes their carving seems particularly feeble and tentative in contrast to the blunt assurance of the modelling in the lower part of the face. It is obvious that we have here a mixture of conservatism and progress. If we knew in what proportion they were mixed we would know the date of the piece, or if we knew the date we could tell what the proportion is. As it is, we are left to guess within the limits of the styles represented by the earliest and latest elements of the work. Possibly still earlier and certainly a finer piece of work is a portrait of a partly bald old man in Copenhagen, which was bought in Rome but may have come originally from Athens.<sup>10</sup> This likewise combines a Trajanic facial type with Hadrianic detail

in the eyes. The surface appears similar to that of our present portrait, though the modelling is more subtle and more varied. The flat facets at the outer ends of the eyebrows and the raised veins at the temples recall the earlier Agora portraits Nos. 18 and 19 above.

One small feature of our present portrait is interesting, not for the chronology but for the personality portrayed. Moiragenes has a swollen left ear, a "pancratiast's ear," a sign, no doubt, of participation in sports during his youth.<sup>11</sup> From the number of representations of cauliflower ears in portraits of Athenians it would appear that this was considered rather a badge of honor than a disfigurement. Young men of good family who had the right sort of education would carry the marks of it proudly in later life, a memento of the age at which snobbery flourished in its purest and most exalted form.

Altogether, the portrait of Moiragenes presents in modest form but with perfect success an intriguing character study of an average well-to-do Athenian of the time of Hadrian.

<sup>1</sup> The eponymos of the tribe was essentially a patron or benefactor who gave financial aid to the prytaneis in the performance of their duties (J. Oliver, *Hesperia*, Suppl. VI, p. 3).

<sup>2</sup> J. Notopoulos, *Hesperia*, XVIII, 1949, p. 22, Table I, dates I.G., II<sup>2</sup>, 1809 to A.D. 170–2 or 174–6 or 187. Other members of the same family are mentioned in two recently discovered grave monuments discussed by E. Vanderpool and M. Mitsos in *Hesperia*, XXII, 1953, no. 4.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. the early Antonine portrait, No. 28 below. A similar scratchy engraving of the hair is to be found in a portrait of a charioteer in the Terme (Hekler, *Bildniskunst*, pl. 234 b; a good close-up in Goldscheider, *Roman Portraits*, pl. 69) which appears to be Trajanic.

<sup>4</sup> A portrait of an unknown kosmetes (Graindor, *Cosmètes*, no. 3, pp. 300ff., pl. 16) dated by Graindor to the time of Trajan, has a similar, though less simplified, treatment of the mouth and a similar general expression.

<sup>5</sup> Generally speaking the eyelids are thinner and the contours of the eyebrows softer in Antonine portraits than in those of the time of Trajan, and the change takes place in the time of Hadrian. Cf. the portrait of Hadrian from Herakleion in the Louvre (*Encyclopédie photographique de l'art*, III, p. 294) and the bust of Hadrian in Naples (Paribeni, pl. 233); also the two portraits of Sabina in the Terme (*ibid.*, pls. 234–235).

<sup>6</sup> Graindor, *Cosmètes*, no. 9, pp. 320ff., pl. 18; Hekler, *Bildniskunst*, pl. 258 b; I.G., II<sup>2</sup>, 3739. The date given by Graindor (139/40) is no longer accepted for the archonship of Phileas. The series of four successive archons of which he is the second is currently dated either 140/1–143/4 or 141/2–144/5 (I.G., II<sup>2</sup>, 2047, note; Oliver, *Hesperia*, XI, 1942, p. 85). It is clear, however, that with the currently accepted date of 136/7 rather than 139/40 for the beginning of the paidotribia of Abaskantos (Oliver, *op. cit.*, p. 81) there is no choice. Cl. Chrysispos (Graindor, *op. cit.*, no. 10, pp. 324ff., fig. 15; I.G., II<sup>2</sup>, 3740), who was kosmetes in the seventh year of the paidotribia of Abaskantos, must have served in 142/3. It is accordingly impossible to place the kosmetes Sosistratos, and with him the archon Phileas, in that year. The years of the four archons must therefore be definitely fixed as 140/1–143/4.

<sup>7</sup> See above, note 6.

<sup>8</sup> Graindor, *op. cit.*, no. 7, pp. 313ff., pl. 17; Paribeni, pl. 243.

<sup>9</sup> The portraits of the imperial family, under the influence of those made in Rome, may have been the first in which the eyes were engraved in Athens. A portrait of Sabina in the Athens National Museum (N.M. no. 449, Wegner, *Arch. Anz.*, 1938, col. 307, figs. 16–17), which wears a coiffure that does not appear on coins after 130 (cf. Wegner, *op. cit.*, col. 304), has the irises lightly engraved and the pupils hollowed. This head may serve also as a dating-point for the soft style of modelling which replaces the hard style of the late Trajanic and early Hadrianic periods and points the way to the style of the early Antonine period. An earlier portrait of Sabina, in the Museum of Vaison (Wegner, *op. cit.*, figs. 14–15), still shows the hard style.

<sup>10</sup> Poulsen, *Catalogue*, no. 463 a; *Billedtavler*, pl. 35; A.B. 390; Graindor, *Athènes de Tibère à Trajan*, p. 191, note 4, fig. 29. Graindor argues for a Trajanic date, but Poulsen dates the portrait, probably rightly, to the time of Hadrian.

<sup>11</sup> Cf. above, No. 14 and note 2.

## 26. FRAGMENT OF A PORTRAIT OF A YOUTH (POLYDEUKION), EARLY ANTONINE PERIOD

Plate 18.

Inv. S 224. Found in 1932 in clearing the bed-rock on the east slope of Kolonos Agoraios.

Pentelic marble. Pres. H. 0.19 m., Pres. W. 0.215 m., Pres. D. 0.215 m.

Fragment of upper part of head. A considerable amount of left side of head preserved, but not much of right side. Break at bottom runs below right eye and through left eye. Virtually no original surface survives.

Published by Neugebauer, A.B., text to nos. 1198–99, fig. 10.

This pitiful remnant was recognized by Hekler as a part of a replica of a portrait identified with reasonable certainty as that of Polydeukion, a relative and favorite pupil of Herodes Atticus.<sup>1</sup> Following his untimely death this young man was mourned extravagantly by Herodes

after the pattern of Hadrian's mourning for Antinous.<sup>2</sup> There exist numerous copies of his portrait, found both in Athens itself and on Herodes' estates elsewhere in Attica. The best-preserved replica is now in Berlin (Pl. 44,c).<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Neugebauer, see above, lists all the known replicas, eight in all, and the pertinent literature. The reference to the Agora head was given him by Hekler.

<sup>2</sup> Graindor, *Hérode Atticus*, pp. 117f.

<sup>3</sup> Bought in Athens in 1844. Neugebauer, *loc. cit.*, and Blümel, *Römische Bildnisse*, R 72, pl. 44.

## 27. PORTRAIT HEAD OF A MAN (FROM A GRAVE RELIEF), HADRIANIC OR ANTONINE PERIOD(?)

Plate 18.

Inv. S 479. Found April 17, 1934 below a modern cess-pool above the fountain house at the southwest corner of the Agora (H 15).

Pentelic marble. H. of fragment 0.19 m., Pres. D. of relief 0.075 m., T. of slab without relief *ca.* 0.07 m.

Some of background of relief preserved to both sides of head. Fragment broken off at top along line of juncture of head with background; broken diagonally across face below, the break running from middle of right ear down through mouth to a point on left side of neck. Nose broken off. Marble stained from the cess-pool.

All surfaces, both of the background and of the relief, show the rough marks of the chisel without traces of further smoothing by rasping or abrasion. The rough-picked back of the slab is preserved. The hair is brushed forward, rather long on the sides, but with the ends of the front hair resting high up on the forehead. The locks are delineated by rough chisel strokes in double curves. The man wears a short beard rendered by shallow curved strokes. The eyelids are narrow but crisply carved. The eyeballs bulge, and the pupils are indicated by scooped depressions just below the upper lid; there is no indication of the iris. Though it is possible that the piece is unfinished, a simple chisel finish is common in ordinary grave reliefs, of which this must be one. The short beard and the hollowed pupils indicate that the relief is not earlier than the time of Hadrian.

## 28. PORTRAIT OF A MAN, EARLY ANTONINE PERIOD

Plate 19.

Inv. S 335. Found April 6, 1933 in a deposit near the bottom of the wheelrace of a water mill of the fifth century after Christ in the southeast part of the excavation area (Q 13).

Pentelic marble. H. 0.40 m., W. 0.33 m., H. chin to crown 0.33 m.

Head broken off at neck; start of outward flare to shoulders visible above break. Tip of nose broken off; ends of some of curls chipped. A square patch (*ca.* 0.12 m. square) dowelled into back of hair; broken into four pieces, all of which were recovered. Dowel found in place.

Published by T. L. Shear, *Hesperia*, IV, 1935, pp. 416-418, figs. 39-40; *A.J.A.*, XXXVII, 1933, p. 309, pl. 38,2; *Art and Archaeology*, XXXIV, 1933, p. 290.

The head is considerably over life-size. Both hair and beard are medium long, curly and very thick. The hair covers the head in a heavy thatch, with a cluster of curls hanging down over the forehead. The basic shape of lock used is a slightly twisted strand with a double curve ending in a small curl. Big, rather carelessly carved locks radiate from the crown, and from under these emerge successively the ends of other layers, becoming more minute in treatment as they approach the face. Short drill-channels occur in and between the front curls, while longer ones are used to separate the larger locks in the back as well as in the front. Occasionally the center

of a curl is pointed by a single drill-hole. A similarly moderate use of the drill is made in the beard. The drill-work is subordinate in its effect, however, to the abundant fine engraving on the surface of the locks, which resembles chasing in metal-work. The engraving is finer in the front hair than in back, and still more delicate in the beard than it is in the forehead hair. The mustache is long and thick, entirely concealing the upper lip except in the center where there is a slight parting; its lower edge is ragged. The beard is treated as a uniform mass of rather small locks, full of fine engraving. Tiny lines engraved into the skin surface mark the start of the beard from the cheeks. There is no division of the beard into subordinate masses and very little use of shadow for effect.

The face shows subtle modelling designed to cast little or no shadow. The eyebrows are not sharp-edged or projecting, but smoothly rounded, with delicate incisions representing the hairs. These little engraved lines seem to have been further thinned and blurred by reason of the practice illustrated in the unfinished head, No. 35 below, of cutting them in the penultimate surface and smoothing over them in the final stage of work. The eyes are set fairly deep behind the eyebrows, but are themselves flat and unplastic. Almond-shaped, with thin lids, they have delicately engraved irises and quite small cardioid pupils set close beneath the upper lids.

There is heavy flesh beneath the eyes, and the cheeks are full, with little modelling of the flesh. The nose, smoothly modelled without sharp edges or definite planes, shows a slight curve in profile, and the indentation between nose and forehead is marked. The neck seems to have been short and thick.

Though this fine head has been published as a portrait of Septimius Severus,<sup>1</sup> both style and physiognomy militate against the identification. While the cluster of curls hanging down on the forehead that prompted the identification is indeed similar to that worn by Septimius Severus, his most characteristic feature, the very round wide-open eyes which may be seen even in the profile portraits on coins,<sup>2</sup> finds its diametrical opposite in the almond-shaped eyes and lowering expression of our portrait. Another, though less serious, objection is the fact that the beard here forms a unified mass, while that of Septimius Severus is generally split down the center into two parts.<sup>3</sup>

Stylistically our portrait looks earlier than the time of Septimius Severus. Its most striking characteristic is an overly delicate treatment of all surface details in contrast to the ponderous solidity of the head as a whole. Nothing in this portrait except the hair has received a depth of modelling proportionate to its mass. In Athens this sort of workmanship is better paralleled in the Antonine period than in the time of Septimius Severus. By his time a broader emphasis is given to the features, the eyes in particular, and the use of the drill in hair and beard is freer and coarser, more "impressionistic".<sup>4</sup> An earlier example of the same school, perhaps of the same workshop, as that to which our head belongs is the splendid bust of Hadrian from the Olympieion, now in the National Museum in Athens (Pl. 45).<sup>5</sup> It shares with our head the delicate engraving and the avoidance of sharply defined contours in the flesh. The eyelids, for instance, are blunted and rounded in contour, but bounded by very fine engraved lines, as in our portrait. The irises of the eyes are likewise delicately engraved, and the pupils are tiny and placed high up. The hair, on the other hand, is certainly less advanced than that of our head. The locks on top of the head are linear, resembling those on portraits of Antinous,<sup>6</sup> and while there are drill-holes and some short channels in the front hair, the coiffure and beard style of Hadrian do not admit of a very extensive use of the drill. The Olympieion Hadrian is not closely dated, but it may be later than the actual reign of that emperor.

The colossal head of Lucius Verus from the Theater of Dionysos in Athens<sup>7</sup> resembles the Agora portrait in the contrast of mass and delicate detail and in the relative flatness of the face surfaces. The similarity in the shape of the eyes, though marked, is more a matter of physiognomy than of style; contemporary Antonine portraits, even from the same workshop, may show very different treatment of the eyes in different persons.<sup>8</sup>

A portrait of Lucius Verus in the Terme, though no provenance is recorded for it, resembles our head so closely in technique that Wegner felt it had to be the creation of an Athenian artist, and dated it on this basis to the winter of 162/3, when Lucius Verus visited Athens on the occasion of his Syrian expedition.<sup>9</sup> Though it seems unlikely that every so-called new creation of a portrait of an imperial personage, especially by a Greek artist working in Greece, was necessarily drawn from the living model, it does seem reasonable to place the Terme portrait, which differs so markedly from the accepted official types, at a fairly early date, before the standard type became current in Athens and the East.<sup>10</sup>

A portrait in Leipzig, Athenian in style, which bears some resemblance to Lucius Verus, but is apparently not he, offers a fair parallel for the surface technique of hair and beard on our portrait. It is again rather less advanced in the use of the drill.<sup>11</sup>

In view of so many parallels among early Antonine works there seems to be no reason for dating our Agora portrait so late as the reign of Commodus, much less Septimius Severus, even did the features show a resemblance to one or the other of these two emperors, which they do not. It is too bad that we do not know whom this excellent portrait represents. In scale and quality it finds parallels only among the portraits of imperial personages, but the face shows far more strength and rather more intelligence than the countenances of Antonine emperors are wont to display. In Rome, portraits of important magistrates as well as those of emperors were sometimes made in heroic size,<sup>12</sup> and it seems likely that we have here the portrait of some Roman official whom the Athenians found reason to honor during the reign of Antoninus Pius or Marcus Aurelius, and whose portrait was executed by the same workshop that created the finer large-scale portraits of emperors in this period.

<sup>1</sup> Shear, *Hesperia*, IV, 1935, p. 416, retracts a suggestion made by him earlier (*A.J.A.*, XXXVII, 1933, p. 309) to the effect that the features resemble those of the portraits of Commodus. See below, note 3.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. *B.M.C.*, *Empire*, V, *Pertinax to Elagabalus*, plates passim. The portraits of Septimius Severus which Shear cites as the closest parallels for the Agora head, a head at Ince Blundell Hall (Poulsen, *Greek and Roman Portraits in English Country Houses*, no. 95, p. 101) and a bronze portrait statue in Nikosia in Cyprus (*Arch. Anz.*, 1934, col. 99, fig. 13) have eyes no less round and staring than those of other portraits of the same emperor.

<sup>3</sup> A portrait of Septimius Severus in Cairo (of unknown provenience, Graindor, *Bustes et statues-portraits d'Égypte romaine*, no. 18, p. 62, pl. 17) which Graindor finds closer to Attic works of the imperial period than to Roman works of the time, shows no use of the drill in the hair or the beard and lacks both the cluster of curls on the forehead and the long divided beard. Nevertheless, it is recognizable as Septimius Severus by the wide, round eyes and open brow. It is worth noting that, while Graindor cites our Agora head as a parallel for the style of this work, he does not for a moment suggest calling it Septimius Severus. Referring to Shear's first publication of the head (see above, note 1) he calls it: "tête que l'on a identifié avec Commode et qui est, en tout cas, de son temps". There is scarcely enough similarity in style between the Cairo head and ours to require that they be of the same date. Besides the greater emphasis on the eyes with their wide, shallow pupils, the Cairo portrait shows an almost geometrical organization into simple planes and lines (note the forehead wrinkles) which is in sharp contrast to the small, soft surface modulations of the Agora head.

<sup>4</sup> Compare portraits of kosmetai: Graindor, *Cosmètes*, nos. 11-13, pp. 329-337, pl. 19 (Hekler, *Bildniskunst*, pl. 259; Paribeni, pl. 245) and figs. 17-18 (Hekler, *op. cit.*, pl. 260 b; A.B. 387).

<sup>5</sup> This identification is not universally accepted, cf. Erdélyi, *Archaeologiai Ertesítő*, LI, 1938, p. 113.

<sup>6</sup> E.g. Hekler, *op. cit.*, pl. 251.

<sup>7</sup> Wegner, pl. 45 b, Athens N.M. no. 350.

<sup>8</sup> Compare the portraits of Herodes Atticus (A.B. 1196-7; Paribeni, pl. 310; Graindor, *Hérode Atticus*, p. 132, figs. 7-8; Neugebauer, *Die Antike*, X, 1934, pl. 9) and of Marcus Aurelius (Wegner, pl. 30) from Marathon, both now in the Louvre. In spite of the exact correspondance in style of these two heads which must have been carved in the same workshop if not by the same hand, the pupils of the eyes have a completely different shape, and the size of the eyes is exaggerated in the portrait of Herodes, while the eyes of Marcus Aurelius are of normal size (this being in keeping with the extravagant character of the one as compared with the moderation of the other).

<sup>9</sup> Wegner, p. 13, pl. 46. Wegner uses the Agora portrait as a sample of Greek style, but without questioning the identification as Septimius Severus.

<sup>10</sup> The two portraits of Lucius Verus in the National Museum in Athens shown in Wegner, pl. 45 are of the standard type, though clearly Greek in workmanship. West, II, p. 143, no. 2, identifies the Terme portrait as Aelius Verus. It is difficult at present to identify portraits of Aelius Verus with certainty, and it is not altogether impossible that he is represented in our Agora head.

<sup>11</sup> Poulsen, *Kunstmuseets Aarskrift*, 1929-31, p. 43, figs. 47-49.

<sup>12</sup> Cf. Bernoulli, *R.I.*, II<sup>3</sup>, p. 4.

## 29. PORTRAIT OF A PRIEST (?), ANTONINE PERIOD

Plate 18.

Inv. S 526. Found February 26, 1935 in a Turkish deposit in the central part of the Agora (M-N 12).

Pentelic marble. H. 0.275 m., W. 0.19 m., H. chin to crown 0.215 m.

Broken off at neck, the break running just below end of beard in front. Upper edge of bust preserved in back. Whole head much weathered, worn and chipped. Nose broken off; forehead curls knocked off; a chip gone from right side of chin.

This head, slightly under life-size and broken from a bust, represents an elderly man. The folds of an himation are preserved at the back of the neck. The limply curly hair falls low on the back of the neck and in bunches in front of the ears, but leaves the ears themselves partially uncovered. There were short curls above the forehead. The head is encircled by a rolled fillet, tied in back and with the ends hanging down. Above the fillet is a shallow channel about 1½ cm. wide all around, as though some additional wreath or ornament were to be fastened around the head here, but there are no holes for the attachment of metal, and the nature of the addition remains a mystery. The hair on top of the head is arranged in large flat locks, roughly sketched, radiating from the crown. The drill is used freely in the locks below the fillet, both to separate the crescent-shaped locks and to divide strands within the locks. The beard, which is short on the chin but full on the sides and throat, shows similar crescent locks and coarse drilling. A wide mustache covers the upper lip but does not droop down on the sides.

The face is thin, its modelling flat and dry. The wrinkles in the forehead are hastily engraved dashes. The eyes are small and deep-set, with thin lids, and seem to be without engraved interior detail. The diagonal folds between the cheeks and the mouth area are strongly emphasized, giving the face a look of weariness that seems to find a reflection also in the deep-set eyes.

The features bear a certain resemblance to those of Antoninus Pius,<sup>1</sup> and the cut of the hair and beard looks like a more unkempt and shaggier version of his mode. At the same time there is a faint reminiscence of certain Hellenistic portraits, especially that of Demosthenes.<sup>2</sup> The subject of our portrait may have been a man of letters who deliberately affected a resemblance to famous men of the past. If, however, the groove above the fillet was made to hold a wreath, there is the possibility that our portrait is that of a priest who held the same office as our No. 49. An Antonine portrait found in the Theater of Dionysos in Athens<sup>3</sup> wears the combination of strophion and wreath and has a sentimentality of expression and a shagginess of coiffure far in excess of that of our head.

In addition to the resemblance noted to portraits of Antoninus Pius, the rather thin modelling of our piece suggests a date nearer the middle than the end of the second century. The fact that the eyes are apparently unengraved may be due to imitation of the past, but it is also possible that the feeble shallow engraving of early Antonine work may have been obliterated by the damage that the eyes have suffered.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Wegner, pl. 3.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Hekler, *Bildniskunst*, pls. 56-57; Laurenzi, pl. 22, no. 61.

<sup>3</sup> Hekler, *op. cit.*, pl. 262 b; Paribeni, pl. 278.

**30. PORTRAIT OF A MAN (UNFINISHED), ANTONINE PERIOD**

Plate 20.

Inv. S 938. Found May 27, 1937 in a well dug through the floor of a cistern to the west of the Tholos (G 11). Pentelic marble. H. 0.32 m., W. 0.22 m., H. chin to crown 0.31 m.

Head broken off at neck in a very irregular line. End of nose broken off; both eyebrows split off down to the upper eyelids. Lobe of left ear broken off. Surface of marble fresh and white, little weathered.

The head is obviously unfinished. The hair is curly, in a typical Antonine cut, not too long on the back of the neck and with tumbled curls over the forehead. In the back of the head the hair is blocked out in the roughest possible manner. In the front the locks have been shaped with the chisel and then riddled with coarse drill channels. The locks are crescent or flame-shaped, overlapping in various complicated ways. The mustache is short, but the tips of it dip down past the corners of the mouth. The beard grows close up under the lower lip, leaving no space bare. It is not long, but very curly, and it, like the hair, is riddled with drill channels. The beard strengthens rather than obscures the line of the chin, and only a few short ends straggle onto the throat.

The modelling of the face shows only unsmoothed chisel work. It has yet to go through the stages of rasping, engraving and final smoothing. In the finished work the pupils of the eyes would certainly have been drilled and the irises engraved.

The style of wearing the hair and beard places the head in the Antonine period, and the quantity of drillwork makes it unlikely that it is earlier than the time of Marcus Aurelius. The eyes with a slight puffiness below the lower lids recall portraits of Lucius Verus,<sup>1</sup> and the short mustache is worn by him in the same form which we have here. The short beard completely covering the chin, on the other hand, does not occur in his portraits. The use of the drill in the hair creates much the same effect as we have in the later portraits of Marcus Aurelius<sup>2</sup> and in the portraits of Commodus,<sup>3</sup> but the hair is less curly. The portrait is not identifiable as any one of the Antonine emperors; more probably it represents a local worthy who followed the imperial fashion. This was probably not destined to be a first-rate portrait (it is far from a first-rate piece of marble that was used for it), but in proportions and general character it is a respectable piece of work so far as it goes.

The head was found in a deposit dating from the time of the Herulian sack of A.D. 267.<sup>4</sup> As in the case of No. 35 below we are confronted here with the question what the unfinished head was doing in the approximately one hundred years before it was definitely thrown on the scrap heap, but here there is even less evidence to lead us to a solution.

<sup>1</sup> Wegner, pls. 39–46.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, pls. 28–29.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, pls. 49, 50, 56.

<sup>4</sup> The two third-century heads, Nos. 38 and 48 below, came from lower down in the same deposit.

**31. FRAGMENT OF A PORTRAIT OF A MAN, ANTONINE PERIOD**

Plate 20.

Inv. S 1245. Found May 28, 1947 in a post-Roman deposit north of the Middle Stoa near its west end (I 12). Pentelic marble. Pres. H. 0.155 m., Pres. D. 0.065 m.

Lower part of face only preserved. Split off at the back in the plane of a micaceous streak in the marble. Broken off at the top along line of lower eyelids. End of nose broken off. Beard somewhat worn away just at chin. Surface otherwise fresh and well-preserved.

In spite of the flat way in which the piece is split off, the dimensions (life-size) and the fact that the beard is carefully finished even under the chin suggest that the fragment is part of a head worked in the round rather than broken from a relief.

The beard is very full, but nowhere long. It comes high on the cheeks, and where it starts the artist has not minded cutting into the skin with little incised strokes. The whole beard is made up of tiny locks drawn with the chisel and subsequently given relief by tiny curved drill-channels. No attempt is made to collect the little locks into a pattern of larger clusters; the beard has the all-over sameness of a sponge. It fills the depression between mouth and chin, and engulfs the chin in a formless mass. The ends of the mustache merge with the beard on the sides. The opening of the mouth is marked by a deep drill-channel, but the mouth itself is not treated as an entity. It is just an opening in the beard. In general the face shows a fair amount of surface modelling without giving much feeling of underlying structure. The flesh under the eyes and the heavy cheeks separated by deep folds from the upper lip suggests middle age. The surface of the skin is carefully smoothed.

The use of the drill in the beard points to the Antonine age, and the lack of any plastic conception of the locks suggests that the work is not early in the period. The finicky attention to detail best fits the time of Commodus.<sup>1</sup> This portrait has not yet reached the stage of the "impressionistic" kosmetai portraits which Graindor dates around the turn of the century,<sup>2</sup> but such care as has been lavished upon it seems largely wasted, for it is, while not the worst, certainly the dullest portrait that the Agora has produced.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. the portraits of Commodus in Wegner, pls. 54–55, especially pl. 55 (Vatican, Sala dei Busti, 287).

<sup>2</sup> Graindor, *Cosmètes*, nos. 12–14, pp. 332–339, figs. 17–19.

### 32. PORTRAIT HEAD OF A WOMAN (FROM A RELIEF), ANTONINE PERIOD

Plate 20.

Inv. S 258. Found in 1933 in the demolition of a modern house in the northwest part of the excavation area (J 7).

Pentelic marble. H. of fragment 0.16 m., D. of relief *ca.* 0.09 m.

Head broken off from body at neck. Background of relief broken away all around. Top of head cut or broken away, slanting diagonally back. Top of ear and all of hair chipped away on right side of head. Face and hair on left side battered and considerably weathered.

The head, which faced toward the proper right in three-quarters front view, portrays a middle-aged woman. Her hair is parted in the center and combed back to the sides in waves, leaving most of the ear uncovered. A braid is wound around the top of the head. It is represented as a torus engraved with a zigzag pattern, a convention common in coin portraits. Between the braid and the waves is a narrow flat strip that may be either a fillet or, more probably, an additional twist of hair wound round the head.<sup>1</sup> The face seems to have been well modelled. Prominent cheekbones and jawbones and a small pointed chin make its outline polygonal rather than oval. The mature age of the subject is suggested by the rather deep hollows under the eyes, the diagonal grooves from the nose down, and the heavy flesh along the jawline. The pupils of the eyes are represented by tiny drilled holes (there are two, one above the other, in the right eye) and the outline of the iris is engraved.

The coiffure is that of Faustina the Elder, and the style of the portrait would fit a date in the early Antonine period. Both in technique and in characterization this seems to have been a thoroughly competent bit of work.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. the female head on the Alcestis sarcophagus in the Vatican (dated 161–170), *Arch. Anz.*, 1938, col. 319, fig. 26 (left).

**33. PORTRAIT OF FAUSTINA THE YOUNGER (A.D. 145–175)**

Plate 21.

Inv. S 836. Found April 6, 1933 built into a Byzantine wall over the area of the north porch of the Library of Pantainos (Q 13).

Pentelic marble. H. 0.245 m., W. 0.195 m., Pres. D. 0.155 m., H. chin to crown 0.245 m.

Head broken off just below chin; only a small triangle of neck surface remains on left side, none on right. Nose broken off. All projecting surfaces battered: chin, lips, cheeks, eyebrows, crests of waves in hair.

The way in which the head is cut and weathered suggests that the face and neck were carved in a separate piece and attached by means of a dowel in the back to a draped statue with the mantle pulled over the head. The back part of the head is missing; the cut surface, roughly hacked with the pointed chisel, begins at a little distance forward from the crown of the head and slopes back behind the ears. In this surface, 0.03 m. from the top edge, is a slot 0.03 m. long and 0.01 m. wide going down into the marble for a depth of 0.05 m. The surface of the hair is unfinished over a large area on the right side, and this area is weathered in the manner of a joint surface onto which water has seeped and stood. A series of first century B.C. portrait statues found at Magnesia on the Maeander shows this technique of dowelling in the piece in which the face and neck is cut, though there the dowel-holes are square and larger than that in our piece.<sup>1</sup> It was more usual in Roman times to cut the head and the upper part of the mantle in one piece.

The pupils of the eyes are drilled, shallow and roughly circular in shape. The outline of the iris is engraved. The hair is combed back from a center part in loose waves that frame the face. The wavy strands are chisel-cut, intermediate between fine and coarse. The drill is used only for the center points of two small spiral curls that hang down one on each side in front of the ears. The carving of the face is flat and shallow throughout. The flesh surface is carefully smoothed and was no doubt originally polished. The workmanship, though uninspired, is very careful. A fine piece of pure white marble was used.

This life-sized head of a young woman with a smooth round face and a vacuous expression is without depth of characterization, and most of its surface beauty has been battered away. It would have little interest, in its present state, were it not that it reproduces in all its essential features an equally characterless portrait from the Nymphaion of Herodes Atticus in Olympia (Pl. 44, b) which is the only epigraphically authenticated sculptured portrait of Faustina the Younger.<sup>2</sup>

The feature common to the two heads that first catches the attention is the little spiral lock that hangs down in front of each ear, curling back toward the back of the head. A closer look reveals that the outline of the wide waves swept away from a central part is likewise the same. So too is the shape of the smooth, round face with its shallow modelling. The eyebrows project very little. The eyes are flatly carved with thin lids, the pupils not too deeply drilled, the elliptical outline of the iris engraved with a fine line. The mouth is short and straight, with full lips slightly parted. The chin, now damaged on the Agora head, was evidently small and round as it is on the Olympia one.

The coiffure of the Agora head cannot be compared in all details to that of the Olympia Faustina, since the back of the head was covered. The latter wears a cone-shaped coil of braids on top of the head, a common coiffure of her mother, the elder Faustina, but one that never appears on coins of Faustina the Younger.<sup>3</sup> The weathered joint surface on the right side of our head implies that the mantle covered the hair unsymmetrically, coming farther forward on the right side than on the left. Beyond this we know nothing definite about the type of statue

to which our portrait belonged. Doubtless it was one of the familiar draped types based on Hellenistic originals that were used over and over for female portraits in the Roman period.<sup>4</sup>

Aside from the rough trimming of the joint surface, the technique of the Agora head is of relatively high quality. The chiselled lines are sharper and more delicate, the surface more carefully smoothed, than in the Olympia head. The divergency of the type from all the coin types and from all the properly sculptural types that have been identified by means of the coins makes it probable that this is a local Greek creation based on slight evidence as to the actual appearance of the lady herself. The present replica is of interest as showing that the Olympia Faustina the Younger was not an ἀπαξ λεγόμενον but a reproduction of a current Greek type.

<sup>1</sup> Watzinger, *Magnesia am Maeander*, p. 199, figs. 198–200.

<sup>2</sup> *Olympia*, III, pls. 68, 1 and 69, 5. Kunze and Schleif, *Olympische Forschungen*, I, pl. 25 (left) and pl. 26 (right).

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Wegner, pp. 52, 216.

<sup>4</sup> The Olympia Faustina uses the type of the Petite Herculanaise, a type favored for girls. Possibly the Agora statue was in the type of the Grande Herculanaise, a somewhat later statue showing Faustina in the role of matron. I owe this suggestion to Margarete Bieber.

#### 34. PORTRAIT OF A WOMAN, PERIOD OF FAUSTINA THE YOUNGER

Plate 21.

Inv. S801. Found October 10, 1936 built into a modern house in the southern part of the Agora area (M 17–18). Pentelic marble. H. 0.28 m., W. 0.235 m., Pres. D. 0.135 m., H. chin to crown 0.28 m.

Whole back of head missing, the break running down from crown of head in front of ears and under chin. Nose, lips and point of chin broken off; eyebrows and eyes damaged. Traces of plaster adhere to face; lime incrustation in hair.

The hair is parted in the center, with loose waves framing the face. They must have covered all but the lobes of the ears. The strands are carved with the chisel, coarsely drawn, but not monotonously equal and parallel. The hairs of the eyebrows seem to have been engraved, with rather coarse lines. The shape of the pupils of the eyes is no longer discernible, but they must have been drilled. Traces show that the outline of the iris was sharply engraved. The modelling is flat. The skin is carefully smoothed and may have been polished, though the surface is now weathered.

This much-damaged portrait of a woman is over life-size, being comparable in scale to the male portrait, No. 17 above. In its wretched state of preservation the head does not admit of positive identification or even of positive dating. Certain similarities, however, suggest a relation to the preceding, No. 33: the smooth, round face, the flat modelling, the sloping flesh beneath the chin. Though the waves framing the face dip lower over the forehead and in front of the ears, their outline is similar. The coiffure as a whole, however, cannot have been the same. That of the present head was evidently a simple, all-over waved arrangement, probably with a knot in back, but without any special treatment on top. The surface of the hair is carved with a coarse vitality completely lacking in the other head. A peculiarity to be noted is that the shorter strands end in points, one on the left side in the first wave, the other on the right side in the second wave.

Incomplete though it is, the coiffure of our head seems datable to the time of Faustina the Younger or her immediate successors. Such loose, natural waves dipping low over the forehead are not common later, when the tendency is to narrower, stiffer waves such as those exemplified in the wig-like coiffures of Julia Domna.<sup>1</sup> Presumably the present head with its simple all-over

waved coiffure would not be earlier than A.D. 153–4, when this style is first shown on the coins of Faustina the Younger.<sup>2</sup> It is not impossible that the portrait represents Faustina herself. That would explain the large scale and the rather coarse, generalized treatment, frequent in provincial portraits of rulers, less so in those of private persons. Nothing in the shape of the face or the features as they are preserved would contradict such an assumption, but only the wide upper eyelids are clear enough to count positively in favor of it.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. portraits of Julia Domna in the Terme, Paribeni, pl. 290, and in Houghton Hall, Poulsen, *Greek and Roman Portraits in English Country Houses*, no. 97, p. 102. Typical examples of third-century waves may be seen in Hekler, *Bildniskunst*, pls. 300–304.

<sup>2</sup> *B.M.C., Empire*, IV, p. xlv, issue (4), pl. 23, 13–15. For this style see also Wegner, p. 50, pl. 63, k and o.

### 35. PORTRAIT OF A WOMAN, PERIOD OF FAUSTINA THE YOUNGER

Plate 22.

Inv. S 1237. Found May 16, 1947 in a well on the west slope of the Areopagus together with debris from the Herulian sack of A.D. 267 (C 20).<sup>1</sup>

Pentelic marble. H. 0.45 m., W. 0.24 m., H. chin to crown 0.245 m.

Complete except for a chip gone from left side of nose. Published by H. A. Thompson, *Hesperia*, XVII, 1948, p. 179, pl. 57.

The head, worked separately with a tenon for setting into a draped statue, is unfinished. The face and neck have been worked over with a heavy rasp. The part around the base of the neck has been left in a roughly chiselled state. On each side of the more or less cylindrical tenon is a protruding mass that would have had to be removed before the portrait could be set into its torso. The hair is only roughly chiselled out into its main design. On the back of the neck is left a rough trapezoidal area out of which were to be carved the stray wisps escaping below the hairline. In the waves to either side of the part in front are two measuring-points, small rough protuberances in the center of which are drilled points.

The hair is parted in the center with heavily crimped waves framing the face and drawn back into a knot rather high up on the back of the head. All but the lobes of the ears are covered. A rolled fillet separates the waves around the face from the top part of the hair, which is divided into four sections like those of a "melon coiffure" except that the side sections do not narrow toward the back, but continue in a wide band around the back of the head, overlapping the center sections. Behind the ears a long wisp escaping below the hairline on each side is twisted at its end into a single corkscrew curl.

The eyes are flat and almond-shaped. The pupils are drilled in a deep cup shape, the outline of the iris sharply engraved. The eyebrows, engraved with rather coarse parallel strokes, meet in the center.

The lady represented in this life-sized unfinished portrait is marked by the rolled fillet that she wears as either an empress or a priestess. Both the modelling of her face and the way in which she wears her hair show that she belongs to the period of the Antonines. The coiffure in its main elements seems based on some of the earlier coiffures of Faustina the Younger. A separate band of waved hair framing the face appears on coins dated *ca.* A.D. 150–3.<sup>2</sup> On these the top hair is not further divided, but drawn straight back into a knot of braids. Coins just a few years earlier than these show a melon coiffure on top, but loops instead of simple waves framing the face.<sup>3</sup> Thus, though our head does not reproduce exactly the coiffure of any coin type, it shows most resemblance to those around A.D. 150.

Fortunately, however, we have an exactly dated sculptural parallel, which prevents us from dating a provincial portrait such as ours too closely on the basis of the coins alone. A portrait of the priestess Melitine, now in the Louvre but originally found in the Piraeus,<sup>4</sup> has the band of loosely waved hair framing the face, the division of the top hair into four segments (here intermediate between a standard melon coiffure and the rather odd segmentation of the Agora head) and the small bun in back. The inscription on the bust gives the date: in the archonship of Philisteides, i. e. A.D. 163/4.<sup>5</sup> Melitine lacks the corkscrew curls on the side of the neck. Such curls do not appear on any of the coins, but we have them on a portrait of Faustina the Younger occurring in four replicas in the National Museum in Athens.<sup>6</sup> The type is dated by Wegner to the sixties of the second century on the basis of its "sub-divided wave coiffure", which appears on coins of this date.<sup>7</sup> The number of subdivisions is reduced in the Agora portrait and in that of Melitine.

All in all, a date in the 160's or thereabouts seems to suit the Agora portrait fairly well. The face shows rather too much character to be that of Faustina herself, considering how different it looks from the virtually contemporary portraits in the National Museum. Provincial portraits of members of the imperial household need not always look like the person portrayed, but when they do not, they tend to be blank and generalized. The Olympia portrait of Faustina the Younger and its replica from the Agora discussed above are a good example of this.<sup>8</sup>

In contrast to the flat, unmodelled cheeks of the Faustina, the present head shows quite a bit of subtle modelling in the cheeks. This modelling, however, in typically Antonine fashion, is so subdued that it is not visible at all except in the most favorable light.<sup>9</sup> Also it is largely superficial, with little reference to the underlying facial structure. Contrast the flatness of the eyes and eyesocket area with the full modulations of the soft flesh in the cheeks and around the mouth.

The expression is calm, perhaps a little pensive, but hardly the vacant stare that Faustina generally wears. One has the impression that the lady represented, perhaps, an Athenian priestess, is well characterized and that the portrait, had it been completed, would have been a very good one.

In its unfinished state the portrait is an interesting illustration of the sculptor's technique. It is a stage — or perhaps we should say two stages — more advanced than the portrait discussed below, No. 36. The flesh parts have been reduced with the rasp to their penultimate surface and the eyes and eyebrows have been drilled and engraved. For the face there remains the final smoothing and perhaps polishing, for the hair the detailed carving of the strands with the chisel. The point most worth noting about the present head is that the details of eyes and eyebrows were cut before the final smoothing of the face.

<sup>1</sup> This was the well of a house of Roman date, discussed by R. S. Young in *Hesperia*, XX, 1951, p. 275, "House N". The well contained debris from the destruction of the house at the time of the Herulian sack, and it seems that the unfinished portrait must have been kept in the house as decoration. For a finished, but damaged portrait similarly used see above, No. 14.

<sup>2</sup> *B.M.C., Empire*, IV, p. xlv, issues (2) and (3), pl. 23, 6–11; Wegner, p. 49, pl. 63, e–f.

<sup>3</sup> *B.M.C., Empire*, IV, p. xlv, issue (1), pl. 22, 14, 15 and 18, A.D. 147–ca. 150; Wegner, p. 49, pl. 63, a, b, g.

<sup>4</sup> Louvre no. 3068. Published by E. Michon, *Mémoires de la Société Nationale des Antiquaires de France*, LXXV, 1915–1918, pp. 91–129 (a front view of the whole bust is shown on p. 93); Goldscheider, *Roman Portraits*, pl. 68 (a very close close-up which does not show the coiffure).

<sup>5</sup> *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 2887.

<sup>6</sup> Wegner, pp. 55, 210f., pl. 38. The fact that one of the replicas was found at Marathon suggests that Herodes Atticus, who seems to have gone in for mass production of portraits (cf. above, No. 26), may have commissioned this one.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 50, 54f.

<sup>8</sup> Above, No. 33.

<sup>9</sup> Cf. No. 28 above.

## 36. PORTRAIT OF A WOMAN, A.D. 160–180

Plate 23.

Inv. S 362. Found May 12, 1933 in a hollow in the floor of a small room on the west side of the Library of Pantainos, a room which was evidently a sculptor's workshop (R 14).

Pentelic marble. H. 0.40 m., W. of head, 0.185 m., H. chin to crown 0.215 m.

Almost perfectly preserved.

Published by T. L. Shear, *Hesperia*, IV, 1935, pp. 415–416, figs. 37–38; *A.J.A.*, XXXVII, 1933, p. 546, fig. 6A; *Art and Archaeology*, XXXIV, 1933, p. 289.

The portrait is made to be set into a draped statue. The lower part, which was intended to be inserted into the statue, is approximately a frustum of a cone. The piece is unfinished. The flesh surface of the face and neck has been left in a somewhat roughly chiselled state, except for the forehead, which has been gone over with a rasp. In doing this the sculptor has left a little strip about 0.004 m. wide along the eyebrow ridges. The eyebrows, engraved in this slightly raised surface, would have seemed in the finished portrait to be plastically rendered. In the center of the chin is a tiny drilled hole which served as a sculptor's measuring-point. There are two more in the hair, drilled into small protuberances left at the first wave out from the part on either side. Except for the two measuring-points and a rough area on the back of the neck out of which escaping wisps of hair were to be carved, the hair seems finished, or nearly so. It is parted in the center and drawn back in simple all-over waves to a small knot of coiled braids at the back of the head. The waves are narrow in the center near the part and widen as they go back. They cover all but the lower parts of the ears. The ears are only roughly blocked out; the marble is not yet removed from behind them. The eyes are convexly rounded with very wide upper and lower lids. The pupils are not yet drilled nor is the iris engraved.

The simple coiffure shown in this life-sized portrait of a middle-aged woman corresponds most closely to that worn by Lucilla on coins probably to be dated after A.D. 169, though it differs little from the hair style shown on some of the coins with the legend *Lucilla Augusta*, which fall between A.D. 164 and 169.<sup>1</sup> This coiffure is substantially the same as that worn by Faustina the Younger between 154 and 161, but Lucilla's version shows a wider, flatter chignon — Faustina's is more knob-like — and the hair does not extend so low down on the forehead.<sup>2</sup> On the Agora head the hair beside the part grows *up*, forming a widow's peak, instead of dipping instantly down on either side, as it does in the sculptured portraits of Faustina as well as in the three preceding Agora heads (Nos. 33–35). The waves are narrow near the center front and widen as they go back.

This is a strong portrait, both in modelling and in characterization. Even without their engraved detail the eyes dominate the face. The very wide lids and the strongly curved eyeballs find parallels in many Antonine portraits, notably in those of Commodus, but in other respects the lady of our portrait shows no particular resemblance to members of the ruling family. The mouth is small in proportion to the eyes and nose. The lips are thin and tightly closed, but very slightly upturned at the corners in a bare suggestion of a smile that, in combination with the eyes, gives the face an intelligent, alive expression. The chin is small, sharp and definite. No doubt the final smoothing would have rounded its outline somewhat. It is hard to know how far our sculptor would have gone in smoothing and polishing this portrait had he finished it, and how much, if any, of its strength he would have lost thereby. Comparison with a finished head of about the same period in Copenhagen suggests, however, that the general effect would not have changed much.<sup>3</sup> Though the Copenhagen head represents a woman seemingly less intelligent and certainly less attractive than the subject of the Agora portrait, it shows the same blunt quality in the modelling and equal forthrightness in the characterization.

As in the case of the preceding Agora portrait, No. 35, there is nothing to indicate why this one was abandoned before it was finished. The sculptor's workshop in which it was found seems to have continued in operation for about one hundred years longer, for the present portrait may be dated somewhere around A.D. 170, but small bits of unfinished sculpture (of a very much lower order than the piece under discussion) were found in the vicinity mingled with debris from the destruction of the area by the Herulians in A. D. 267. The portrait itself was found lying in a hole in the floor filled with destroyed mud-brick and other debris, dating no doubt from the time of the same disaster. It may be that the unfinished portrait was kept in the workshop for a possible re-use of the marble which never took place.

<sup>1</sup> Wegner, p. 75, pl. 64, b, c, f, g; Mattingly, *B.M.C., Empire*, IV, Introduction, pp. cxxxiii f., dates the coins with the legend *Lucilla Augusta* to the years of her marriage with Lucius Verus, those with the longer legend *Lucilla Aug. Antonini Aug. F.*, emphasizing her relation to Marcus Aurelius, after her remarriage in 169 to Pompeianus (this is the reverse of the relative dating accepted by Wegner).

<sup>2</sup> Compare the coin portraits of Lucilla, Wegner, pl. 64, b, c, f, g with those of Faustina, *ibid.*, pl. 63, k and o.

<sup>3</sup> Hekler, *Bildniskunst*, pl. 286; *Billedtavler*, pl. 59, no. 710; A.B. 759.

### 37. PORTRAIT OF A MAN, *ca.* A.D. 210-220

Plate 24.

Inv. S 517. Found February 18, 1935 lying over bedrock in a ninth to tenth century deposit southwest of the Tholos (F 12).

Pentelic marble. H. 0.291 m., W. 0.235 m.

Head broken off diagonally from neck. Break runs through right ear and follows jawline around, dipping on left side to include part of neck below left ear. On right side a joining fragment adds upper back part of ear and some of hair behind it. End of nose broken off; edge of left ear chipped. Head weathered to a light tan color broken by patches of incrustation. Surface in fairly good condition.

Published by T. L. Shear, *A.J.A.*, XXXIX, 1935, p. 181, fig. 10.

This is a portrait of a rather young man. The short, curly hair of the head shows a moderate amount of drillwork in the front curls. The closely cropped beard is rendered by small curved incisions in a roughened surface. The eyes have cardioid pupils, shallowly cut, and the outline of the iris is engraved. The vigorously modelled forehead and the sharply defined eyebrows suggest an energetic character. The force of the gaze is accentuated by the way in which the eyes are set in deep behind the overhanging eyebrows and look up from under them, but the wide, shallow pupils and the thin, sharp outline of the iris give the eyes rather an appearance of clear, calm appraisal than one of passionate intensity. From the eyes down, the face looks relaxed, good-humored and well-fed. The cheeks are smooth and full, the mouth mobile, the chin slightly double. Asked to define this man's calling from his countenance, one would probably guess that he was a well-to-do citizen, an official or a public benefactor, rather than a philosopher or other intellectual, but this is all pure conjecture. From what is preserved, it is impossible even to say what the original form of the portrait was, whether bust, herm or full-length statue.

It has been suggested that the man represented may have been a kosmetes, the head of the college of ephebes.<sup>1</sup> Technically, the head is rather superior to most of the portraits of the Athenian kosmetai, showing none of that impressionistic haste of execution which, while it testifies to the cleverness of the makers of the kosmetai portraits, undoubtedly originated from motives of economy on the part of the donors.<sup>2</sup> If our man was a kosmetes, as he may well have been, he was a little more expensively honored than some of his contemporaries who held that post.

In his short, curly hair and the close cut of the beard and mustache the subject of our portrait follows the mode established by Caracalla (A.D. 211–217). The intensive modelling of the forehead is in unexpected contrast to the smooth surface of the cheeks, but corresponds closely to the forehead modelling in portraits of the scowling emperor, whose frown motivates the complicated relief of his brow. Also reminiscent of portraits of Caracalla is the way in which the eyes look up from underneath the heavy eyebrows.<sup>3</sup>

The carving of the eyes themselves likewise fits a date in the early part of the third century. The wide, shallow pupils in which the little ridge that represents the point of light has almost disappeared differ little in their effect from the simple round cup pupils that begin to come into use a little later in the century.<sup>4</sup> The surface of the eyeball is wide and flat, curving strongly only at the outer corners where a transition to the side plane of the face is necessary, and on this flat surface the iris is outlined with the sharp, strong, regular incision that is usual in Greek work of the first half of the third century. It is part of the increasing reliance on line instead of modelling for the distinctive elements of the composition. The rendering of the short beard and the mustache begins to be partly linear too, consisting of little curved incisions, into the skin surface on the chin where the beard is supposed to be very short and into a rougher chiselled surface that projects slightly beyond the skin plane in places where the beard is meant to be a little fuller. This is essentially the method that remains in use in Greece throughout the third century for representing close-cropped hair, whether of head or beard.<sup>5</sup>

In other respects the head is still close to the Antonine style: in the finely smoothed surfaces of the face, the rounded lower eyelids,<sup>6</sup> the round, carefully carved ears, and above all the subtly differentiated hair mass in which each lock is a plastic entity fully expressed by the chisel and varied in some way from its neighbor. The decline of interest in the drill is evident, however, in the rather restrained drilling of the hair, which helps to outline the locks and give them relief, but does not honeycomb the mass. The chisel work is sure and broad, with none of the delicate chasing on the surface of the locks that one often finds in portraits of the Antonine period.<sup>7</sup>

This is one of the better of the Agora portraits, both in its technical finish and in the characterization of the person portrayed. It would seem to be the product of a conservative atelier that did good work for a price, keeping up with the main trends of the times, but not innovating. Stylistically the head represents the transition between the second and third centuries; its actual date may be as late as the second decade of the third.

<sup>1</sup> Shear, *A.J.A.*, XXXIX, 1935, p. 181.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Graindor, *Cosmètes*, no. 13, p. 334, fig. 18 and no. 14, p. 337, fig. 19, both dated by Graindor to the early years of the third century.

<sup>3</sup> The fine portrait of Caracalla in Berlin, Blümel, *Römische Bildnisse*, R 96, pls. 59–60, has this strongly modelled forehead and the plastically projecting eyebrows. The shape of the thin mustache in this portrait is also to be compared to that of our head. A portrait of Caracalla in Corinth, Askew, *A.J.A.*, XXXV, 1931, pp. 442–7, besides being a work of inferior quality, seems to belong to an earlier type. The hair is longer and contains a great deal of drill work. The face is highly polished and shows very little modelling or expression. This bearded, but open-faced type of Caracalla occurs only on coins dated between A.D. 209 and 213 (*B.M.C., Empire*, V, pl. 53, 5–7, dated in 209, [these are the first coins to show the beard]; pl. 53, 18–20, pl. 58, 5–6, A.D. 210). The scowling type begins on coins dated between A. D. 210 and 213 (*ibid.*, pl. 55, 9–14; pl. 61, 1–2).

<sup>4</sup> Cf. L'Orange, *Studien*, p. 11, fig. 12. Also see below, No. 44. A portrait of a kosmetes in the National Museum in Athens, Graindor, *Cosmètes*, no. 12, p. 332, fig. 17, is said by Graindor to have the pupil in the form of a simple cup, but this is not strictly true. Rather, as in the present case, the dividing ridge has been almost obliterated. Graindor dates the kosmetes to the reign of Septimius Severus.

<sup>5</sup> See below, Nos. 44, 45 and 46. Cf. L'Orange, *op. cit.*, p. 12.

<sup>6</sup> Compare portraits of Commodus, Wegner, pls. 48–56, and Crispina, *ibid.*, pl. 57.

<sup>7</sup> Cf. above, No. 28.

## 38. PORTRAIT OF A YOUNG MAN, A.D. 215–225

Plate 25.

Inv. S 954. Found June 7, 1937 in a well dug through the floor of a cistern to the west of the Tholos (G 11). Pentelic marble. H. 0.32 m., W. 0.22 m., H. chin to crown 0.245 m.

Head broken off at base of neck. Tip of nose missing. Numerous black specks on left side of face and hair. Surface in good condition.

This is a portrait of a young man wearing a light mustache and with youthful beard on the sides of his cheeks. His thick, rather curly hair falls low over the forehead in front and low down on the neck in back. On the sides it half covers the ears, falling in short, tumbled locks on the left side, but in long corkscrew curls on the right side. The drill is used in places to separate the locks. The beard on the cheeks too is unsymmetrically treated. On the right side are a few plastic curls rising above the general level, which is rendered in the usual third century way by little curved strokes in a slightly raised rough surface, but there are no such plastic curls on the left side. The eyebrows are drawn with heavy incised strokes. The eyes are rather flat, with narrow upper lids and thin lower lids that dip near the outer corners. The pupils are very shallow, of a cardioid shape that has nearly merged into a simple cup.<sup>1</sup> The irises are engraved. Irises and pupils are placed in such a way that the young man appears slightly cross-eyed. The surface is smoothed but not polished; here and there traces of imperfectly obliterated rasp marks are visible.

This portrait is reminiscent in a general way of the portraits of Elagabalus. The thin mustache and the slightly curly down on the cheeks recall the well-known head in the Capitoline.<sup>2</sup> The heavy thatch of hair on the head of our young man is longer and shaggier than that worn by the young Emperor. We may note, however, a similar disposition of locks over the forehead, including the change of direction above the center of the right eyebrow. The extra length may be a matter of local fashion, analogous to that observable among Athenian youth today.

The curious way in which the two halves of the face slope backward from a central ridge formed by the nose, the projecting upper lip and the chin is reminiscent of such later portraits as No. 44 below and the related epebe head in the Athens National Museum (Pl. 46, b).<sup>3</sup> One other Athenian portrait shows definite affinities with our head; it is probably to be dated in the same period. This is Athens National Museum no. 393, the queerest of the kosmetai.<sup>4</sup> He, like our young man, looks as though more of his vital energies had gone into the growth of his hair than into the development of what was underneath it. The hard, linear chisel-work on the surface of the locks of hair is very similar in the two heads (the way the front hair of the kosmetes rises in a sort of crest above the forehead finds an analogy in the Agora herm portrait, No. 39 below). Also to be compared with those of our young man are the cheeks, the eyebrows drawn with heavy incisions, and the flat eyes with a double curve to the lower lids. The inflated upper lids of the kosmetes are no doubt an individual peculiarity, for they find parallels only among Antonine portraits.

There is no positive clue to the identity of the Agora youth, but his resemblance to types that one meets on the streets of Athens today makes it easy to believe that he was a native Athenian. The portrait is individual enough to compel interest in spite of the fact that the workmanship is not of the highest quality. One thinks of it first as a personality and only second as a piece of sculpture.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. No. 37 above.

<sup>2</sup> Delbrück, *Antike Porträts*, pl. 51; Paribeni, pl. 299; L'Orange, *Symbolae Osloenses*, XX, 1940, p. 155, fig. 2. In the head in Oslo, *ibid.*, figs. 1, 3, 4, the beard is less curly.

<sup>3</sup> Graindor, *Cosmètes*, no. 22, p. 354, fig. 26; L'Orange, *Studien*, figs. 20, 22.

<sup>4</sup> Graindor, *Cosmètes*, no. 27, p. 363, fig. 28; A.B. 389. Noting the similarity of the hair and beard of the kosmetes to that in the portraits of Antisthenes, Graindor suggests that the kosmetes was a Cynic.

39. HERM PORTRAIT OF A MAN, *ca.* A.D. 215–225

Plate 26.

Inv. S 387. Found June 23 and 24, 1933 in a late Roman deposit breaking the floor of the large Roman building north of the Temple of Ares (K 7).

Pentelic marble. H. 0.54 m., H. chin to crown 0.27 m., W. of head 0.235 m., W. of herm shaft *ca.* 0.36 m., D. 0.245 m.

Mended from five pieces. Part of the herm shaft preserved in back and on left side. Cloak preserved in back and over left shoulder. End of nose and edge of left ear broken off. Broken surface of nose, a part of left eyebrow, edges of lips and projecting points of chin and forelock worn as if the head had lain in the ground with these parts up and had been walked on. Surface well-preserved in general; weathered light tan, with small patches of incrustation here and there.

Published by T. I. Shear, *Hesperia*, IV, 1935, p. 420, fig. 41; *A.J.A.*, XXXVII, 1933, p. 548, fig. 6 B; *Art and Archaeology*, XXXIV, 1933, p. 288.

This is the upper part of a portrait herm, showing a man of middle age or perhaps a little younger. The hair is somewhat curly and rather long, with unruly ends coming forward and framing the face. It is carved principally with the chisel, showing very little drill-work. The beard and mustache are close-cropped. The beard does not extend down onto the neck or up onto the lower lip except for a tuft in the center. It is rendered by little curved incisions into a roughened surface. The pupils of the eyes are hollowed in a cardioid form. The irises are engraved. The final dressing of the flesh surfaces was done with the rasp.

The subject wears a himation which passes over the left shoulder and around the back of the neck, apparently leaving the right shoulder free. His head is turned a little toward the right and tilted slightly upward, in a pose suggestive of energetic alertness. This agrees well with the impression made by the features themselves, the square jaw, the firm mouth and the deep-set eyes which gaze intently in the direction in which the head is turned. There is an asymmetry in the modelling of the two sides of the face which seems to be caused by this turn of the head. The whole right side of the face, including the eye, is made wider and flatter than the left side. The effect of this inequality is to make the two sides of the face appear more equal by counter-acting the natural foreshortening of the part of the face turned away from the spectator. The herm form and the himation over the left shoulder suggested to the first publisher of the portrait that this might be one of the portraits of the kosmetai, for many of them had this form. Nothing in the style or workmanship or the appearance of the individual himself contradicts this hypothesis, but the herm form was used also for portraits of other types of persons,<sup>1</sup> and the provenience of the present head is somewhat unlikely for a kosmetes.<sup>2</sup>

The cut of the beard and mustache as well as the manner of rendering them by little curved incisions is similar to that of No. 37, which we dated in the reign of Caracalla. Similar incision is used also for the eyebrows. The general arrangement of the hair resembles that of No. 37, though the locks are longer here and not so curly. At first glance the shaggy locks over the forehead with the chisel-drawn lines on their surfaces recall portraits of Gallienus, but the beard here does not grow onto the throat, and the shape of the hair mass, which for all its luxuriance does not extend very far down on the back of the neck, is much closer to the Antonine mode than to that of the mid third century. In our portrait the locks on the top and the back of the head, though they are not finished, are all plastically conceived as separate units. This would hardly be possible after the Antonine tradition had been broken once and for all by the third century substitution of lines for modelling.

On the other hand, our head cannot be so early as No. 37. Not only has the drill here been abandoned almost entirely for modelling or coloring the hair, but the face itself is more ad-

vanced in the purely linear emphasis of the features. L'Orange has characterized the Late Severan style as one in which the surfaces of the face melt into one another without definition or boundaries.<sup>3</sup> Our head shows hints of this in the smooth sweeping surface between the nose and the inner corners of the eyes and in the flat, ribbon-like upper eyelids which remain wide in spite of the fact that the eyes are represented wide open.<sup>4</sup> The rasped finish of the surface looks like a forerunner of the later Athenian practice. In Nos. 44 and 45 below, dated around the middle of the century, a heavy rasp is used and the strokes tend to run all in the same direction, emphasizing the sweeping continuity of the surfaces. Here the rasp is finer and the strokes cross one another. The popularity of a rasp-finished surface in portraits seems to have begun in Athens in the first quarter of the third century, if Graindor is correct in his dating of a kosmetes which has it.<sup>5</sup> The manner in which the eyebrows are undercut to emphasize the deep-set eyes is likewise paralleled in a portrait of a kosmetes, dated by Graindor as early as the time of Septimius Severus.<sup>6</sup> The active, alive appearance of our portrait is in contrast to the apathetic look of many Late Severan portraits, and is probably another argument for placing it near the period of Caracalla. As a portrait it is entirely successful, alive, individual, and almost attractive, as the person himself must have been. Technically it hits a very fair mean, having all the vividness of the more "impressionistic" portraits of kosmetai without any of the glaring faults and negligences that they too often betray.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. the herm portrait of Moiragenes, No. 25 above.

<sup>2</sup> Most of the portraits of kosmetai were found in the "Valerian Wall" east of the Agora, whereas the present head was found in a late Roman deposit in the northwest part of the Agora.

<sup>3</sup> L'Orange, *Studien*, p. 1.

<sup>4</sup> The same contradiction appears in a much exaggerated form in No. 44 below.

<sup>5</sup> Graindor, *Cosmètes*, no. 14, pp. 337f., fig. 19. Graindor compares this with portraits of the period of Septimius Severus and Caracalla. Probably a date early in the reign of Caracalla would be correct for this portrait which still makes extravagant use of the drill for hair and beard but has the beard cut rather short. The rasped finish occurs in the second century in large coarse sculpture used for the adornment of buildings, e.g. the "captives" from the Façade of the Colossal Figures at Corinth, Richardson, *A.J.A.*, VI, 1902, pl. 2 (the rasping is not visible in the photographs in Johnson, *Corinth*, IX, pp. 101ff.), and the giants from the Odeion in Athens, Thompson, *Hesperia*, XIX, 1950, pls. 67 d, 70 a. The early Antonine portraits from the Nymphaion of Herodes Atticus at Olympia show a finer rasped surface (cf. Wegner, pl. 39) as does a portrait of Lucius Verus (?) in the Athens National Museum, no. 1961.

<sup>6</sup> Graindor, *Cosmètes*, no. 12, p. 332, fig. 17.

#### 40. FRAGMENTARY PORTRAIT OF A PRIEST (?), SECOND QUARTER OF THIRD CENTURY

Plate 27.

Inv. S 1134. Found March 31, 1939 in a mixed late deposit west of the "Valerian Wall" near the Church of Hypapanti (R 21).

Pentelic marble. Pres. H. 0.14 m., Pres. W. 0.155 m., Pres. D. 0.065 m.

Fragment preserves only forehead and front hair, with a short section of wreath, both eyebrows, all of right eye and two-thirds of upper lid of left eye. Somewhat weathered and worn.

The fragment shows a man wearing on his head a wreath of small leaves. The eyes are so large as to suggest that the whole head was a little over life-size. They are carved with heavy incision and sharp edges. The upper eyelids are thick and curve much more than do the lower lids. The iris, which leaves considerable space between its outline and the lower lid, is two-thirds of a circle. The pupil is a deeply cut cardioid with strongly marked point. The eyebrows are plastically rendered, the hairs being engraved with short strokes into a surface that projects beyond the surrounding flesh areas. The projecting lower part of the forehead is separated from the upper part by a horizontal groove. The hair, which is brushed onto the forehead in pointed

locks with crescent ends, is engraved in thin, shallow lines; only here and there do rough drill-channels separate the locks. The small, stiff leaves of the wreath are flatly carved. The flesh surfaces are smoothed. The workmanship is good, but not remarkable.

Though this piece is much too fragmentary to date with any precision, the rather flat, linear hair brushed onto the forehead in crescent locks and the eye with its heavy upper lid and deeply engraved details suggest a date in the third century. A fragment of a head from the Kerameikos wearing a double wreath of leaves shows similarly deep cutting in the carving of the eyes.<sup>1</sup> This piece is dated on the basis of the scale-like rendering of the short hair to *ca.* A.D. 230–240 and has a coarse rasped surface similar to that of our Nos. 44, 45, and 46.

<sup>1</sup> Riemann, *Kerameikos*, II, no. 120, p. 90, pl. 28.

#### 41. PORTRAIT OF A LITTLE BOY, SECOND QUARTER OF THIRD CENTURY

Plate 28.

Inv. S 1307. Found September 17, 1947 in destruction debris below the hypocaust room of a Roman bath at the west foot of the Areopagus (C 18), together with pottery pre-dating the Herulian destruction of A.D. 267. Pentelic marble. H. 0.25 m., W. 0.17 m., H. chin to crown (minus wreath) 0.19 m.

Head broken off at base of neck. Nose broken off. Eyebrows, eyes, lips and chin chipped. Surface on entire front part of head and neck granular and eroded, perhaps as the result of burning. Surface on back better preserved.

Published by H. A. Thompson, *Hesperia*, XVII, 1948, p. 179, pl. 58.

This life-sized portrait shows a little boy wearing on his head a wreath of small, formal leaves stiffly ranged in pairs. His hair is cut short all over except for a single wavy lock about 11 cm. long which falls from the crown down the back of his head. The short hair is rendered by little curved incisions. The pupils of the eyes are drilled, but their shape is no longer discernible. The flesh surfaces seem to have been smoothed in front, though rasp marks remain on the back of the neck.

The rendering of the hair by little curved incisions suggests that our head is not to be dated earlier than the second quarter of the third century. The smoothly rounded outlines of the face and its relaxed expression, on the other hand, suggest that it is no later than the middle of the century. The overshadowing eyebrows and heavy upper lids shown by a little boy's head from the Agora which we date in the time of Gallienus<sup>1</sup> are lacking here. With the surface damaged as it is, it is hard to tell just where the head belongs within the quarter-century to which we have assigned it, but the hair line, in so far as it is visible, is like that of Alexander Severus,<sup>2</sup> and in spirit the head seems closer to the portraits of the Late Severan period than to the tenses faces of the forties.<sup>3</sup>

The outlines of the round, childish face are pleasing, and this was originally no doubt a very attractive portrait, but the damage to the surface prevents us from evaluating its artistic merit too closely. It is the curious coiffure, together with the wreath, that gives this head its particular interest. The scalp-lock apparently illustrates the ancient practice of growing a special lock for dedication to some river or divinity.<sup>4</sup> Pollux says that such locks were worn either on the side or in back or over the forehead.<sup>5</sup> Of two similar portraits of little boys found at Eleusis, one wears a lock on the right side,<sup>6</sup> the other has just had his lock cut off, and the stubble that has been left where it was cut off shows its position, over the forehead.<sup>7</sup> These Eleusinian children, which are linked with the Agora portrait by their age and the locks and the wreaths which they also wear, have been identified by Kourouniotes as boys initiated from childhood into the

mysteries: παῖδες ἀφ' ἑστίας μνηθέντες, a class the existence of which is attested by a number of inscriptions.<sup>8</sup> The Agora has produced three possible examples. Besides the one under discussion there is one other with the wreath and with a lock on the back of his head (No. 42) and one wearing a wreath but with the back of his head broken off so that one cannot be sure whether or not he had the lock also (No. 46). It is not clear why the portraits of these children were found in and near the Agora. Perhaps the self-glorification of the noble families to which they belonged extended to setting up in Athens itself duplicates of the portraits that were set up in Eleusis or possibly these are left-overs from the sculptors' workshops which were located in the vicinity.

<sup>1</sup> Below, No. 46.

<sup>2</sup> I.e., the forehead hair above the right eye is brushed toward the right and down to join the side hair. Cf. the portrait of Alexander Severus in the Vatican, L'Orange, *Studien*, fig. 1, and the youthful portraits (often misnamed Philip the Younger) discussed *ibid.*, pp. 94f.

<sup>3</sup> A portrait bust of a little boy in the Conservatori, Stuart Jones, *Catalogue*, II, pl. 84, Mon. arc. 32, shows the extent to which even a child's face may be affected by the tense, "realistic" style of the forties. This little boy has a long "Horus lock" over his right ear.

<sup>4</sup> H. A. Thompson, *Hesperia*, XVII, 1948, p. 179.

<sup>5</sup> Ἐτρεφον δέ τινες ἐκ πλάγίου κόμην ἢ κατόπιν ἢ ὑπὲρ τὸ μέτωπον ποταμοῖς ἢ θεοῖς καὶ ὀνομάζετο πλοχμὸς ἢ σκόλλυς ἢ σειράς τριχῶν. (B 30)

<sup>6</sup> Δελτίον, VIII, 1923, p. 155, fig. 1.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 160, fig. 4.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 161. Portraits of Roman children with locks on the right side of the head, the so-called "Horus locks", are not infrequent, especially in the third century (typical examples in the Conservatori, see above, note 3, and in the British Museum, Smith, *Catalogue*, III, p. 172, no. 1935, pl. 6). The fact that our Athenian examples of the lock likewise belong to the third century suggests some connection between the Roman and Greek practices. The identification of Isis with Demeter was a common one, and it is not impossible that something originally connected with Horus should have been adopted into the Eleusinian practice.

#### 42. PORTRAIT OF A LITTLE BOY, SECOND QUARTER OF THIRD CENTURY

Plate 27.

Inv. S 403. Found November 2, 1933 built into a modern house near the Tholos (G 12).

Pentelic marble. H. 0.23 m., W. 0.185 m., H. chin to crown 0.21 m.

Head broken off at neck. A hole (dowel hole?) 0.014 m. deep and 0.009 m. in diameter on the under side. Left side of face, most of nose and whole mouth and chin split off. A large chip missing from top of head in front, so that hairline over center of forehead is not preserved. Ears broken off. Wreath chipped; its surface worn away except for a bit in back on right side. Scalp lock also chipped and worn.

This is the portrait of an even younger child than the one represented in No. 41 above. He wears a wreath of small leaves ranged in parallel sets of three, and he has a long scalp-lock on the back of the head.<sup>1</sup> The hair is short, though not so short as in No. 41 above. The strokes that indicate the locks are about 1½ cm. long and are often S-shaped or placed so that the movement from one to the other is S-shaped. The hairline over the forehead may have been oval or it may have been like that of Alexander Severus.<sup>2</sup> There are the same pointed locks in front of the ears that we have in No. 41 above and in No. 46 below. Behind the ears the back hair is brushed forward on either side and the parting is concealed by the scalp-lock, which is long and flowing, coming down over the wreath and swept toward the right side of the head.

The forehead is smooth and flat, and the eyebrows do not overhang the eyes. The eyes are flat, with thin eyelids crisply cut. The cardioid pupil is large and unusually deep. The outline of the iris is engraved. The cheeks are very smooth and round. The skin surface is smoothed, though rasp marks remain on the neck and under the chin.

This head looks very much as though it were a cruder product of the same workshop which produced one of the kosmetai.<sup>3</sup> Most striking is the similarity in the carving of the flat eyes with

their thin, narrow lids, so sharply outlined, their elliptical iris lines and the flattened cyma recta profile of the part between the eyebrow and the eye. Also similar are the concave temples, the smooth flesh and the fluid rendering of the hair (delicately executed in the case of the kosmetes, more coarsely in the boy's head). The kosmetes has hitherto been dated in the reign of Gallienus, but a date in the time of Alexander Severus or soon after seems more likely.<sup>4</sup> A similar date would be appropriate for our portrait.

<sup>1</sup> For the significance of the wreath and lock see above under No. 41.

<sup>2</sup> See above, No. 41, note 2.

<sup>3</sup> L'Orange, *Studien*, p. 13, cat. no. 10, figs. 24, 28; Graindor, *Cosmètes*, no. 25, p. 360, pl. 23; Rodenwaldt, *Jahrb.*, XLV, 1930, p. 135, fig. 14.

<sup>4</sup> A portrait of Alexander Severus in Cairo, Graindor, *Bustes et statues-portraits d'Égypte romaine*, no. 19, p. 62, pl. 18, shows similar long incisions in the hair.

### 43. PORTRAIT OF A PRIEST (?), ca. A.D. 235–245

Plate 30.

Inv. S 564. Found May 2, 1935 in a mixed deposit with Turkish sherds over the Odeion (M 10).

Pentelic marble. H. 0.235 m., W. 0.185 m., H. chin to crown 0.23 m.

Head broken off in middle of neck. Tip of nose and back edges of ears broken off. A chip gone from right side of chin. Eyebrows chipped in places. Surface in good condition.

Published by T. L. Shear, *A.J.A.*, XXXIX, 1935, p. 447, fig. 11.

This is a portrait head of a man of middle age or over. There is no evidence as to the original form of the portrait. The man is clean-shaven and wears a laurel wreath. There is no indication of hair. Either it was painted only, which seems unlikely, or the man was entirely bald. The leaves of the laurel wreath are carved out only as far back as the tops of the ears, and the top of the head is smoothed only to about this point. Evidently the head was intended to be viewed only from in front. If we assume that the hair was painted or — another remote possibility — that the head is still unfinished and that both hair and beard were intended to be indicated by engraved lines in the already smoothed surfaces, it seems strange that there is no offset or rise in the surface on the sides below the wreath to show where the hair area begins. The eyebrows have a strong plastic projection beyond the plane of the forehead. The eyes are deep-set but quite flat, with narrow, thin lids. The pupils are small cups set very close under the upper lids. The irises are U-shaped, engraved with a sharp clear line. The surface of the skin is smoothed.

Since it wears a laurel wreath, our head should be the portrait either of an emperor or of a priest. Against its being an emperor, besides the baldness, is the fact that it does not really look like any emperor of whom we have a portrait preserved.<sup>1</sup> The rather fine, sharp treatment of the lines in the face, such as the diagonal wrinkles beside the nose and the wrinkles at the outer corners of the eyes is best paralleled in portraits of Maximinus Thrax<sup>2</sup> and may suggest that our portrait should come early rather than late within the period of realistic portraiture that extends from Maximinus to Decius. The eyes with the wide iris and the small pupil close under the upper lid recall those of Philip the Arabian.<sup>3</sup> In the worried expression and the pattern of lines in the face there is some resemblance to portraits of Decius.<sup>4</sup>

The striking thing about this portrait is that, though found in Athens and made of Pentelic marble, it is done in the western, properly Roman style of this period rather than in the conservative modification of it that seems to have been current in Greece.<sup>5</sup> The taut expressiveness of the features, the asymmetry of the lines (especially in the forehead), and the concentration of all the expression and all the tension, which are here the main structural elements, into the

front surface of the face make the head closer to portraits of the Soldier Emperors than it is to the standard contemporary products of the Athenian workshops. A comparison of the side view with the front view of the head shows how completely everything has been transferred to the front plane. The front view is full of life and expression, while the side of the face has become a wide, blank expanse in which nothing happens whatsoever.

If our head were the portrait of an emperor we might explain its Roman quality on the grounds that it was copied in Athens from a model that originated in Rome. The objections to this are, first, that our portrait does not look like any emperor of this period and, second, that it looks somehow too individual to be merely a hack copy from a standardized model. The second possibility would be that it is a portrait made in Athens of an Athenian priest but by an artist trained in Rome. A third would be that some of the Athenian sculptors actually followed the Roman style more closely in this period than did the majority of those whose works we have preserved in the *kosmetai* portraits and others in the Athens National Museum. At present, we seem to have no other Athenian examples of this style, but it is not impossible that others will turn up in time. Whatever the explanation may be, our head is a highly expressive portrait, much superior in quality to most of its Athenian contemporaries.

<sup>1</sup> T. L. Shear, *A.J.A.*, XXXIX, 1935, p. 447, has suggested that our portrait resembles coin-portraits of Valerian I. The difficulty is that Valerian's coins show a fat person, while this man's face is thin.

<sup>2</sup> E.g. the bust in the Capitoline, Hekler, *Bildniskunst*, pl. 291 a; Jones, *Catalogue*, I, Stanza degli Imperatori, no. 62, pl. 49; and a fragment in the Terme Magazine, L'Orange, *Studien*, fig. 4.

<sup>3</sup> E.g. the portrait bust in the Vatican, Hekler, *op. cit.*, pl. 293.

<sup>4</sup> E.g. a bust in the Capitoline, L'Orange, *op. cit.*, fig. 2; Jones, *Catalogue*, I, Stanza degli Imperatori, no. 70, pl. 51.

<sup>5</sup> Various Athenian portraits of the period do emulate the Roman style, but never, to my knowledge, with such complete success as we find in the present Agora portrait. A *kosmetes* whose general scheme seems inspired by classical philosopher types (Graindor, *Cosmètes*, no. 19, p. 348, fig. 23) aims at the two-dimensional treatment, but the result for him is a broad, flabby face that looks merely flattened, not concentrated. Graindor dates this head at the end of the reign of Alexander Severus, but it may actually be a bit later. The shape of the eyes and the wrinkles at their outer corners again recall the portraits of Maximinus Thrax (see above, note 2) as do the long horizontal wrinkles in the forehead. The side view of this *kosmetes* with his large ungainly ears was evidently not meant to be seen. Another head in the Athens National Museum attempts the asymmetry of the Roman style, with what ill-success L'Orange has pointed out (*op. cit.*, p. 10, fig. 19).

#### 44. PORTRAIT OF A MAN, *ca.* A.D. 245–255

Plate 30.

Inv. S 580. Found May 24, 1935 in a medieval wall in the southern part of the Agora area (H 14).

Pentelic marble. H. 0.272 m., W. 0.20 m., H. chin to crown 0.262 m.

Head broken off just below chin. Nose and helices of ears broken off. Surface very little weathered.

Published by T. L. Shear, *A.J.A.*, XXXIX, 1935, p. 447, fig. 10.

This is the portrait of a middle-aged man with thinning, close-cropped hair, a straggly beard, mustache and sideburns. The hair recedes above the temples at the sides, and where it recedes the surface is indented, giving the skull a strange, lumpy appearance.<sup>1</sup> The texture of the hair is indicated by little curved incisions in a slightly rough surface, radiating from a spot on the crown and running in the directions in which the hair is supposed to be growing. In some places two little incisions converge to a point so as to define a short pointed lock, but not in every case are they so carefully drawn. The straggly beard is rendered by longer chiselled lines. The face is long and thin, almost gaunt, but entirely without wrinkles or furrows except for three sharply engraved lines across the forehead. The eyes are wide open, but with wide upper lids arched above them. The upper lids are undercut to emphasize their contours, and sharp engraved lines separate them from the under sides of the eyebrows. The pupils are shallow circular cups;

the outlines of the iris are sharply engraved. The surface of the face is covered by heavy rasp marks, the strokes running mostly in one direction.

This portrait of an older man shows a striking resemblance to a youthful portrait from the "Valerian Wall," presumably that of an ephebe (Pl. 46,b).<sup>2</sup> The resemblance suggests that perhaps the present head has the best claim of any of the Agora portraits to be a kosmetes, for it almost certainly comes from the same workshop as the ephebe. In both of these heads the upper eyelids are wide, flat ribbons which do not taper to the corners of the eyes, but melt into the surrounding flesh. In both the pupils are shallow cups, and the outlines of the iris and the eyelids are sharply incised lines. In both the lips protrude and are slightly parted, adding to the look of slackness that pervades the whole. The rasp, a relatively coarse one in this case, is used in broad sweeps in one direction, just as it is used on the ephebe and on a sarcophagus portrait in Athens convincingly compared with the latter by L'Orange.<sup>3</sup> The sarcophagus head also has the beard cut in the same way, with long, wispy sideburns and thin mustache, the lower lip and part of the chin bare, and only a few ends of the beard extending down onto the neck.

It may be that some of the similarities between our head and that of the ephebe, e.g. the peculiar shape of the head, the prominent cleft chin and the dull expression, go beyond mere identity of style and point to a family connection between the two persons portrayed. There are several instances attested by inscriptions in which the son of a kosmetes held a prominent place in the class of ephebes over which his father presided,<sup>4</sup> and it is not impossible that we have such a pair before us. We have no actual evidence as to whether or not our portrait comes from a herm,<sup>5</sup> though a marked asymmetry in the carving of the eyes, the left eye being wider open than the right and with a greater convexity in the eyeball, may again indicate a slight turn of the head to the right, such as we had in the herm portrait No. 39 above. The hairline at the back of the neck is left in a roughly chiselled state, suggesting that it may have been masked by a cloak which passed around the back of the neck.

The head of the ephebe was dated by L'Orange in the Late Severan period,<sup>6</sup> but its resemblance to the present portrait now makes it clear that it is later. The eyes of the Agora head with their wide lids and emphasized contours seem to belong to the time of Decius. The coarse forehead wrinkles, ruthlessly carved into the flesh, and the equally coarse rendering of the eyebrows, hair and beard find their best parallels in the same period. The type of the long, narrow face with its doleful expression and parted lips is rather like that of the philosopher, often called "Plotinus," on a sarcophagus in the Lateran which Rodenwaldt dated as late as 265-270.<sup>7</sup> The Agora portrait can scarcely be so late, however. If the sarcophagus is really late Gallienian, the philosopher's face, like his hair style, must be somewhat old-fashioned.

In this head from the Agora the dissolution of forms that has been noted in Roman portraits of the period of Decius<sup>8</sup> is particularly obvious, because this portrait is so simple that there is little to distract one's attention from the fact. The portrait seems to be melting before our eyes, and we wonder what direction the development of the style can take from here. Actually, it seems to have taken two directions, for we find in the ensuing period works of widely divergent character but all showing some relation to the style we are now considering. In the larger group, which continues to follow the phases of urban Roman style, we find a new tension introduced; the frowns grow deeper, the eyes bulge, and the heads look solidier, more compact. A portrait of a kosmetes which may be taken as typical of this trend<sup>9</sup> shows by its close relation to the portrait of the ephebe how the one develops out of the other. On the other hand the blankness and simplification visible in the Agora portrait find continuation in a number of Athenian portraits

done in a drier style, in which symmetry and an almost geometrical austerity of design provide the basis for the composition.<sup>10</sup> Thus we find the threat of disintegration countered in one of two ways: either by an intensification of the expression of the portrait or by a new emphasis on its purely formal aspects. In neither case is there a recovery of what has been lost in the rendering of the organic structure of the head. Our portrait, which seems to stand at the fork from which this dual development branches off, acquires because of this position an interest that its mediocre technique and vague characterization would not warrant.

<sup>1</sup> That the lumps are in the skull and are not merely caused by the presence or absence of hair is shown by the fact that the head of an ephebe in the National Museum in Athens (Pl. 46, b; Graindor, *Cosmètes*, no. 22, p. 354, fig. 26; L'Orange, *Studien*, figs. 20, 22) has the same lumps.

<sup>2</sup> See above, note 1.

<sup>3</sup> *Studien*, p. 12, figs. 21, 23; Rodenwaldt, *Jahrb.*, XLV, 1930, p. 128, fig. 8 and p. 135, fig. 13.

<sup>4</sup> E.g. Graindor, *Cosmètes*, p. 253 (Eirenaïos), pp. 258 f. (Aurelius Dositheos), and *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 2193 (Tryphon).

<sup>5</sup> The majority of the stone portraits of kosmetes seem to have been in the form of herms, though there is evidence for the existence of full-length statues in some cases: in *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1041 line 33 (first century B.C.) mention is made of the ἀνδριάς of a kosmetes.

<sup>6</sup> *Studien*, p. 12.

<sup>7</sup> *Jahrb.*, LI, 1936, p. 104, fig. 10, pl. 6.

<sup>8</sup> L'Orange, *Studien*, p. 4. See below, pp. 96–97.

<sup>9</sup> Graindor, *Cosmètes*, no. 24, p. 358, fig. 27; L'Orange, *Studien*, cat. no. 3, figs. 13, 15. Graindor's original date, in the time of Trebonianus Gallus, must be approximately correct.

<sup>10</sup> See below No. 51 and pp. 99–100.

#### 45. PORTRAIT OF A MAN, ca. A.D. 250–260

Plate 29.

Inv. S 435. Found March 6, 1934 in a mixed late Roman and Hellenistic deposit east of the Great Drain on the west side of the Agora area (E 15).

Pentelic marble. H. 0.315 m., W. 0.195 m., H. chin to crown 0.245 m.

Head broken off at base of neck. Both ears battered off; nose broken off. The strongly projecting lower part of forehead as well as eyebrows, cheeks, lips and chin much worn and battered.

The head portrays a young man with heavy, seemingly negroid features. Both hair and beard are close-cropped, and the mustache apparently so. The short hair and beard are rendered by curved incisions into a roughened surface. The beard leaves free the lower lip, except for a tuft in the center, and a space on either side of the mouth. It continues down on the neck for about 1 cm. below the chin. On the forehead the hairline comes down very low, and the lower half of the forehead juts out heavily over the eyes. Before the eyebrows were battered off this projection must have looked even more remarkable than it does now. The eyes, small and glaring sullenly out from under heavy lids, must originally have been deeply overshadowed by the eyebrows. The engraved semi-circle of the iris is narrow and leaves a wide space between the iris and the under lid. The small cardioid pupil is deeply cut. Although they are set back deep behind the overhanging ledge of the brows above them, the eyeballs and the lower lids project forward beyond the plane of the cheeks below. The nose is too much broken away to show what its shape was except that it was relatively short. The mouth is straight, and looks stiff; it is channelled along the opening line so that the lips appear slightly parted.

In its present state the head has a distinctly negroid look, resulting not only from the ape-like brow, the small eyes and the short nose, but also from the heavy, compact structure of the face and the shape of the head. The lips do not look particularly thick, but they are so damaged that it is hard to be sure about this. The hair, indicated by the usual little curved chisel strokes in a rough surface, does not seem unusually curly (note particularly the ends over the forehead,

which curve all in the same direction), but the beard has the little strokes so arranged that they change direction, forming S-curves, and actually do give an effect of curliness. If the person portrayed was a negro, the question of his identify becomes more intriguing but remains unsolved. Perhaps he was an athlete. His comparative youth and the dull, heavy features would fit such an identification, but there is no real evidence for it.

Both the cut of the beard and the style of the sculpture suggest a date somewhat later than that of the preceding portrait. The beard covers more of the surface of the face, and the features are massed together so that the face seems solidified if one compares it with that of No. 44. The flesh surface is no more articulated than it was; even the rasping remains the same (though done with an unusually coarse rasp in the present instance), but the beard and the features have closed in on this surface so that it is tightly bounded, no longer a wide, fluid expanse. In this our portrait resembles the portrait of a kosmetes that probably belongs to the period of Trebonianus Gallus.<sup>1</sup> The kosmetes is compared by L'Orange to the male portrait on the Achilles sarcophagus in the Capitoline Museum,<sup>2</sup> and in other respects it is so like the ephebe head with which we compared the preceding portrait<sup>3</sup> that it may very well be a somewhat later product of the same workshop.<sup>4</sup> It is not impossible that our present head is from the same source. The slightly overhanging position of the eyes occurs in other Greek portraits that belong around the middle of the third century.<sup>5</sup>

Our portrait is a work of medium low quality so far as technique is concerned, but highly individual in its characterization and almost impressive in its uncompromising ugliness.

<sup>1</sup> Graindor, *Cosmètes*, no. 24, p. 358, fig. 27; L'Orange, *Studien*, cat. no. 3, figs. 13, 15.

<sup>2</sup> *Studien*, pp. 9f., cat. no. 2, figs. 12, 14.

<sup>3</sup> See above, p. 59, note 1.

<sup>4</sup> These two are at present side by side in the basement storeroom of the National Museum and show thus placed a much closer resemblance than is apparent from the photographs. The shape of the chins is almost identical.

<sup>5</sup> See below, Nos. 46, 48 and 49; also Pl. 46, d.

#### 46. PORTRAIT OF A LITTLE BOY, THIRD QUARTER OF THE THIRD CENTURY

Plate 29.

Inv. S 1312. Found March 12, 1948 built into the wall of a modern pit just west of the west end of the Middle Stoa (H 13).

Pentelic marble. H. 0.205 m., W. 0.15 m., H. chin to crown 0.20 m.

Head broken off at neck. Nose broken off; left cheek, ears and chin chipped. A slice broken off from back of head starting a little above hairline on nape of neck and extending almost to crown.

Published by H. A. Thompson, *Hesperia*, XVIII, 1949, p. 220, pl. 43, 2.

This is a life-sized portrait of a young boy wearing on his head a wreath of tiny, close-packed leaves. His hair is cut quite short on all the preserved parts of the head, but since a piece of the back of the head is missing, it is not impossible that he wore a longer scalp-lock in back similar to that worn by No. 41 above.<sup>1</sup> The hairline over the forehead is oval, with a little crescent lock in front of the ear on each side. Little curved chisel strokes are used to represent the hair. They are rather fine and careful in front, below the wreath, rougher on top of the head and quite crude in back. The eyebrows are not modelled. Short incised strokes across the edges of the eyebrow arches indicate the hairs. The upper eyelids project strongly, overshadowing the eyes. The eyeballs are set in an overhanging position and the outer corners of the eyes are set lower than the inner corners, so that the two eyes are not quite on the same axis. The pupils are deeply cut cardioids and the sharply engraved iris lines surround them with a narrow border.

The mouth is unusually small and is unsymmetrical in shape, with thin lips slightly parted. The face in general shows little modelling. The forehead is smooth and flat, without the roundness of a young child's forehead. The neck is a simple cylinder which intersects abruptly the simple curved planes of the face. There is no intimation of the existence of a jawbone. The surface of the face is rasped all over in long, parallel strokes.

For all his youth, this little boy wears the same world-weary expression as do his older contemporaries. A dating is suggested by the striking similarity that exists, despite the difference in the ages of the persons portrayed, between this head and the portrait of a middle-aged man in the National Museum in Athens.<sup>2</sup> The slack, small mouths with the lower lips projecting in a thin edge are particularly alike in the two heads. Also similar are the overhanging eyes, the flat eyebrow arches and the shape of the face. The National Museum portrait belongs to the period of Gallienus, and our little boy, though a less distinguished piece of work, is doubtless to be dated in the same period.

<sup>1</sup> For the significance of these locks see above, No. 41.

<sup>2</sup> N.M. no. 349, L'Orange, *Studien*, cat. no. 11, figs. 26, 27. A family connection between the man and the child seems not unlikely if we bear in mind that the wreath and strophion which the man wears in a replica of this portrait (Pl. 46, d; L'Orange, *op. cit.*, cat. no. 12, figs. 25, 29) are thought to be the insignia of the high priest of the imperial cult (see below, No. 49) who apparently was always a member of the *genos* of the Kerykes (Oliver, *The Athenian Expounders*, p. 98) and that the παῖδες ἀφ' ἑστίας μνηστῆρες were generally offspring of the Eleusinian priestly families (e.g. *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 3688, Publia Aelia Herennia, whose great-uncle was the dadouchos P. Aelius Dionysios; 3693, Claudia Themistokleia, daughter of the dadouchos Cl. Philippos; 3708, P. Aelius Timosthenes, son of a pythochrestes; 3710, Onoratiane Polycharmis, daughter of Claudia Themistokleia; and 3679, Junia Themistokleia, daughter of Onoratiane Polycharmis.

#### 47. PORTRAIT OF A YOUTH, THIRD CENTURY (?)

Plate 28.

Inv. S 1135. Found March 31, 1939 in a late Roman deposit beside a modern cess-pool on the northeast slope of the Areopagus (R 24).

Pentelic marble. H. 0.233 m., W. 0.155 m., H. chin to crown 0.19 m.

Head broken off at base of neck. Nose and backs of ears broken off. Whole surface, except for part of right cheek and temple and some of the adjoining hair, pitted and eaten away by acids from the cess-pool.

This head, slightly under life-size, is of a completely classical, idealized aspect, but the scalp-lock on the back of the head suggests that it is actually a portrait. The short curly hair carved in separate little flat curls all over the head, seems to imitate early classical bronze work in the engraved interior drawing of the locks.<sup>1</sup> The single snaky scalp-lock stands out in relief against the flat curls on the back of the head. The features are calm and expressionless, the planes of the face simplified in the classical manner. It is impossible to tell whether or not the pupils of the eyes were drilled, though the acid has eaten in such a way that they give that impression. The skin surface was carefully smoothed.

The second quarter of the third century furnishes several examples of highly classicized portraits. Two portraits of kosmetai,<sup>2</sup> one of which (G 20) is dated to the year 238/9,<sup>3</sup> are patent imitations of classical philosopher types, and a portrait of an ephebe in Copenhagen masquerades as a Myronian athlete.<sup>4</sup> Hence it is possible that our head may be a product of the same trend. The fact that he wears the lock may count as additional, though slight, evidence for placing the head in the third century. Since this boy is older than those represented in Nos. 41 and 42 and wears no wreath, his lock may not have exactly the same significance as theirs, but it doubtless belongs to the general category of locks grown for dedication to some divinity.<sup>5</sup> Any dating of the head in its present state must remain purely tentative. That this is a classicizing

work is obvious, but the workmanship is less coarse than that of any of the third century parallels cited above, and, so long as we do not know that the pupils were drilled, it is not even certain that the head belongs to the Roman period.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. the head of the Diskobolos of Myron, Richter, *Sculpture and Sculptors of the Greeks*, fig. 582.

<sup>2</sup> Graindor, *Cosmètes*, no. 20, p. 349, fig. 24 and no. 21, p. 353, pl. 21.

<sup>3</sup> J. Notopoulos, *Hesperia*, XVIII, 1949, p. 40, fixes in 238/9 the archonship of Kasianos Hierokeryx, dated by Graindor either to 238/9 or 242/3.

<sup>4</sup> Poulsen, *Kunstmuseets Aarskrift*, 1929–31, pp. 16 f., figs. 1–2; *Tillaeg til Billedtavler*, I, pl. 8, no. 469 b; A. W. Lawrence, *Classical Sculpture*, pp. 389 f., pl. 155 a.

<sup>5</sup> See above, pp. 54–55.

#### 48. PORTRAIT OF A MAN, PERIOD OF GALLIENUS (A.D. 253–268)

Plate 31.

Inv. S 950. Found June 3, 1937 in a well dug through the floor of a cistern to the west of the Tholos (G 11). Pentelic marble. H. 0.265 m., W. 0.22 m., H. chin to crown 0.25 m.

Head broken off at neck. End of nose broken off and back edge of left ear splintered away. Top of head a little worn, but not so much as to remove outlines of locks of hair. Blackened by burning under chin and on back of head. A crack running down left side of face.

This is the portrait of a man of undetermined age with a short beard and curly hair of medium length. The beard leaves no space bare within the area that it encloses, and mustache and beard are scarcely distinguished from one another. Rather straight vertical strokes in a slightly raised surface give the effect of a stiff, straight beard cut to a length of about one centimeter all over. It overlaps a little way onto the neck. The outlines of the locks of hair, which curl in crescent or comma shapes all over the head, are coarsely cut with the drill out of the flat, cap-like mass that covers the head. The inner drawing of the locks, done with the chisel, is equally coarse.

The eyebrows are flat arches with the hairs indicated by coarse horizontal incisions along the edge. The eyes are long, narrow and flat, with heavy upper lids. The pupils are cardioid and fairly small; the outlines of the irises are carelessly engraved. The face shows little modelling. The forehead has none except for a very shallow horizontal groove separating the upper part from the lower. The mouth is small, set into the wide bearded area with little structural relation to the face. The flesh surfaces are smoothed, but not polished.

The head was found in a well deposit which accumulated following the sack of the area by the Heruli in A.D. 267,<sup>1</sup> and the marks of burning strengthen the supposition that the portrait was destroyed at that time. The otherwise fresh and unweathered condition of the marble suggests that the portrait was still fairly new when the destruction occurred. The style of the head is in agreement with this evidence. The long flat eyes recur in portraits of Gallienus,<sup>2</sup> and the heavy upper lids find parallels in other Athenian portraits of his time.<sup>3</sup> The longish hair, growing rather low on the back of the neck, conforms to the Gallienian mode, though the all-over short beard, while worn by both the preceding and the succeeding emperors, was not worn by Gallienus himself. The coarse outlining of the locks with the drill in our head closely resembles that on two portraits of kosmetai, one of which is epigraphically dated to A.D. 238/9.<sup>4</sup> Here as there it is doubtless an extension to portrait sculpture of a technique used in cheap copies and imitations of classical sculpture and in the carving of relief sarcophagi.

This portrait lacks the dramatic intensity of better works of its time.<sup>5</sup> Instead of etching the man's face with furrows of passionate anxiety, the spirit of the precarious times in which he lived has merely cast over his flat features a dim veil of melancholy. How much of the flatness

is a matter of style and how much merely mediocre workmanship is difficult to say. Doubtless both played a part. Certainly the work is rather crude. The large amorphous ears show this particularly. It seems probable, however, that an eastern influence which seems to have begun to touch Athens around the middle of the third century is at least partly responsible for the calm flat symmetry of this head.<sup>6</sup> A small portrait head in Amsterdam, originating in all likelihood from Egypt, offers a very good parallel for the coiffure of our portrait with its flat curled locks forming an oval hairline over the forehead.<sup>7</sup> The wide staring eyes of the Amsterdam head with their crescent pupils give it a much more oriental look than we find in the Agora portrait, but there is enough general similarity between the two to call attention to a distinctly oriental flavor in the Athenian work. Ponger dates the Amsterdam portrait A.D. 260–270.

<sup>1</sup> H. A. Thompson, *The Tholos of Athens and its Predecessors, Hesperia*, Supplement IV, p. 101.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. L'Orange, *Studien*, figs. 8, 9; Hekler, *Bildniskunst*, pl. 298.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. No. 46 above and Pl. 46, d.

<sup>4</sup> Graindor, *Cosmètes*, no. 20, p. 349, fig. 24 and no. 21, p. 353, pl. 21. For the most recent dating see Notopoulos, *Hesperia*, XVIII, 1949, p. 40.

<sup>5</sup> Contrast it, for example, with No. 49 below and with its better preserved replica in Eleusis (Pl. 46, e).

<sup>6</sup> See below, pp. 66–67.

<sup>7</sup> C.S. Ponger, *Katalog der griechischen und römischen Skulptur, der steinernen Gegenstände und der Stuckplastik im Allard Pierson Museum zu Amsterdam* (Allard Pierson Stichting, *Bijdragen*, XI), no. 125, pp. 62f., pls. 30–31. Since the head formed part of the Von Bissing collection, there is every probability that it came from Egypt (*ibid.*, p. 63, note 5).

#### 49. PORTRAIT OF A PRIEST, PERIOD OF GALLIENUS

Plate 31.

Inv. S 659. Found March 14, 1936 in loose earth containing mixed late Roman and Turkish sherds in front of the Stoa of Attalos (P 7).

Pentelic marble. H. 0.315 m., W. 0.185 m., H. chin to crown (minus wreath) 0.26 m.

Back of head broken away from just in front of ears; face, front part of hair, and center front part of fillet and wreath preserved. End of nose broken off; eyebrows and eyes chipped. Whole surface darkened by fire and much weathered.

The portrait shows an old man wearing a short beard; his hair falls in pointed locks over his forehead. On his head is a rolled fillet or strophion, above which he wears a wreath. The leaves are too poorly preserved to be identified as to kind. His eyes are wide and staring, unsymmetrical both in shape and in position, and his brow is contracted into unsymmetrical furrows. The cheeks are sunken, with deep diagonal folds running below them from the sides of the nose downward. Though the intensity of the expression has been somewhat dimmed by the damage to the surface, particularly that of the eyeballs, it remains extraordinary. The pupils were not drilled, but engraved in a crescent form. The outlines of the irises are engraved.

This is a replica of a better preserved portrait which was found in the sanctuary at Eleusis and is now in the Eleusis Museum (Pl. 46, e).<sup>1</sup> The Eleusis head has one pointed lock fewer on the forehead than has the Agora head, and it lacks the wreath of leaves on top of the rolled fillet. Otherwise the two are identical, even to the course of the unsymmetrical wrinkles in the forehead. Though it is difficult to judge the relative quality of the two pieces in view of the disintegration of the surface of the Agora head, the somewhat more plastic and varied appearance of the locks on the forehead suggests that this was originally a better piece of work than the replica in Eleusis.

The Eleusis head was included by Rodenwaldt in a series of portraits of elderly men whom he identified as Neo-Platonist philosophers and dated near the end of the fourth century after Christ.<sup>2</sup> L'Orange recognized that this date was much too late. Finding in the Eleusis head a

direct continuation of the style of the Gallienian period, he dated it in the seventies of the third century.<sup>3</sup> The Agora head suggests that this date ought perhaps to be raised a bit further, to the reign of Gallienus himself. Though the fragment was found lying loose in a mixed deposit which offered no evidence whatsoever for its date, it does show unmistakable signs of burning. The surface is blackened and disintegrated by fire, and it was doubtless heat that caused the face to split off from the rest of the head. Though there is, of course, no proof as to when this occurred, we know that the area in which the head was found was the scene of a fierce conflagration in A.D. 267, when the Heruli sacked the city of Athens. Both the Odeion and the Stoa of Attalos were destroyed in that fire, and the portrait may well have stood in or near one of these two great buildings.

There is an interesting parallelism between the Agora-Eleusis portraits and two found in Athens (Pl. 46,d) which L'Orange dates in the time of Gallienus.<sup>4</sup> Like ours, these two portraits are replicas differing principally in the fact that one wears a strophion and wreath of leaves, while the other wears only the strophion. H. Ingholt, in an article soon to appear, suggests that the combination of strophion and wreath is in Athens the insignia of the high priest of the imperial cult.<sup>5</sup> Since these priests were taken from the noble clan of the Kerykes, who held some of the principal Eleusinian priesthods,<sup>6</sup> it is not surprising that a portrait of a high priest should also turn up at Eleusis wearing different insignia, presumably those of his Eleusinian office.

<sup>1</sup> Rodenwaldt, *76 Wp.*, no. 7, fig. 2; L'Orange, *Studien*, cat. no. 58, figs. 108-109; Hekler, *Die Antike*, XVI, 1940, pp. 195ff., fig. 23. Hekler suggests identification with the sophist Nikagoras, who was hierokeryx. See also below, pp. 100-105.

<sup>2</sup> *Op. cit.*, pp. 3-15.

<sup>3</sup> L'Orange, *op. cit.*, pp. 41 f.

<sup>4</sup> *Op. cit.*, cat. nos. 11 and 12, figs. 25-27, 29. L'Orange, clinging to the idea of philosopher portraits, suggests that these two represent Longinus. If the theory of Ingholt, see below, is correct, this identification is untenable.

<sup>5</sup> I am grateful to Mr. Ingholt for informing me of his theory in advance of its publication.

<sup>6</sup> J. Oliver, *The Athenian Expounders*, p. 98.

## 50. PORTRAIT OF A MAN, LAST QUARTER OF THE THIRD CENTURY

Plate 32.

Inv. S 1256. Found June 7, 1947 in an early Byzantine wall at the bottom of the valley between the Areopagus and the Hill of the Nymphs, west of the northwest spur of the Areopagus (D 17).

Pentelic marble. H. 0.265 m., W. 0.195 m., H. chin to crown 0.245 m.

Head broken off at neck. Nose broken off. Eyebrows, central parts of eyes, lips, chin chipped away. Features on right side of face nearly obliterated, but on left side temple, cheek and jowl well enough preserved to give an idea of the modelling. Whole surface worn and crumbling.

This appears to be the portrait of a rather elderly man. Both hair and beard are cut rather short, the hair combed forward horizontally and the beard brushed horizontally back to the sides. The hairline is deeply indented at the temples, curving forward over the forehead and on the sides. The hair is drawn with the chisel in a linear suggestion of short strands. The beard is indicated by rather coarse curved incisions running in a more or less horizontal direction. Nothing remains of the inner drawing of the eyes.

The cut of the hair and beard is closely paralleled in other Athenian works, which L'Orange places in the early Tetrarchic period. The face too resembles closely those of other Athenian portraits of the late third century (Pl. 47, e).<sup>1</sup> The features are heavy and grim, so deeply cut that they have in part survived the pitiless erosion of the surface that the portrait has suffered. Two deep horizontal wrinkles are visible in the brow, and there may have been a third one below these.

The eyesockets are deep, with the eyes themselves bulging out from them. Since the prominent parts of the eyeballs have been chipped away, the intensity of expression which the eyes must have had originally has been completely lost. The cheeks are flabby, and deep, harsh folds run diagonally below them. There are folds also at the corners of the mouth. If the right side of the face were better preserved, we should probably find the same "restless asymmetry" that characterizes other portraits of its kind.<sup>2</sup> All these works belong in general to the western, more naturalistic school distinguished by L'Orange from the more formalized, eastern school of portraiture of the early Tetrarchic period and, more specifically, to the Greek subdivision of this school.<sup>3</sup> The Agora head in its present condition adds nothing to our knowledge of the style, but its existence is worth recording for the sake of statistics.

<sup>1</sup> L'Orange, *Studien*, cat. nos. 53, 55, 56, figs. 98-99, 102-105. He concludes (p. 39) that the hair brushed forward onto the forehead and separated by indentations from the side hair is a peculiarly Greek fashion of the period. Since the longish hair probably descends directly from the Gallienian style, and the brushed-back beard is already the fashion in the time of Claudius Gothicus (cf. *ibid.*, figs. 243, 244), it is quite possible that some of these Athenian heads are somewhat earlier than the time of the Tetrarchy. Owing to the scarcity of material from Athens belonging to the late third century, a period when economic collapse seems to have made portraits an increasingly rare luxury, it is doubtful whether Athenian works of this period can ever be closely dated except through identification, as in the case of L'Orange, cat. no. 53, which he believes is a portrait of Diocletian. Cat. no. 56 (Pl. 47, e), which is the closest of the three to our head, though obviously a work of higher quality, has slenderer proportions and more careful modelling than the other two and lacks the heavy folds under the eyes. Hence it has a good chance of being earlier than the others.

<sup>2</sup> L'Orange, *op. cit.*, p. 39.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 44.

## 51. PORTRAIT OF A YOUNG MAN, SECOND HALF OF THIRD CENTURY

Plate 33.

Inv. S 1406. Found April 26, 1949 built into a late Roman aqueduct in front of the Stoa of Attalos (N 8). Pentelic marble. H. 0.405 m., W. 0.19 m., H. chin to crown 0.24 m.

Split into two approximately equal halves, with the break running down left side of face. Nose broken off. Top of left ear chipped and that of right ear rubbed. A chip gone out of right side of lower lip. Surface in good condition. Traces of red paint on lips.

Published by H. A. Thompson, *Hesperia*, XIX, 1950, pp. 331 f., pl. 105 a.

The head is made with a deep tenon at the bottom for setting into a statue. It represents a quite young man (the profile is almost that of a little boy) but, as the stubble beard shows, one not too young to shave. The hair is cut in a straight line across the forehead. On each side the hairline dips down in a quarter-circle in front of the ear. Within this outline the hair is a smoothly rounded cap, in the surface of which the strands of hair are drawn by means of continuous chiselled lines which stop only when crossed by another or when they converge to form the end of a pointed lock. The short beard is rendered by mere stippling of the smoothed surface of the face with the point. The carving of the face is simplified and symmetricized to a degree rare in Athenian work. The forehead is a smoothly curved band on which are cut two ornamentally symmetrical wrinkles. On each side of the face a small triangular plane is inserted, in lieu of a modelled transition, between the planes of the temple and the cheek. The eyebrow arches are as sharp and simple as in work of the fifth century B.C. or of the time of Constantine. The hairs of the eyebrows are indicated by little nicks made with the point above and below the edge in a sort of herringbone arrangement. The eyes are very wide and flat. The iris is engraved; the pupil is hollowed out in the form of a fairly deep elliptical cup. The upper lid is wide and rather flat, the lower lid quite flat. The carving of the ears is surprisingly crude, flat and simplified.

It is difficult to find any wholly satisfactory parallel for this singular head. The absurdly crude flat ears are without parallel in Athenian sculpture. It is conceivable that something went

wrong in the original carving of them and that what we have is an awkward attempt to salvage the situation. The fact that the cavity of the left ear is over-large and oddly shaped would support such a suggestion. The outline of the hair is most nearly duplicated in two heads in the National Museum in Athens which have been classed as works of the Tetrarchic period belonging to the formalized eastern school of art.<sup>1</sup> These two heads also have stippled beards, but they lack the peculiar linear treatment of the locks of hair that distinguishes the Agora head. For the latter a partial parallel may be found in a fragmentary head in Olympia on which the locks are represented by the same sort of coarse parallel grooves arranged in an illogically overlapping pattern.<sup>2</sup> Here, however, the hairline is a smooth oval line like that of the period of Constantine, and the sharp, unengraved eyebrows and blank eyeballs suggest Constantinian classicism.<sup>3</sup> Both in the two heads in the National Museum and in the Olympia head the workmanship is much cruder than in the Agora portrait; the modelling is harsh and irregular and the surface is poorly finished.

Perhaps the closest parallel for the coarse linear drawing of the locks within the outline of the hair mass is to be found not in stone sculpture but in terracottas of the third and fourth centuries, in which the gouged technique is a natural one. We may compare a series of plastic jugs from the Agora (Pl. 47,d), some of which come from contexts certainly earlier than A.D. 267.<sup>4</sup> In these head-vases we find already much of the geometrical simplification, the stiffness and symmetry that are characteristic of fourth-century sculpture.

The surface modelling of the flesh in our portrait, in spite of its simplification, is not hard or sharp. Except for the eyebrows all the edges are blunted in a way that makes the outlines and shadows seem less harsh and the marble somehow more translucent. This is to be noted in the full lips and, more particularly, in the eyes. This same blunted effect occurs also in a portrait of an ephebe in the Athens National Museum (Pl. 46,a) which has, like our head, a rigid, almost ornamental symmetry of design.<sup>5</sup> Because of this symmetry and because the hair is all brushed forward onto the forehead in an oval hairline, the ephebe has hitherto been dated to the time of Constantine.<sup>6</sup> So late a date can now be proved to be untenable, since the "Valerian Wall," in the filling of which the portrait of the ephebe was found, is shown by the results of the Agora excavations to have been constructed around A.D. 280.<sup>7</sup> So far as we can judge, in the present state of our knowledge, a date between 267 and 275 is perhaps the most plausible for the ephebe, since such a date would reconcile the demands of style and those of archaeological probability.<sup>8</sup>

In the case of our present portrait the problem is more difficult. While certain traits of the style suggest a late date, the evidence of its provenience has led H. A. Thompson to favor a date before 267. The head was found built into an aqueduct of the fifth century after Christ in which were incorporated fragments of other sculptures and inscriptions damaged in the sack of 267. If the head belonged to a portrait set up after 267, it must have been carried from elsewhere, since no portraits would have been set up in the ruined Agora in the years immediately following the destruction. Since, however, it is not a stone particularly adapted to wall-building, it is highly improbable that it would have been hauled in from elsewhere expressly for that purpose, especially when there was so much debris lying ready to hand. All questions of style apart, therefore, the simplest explanation would be that the portrait was itself destroyed in 267 and lay among the other debris of this destruction until it was picked up and used by the builders of the aqueduct.<sup>9</sup>

If our portrait must indeed be dated before 267, its style is perhaps best to be explained by the assumption that the eastern influence which in the time of the Tetrarchy led, as L'Orange

has demonstrated,<sup>10</sup> to the creation of a symmetrical, geometrized style that ran parallel to a more naturalistic western Roman style actually began to be effective as early as the middle of the third century. A hint of this is perhaps to be seen in the pre-Herulian head-vases mentioned above. A bronze portrait of Gordian III in Sofia from Nikopolis ad Istrum, the product of a local Balkan workshop, already shows, as K. Lehmann points out, the stiffness that we expect in later works.<sup>11</sup> Like our Agora portrait, it shows a flat, unmodelled forehead and a sharp, rectilinear hairline. The shape of the eyes is very close to that of our head, and the eyebrows are similarly, though more elaborately rendered. The surface of the hair, on the other hand, is treated in the manner usual to works of the mid third century, and supports the dating and identification of the head. In the non-Greek provinces of the Roman Empire there may be some question as to how far the early appearance of a decorative, geometrized style is due to eastern influence and how much to a resurgence of tendencies inherent in the local art. In the case of Greece, it can only be the former, but the greater proximity of Greece to the East and the weakening of the political and economic control of Rome would explain its receiving the eastern influence earlier than Rome itself.

At present our knowledge of Athenian portrait style in the mid third century is inadequate either to prove or to preclude a date before 267 for our portrait. On the other hand, the archaeological evidence of its provenience which favors the earlier date is by no means water-tight.<sup>12</sup> It seems impossible, therefore, to assign a date to the piece or to fit it into a developmental series. These uncertainties merely add to the interest of this unusual head, which by its refusal to conform to ready-made categories reminds us how much remains to be explored before Greece's role in the transition to Late-Classical<sup>13</sup> art is thoroughly understood.

<sup>1</sup> L'Orange, *Studien*, p. 27, cat. nos. 19 and 20, figs. 53–57, N.M. nos. 536 and 658.

<sup>2</sup> *Olympia*, III, p. 249, 283 d.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. below, No. 53.

<sup>4</sup> H. S. Robinson contributes the following note on these plastic head-vases: "Eight of these vases (Inv. P 570, 5514, 6206, 10004, 10240 (plus 10244 which joins), 10762, 11939 and T 1048) are represented in the Agora catalogue. Of these, four come from fills which are unreliable for dating purposes (P 570, 5514, 6206 and T 1048). P 10762 is from a well filling which is probably post-Herulian. P 10004 (Pl. 47, d; *Hesperia*, VII, 1938, pp. 348–9, fig. 33) is from a well filling which is probably pre-Herulian. P 10240 and 11939 are from a well filling almost certainly pre-Herulian. The evidence of P 10004, 10240 and 11939 points to a pre-Herulian origin for the head vases. An even stronger argument for such a dating lies in the form of the neck and trefoil lip, as illustrated especially in P 10004 and P 11939. Such lips occur commonly in unglazed oinochoes of the third century after Christ; these also often have grooves about the neck (as P 10004) and are of the same fabric as several of the head vases. This type of neck and lip does not seem to occur in post-Herulian deposits."

<sup>5</sup> Graindor, *Cosmétès*, no. 33, pp. 378ff., pl. 26; L'Orange, *Studien*, cat. no. 85, figs. 161, 162.

<sup>6</sup> Graindor, *loc. cit.*; L'Orange, *op. cit.*, pp. 57 f.

<sup>7</sup> See below, p. 91.

<sup>8</sup> See below, pp. 99–100.

<sup>9</sup> H. A. Thompson, *loc. cit.*, above, p. 65.

<sup>10</sup> L'Orange, *Studien*, pp. 16ff.

<sup>11</sup> Kluge and Lehmann-Hartleben, *Die antiken Grossbronzen* (Berlin and Leipzig, 1927), II, p. 48, fig. 3; Filow, *L'Art antique en Bulgarie* (Sofia, 1925), p. 54, fig. 43.

<sup>12</sup> For example, the head might conceivably have been fetched from elsewhere in Athens during the fifth century to adorn one of the draped torsos which were recovered from the ruins of the Odeion and set up in the area of the Gymnasium that was constructed here around A.D. 400. See below, pp. 74–75.

<sup>13</sup> For the definition of the term "Late-Classical" see below, p. 90, note 1.

## 52. PORTRAIT OF A MIDDLE-AGED MAN, LAST QUARTER OF THIRD CENTURY OR BEGINNING OF FOURTH Plate 34.

Inv. S 1604. Found April 5, 1952 in a Byzantine house foundation about 5 m. to the west of the central part of the Odeion (K 10).

Pentelic marble. H. 0.458 m., W. 0.204 m., H. chin to crown 0.287 m.

Nose and lobe of left ear chipped. Splotches of brown discoloration on left side. Surface fresh and unweathered.

The head, carved with a conical tenon for setting into a draped statue, portrays a middle-aged man with short hair, stubble beard and short mustache. The hair, brushed uniformly forward, rests like a cap on the back of the head. The back hair is merely blocked out and dressed to an evenly curved rough surface. This and the sharp offset of the lower edge from the back of the neck enhance the cap-like effect. On the sides and top of the head the short hair is rendered by shallow parallel strokes of a narrow gouge. At the top of the forehead five flame-shaped locks longer than the rest of the hair are outlined individually against the skin. The texture of the beard is suggested by means of shallow working with the gouge and point to give a roughened surface. The mustache is rendered with thin parallel strokes. In the center of the depression between the lower lip and chin is a protuberance that seems to represent a "mouche." Rather aimless gouge and point marks like those in the beard are used for the hairs of the eyebrows.

The modelling of the face is simple and rather crude. The awkward, angular transition from eyebrows to nose in particular seems to betray a lack of skill. The forehead is plain except for the faint suggestion of two vertical wrinkles between the eyebrows. The eyes are deep-set and have wide lids. The pupils are drilled in the shape between cardioid and crescent which is sometimes graphically called "worm-shaped." The irises are lightly engraved. Light rasp marks appear on all the flesh surfaces.

The hair brushed uniformly forward from the crown of the head follows a post-Gallienian style which continues throughout Late Antiquity.<sup>1</sup> The combination of hair rendered by shallow parallel strokes with a faint suggestion of overlapping locks and stubble beard rendered by stippling is common in the late Tetrarchic period.<sup>2</sup> The simple way in which the back hair is outlined and set off from the neck is also paralleled in Tetrarchic and later heads;<sup>3</sup> a portrait in the Capitoline identified as Probus seems to be one of the earliest instances of this feature.<sup>4</sup> The isolated flame-shaped locks over the forehead look like a survival of the locks on the foreheads of the "philosopher" portraits (Pl. 47, b and c) a group which I should like to date in the period immediately following Gallienus.<sup>5</sup> The shape of the face with the high trapezoidal forehead likewise recalls these portraits, as do the melancholy eyes, the most carefully sculptured element of our head. The "mouche" on the lower lip, which appears rather odd in conjunction with the stubble beard, must derive from the fashion more naturalistically rendered in a portrait in the Athens National Museum (Pl. 47, e) dated by L'Orange to the early Tetrarchic period.<sup>6</sup>

In this very dull portrait with its fading echoes of the more expressive post-Gallienian style and its timid acceptance of the new simplifying conventions of the Tetrarchic period, we seem to see the life going out of Athenian portraiture. Certainly it would be unfair to take this as typical of the best that Athenian portraitists could do around the turn of the century — it is always possible that better pieces will turn up, but we do see already here the lack of plasticity, the fear of cutting into the stone, that seems to be typical of later Athenian work.<sup>7</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Coins of the emperors immediately following Gallienus are the first to show all the hair around the face brushed forward. Earlier in the third century the side front hair is brushed back toward the ears. See below, p. 99.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. L'Orange, *Studien*, figs. 130–132, 137–38.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. L'Orange, *op. cit.*, figs. 132, 138, 140, 170; Goldscheider, *Roman Portraits*, pls. 106, 113.

<sup>4</sup> L'Orange, *op. cit.*, fig. 92; Paribeni, pl. 343. The head is Salone, no. 66, shown only in a front view in Jones, *Catalogue* pl. 75.

<sup>5</sup> See below, pp. 100–105. The group was dated by Rodenwaldt (76 *Wp.*) to the late fourth century and by L'Orange *op. cit.*, pp. 40ff. from the seventies of the third century to around 325.

<sup>6</sup> L'Orange, *op. cit.*, cat. no. 56, figs. 103, 104, pp. 39f., no. 4.

<sup>7</sup> See below, No. 53.

**53. FRAGMENTARY PORTRAIT OF A MAN, FOURTH CENTURY**

Plate 32

Inv. S 775. Found May 25, 1936 in a modern wall in the northeast part of the Agora square.

Pentelic marble. Pres. H. 0.17 m., Pres. W. 0.185 m., Pres. D. 0.095 m.

Only front part of top of head and forehead with upper part of left eye and half of right eyebrow preserved. Traces of mortar from wall adhere to surface.

The short hair is combed forward and down over the forehead. The hairline is a smooth symmetrical curve, uninterrupted by the contours of the individual locks, but with a tiny ogival point in the center. The locks are very flatly chiselled, the drill not being used. They are laid in more or less formal rows from front to back, becoming increasingly shallow and poorly defined as they go back. The forehead is without modelling. The eyebrows are smooth arcs with no plastic rendering. The eyelid is sharp-edged. The eyeball is smooth with no sign of drilled pupil or engraved iris. This head is slightly under life-size, and there is not enough of it preserved to make it certain whether it was a portrait in the round or part of a relief. The hair brushed forward in rows of short overlapping locks and the symmetrically arched hairline correspond to the mode established in the time of Constantine. The shape of the locks and their flat carving are paralleled in the head of Constantine in a medallion on the Arch of Constantine,<sup>1</sup> though the hairline there is not yet so schematized nor the modelling so simplified. In view of the rigid schematization that appears in some Athenian work even *before* Constantine, it seems unnecessary to make this portrait later than his reign, though as a second-rate and thoroughly generalized (as well as sadly fragmentary) piece it is not to be dated too closely. The lack of inner drawing in the eye may be part of a classicism that also started in the time of Constantine.<sup>2</sup>

Undistinguished though it is, this fragment is probably a fair representative of the sort of work that was being done in Athens in the fourth century. It well illustrates the shallow quality of surface carving that seems to be characteristic of very late Athenian sculpture.<sup>3</sup> The surface rudeness that we find in much late third century work has been smoothed away again, but no character survives beneath the smoothness. What is left is pure formula, icy and vacant.

<sup>1</sup> L'Orange, *Studien*, figs. 120–122; L'Orange and von Gerkan, *Der spätantike Bildschmuck des Konstantinbogens (Studien zur spätantiken Kunstgeschichte*, X, Berlin, 1939), pl. 43, a–c.

<sup>2</sup> L'Orange, *Studien*, pp. 56f. Cf. also the head of an emperor in Berlin, *ibid.* cat. no. 83, fig. 159. A head in Olympia (*Olympia*, III, p. 249, fig. 283d) with an oval hairline and stippled beard, of rather crude workmanship generally, shows the same classicizing treatment of the eyes and eyebrows.

<sup>3</sup> See below, p. 70.

**54. PORTRAIT OF A WOMAN, FOURTH CENTURY**

Plate 35.

Inv. S 248. Found in 1933 in the demolition of a modern house in the northwest part of the excavation area (J 8).

Pentelic marble. H. 0.285 m. (equals approximately H. chin to crown), W. 0.265 m., D. 0.23 m.

Head broken off just below chin. Entire surface of face battered away. Inner corners of eyes are the only locatable features. Bits of original surface preserved in hair on right side and in back and in flesh surface immediately adjacent to hair line on right side and in back.

The face was apparently a smooth oval, the cheeks merging into the neck with very little offset. The hair is dressed in what seems to be a variation of the coronet-braid style initiated by Galeria Valeria and worn in various forms throughout the fourth century.<sup>1</sup> The wretched preservation of our piece makes the mechanics of the coiffure difficult to decipher. One may

suspect, however, that the sculptor himself did not know exactly where each bit of hair came from nor where it was going. A band of waves frames the face, covering the ears. Just behind this a broad twist of hair is brought forward from behind each ear and across the top of the head. What happened to it in the center there is no way of knowing, for this part is not preserved. Behind that is a second twist encircling the entire head.<sup>2</sup> A raised strip, presumably representing a braid, runs up the back of the head. The main masses of the hair are simply blocked out and given a relatively smooth chisel finish. In the wave-band that frames the face the troughs of the waves are hollowed out somewhat, but the edge of the hair is not scalloped to conform to the waves. The strands are engraved with thin, scratchy lines both in the waves and in the torus-like twists behind the wave-band. There is no indication of strands of hair on the back of the head. Even more than the preceding portrait this over life-sized head with its feeble carving illustrates the reluctance of very late Athenian sculptors to cut into the stone.

A broad smoothed area below the hair in back concealing the back of the neck may be part of a garment that came up high in the back or it may be simply a piece of stone left there to strengthen the neck.<sup>3</sup> In either case we should probably assume that the head was worked in one piece with the statue to which it belonged, as was certainly the case in our fifth-century *togatus* from the Agora.<sup>4</sup>

Its size indicates that this must be a portrait of a lady of the imperial household, for it seems utterly unlikely that any lesser female would have been so honored in Athens in this period. Her identity is scarcely to be read from her features, and even her highly distinctive coiffure does not permit close dating. Of the style of the face the only thing discernible is that there were heavy pouches under the eyes, a device used especially from the late Constantinian period on to emphasize the expression of the eyes.<sup>5</sup> The general type of hairdress worn by our lady remains in use throughout the greater part of the fourth century, but there is no exact parallel for the peculiar arrangement that we have here. For the back hair blocked out and smoothed without indication of strands a parallel is to be found in a portrait in Como apparently representing a lady of the House of Constantine.<sup>6</sup> A clear example of the braid up the center of the back in combination with a coronet of hair and front waves is to be seen in a portrait of Flaccilla, now in New York, dated by Delbrück around 380 (Pl. 48, a).<sup>7</sup> This shows the narrow oval face and attenuated features that seem to be characteristic of the late fourth century.<sup>8</sup> Our head with its massive forms ought probably, therefore, to be dated somewhat earlier, though the fourth-century material from Athens is too sparse to let us know to what extent the tides of current imperial fashion were felt in this provincial backwater. A considered guess would place our portrait somewhere between 325 and 370.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Wessel, *Arch. Anz.*, 1946–7, cols. 70 f., fig. 4 and Delbrück, *Spätantike Kaiserporträts*, pp. 47ff.

<sup>2</sup> If we assume that our sculptor was completely confused about the nature of the coiffure he was portraying, we might say that the two twists ought properly to have been the upper and lower halves of a heavy coronet braid, in which the braiding was often schematically indicated by herringbone hatchings (cf. Pl. 48, a). The rounded terminations of the lower half would then have been transferred by mistake from the next layer down, the wave-band, which in many cases does have such a termination (see Wessel, *op. cit.*, fig. 4 and Delbrück, *op. cit.*, pl. 11, top row).

<sup>3</sup> Cf. a statue of a woman in Saloniki, Pelekanidis, *B.C.H.*, LXXIII, 1949, pl. 13.

<sup>4</sup> No. 64 below.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. L'Orange, *Studien*, figs. 166–168; Delbrück, *op. cit.*, pl. 69 and p. 51, fig. 20.

<sup>6</sup> Delbrück, *op. cit.*, pl. 70.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, pls. 99–101, p. 202. Acquired in 1947 by the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York, *B.M.M.A.*, VII, 1948–9, p. 14.

<sup>8</sup> See L'Orange, *op. cit.*, pp. 74–76.

## 55. FRAGMENTARY PORTRAIT OF A WOMAN, FOURTH CENTURY

Plate 35.

Inv. S 931. Found May 21, 1937 in a modern wall east of the "Valerian Wall" in the Eleusinion area (T 19). Pentelic marble. Pres. H. 0.195 m., W. 0.22 m.

Head broken off just below chin. Whole top of head broken away in a diagonal slice sloping downward from (proper) right to left. Most of face battered off. Hair-mass intact below top break except for a big chip off left side next to face. Sides of both cheeks and most of jawline preserved, but chin and throat broken away in front.

The head seems to have been made in one piece with the statue or bust to which it belonged. At the back of the slender neck a pillar-like support about 6 cm. wide is left to strengthen the neck, and a projection on the left side at the back just in front of this support seems to show that the edge of a garment came up close under the hair in back.

The coiffure of this lady, like that of the preceding, is not easy to decipher. The hair seems to have been parted in the center and drawn back gently on both sides. It was then twisted lightly into a roll or puff that seems to have encircled the head after the fashion of a coronet-braid, although it is not braided. A braid runs up the back of the head. The strands of hair are indicated throughout by very shallowly chiselled, slightly wavy lines.

The shape of the face is a narrow oval, perfectly regular and unbroken by the hairline. This and the smooth flatness of the surfaces that are preserved give the head an almost archaic look, an impression that is strengthened by the eyes with the smooth curved grooves below the lower lids and the lack of transition to the side planes of the face. Of the ears only the lobes show, very flatly rendered and pierced with drill-holes which doubtless served for the attachment of ornaments.

Its coiffure places our head in the fourth century after Christ, for in spite of its peculiarities it belongs to the general class of coronet-braid coiffures.<sup>1</sup> The slender proportions and the stylized symmetry of the face suggest the late fourth century.<sup>2</sup> For the proportions and for the very flat carving a good parallel is offered by a portrait, probably of Flaccilla, now in the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York, which Delbrück has dated around 380 (Pl. 48, a).<sup>3</sup> Like ours, this portrait is slightly under life-size. Its coiffure is more conventional than that of ours, but it too has the braid running up the center of the back.

This piece, which is probably the latest of our portrait heads from the Agora, may have been, in its original state, a work of some charm. Stylistically its most notable feature is the shallowness of the carving. By this time there was no trace of a plastic tradition surviving in Greece.

<sup>1</sup> For this category in general see Wessel, *Arch. Anz.*, 1946-7, cols. 70f., fig. 4 and Delbrück, *Spätantike Kaiserporträts*, pp. 47f. The style was initiated by Galeria Valeria and continued in use with variations throughout the fourth century.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. L'Orange, *Studien*, pp. 74-76.

<sup>3</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 202. See above, No. 54, note 7.

## PORTRAIT STATUES

## 56. PORTRAIT STATUE OF THE EMPEROR HADRIAN (A.D. 117-138)

Plates 36-37.

Inv. S 166. Found July 25, 1931 in the Great Drain of the Agora at a point about 8 meters east of the northeast corner of the Metroon (I 9); removed from the drain February 9, 1932. The torso had evidently been re-used in late Roman times, after the Herulian destruction of A.D. 267, as a cover slab for the Great Drain, the channel of which is here 1.10 m. wide. On the drain the statue had lain face down; its back is slightly worn by traffic.

Pentelic marble. H. 1.52 m.; W. at shoulders 0.82 m.

Head, left arm and right forearm, made separately and attached, now missing. Both legs broken off at knees. Part of right leg possibly preserved in a non-joining fragment (see below). Chips gone from edges of straps in kilt and from relief figures on cuirass.<sup>1</sup>

Published by T. L. Shear, *Hesperia*, II, 1933, pp. 178-183, figs. 8-10, pl. 6; cf. also *Arch. Anz.*, 1932, col. 112, fig. 5; *Art and Archaeology*, XXXIV, 1933, p. 22; P. Graindor, *Athènes sous Hadrien*, pp. 258-259.

The torso, of heroic size, has a deep socket (Pl. 37) for the insertion of the tenon by which the head, carved in a separate piece, was attached. The right arm was dowelled on at the joint between the short sleeve of the tunic and the bare arm, the edge of the sleeve forming an overlapping rim that protected the joint. The raised left arm was dowelled on at the shoulder. On the top of the left shoulder is a small remnant of a fillet, undercut at one point so as to rise free from the shoulder. Beyond it is a large shallow bedding, perhaps intended to receive a lug cut in one piece with the arm to assist in the support of the arm and to protect the joint against rain water. Another large open bedding on the right shoulder outside the brooch perhaps received the other end of the fillet.

The Emperor wears a metal cuirass bordered at the lower edge with a double row of short, rounded lappets. The front of the cuirass and the lappets are decorated with symbolic figures in high relief. A kilt formed of a single tier of leather straps with fringed ends extends to the knees, and a double row of shorter straps protects the shoulders. Beneath the armor is worn a short tunic of which the lower edge and the right sleeve are visible. Over it is thrown a heavy *paludamentum* fastened on the right shoulder by a circular brooch. It crosses the chest in front and is thrown back over the left shoulder, so that it covers the back of the statue but leaves the arms free.

The decoration of the cuirass, which provides the means of identifying the statue, symbolizes with admirable conciseness the philhellenic policy of the Roman ruler. It occurs in at least nine other examples,<sup>2</sup> all found in the Greek East, of which two<sup>3</sup> preserve portrait heads of Hadrian. A Palladion in archaistic form, armed with spear and shield, stands on a figure of the she-wolf suckling Romulus and Remus, which rests in turn upon a fan of acanthus leaves. Vine-tendrils springing from the leaves frame the representation and provide a ground-line for two figures of Victory which flank the goddess, holding wreaths with which to crown her. Between the Victories and Athena smaller tendrils support the goddess's attributes, the owl and the snake. The lappets are symmetrically decorated with a series of emblems which occurs with minor variations not only on the statues with the Palladion but also on some with a different theme.<sup>4</sup> Reading from the center out, they are: in the first row, head of Ammon, eagle with outspread wings, Medusa head in profile,<sup>5</sup> elephant head; in the second row, helmet, lion head, and rosette.

The Emperor stands with his weight resting on the right leg, the left leg relaxed. The left arm was upraised, presumably holding a spear, and the right arm was extended forward. The pose of the legs and body seems to have been the same as in the statue of the same type found in Kisamos in Crete.<sup>6</sup> The position of the arms may be visualized from the statue in Olympia<sup>7</sup> of which the arms are preserved.

No two of the surviving examples of the type are identical. Variations occur in the pose, in minor details of the decoration (the owl is to Athena's left on our statue and on that from Hierapytna, to the right on those from Olympia and Kisamos), in the elaborateness of the rendition and in the form of the supports. A fragment of a right leg (Pl. 37) found in 1936 possibly belongs to our statue.<sup>8</sup> It wears a high boot made of a panther skin, the head and the two paws hanging

down from above; in front are traces of crisscross lacing. The leg is carved in one piece with the stump of a palm tree of which the top is preserved, the back rough-picked. The panther-skin boots occur regularly in armored statues of Hadrian, both of this type and of others.<sup>9</sup> The palm-tree support recurs in the very fragmentary statue of the present type found in the Odeion at Corinth.<sup>10</sup>

The remnants of the fillet on the left shoulder show that the head of our statue was crowned with a wreath. The preserved heads from Olympia and Hierapytna wear wreaths of laurel, but a head from Athens which must have belonged to a statue in armor has a wreath of oak leaves.<sup>11</sup> Since our statue is probably the one which Pausanias saw in front of the Stoa Basileios in the Agora,<sup>12</sup> we should perhaps restore it with the oak wreath, the *corona civica*, which honors the Emperor as the savior of his people's lives and would so render him a fit companion for Zeus Eleutherios, the liberator of the people.

The carving of our statue is free and bold, showing more movement and variety in the folds of the *paludamentum* across the chest and in the straps of the kilt than does the statue in Olympia, but in delicacy and wealth of detail it is vastly inferior to the fragmentary statue in Corinth. The armor and drapery are finished with a medium rasp. A light polish visible on the knees suggests that all the flesh surfaces were so treated. The faces of the minor figures are likewise lightly polished. The drill was used sparingly to make the lappets stand out from their background and to enliven the fringes of the kilt. The outer corners of the mouths of the Medusa heads have been emphasized by shallow drill holes. A similarly restrained use of the drill is to be seen in the carving of the panther-skin boot. The Athenians seem to have shown their gratitude to Hadrian as much in the quantity as in the quality of the statues they erected to him,<sup>13</sup> and ours was evidently a run-of-the-mill example.<sup>14</sup>

<sup>1</sup> During World War II the heads of Athena and of the Victory to her right were broken away by vandals.

<sup>2</sup> Hekler, *Jahreshefte*, XIX–XX, 1919, pp. 232–233, gives the following list (I have altered and somewhat shortened his bibliography):

- 1) Constantinople, Inv. no. 50; from Hierapytna: Schede, *Griechische und römische Skulpturen des Antikenmuseums* (Meisterwerke der türkischen Museen zu Konstantinopel, I), pl. 33; Hekler, *op. cit.*, p. 230, fig. 158; West, II, pl. 33, fig. 126; Reinach, *Répertoire*, II, 576, 9.
- 2) *Olympia*, III, pl. 65, 1; Kunze, *Olympische Forschungen*, I, pl. 23; Hekler, *op. cit.*, p. 231, fig. 159; West, II, pl. 33, fig. 125; Reinach, II, 575, 1.
- 3) London, British Museum, Smith, *Catalogue*, II, no. 1466, from Cyrene; Hekler, *op. cit.*, p. 232, fig. 160; Reinach, II, 585, 6.
- 4) Kisamos (western Crete), *Mon. Ant.*, XI, 1901, pl. 25, 1; Hekler, *op. cit.*, p. 233, fig. 161; Reinach, III, 162, 4.
- 5) Gortyn, *Mon. Ant.*, XI, 1901, col. 308, fig. 10; Reinach, III, 162, 3.
- 6) Athens, Acropolis Museum, Inv. 3000; Hübner, *Augustus*, pl. 2, 2; Reinach, II, 585, 4. Only the left half of the torso preserved.
- 7) Athens, National Museum, unnumbered. Only fragments of torso preserved.
- 8) Athens, Acropolis, in front of the west front of the Parthenon. Only the torso preserved, badly weathered and worked off on the sides, probably for re-use as a building stone.

To this list may be added:

9) Corinth, Odeion, Broneer, *Corinth*, X, pp. 125–133, figs. 118–127, Inv. No. 1456.

The present statue is the tenth in the list.

<sup>3</sup> Above, note 2, nos. 1 and 2.

<sup>4</sup> A torso in Mantua (Hekler, *op. cit.*, p. 228, no. 3) is described as having the identical series of motifs on the lappets except that the elephant heads are omitted. In this case, however, the principal decoration on the cuirass consists of Nikai sacrificing bulls.

<sup>5</sup> These heads lack the wings that such heads generally carry, but the heavy necklaces with a knot in front seem to be a simplification of the twined snakes that usually form the necklaces of such Medusa heads. Cf. the example from Corinth, Broneer, *op. cit.*, fig. 120.

<sup>6</sup> Above, note 2, no. 4.

<sup>7</sup> Above, note 2, no. 2.

<sup>8</sup> Inv. S 749. Found on May 6, 1936, built into a late house foundation near the southeast corner of the Temple of Ares (L 8), (*Hesperia*, VI, 1937, p. 352). H. 0.555 m., W. 0.285 m.; of leg alone: H. 0.495 m., W. 0.167 m. Pentelic marble. Preserved from just below the knee to a point just above the ankle. The smooth finish of the leg is comparable to that of the knees

of the statue. Not only in size and in the type of boot but also in the pose the leg is suitable for our statue, since the presence of the support on the right side shows that the right leg was the weight leg.

<sup>9</sup> Cf. the examples cited above, note 2, nos. 1, 4, and 9 of the Palladion type and Hekler, *op. cit.*, p. 215, fig. 142 and p. 224, fig. 151. The statue of Mars Ultor in the Capitoline, *ibid.*, p. 191, fig. 119; Jones, *Catalogue*, pl. 7, 40, called by Hekler a Hadrianic copy, has similar boots. They are worn also by a statue found in the Nymphaion of Herodes Atticus at Olympia (*Olympia*, III, pl. 65, 2; Kunze, *Olympische Forschungen*, I, pl. 24) which Schleif and Weber (*Olympische Forschungen*, I, p. 60) date in the Hadrianic period, excluding it from the reconstruction of the Nymphaion.

<sup>10</sup> Above, note 2, no. 9.

<sup>11</sup> N.M. 3729. Erdélyi, *Archaeologiai Ertesítő*, LI, 1938, pp. 113–116, figs. 38–39; West, II, pl. 31, figs. 119–119 a. Found on Leophoros Syngrou.

<sup>12</sup> Pausanias, I, 3, 2.

<sup>13</sup> Cf. *Hesperia*, II, 1933, p. 183.

<sup>14</sup> There was evidently also a bronze statue of Hadrian in the Agora. Its base (Inv. I 4188) was found near the northwest corner of the Odeion, and was published by Shear, *Hesperia*, VI, 1937, pp. 352–354, figs. 16, 17, with the suggestion that it belonged to our present marble statue. H. A. Thompson informs me, however, that the association is ruled out by the presence in the top of the base of unmistakable cuttings for the fastening of a statue of bronze. Although the top of the block is badly broken one can readily distinguish the round hole (0.095 m. in diameter, 0.10 m. deep) for a dowel beneath the left heel and a shallow bedding for the sole of the left foot. The statue had been removed by carefully chiselling around the back of the dowels beneath the heels. In the place of the right foot there remains only a little of this chiselling.

## 57. PORTRAIT STATUE OF A MAN IN HIMATION

Plates 38–39.

Inv. S 936. Found May 20, 1937 to the east of the Gymnasium (O 10; see below).

Pentelic marble from which veins of impurities have weathered out here and there. H. 1.562 m., W. of neck socket 0.19 m.

Head, carved in a separate piece, missing. Feet and fingers of both hands, except thumb of right, broken away. Edges of drapery chipped at many points. The statue seems to have been damaged in antiquity by something falling from above and striking the left shoulder, from which point cracks radiate. To repair this damage an area around the back of the neck was roughly worked down and a patch fastened on by means of an iron dowel; the patch is gone, but the lower part of the dowel remains. The surface is moderately weather-worn. A thick dark water deposit (perhaps from the aqueduct against which the statue stood in its later days) covers the shoulders.

Briefly mentioned by T. L. Shear, *Hesperia*, VII, 1938, p. 323, fig. 8.

This statue, as well as Nos. 58–61 below, belongs to a group which was found in 1937 in a context that argues a similar history for the group as a whole. H. A. Thompson contributes the following note on the provenance of these statues:<sup>1</sup>

“In the season of 1937 seven statues were found in the area to the east of the Gymnasium, two of seated figures,<sup>2</sup> and five of standing (Nos. 57–61). Nos. 59 and 61 came to light in the general area in scattered fragments, but the remaining five more or less complete statues were found lying in a straggling row some 50 meters long at the west foot of an aqueduct which ran at that time from southeast to northwest in the area between the Gymnasium and the Stoa of Attalos (then incorporated in the “Valerian Wall”).<sup>3</sup> It is altogether probable that the two fragmentary statues had also formed part of this same company. Of the five better preserved pieces the order from north to south was Inv. S 936 (No. 57), 930 (seated statue), 849 (No. 60), 850 (No. 58), and 826 (seated statue). The row of statues coincided fairly closely in length with the east side of the great court of the Gymnasium toward which they must have faced. An additional indication of a direct connection between the sculpture and the Gymnasium is given by the discovery in 1952 of an entrance to the building at the southeast corner of its great court.

“For the chronological relationship it may be noted that the evidence thus far available indicates for the construction of the Gymnasium a date *ca.* A.D. 400 and for its abandonment a time in the third quarter of the 6th century or soon thereafter. The aqueduct carried water from the grist mill known near the south end of the Stoa of Attalos presumably to another mill

which must have lain just north of the old market square; its period of use must have coincided with that of the first mill which has been shown to extend from the third quarter of the 5th into the third quarter of the 6th century after Christ.<sup>4</sup> Both mill and Gymnasium, as indeed the whole region of the Agora outside the "Valerian Wall", were presumably abandoned as a result of Slavic incursions in the second half of the century.

"As to the original place of the statues, it may be conjectured that some at least of the series had stood in or around the Odeion of Agrippa which in its later period had been used by the sophists. Like the "Giants", these statues may then have lain in the ruins of the Odeion from the time of its destruction in A.D. 267 until the construction of the Gymnasium *ca.* A.D. 400 when they would have been plucked out and set up to adorn the surroundings of the new building, in keeping with the continuity in function which there is reason to believe existed between the Gymnasium and the Odeion in its later phase."<sup>5</sup>

The five standing figures belong to a single type, based ultimately upon classical Greek himation statues of the 4th century B.C.,<sup>6</sup> which in Roman times became widely accepted as a standard scheme of drapery for civilian male figures in Greek dress.<sup>7</sup> The himation passes from the left shoulder around the back of the figure, covering the entire back, and is drawn closely across the front. The right forearm, enveloped by the drapery, is held diagonally against the chest and the right hand emerges to grasp the bunched folds from around the neck or to rest, more passively, in these folds as in a sling. The end of the himation is thrown over the left shoulder and the left arm, and hangs down behind. The left arm is slightly flexed and the hand held forward just enough to prevent the himation from slipping off. Sometimes the hand emerges from the folds; sometimes it is enveloped by them. The principal system of folds is thus a series of catenaries suspended from the left shoulder and passing around the figure with their lowest points on the right side. Two secondary systems are formed by the loop of bunched folds around the neck and the vertically hanging end of the himation over the left shoulder and arm. A tunic or chiton worn under the himation appears in V-shaped folds at the neck.

Some figures of this basic type rest the weight chiefly on the right foot, others on the left, and this difference effects some change in the quality and distribution of the folds. When the weight rests, as in the present example, mainly on the right foot, the outlines of the body are more apparent beneath the drapery than when, as in No. 60, it is chiefly on the left, but in neither case do they find a really organic expression. The consummate dullness of these Roman himation statues as compared with their ancestors, Aeschines and the boy from Eretria,<sup>8</sup> is due in part to the elimination of the horizontal folds across the center of the body that preserved the articulation of the figure as effectively as the long diagonals from knee to shoulder now destroy it.

Of the group now under discussion, three statues, Nos. 57, 58, and 59 have the weight on the right foot. In all three the folds are numerous, narrow and uniformly spaced, and the patterns are so similar that almost any fold one may choose from any of the three statues will find its exact counterpart in the other two. In the present example a low base with a raised band around its top, roughly semicircular in shape, supports the left leg and the mass of drapery that hangs down on the left side. This is probably a schematic representation of a *scrinium*, or book-box, a common form of support in Roman himation and toga statues where the man represented was a man of letters, an orator, or an official in civil government.<sup>9</sup> Remains of book-boxes are preserved also in Nos. 60 and 61 below, and they may well have been present originally in the other standing statues of this group. In the case of No. 62, a figure of the same type but in a different

style and from a different context, such a support seems to have been originally intended and altered at the last minute.<sup>10</sup>

In technique the whole group of seven statues is strikingly homogeneous, though there are minor differences in quality. Since the character of the workmanship points to the Antonine period,<sup>11</sup> H. A. Thompson suggests that all this sculpture may have been made for the Odeion of Agrippa at the time of or soon after its reconstruction in the middle of the second century.

In the present example the workmanship is painstaking. The front drapery has been roughly finished with the emery, the flesh parts more carefully smoothed. Chisel and gouge marks are prominent on the back. Drill and rasp are scarcely at all in evidence.

<sup>1</sup> For plans cf. *Hesperia*, IX, 1940, pl. 1; XIX, 1950, p. 135, fig. 21.

<sup>2</sup> Inv. S 826 and S 930. Published by H. A. Thompson, *Hesperia*, XIX, 1950, pp. 124–5, nos. 1–2, pls. 78–79.

<sup>3</sup> The aqueduct is indicated as a heavy black line in *Hesperia*, IX, 1940, pl. 1.

<sup>4</sup> Parsons, *Hesperia*, V, 1936, p. 88.

<sup>5</sup> *Hesperia*, XIX, 1950, pp. 136f. For the evidence of damage and patching noted on Nos. 57, 58 and 61 cf. the repairs effected on the Giants when they were re-used in the Gymnasium (*Hesperia*, XIX, 1950, pp. 105, 113). If any of the statues pre-date the reconstruction of the Odeion they may have been damaged by the collapse of its roof and then repaired to be set up again in the Odeion. For traces of damage to orchestra floor, marble benches and a statue base caused by the earlier collapse of the Odeion roof cf. *Hesperia*, XIX, 1950, pp. 62, 63, 80.

<sup>6</sup> The type descends from the statue of Aeschines (Hekler, *Bildniskunst*, pl. 53; Schefold, *Bildnisse*, p. 103), which differs from it in placing the left hand on the hip, through the boy from Eretria, Hekler, *op. cit.*, pl. 51, where the left hand takes the position that later becomes canonical. Those of our statues that have the weight on the left foot conform exactly to the scheme of the boy from Eretria except for the elimination of the crossfolds at the waist. Those with the weight on the right foot resemble in this the Lateran Sophocles (Hekler, *op. cit.*, pl. 52) and have sometimes been called "Sophocles type", but the Sophocles is not a direct ancestor. I owe this genealogy to Margarete Bieber, who has traced the type from the 4th century B.C. down into the middle ages.

<sup>7</sup> This one scheme takes the place for male figures of a variety of Hellenistic drapery schemes used for women: the "Pudicitia" type, the "Grande" and "Petite Herculanais" types, the "Ceres" type, etc. It is so common on Attic gravestones of the Roman period that Conze refers to it simply as "die übliche Haltung". Probably the attitude connotes respect. There seems to be no special significance attached to the distribution of the weight of the figure, alternation between the right and left foot being simply a means of obtaining variety. This same pose and manner of draping is used also in figures wearing the narrow toga of Republican Rome (cf. a group of four statues in Chiuse, Vessberg, pl. 85, 1–4).

<sup>8</sup> See above, note 6.

<sup>9</sup> In general the significance of the *scrinium* probably does not call for very close interpretation. Its uses must have been at least as wide as those of the modern briefcase. It was a convenient form of support and would be suitable to almost any male figure likely to be represented in civilian dress. Its addition by the Roman copyists to the statues of Sophocles, Aeschines and Demosthenes shows the connection with letters and oratory. Politicians such as M. Nonius Balbus (Paribeni, pl. 161) are *ipso facto* orators. Even a priestly function might involve the use of written documents (cf. the statues of Augustus sacrificing: Paribeni, pl. 114; Hekler, *Bildniskunst*, pls. 165 b, 172). The book-box seems not to be represented unless a support of some kind is needed. For bronze statues and seated figures a scroll in the hand served equally well.

<sup>10</sup> See below, p. 78.

<sup>11</sup> The statues may be compared in this respect with the "Giants" from the Odeion (*Hesperia*, XIX, 1950, pls. 61–71), the figures from the Nymphaion of Herodes Atticus at Olympia (*Olympia*, III, pls. 65–69; Kunze, *Olympische Forschungen*, I, pls. 23, 25, 26) and the niche figure in the Odeion of Herodes in Athens (Neugebauer, *Die Antike*, X, 1934, p. 118, fig. 19).

## 58. PORTRAIT STATUE OF A MAN IN HIMATION

Plates 38–39.

Inv. S 850. Found March 16, 1937 to the east of the Gymnasium (P 11; see note on provenance, above, p. 74).

Pentelic marble containing some veins of impurities. H. 1.53 m., width of neck socket 0.20 m.

Head, cut separately and set in a socket, missing. Right shoulder, fingers of right hand, left forearm and hand, feet broken away. A small clamp cutting to either side of break in left arm indicates that this forearm had broken and been repaired in antiquity. A patch 0.08 m. × 0.185 m., set into drapery of back in antiquity, now missing. Light weathering.

For the pose and the general type see above, No. 57. The figure stands with his weight chiefly on the right foot, the left knee slightly flexed. The workmanship is inferior to that of No. 60. The drapery over the front has been lightly rasped, but on the back and much of the sides the marks of chisel and gouge are prominent. Even the right hand is roughly finished.

**59. PORTRAIT STATUE OF A MAN IN HIMATION**

Plate 40.

Inv. S 1346. Found in 1937 in the area to the east of the Gymnasium (see note on provenance, above, p. 74). Pentelic marble of good quality. H. 1.42 m., W. at shoulders 0.565 m.

Mended from many fragments. Head, worked separately and set in a socket, now missing. Right shoulder, both hands, feet and much of middle part broken away. The right hand was apparently damaged in antiquity and replaced; there remain the roughly picked socket for the replacement and the stain of an iron dowel by which it was secured. Surface moderately weathered.

For the type and pose see above, No. 57. The figure rested his weight chiefly on his right foot. The workmanship is careful. The drapery on the front is finished smooth, apparently with emery, since there is little trace of rasp work. Chisel and gouge marks are prominent on the back.

**60. PORTRAIT STATUE OF A MAN IN HIMATION**

Plates 38-39.

Inv. S 849. Found March 16, 1937, to the east of the Gymnasium (P 11; see note on provenance, above, p. 74).

Pentelic marble. H. 1.425 m.

Remnant of a socket in top of torso shows that head was cut separately. Right shoulder and arm, left hand and feet broken away. Surface moderately weathered, enough to show that the statue had stood out of doors for some time; a vein of impurity washed out on the left arm.

For the type and pose see under No. 57 above. The weight of the figure rested chiefly on the left foot. The workmanship is careful. The drill is little in evidence. The surface of the drapery is lightly rasped. Selvage, hem and a few crease marks have been indicated. The back is well finished. Behind the left foot and just below the lower edge of the cloak is the top of a rectangular object with a projecting band around the top of its wall, probably a book-box despite its angularity.

**61. PORTRAIT STATUE OF A MAN IN HIMATION**

Plate 40.

Inv. S 1347. Found in 1937, in the area to the east of the Odeion (see note on provenance, above, p. 74).

Pentelic marble containing much impurity. H. of torso section 1.07 m., H. of foot section 0.29 m., H. of section with lower edge of drapery 0.33 m.

The torso section has been put together from ten fragments. The association of the two smaller sections, although not certain, is made probable by the similarity in the quality and surface condition of the marble and in the workmanship.

The figure apparently stood with the weight chiefly on the left foot, for the right knee is slightly flexed. For the type and pose see above, under No. 57. Beside the left leg was a cylindrical book-box with the lid in place. There remains a trace of the fastening of one end of the looped cord handle. The left foot is shod in a heavy-soled boot, laced over the instep below a thick, narrow tongue. The toes are exposed. The drapery is modelled in a bold and vigorous style. Its surface is lightly rasped. The drill has been used in working out the details of the boot. Selvage and hem of the garment are indicated.

**62. PORTRAIT STATUE OF A MAN IN HIMATION**

Plate 40.

Inv. S 1354. Brought to light in the excavations of the Greek Archaeological Society and left by the Greek excavators in the north end of the Stoa of Attalos.

Pentelic marble. H. of statue 1.40 m., H. of base 0.15 m., W. of base 0.48 m., D. of base 0.45 m., socket for tenon of head 0.15 m. wide and 0.15 m. deep.

Complete except for head, which was worked in a separate piece, and for tips of fingers of left hand. Lightly weathered.

For the pose and type see above, under No. 57. The figure rests its weight chiefly on the left foot. A plain rectangular mass of marble supports the left ankle. A change in the surface from smooth to rough suggests that the drapery over the left leg and foot was adjusted at a late stage in the work and the front of the support changed from a convex to a straight face. Possibly a book-box was intended and was later eliminated in favor of a plain support. On the feet sandals are schematically indicated. There are cuttings for hook dowels in the edges of the plinth on both its ends and behind, to secure the plinth to its base.

The front and sides have been finished with emery. On the back chisel and gouge marks are prominent. This statue differs markedly from the preceding five in the style of rendering the folds. Especially striking is the rectilinear treatment of the folds over the bent right arm. Possibly the figure belongs in the third century after Christ.

**63. FRAGMENT OF A PORTRAIT STATUE OF A WOMAN**

Plate 40

Inv. S 1345. From the area of the Gymnasium, northeastern part. Traces of late Roman mortar suggest that the fragment had been incorporated in the foundations of the Gymnasium.

Pentelic marble. H. 0.40 m., W. 0.50 m.

Fragment preserves upper part of left arm and some of left shoulder together with adjacent portion of torso. The piece is lightly weathered.

This is a fragment of a female statue draped in chiton and himation. The folds of the himation on the left side are wound around the left arm and caught against the body in a bunch at the elbow. The left forearm was extended forward. The right arm was free of the himation, which passed under the right armpit, and the right hand probably held a phiale.

The type (Pl. 48, b) occurs at Olympia in no less than four examples,<sup>1</sup> two of which are signed by Athenian sculptors, and two statues in the same scheme were found in the Agora at Magnesia on the Maeander.<sup>2</sup> Watzinger, observing the similarity of the pattern of folds on the shoulder to that of the Aeschines in Naples, postulates as a prototype a female statue of the Hellenistic period.<sup>3</sup>

The modelling of our fragment is vigorous rather than refined. There are pronounced rasp marks on the surface of the drapery. In the treatment of the folds the piece is much closer to the statue of Regilla from the Nymphaion of Herodes at Olympia than to the first century works of Eros and Eleusinos. It is not improbable that this statue, like the male figures Nos. 57-61, was set up in or near the Odeion of Agrippa at the time of its remodelling in the middle of the second century. If, as seems likely, Herodes had something to do with the reconstruction of the building,<sup>4</sup> it is just possible that Regilla herself was the person represented.

<sup>1</sup> *Olympia*, III, pl. 63, 4 (signed by the Athenian sculptor Eros, second half of the first century after Christ); pl. 63,5 (signed by Eleusinos, likewise an Athenian of the second half of the first century); pl. 63, 6 (portrait of an Empress, possibly of Poppaea Sabina); and pl. 68,5 (our Pl. 48, b; Regilla, the wife of Herodes Atticus, from the Nymphaion of Herodes).

<sup>2</sup> *Magnesia am Maeander*, p. 205, figs. 206-207.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 205-6.

<sup>4</sup> Thompson, *Hesperia*, XIX, 1950, p. 133.

## 64. PORTRAIT STATUE OF A MAGISTRATE OR SENATOR, FIFTH CENTURY (?) Plates 41-42.

Inv. S 657. Found March 10, 1936 built into a modern wall *ca.* 7 meters north of the northeast corner of the Gymnasium (M 8).

Pentelic marble. H. 1.33 m., W. 0.593 m., Th. 0.363 m.

Head, right shoulder, most of right forearm, left hand and both feet broken away. Surface lightly weathered.

Published by T. L. Shear, *A.J.A.*, XL, 1936, pp. 98f., fig. 18; J. Kollwitz, *Oströmische Plastik*, pp. 91f., no. 19.

The figure is dressed in the garments that are worn regularly by consuls and men of consular rank in the Late Roman Empire: a long under-tunic with long, tight sleeves, a somewhat shorter upper tunic (*colobium*) with wide short sleeves, and a toga.<sup>1</sup> Since both hands are missing, it is not clear what attributes, if any, they held. The left shoulder, which is undamaged, reveals no trace of a scepter such as we normally find carried in the left hand with its end resting on the shoulder in statues representing consuls or *viri consulares*.<sup>2</sup>

The details of the drapery are fully worked out only on the front and the proper left side of the statue. The back, except for a narrow strip along the left side, has been left in a rough-picked state, and the same is true of the right side down to the level of the hand. The carving is very shallow, and the statue, especially in its lower portion, retains to a surprising degree the rectangularity of the block from which it was hewn. The lower portion of the long under-tunic is virtually without folds. That of the *colobium* is marked by perfectly straight vertical grooves, while its lower edge is an unbroken horizontal offset. A rounded offset that appears on the sides at about the level of the lowest dip of the toga may represent a long pouch of the *colobium* drawn out over the belt, though I know of no other example in which this pouch is so long.<sup>3</sup> Still a third offset appears a little above this on the right side; in terms of the usual costume it can be explained only as the edge of a part of the toga that hangs down in back.<sup>4</sup>

The toga itself seems to be of the broad, "Eastern" type that we find in two statues of magistrates in the Palazzo dei Conservatori and in statues from Constantinople, Ephesus and Smyrna.<sup>5</sup> The narrow rectangular end which hangs down below the rest of the toga in the center front is represented in our statue as a perfectly flat surface unrelieved by folds or grooves. Whether this end is to be regarded as a piece of the toga itself, as Miss Wilson makes it in her reconstruction of late Roman togas,<sup>6</sup> or whether it is a separate piece, as Delbrück and others have assumed in their analyses of the toga of the consular diptychs,<sup>7</sup> is not clear in the present instance. The toga has a wide *sinus*, which is drawn across from the proper right side, spread like an apron over the front of the body and held up by the left hand.<sup>8</sup> Part of a long end that hangs down the back from the left shoulder is also caught up over the left wrist, producing a curve of drapery on the left side that balances that in front. The *balteus*, the folded or bunched band of toga that emerges from under the right arm and is drawn across the chest to the left shoulder, does not fan out over the shoulder as it commonly does in statues of this type,<sup>9</sup> but remains bunched together. The *balteus* and the *sinus* are both sharply offset from the flat area between. This area is so feebly carved that it scarcely gives the impression of being a part of the toga, but a comparison with the other statues in this scheme shows that it is. The wide flat area on the proper left side with its vertical boundary corresponds to the group of vertical folds running up to disappear under the *balteus* that we always find on the left side in such statues, while the set of feeble catenaries to the right is a reminiscence of the stronger curved folds usual in this position. In contrast to this lack of emphasis is the prominent ornamental treatment given to the bit of the edge of the toga that hangs down below the *balteus* in front of the left arm.<sup>10</sup>

On the right side the wide slit-like sleeve of the *colobium*, though it is caught up very close under the armpit by the *balteus*, droops down below the right elbow. Chipping and weathering have rendered the edge of the sleeve that crosses the right arm less distinct than that between the right arm and the body. The rest of the *colobium* appearing above the toga is given a very sketchy treatment. Paint would no doubt have emphasized the faintly marked neckline. A barely perceptible vertical offset above the right armpit probably represents the edge of a broad purple stripe, the *latus clavus*. The bit of cloth that crosses the neckline diagonally on the left side is presumably the continuation of the rectangular strip that hangs down the center front.

In his study of the East Roman sculpture of the Theodosian period, Kollwitz dates the Agora statue in the last quarter of the fifth century.<sup>11</sup> There can be little doubt that this stiff, square figure with its clumsy, shallow carving represents a degeneration from the works assigned by Kollwitz to the first half of the century. We cannot be sure that the excellent bust of a bearded man in the Athens National Museum<sup>12</sup> is Athenian work (the marble is Parian) but an inscription recording a bronze statue set up *ca.* A.D. 440<sup>13</sup> suggests a certain degree of prosperity in Athens at this time. Our torso, on the other hand, reflects poverty and failing technique. A parallel contrast may be seen in Corinth between a torso wearing the chlamys dated by Kollwitz to the early fifth century<sup>14</sup> and a later statue in the same scheme made by cutting down a female draped statue of classical type.<sup>15</sup> The Agora togatus doubtless stood in or near the Late Roman Gymnasium in the Agora near which it was found. Thus the closing of the schools of Athens by Justinian in the year 529 may represent a sort of *terminus ante quem*. Kollwitz supports his dating in the last quarter of the fifth century by a comparison of the figure with that on the consular diptych of Boethius, of the year 487 (Pl. 48, c).<sup>16</sup> Specific points of comparison are the dumpy figure, the sloping shoulders, and the low-drooping right sleeve of the *colobium*. He also compares the box-pleat treatment of the edge of the toga in front of the left arm on our statue with the stylization of the lower edge of the tunic on the Boethius diptych.

The position held by the subject of our statue must remain uncertain. The only inscriptions that survive in Athens on bases of statues of Roman officials of the fourth and fifth centuries<sup>17</sup> honor either the proconsuls of Achaëa or *praefecti praetorio* of Illyricum, both officials who seem to have worn the chlamys. Absence of the scepter is thought to preclude identification of a statue as a consul or *vir consularis*.<sup>18</sup> Kollwitz remarks that the *praefectus urbi* is the only other official who wears the toga.<sup>19</sup> It seems unlikely that the *praefectus urbi* either of Rome or of Constantinople would have had a statue set up in Athens, and it is perhaps safer to assume that our torso comes from the portrait of an unidentified senator.

The position in which our statue stood seems to have affected its composition. The unfinished state of the back and the proper right side make it clear that the portrait was intended to occupy a place in which only the front and the left side were visible. Interest was added to the left side by the ornamental treatment of the toga edge in front of the left arm and by the curve of drapery caught up from the back by the left hand. The folds on the right side were correspondingly diminished in importance.

This is probably the latest Athenian statue preserved from antiquity. It is pleasant to find in it, despite its formulaic stiffness, a spark of Hellenic ingenuity, still ready to rework any formula to fit the needs of the moment.

<sup>1</sup> For a description of the garments see R. Delbrück, *Die Consulardiptychen* (*Studien zur spätantiken Kunstgeschichte*, II. Berlin and Leipzig, 1929), pp. 43–51.

- <sup>2</sup> Cf. J. Kollwitz, *Oströmische Plastik der theodosianischen Zeit (Studien zur spätantiken Kunstgeschichte, XII)*. Berlin, 1941), p. 85 and note 1 for the significance of the scepter; *ibid.*, pls. 24, 27, 31 for visible traces of it.
- <sup>3</sup> For an example in which the belt is hidden by such a pouch, though a much shorter one, cf. Kollwitz, *op. cit.*, p. 84, no. 4 (this part of the clothing is not visible, however, in the views published *ibid.*, pls. 21–22).
- <sup>4</sup> Cf. Lillian M. Wilson, *The Roman Toga* (Baltimore, 1924), figs. 66–67, facing p. 106.
- <sup>5</sup> See Delbrück, *op. cit.*, p. 49, b, fig. 18; Wilson, *op. cit.*, fig. 62; and Kollwitz, *op. cit.*, pls. 16, 20–22, 24–28, 31, 41.
- <sup>6</sup> *Op. cit.*, pp. 94–115, especially figs. 69, 74.
- <sup>7</sup> Delbrück, *op. cit.*, p. 45; earlier bibliography, *ibid.*, pp. 44f., note 129.
- <sup>8</sup> An early form of this draping occurs on the male figure of the Annona sarcophagus in the Terme (Wilson, *op. cit.*, fig. 54).
- <sup>9</sup> Cf. Kollwitz, *op. cit.*, p. 91.
- <sup>10</sup> Cf. Kollwitz, *op. cit.*, pls. 25–26; Wilson, *op. cit.*, figs. 63, 68 A.
- <sup>11</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 112.
- <sup>12</sup> *Ibid.*, pl. 41; Rodenwaldt, *Kunst der Antike*<sup>2</sup> (1930), pl. 685. Athens, N.M. no. 423.
- <sup>13</sup> *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 4226.
- <sup>14</sup> *Op. cit.*, no. 13, pp. 89, 100, pl. 19, 2; Johnson, *Corinth*, IX, no. 325.
- <sup>15</sup> Kollwitz, *op. cit.*, no. 15, pp. 90, 112, pl. 33; Johnson, *Corinth*, IX, no. 327.
- <sup>16</sup> Delbrück, *Die Consulardiptychen*, no. 7 R; Kollwitz, *op. cit.*, p. 112.
- <sup>17</sup> *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 4222: end of 4th century, Rufius Festus, *proconsul Achaiae*; 4223: A.D. 379–395, Theodoros, *proconsul Achaiae*; 4224: beginning of 5th century, Herculus, *praefectus praetorio Illyrici*; 4225: the same Herculus; 4226: ca. A.D. 440, Probus, conjectured to be *praefectus praetorio Illyrici*.
- <sup>18</sup> Kollwitz, *op. cit.*, p. 85 and note 1.
- <sup>19</sup> *Loc. cit.*

# OBSERVATIONS ON ATHENIAN PORTRAIT STYLE IN THE ROMAN PERIOD

## I

### THE ROMANIZATION OF GREEK PORTRAITS

To the question, "What is Roman in Roman portraits?" the answer most frequently given is that Roman portraits are realistic, as contrasted with Greek portraits, which are idealistic. For those who are conscious of an existing difference and desire only a convenient way of referring to it, this is a good enough answer. For those, on the other hand, who need to be led to the recognition of a difference, there is more value in Michalowski's illuminating statement that a Roman portrait is a document, whereas a Greek portrait is an analysis.<sup>1</sup> Roman realism in portraiture consists in accepting and recording as of equal value all that has befallen the individual man in his existence in time. The sum of these things is the "real" man, and the faithful representation of such marks of his history as are recorded in his physical appearance constitutes his portrait in the realistic sense.<sup>2</sup> Greek idealism tends to abstract the man from time in concept even before it is confronted with the necessity of representing him in the timeless medium of the art of portraiture. Its aim is to represent the permanent character of the man through the selection of those traits and attributes that best express his nature, his talents and his position in society. In the purely physical as well as in the psychological aspects of portrait-making the Greek artist is more analytical than the Roman. For the Greek the inner organic structure, intellectually understood, is always the necessary framework on which any portrait must be built.<sup>3</sup> To the Roman this inner structure is of minor importance as compared with the surface marks that give the impression he wishes to convey.

This documentary surface realism in Roman portraiture seems to be an expression of the developed Roman character and outlook on life as we meet it in the history of Republican Rome; it is not descended from any primitive artistic tendencies inherent in the race nor is it to be derived in the material sense from primitive techniques born on Italian soil. Native Italian portraiture, insofar as its nature can be understood, seems to employ a non-naturalistic geometrical framework for its portraits and to select for emphasis only a few of the most *expressive* elements of the face.<sup>4</sup> This can scarcely be termed a realistic portraiture in any sense; anyone

<sup>1</sup> *Délos*, XIII, p. 30. This is a basic difference in Greek and Roman ways of thought, not only in their approaches to art. In a comparison of the histories of Thucydides and Polybios with those of Livy and Tacitus the same distinction appears with perhaps even more clarity. The Greek historian seeks to explain the underlying causes of events; the Roman to *reproduce* as vividly as possible the significant moments of the past.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Schweitzer, pp. 11-19. Cf. M. Bieber in *A.J.A.*, LV, 1951, pp. 439ff.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Michalowski, *Délos*, XIII, p. 29.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Zadoks-Jitta, *Ancestral Portraiture in Rome*, p. 6. G. Kaschnitz-Weinberg, *Röm. Mitt.*, XLI, 1926, pp. 133-211 (summarized pp. 201 ff.) calls the basis of Etruscan portraiture (from which he does not distinguish other Italic, p. 133, note 1) "cubistic" in contrast to the organic basis of Greek portraiture. He regards the "stereometric" style of late antiquity as a resurgence of the native cubistic conception, p. 158.

comparing such a portrait with an organically conceived Greek work would unhesitatingly proclaim the latter the more realistic of the two. Roman portraits, however, retain none of the abstract geometrical basis of the native Italic works. If Roman portraiture inherits anything from the Italic, it is its lack of logic, the absence of a necessary connection between internal structure and external effect. What structural basis there is in Roman portraits is primarily Greek. The Romans were not a marble-working people, and it was from the Greeks that they first learned the habit and the techniques of carving sculpture in marble. Since Roman portraiture really began to exist as an art only at the time when these lessons were being learned, it was inevitable that some of the contemporary, late Hellenistic sculptural tradition should go into the make-up of the first Roman portraits, whatever may have been the nationality of the actual sculptors who carved them.<sup>5</sup> Thus there was an Hellenic underlay present in the Roman tradition from its inception; an overlay, in the form of conscious classicism, seems to have recurred periodically in waves of varying intensity throughout the history of Roman portraiture.<sup>6</sup> In the intervals between the classicizing phases realism continued to reassert itself, the periods of strong realism being the Republican, the Flavian and the period from Maximinus to Decius.<sup>7</sup> The powerful classicizing movements came first in the Augustan period, again in the Hadrianic period and finally in the time of Constantine. There seems to have been a brief classical reaction under Gallienus which lasted only for a short time.

Besides the interplay of Roman realism and classicism, three factors might affect the degree to which Hellenic or Roman elements would predominate in a portrait in the Roman period. These are: (1) the place where the portrait is made, (2) the nationality of the artist, and (3) the nationality of the subject. It is due largely, I believe, to the lack of general agreement among scholars as to the relative importance of these three factors that disputes concerning the extent of the dependence of Roman portraiture on Greek can still be carried on with so much vigor. If we say, for example, that Roman art is really Greek because the artists who produced it have Greek names,<sup>8</sup> we are implying that factor (2) is all-important and that (1) is negligible.<sup>9</sup> If we go on to say that the reason Roman portraits look different from Greek portraits is that the Roman subjects had different physiognomies,<sup>10</sup> we are rating (3) also very high. A more balanced view is that of Vessberg, who believes that portrait sculpture was originally introduced into Rome by Greek immigrants but was gradually modified by its new environment and the new types of faces to be represented.<sup>11</sup> The actual amount of influence exerted by each of these factors cannot be decided *a priori*, however; it must be determined experimentally by observation of as many actual instances as possible in which some or all of the factors are known. For this

<sup>5</sup> The question of the nationality of the "Roman" sculptors is one that is currently attracting a considerable amount of attention. Cf. G. M. A. Richter, "Who Made the Roman Portrait Statues?", *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society*, XCV, 1951, pp. 184-191, and *Three Critical Periods*, pp. 53-64; J. M. C. Toynbee, *Collection Latomus*, VI, pp. 17-33; Michalowski, *B.C.H.*, LXX, 1946, p. 386, note 2. Whether one emphasizes the continuity of tradition from Greek to Roman art, as Miss Richter does, or the essential differences between the two, as Michalowski and Schweitzer do, it seems agreed that most of the sculptors of Roman works who signed their names were Greeks.

<sup>6</sup> See especially Rodenwaldt, *Arch. Anz.*, 1931, cols. 319ff.

<sup>7</sup> Cf. L'Orange, *Studien*, pp. 3f.

<sup>8</sup> Cf. above, note 5.

<sup>9</sup> As against this point of view, the importance of factor (1) is stressed by Kaschnitz-Weinberg, *Röm. Mitt.*, XLI, 1926, p. 211: "Mag auch die frühkaiserliche Zeit noch so sehr griechischen Händen ihr künstlerisches Gewand verdanken, so bleibt doch noch etwas, was neben der Persönlichkeit des ausübenden Künstlers wirkt und ihn beeinflusst: das Land, in dem er lebt, die Rasse, für die und in deren Gemeinschaft er arbeitet, kurz die Umgebung, die ihn langsam, aber sicher verwandelt, besonders wenn er, wie der Grieche dieser Zeit, Neues eigentlich nicht mehr zu sagen hat."

<sup>10</sup> Richter, *Three Critical Periods*, p. 60: "But then, why, we may ask, is a Greek head so easily distinguishable from a Roman one? For the obvious reason, I suggest, that the physiognomies of the sitters were different."

<sup>11</sup> Vessberg, p. 174.

purpose the portraits published here are documents of some interest, for we can be sure in almost every case that the origin of the portrait is local and that the artist was a Greek. We cannot always be sure whether the subject was a Roman or a Greek, but we are safe in assuming that the majority of the persons represented are Greeks. In the one case where the identity of the subject is given in an inscription he is shown to be a native Athenian, though his physiognomy might equally well be that of a Roman.<sup>12</sup>

The portraits from the Agora excavations which are published here are, of course, only a tiny fraction of the total mass of Athenian Roman portraits, and Athens itself was only one of many Greek centers of artistic production that went on producing after the political control of Greece had fallen into Roman hands. Yet even a mass of material that is quantitatively so insignificant may suffice to point out certain concrete facts that affect some of the more basic assumptions commonly made concerning Greek portraits in the Roman period. The purpose of the present discussion is primarily to call attention to a few such facts. We cannot, without the risk of producing more wrong assumptions, go much beyond the immediate conclusions offered by the Agora portraits themselves, together with certain related portraits which, like them, were found in Athens.

#### THE LATE REPUBLICAN PERIOD

The first period of Roman portraiture, the Republican period of realism, is undoubtedly the most important of all for the question of the relation of Roman portraiture to Greek, but the time is not yet ripe for definite pronouncements concerning it. A solution of the problem can come only as the result of a comparison of Greek and Roman works of the period with reference to a firmly established chronology. The first thoroughgoing attempt that has been made to establish the chronology of portraiture in the first century B.C. on the Roman side, that of B. Schweitzer,<sup>13</sup> is so recent that one would prefer to test it for a while against new and fortuitously accrued evidence before accepting it in its entirety as a basis for further conclusions. On the Greek side hardly even a beginning has been made.<sup>14</sup> Before a serious chronology can be established, all the material from all Greek sites that can be assigned to this period needs to be gathered and subjected to a careful comparative study with a view to relating the pieces one to another in an intelligible sequence that takes account both of general stylistic trends and of local workshop practices. Here the Agora excavations can do no more than add to the mass of material to be studied. The two portraits of the period, Nos. 3 and 4, are interesting because they reflect two different, distinctly Roman styles. Unfortunately the circumstances of finding offer not the slightest indication for the date of either.

In the head of a shaven priest, No. 3, the Roman concept of the realistic portrait, as exemplified in such Republican portraits as the old man with covered head in the Vatican,<sup>15</sup> has been accepted by the Greek artist and applied to a non-Roman subject. Though there are other Greek portraits that reflect this Roman style,<sup>16</sup> in no other is the traditional Greek structural basis of the portrait so far abandoned as in the Agora head. The only clue to its date is its general

<sup>12</sup> See No. 25 above.

<sup>13</sup> Schweitzer, pp. 142ff., chronology to chapters III-IV.

<sup>14</sup> E. Buschor, *Das hellenistische Bildnis*, is neither complete enough in his collection of material nor clear enough in his enunciation of the stylistic principles on which he bases his chronology to fill this need.

<sup>15</sup> Museo Chiaramonti, no. 135; Schweitzer, p. 73, D 7, figs. 2, 89, 96; Hekler, *Bildniskunst*, pl. 137; Goldscheider, *Roman Portraits*, pl. 1; A.B. 451-2.

<sup>16</sup> On these portraits see above, pp. 13-14.

similarity to a head from Corinth (Pl. 43, c) which must date from after the refoundation of the city as a Roman colony at the order of Julius Caesar in 45 B.C.<sup>17</sup> If one were to assume that the Roman realistic style of the Republic was a natural product of the development of late Hellenistic portraiture in Greece, one would expect such Roman works as the old man in the Vatican to be contemporary with, or at any rate not much earlier than the Agora and Corinth priests, since the Roman works show the perfection of a concept that has hitherto been only imperfectly realized in Greece. Though we cannot enter here into the question of the dating of the urban Roman works, so late a date for the "Old Romans" group would raise difficulties, for it would mean inserting it between the portraits of Pompey, Cicero and Caesar and the early portraits of Augustus. Thus the Agora priest, though it is itself undated, helps through its relation to the less well preserved portrait in Corinth which has a definite *terminus post quem* to demonstrate the priority of the urban Roman portrait over that of mainland Greece in the realistic style of the late Republic.

In another way, too, our priest illustrates the relation of Greek realistic portraits of this period to those of Rome itself. Though the portrait is constituted here, as in the Roman works, of a complex of external marks, wrinkles, veins and bulges of the flesh, these elements are here assembled in a much more calculated manner than in the Roman counterparts. Rather than consulting directly the countenance of his model, the Greek sculptor seems to have been consulting a concept in his own mind of how such things should be done. The origin of this concept can have lain only in the Roman works themselves and in the demands of the Roman patrons who commissioned work in Greece. In the Agora priest we have before us Roman realism in a Greek translation, conscientiously literal but a translation nevertheless. Greek art has not yet become one with Roman art, though the satisfaction of Roman taste has already become its goal.

The portrait bust, No. 4, is valuable chiefly because it seems to be dependent on the Roman style immediately following that from which the priest portrait is derived. It seems not to have been a very effective work, and its qualities are again best explained on the assumption that the development of portraiture in Greece at this time was following, not leading, that in Rome itself. It would seem that in the middle years of the first century B.C. two opposite processes were going on on the two sides of the Adriatic: at the same time that the Roman portrait was being Hellenized the Greek portrait was being Romanized. These two processes did not, however, take the form of an equal exchange. The creative impulse, the need for expression which demanded art as its medium, was now all on the Roman side, but there was no native tradition of craftsmanship to fill this need. It was therefore necessary to borrow from Greece, but there was no need to borrow only from *contemporary* Greece at a time when the Greek artists themselves admitted the superiority of their own past. Roman borrowing from Greek art in the first century B.C. tended, in fact, to reverse the original stream of development, looking first to the Hellenistic tradition for inspiration and turning later to the more remote but more admired masters of the classical period.<sup>18</sup> Greece at this time, on the other hand, was possessed of the means but not the matter for continuing artistic production. She had a highly developed language, but she had nothing left to say in it. The perfectly natural consequences of this state of affairs were, first, that the best Greek artists should migrate to Rome where the best employment offered itself and, second, that those who remained behind in Greece should look for

<sup>17</sup> See above, p. 14, note 12.

<sup>18</sup> Cf. Schweitzer, pp. 79ff., 91ff.

inspiration to the capital where the best work was being done. Though these cross-currents cannot be mapped accurately so long as the chronology remains unsettled, it looks as though the Greek development lagged a stage behind the Roman until almost the very end of the century, when the triumphant spread of Augustan art throughout the Empire produced for the first time an approximation to chronological unity. Thus we have seen that the linear realistic style which flourished in Rome considerably before the middle of the century did not find its fullest expression in Greece until the forties or later, and we must assume that the modified, smoother style of our No. 4 is later still. The Hellenistic tradition died hard, and the first half of the century seems to have been devoted largely to its final throes. Such Roman influences as can be detected in that period are only skin-deep.<sup>19</sup> In view of the late date of Republican realism in Greece, it seems unlikely that the partially Hellenized Roman style represented by the portraits of Pompey, Cicero and Caesar can have had much effect in Greece before the time of Augustus, when the gap between Greek and Roman art was already beginning to close.

#### THE AUGUSTAN PERIOD

Some idea of the relation of contemporary Greek portraiture to Augustan classicism may be formed from a very brief survey of several portraits of Augustus himself which were found and presumably made in Greek cities. They are:

1. Athens. Head found in the Roman Agora (Stavropoulos, *Δελτίον*, 1930–1, Παράρτημα, p. 9, fig. 8; Hekler, *Arch. Anz.*, 1935, cols. 399f., figs. 3–4).
2. Corinth. Toga statue from the Julian Basilica (Pl. 43, f; Swift, *A.J.A.*, XXV, 1921, pp. 142ff., pls. 5–7; Johnson, *Corinth*, IX, p. 71, no. 134).
3. Saloniki. Heroic statue (*Arch. Anz.*, 1940, col. 261, figs. 71–73),
4. Delos. Colossal head (Michalowski, *Délos*, XIII, pl. 20).
5. Samos. Head in Vathy (Wiegand, *Ath. Mitt.*, XXV, 1900, pp. 166f., no. 37).
6. Samos. Head in Tigani (Pl. 43, g; Crome, *Das Bildnis Vergils*, figs. 54–55).
7. Pergamon. Head now in Istanbul (Michalowski, *B.C.H.*, LXX, 1946, pl. 20).
8. Cos. Head in Antiquarium (L. Laurenzi, *Clara Rhodos*, IX, 1938, p. 63, fig. 41).

All these portraits except for the head in Vathy, which has the hair arrangement of Brendel's Type B,<sup>20</sup> and the colossal head in Delos, which is too much destroyed to permit identification of the type, show the special arrangement of locks over the forehead that is characteristic of the Prima Porta Type (Pl. 43, e).<sup>21</sup> The Vathy head is presumably earlier and the Delos head may be so.

An easily recognizable and almost constant feature of Augustan classicism is the treatment of the eyebrows as simple arrises formed by the sharp intersection of planes, without rounding or plastic indication of the hairs. This deliberate renunciation of the illusion of flesh harks back

<sup>19</sup> E.g. the portrait of a man in the Athens National Museum, no. 320 (A.B. 885–6; Lawrence, *Later Greek Sculpture*, pl. 59 b; Schweitzer, fig. 81), which Schweitzer dates to the second quarter of the century. The head from the Theater Quarter in Delos (Michalowski, *Délos*, XIII, pls. 23–24) may belong also to the second quarter of the century, though Michalowski, *op. cit.*, p. 63, places it between 90 and 70 B.C.

<sup>20</sup> Brendel, *Ikunographie des Kaisers Augustus*, pp. 31 ff.

<sup>21</sup> The type is generally dated between 20 and 10 B.C. because of the representation on the cuirass of the recovery of the standards from the Parthians in 20 B.C. Brendel, *op. cit.*, p. 61, dates the types that precede the Prima Porta type 30–15 B.C., so that for him the latter must come after 15. L. Curtius, *Röm. Mitt.*, LV, 1940, p. 58, on the other hand, sees the developed Prima Porta type of head first in the *As* of the Mintmaster C. Asinius Gallus of 22 B.C. and in three-quarter view in the *imago clipeata* of the denarius of 16 B.C.

to the fifth century B.C., and it is one of the features that give Julio-Claudian portraits their look of cool clarity. Especially in portraits of Augustus himself the eyebrows tend to be straight and level, their curvature being less than that of the upper eyelid. Such eyebrows are found in all the Roman portraits of Augustus, even those assigned to the earliest types. In the portrait from Pergamon and the two from Samos the eyebrows instead of being level curve sharply down at the outer ends following the strong curve of the upper eyelids. In this the artists are following Hellenistic tradition, and the characteristically Hellenistic "pathetic" look of these East Greek heads is due in part to this feature. Looking at these three heads one cannot escape the feeling that Augustan classicism was an alien plant that was slow to take root on the eastern side of the Aegean.

The three mainland portraits are closer to Roman style. That is to say, they are as cold as any Roman works; none of the Hellenistic life and passion survives in them. On the other hand, they can scarcely be said to be more truly classicistic than the Roman works of which they are feeble reflections. In the Prima Porta statue classicism is a formal style employed to lend dignity and universality to a work whose strength lies in character. The mainland Greek portraits we are considering lack strength and character altogether. In them classicism becomes an empty formula. Again one has the impression that Augustan classicism was not a living tradition in Greece. It seems to have been as alien, as essentially Roman in its values, as the realism that preceded it. The *forms* were accepted more readily in places like Athens and Corinth where the Roman influence was dominant (Corinth was actually a Roman colony and the sculptors who made her marble statues may well have come from Athens) than they were farther east where the great centers of Hellenistic art had been, but the *ideas* were not so easily assimilated even here. Nevertheless, though Greek Augustan art seems to have produced no portraits of real grandeur, some quite respectable and attractive work was done. The portrait head of a young prince from the Royal Gardens in Athens, identified as Gaius Caesar,<sup>22</sup> is as graceful and charming as the Corinthian portrait of the same prince is stodgy.<sup>23</sup> The bust from the Athenian Agora, No. 7, which is so much influenced by the portraits of Augustus that it is difficult to be sure that it is *not* Augustus, is a lively, energetic portrait; it escapes dullness in spite of obvious reflections of classicism in the carving of the eyebrows and the mouth and the very stiff treatment of the hair.

## II

### ATHENIAN PORTRAITS IN THE STYLE OF THE ROMAN EMPIRE

By the end at least of the Augustan period Roman style in portraiture seems to have attained approximate unity throughout the Empire. From here on until the third century when a new kind of gap between East and West begins to open up, the development of portraiture in Greece apparently followed that of Rome with little deviation except for a slight lag in time. Greece had become an artistic province of the Roman Empire, and so far as we can ascertain no significant new developments were initiated there. The quality of Athenian portraits seems to have gone up and down with the economic prosperity of the city; the flourishing Hadrianic and early Antonine periods produced some works that may be ranked with or even above the

<sup>22</sup> Poulsen, *Römische Privatporträts und Prinzenbildnisse*, p. 39, pl. 37, and Hekler, *Arch. Anz.*, 1935, col. 403, figs. 5-6.

<sup>23</sup> E. H. Swift, *A.J.A.*, XXV, 1921, pl. 10; F. P. Johnson, *Corinth*, IX, p. 72, no. 135.

contemporary products of Rome herself,<sup>1</sup> but by the early third century Athenian portraiture had sunk again to the level of mere competence. No contemporary Athenian portraits can compare with the Caracalla in Berlin<sup>2</sup> or the Philip in the Vatican.<sup>3</sup>

In the course of the first and second centuries Roman portraiture swung from classicism back to realism and then back again to classicism, and each time the Greeks followed along behind. In Greece as in Rome Flavian portraits often show a strong resemblance to types from the Republican period. A portrait from the Agora, No. 18, is a particularly good example of this. Not only did Greece not remain an island of classicism during the times when realism dominated in Roman portraiture; even after the advent of Hadrianic classicism she was slow to abandon altogether the old Flavian types. In the herm portrait of Moiragenes, No. 25, the carved pupils and engraved irises of the eyes show that the work must belong to the time of Hadrian, and yet the general facial type is derived from the realistic Roman style of the late Flavian age. We find it in its earlier stages in two Agora portraits, Nos. 18 and 19, the first probably dating from the time of Nerva and the second from that of Trajan.

It is true, however, that certain classicizing types occur in Greece independently of any general classicism in the period to which they belong. The choice of these types is motivated not so much by artistic taste as by the desire to emphasize the continuity of certain institutions and to show their modern exponents as bearers of the great traditions of the past. Thus the principal classical types that occur are ephebes and philosophers. The ephebes combine portrait elements with imitation of classical athlete types; the result is a series of generalized portraits that are less differentiated from one another than straight portraits would be.<sup>4</sup> The first century portrait, No. 14, from the Agora shows this influence, but such portraits are more frequent later, especially in the third century when Athens' cult of her own past went to extravagant lengths. The philosopher portraits sometimes imitate the cut of the hair and beard of some famous philosopher type of the classical or Hellenistic period, and it is probably fair to assume that a man would choose the type of one of the founders or great men of the philosophical school to which he himself belonged.<sup>5</sup> It may be, however, that in many cases a more general type was created, in which a beard, long hair, and a thoughtful brow marked the subject as a philosopher without attaching him specifically to any school.<sup>6</sup> We can only guess at the extent to which philosophers of Roman times actually assimilated their everyday appearance to that of their great models. Probably the *length* of hair and beard was genuine, and the portraitist saw to it that its arrangement conformed to the desired type. I do not know of any such classicized philosopher portraits definitely assignable to the first century after Christ, but about the time of Hadrian, when beards were generally worn again and when philosophy, along with all things Hellenic, became the height of fashion, such types began to appear,<sup>7</sup> and they con-

<sup>1</sup> E.g. the Hadrian from the Olympieion (Pl. 45) and the early Antonine portrait from the Theater of Dionysos, the so-called "Christ" (Hekler, *Bildniskunst*, pl. 261; A.B. 301-2).

<sup>2</sup> Blümel, *Römische Bildnisse*, R 96, pls. 59-60; *C.A.H.*, Plates, V, pl. 168 b.

<sup>3</sup> Hekler, *op. cit.*, pl. 293.

<sup>4</sup> See above, No. 47 and note 4.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. the portrait of a kosmetes, Graindor, *Cosmètes*, no. 27, p. 363, fig. 28, which reflects the portraits of Antisthenes and leads Graindor to the conclusion that the man represented is a Cynic, and the portrait from Delphi, Poulsen, *B.C.H.*, LII, 1928, pls. 14-16, which shows a resemblance to the portraits of Plato, especially in the cut of the beard, and so may represent a follower of the Platonic School. The latter portrait is early Antonine (cf. L'Orange, *Studien*, p. 6 f., note 2), not Gallienian as Poulsen suggested.

<sup>6</sup> The portrait of Herodes Atticus in the Louvre, A.B. 1196-7; Paribeni, pl. 310; Schefold, *Bildnisse*, p. 181, no. 2; Graindor, *Hérode Atticus*, p. 132, figs. 7-8, may serve as an example. Cf. Richter, *Three Critical Periods*, pp. 60f.

<sup>7</sup> Cf. the portrait of the Platonist Theon of Smyrna, whose portrait Schefold dates, probably rightly, to the Hadrianic period (Schefold, *op. cit.*, p. 181, no. 3; Richter, *op. cit.*, p. 60, fig. 137).

tinued in use even in the third century after the emperors and the general Roman public had gone back to short-cut hair and stubble beards.<sup>8</sup> As in the case of the ephebes, the classical philosopher types seem to have been particularly popular in the third century.<sup>9</sup> It is probable that by that time the philosophical guise was affected by many who had little if any real claim to it.

These classicizing portraits have perhaps attracted more than their proper share of attention in general estimates of Greek portraiture in Roman times.<sup>10</sup> They are so obviously Greek that they make the problem of distinguishing Greek style from Roman appear simpler than it actually is. Yet they perhaps *do* point the way to the recognition of a real difference which exists elsewhere in a form much less easy to perceive. The willingness to submerge the individuality of the subject in a general type that appears here is something quite un-Roman, and it may be that the basic attitude of the Greeks toward portraiture was never so thoroughly Romanized as were the forms of the portraits themselves. It may even be that a number of Greek portraits which appear at first glance to be highly individual appear so only because they employ *Roman types*. The Agora portraits support this suggestion in two respects. First, the series formed by Nos. 18, 19 and 25, all showing the same fairly simple compositional framework in spite of the marked differences in handling of the surface, suggests that the artist still conceived his portrait within the limits of a simple basic type which he then altered to fit the individual subject. Second, the fact that several private portraits, including Nos. 18 and 19, seem to have been influenced by the physiognomy of the reigning emperor implies a further willingness to modify the features of the sitter in conformity with a preconceived notion of what was desirable in a portrait. Besides No. 18, which shows affinities with the portraits of Nerva, and No. 19, which has modified the type in the direction of those of Trajan, we may mention No. 37, with its obvious reflections of the portraits of Caracalla, No. 38, which bears some resemblance to those of Elagabalus, and perhaps, if it does not really represent Augustus himself, No. 7, which is so bewilderingly similar to the portraits of that emperor.

When we couple with this tendency of Greek private portraits to reflect current imperial types the greater freedom with which the Greeks often treated the imperial portraits themselves, it is not surprising that there are many cases of disputed identity among Greek portraits of the Imperial period. The natural reluctance of scholars to permit a portrait to remain anonymous once it has attracted their interest has resulted in a number of identifications which find their way into the literature of imperial portraits only to be rejected again by more critical students of iconography.<sup>11</sup>

Yet another kind of difference, slight and subtle yet all-pervading, exists between Roman portraits made in Athens and those made in Rome itself, even at the time when Greece was following Rome most closely. The surface of the marble seems somehow more alive than in the average Roman work, and the carving of the details less hard and mechanical. In this lies the one direct link with the great age of Greek sculpture: the marble is still Pentelic and the hand that holds the chisel is still Athenian. The tradition, though degenerate, is unbroken, and the confidence born of long familiarity with his tools and his material seems to have given the

<sup>8</sup> E.g. the kosmetai, Graindor, *Cosmètes*, nos. 20, 21 and 28.

<sup>9</sup> This is shown by their occurrence during this period among the portraits of the kosmetai. The conjunction of the classicizing philosopher type with pankratiast's ears in nos. 20 and 21 is interesting, though probably not incongruous from the Greek point of view.

<sup>10</sup> Cf. Poulsen's article, "Sengraeske Portraetter", *Kunstmuseets Aarskrift*, 1929-31, pp. 16-44.

<sup>11</sup> The Agora has contributed its share of such identifications. Cf. Nos. 7, 17 and 28.

average Athenian sculptor a freedom that his Roman counterpart lacked. So, though the best Athenian portraits of the Roman period rarely compare with the best that Rome herself produced, the mediocre ones are never quite so dull as those that now fill the Roman museums. A hastily made Athenian portrait seems impressionistic rather than crude. Since it is creative power rather than technical skill that the Athenian artist now lacks, those portraits which are most ambitious in scale are often least effective,<sup>12</sup> and, conversely, it is with quite minor works, such as the head of a woman from a relief, No. 13, that we sometimes feel closest to the Hellenic past.

<sup>12</sup> No. 17 is an extreme example. In No. 28 the excellence of the technique so far exceeds the general effectiveness of the portrait that one feels disappointed with the work in spite of the fact that it is well above average in general quality.

### III

#### ATHENIAN PORTRAITS OF THE THIRD CENTURY AND AFTER

Though none of the Agora portraits that can be assigned to the third century after Christ comes from a closely datable context, the Agora excavations have established one point which affects materially the existing chronology of late Athenian portraiture and, with it, our present picture of Greece's role in the transition to Late Classical art.<sup>1</sup> As a result of their own consistently late dating of Greek works that seem to stand on the threshold to Late Classical art, scholars have tended to assume that Greek sculptors even in the fourth century of our era retained to a much greater degree than did their Roman and Eastern contemporaries the interest in and ability to render plastic form in which Greek art had always excelled.<sup>2</sup> The revision of the chronology that is required by the new archaeological evidence shows that such is not the case.

#### THE ARCHAEOLOGICAL EVIDENCE

Prominent among the works supposed to illustrate this survival of plasticity is the head of a young man (Pl. 46, a), found along with the portraits of the kosmetai in the filling of the "Valerian Wall" and commonly dated by students of sculpture to the reign of Constantine.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The term "Late Classical" is here used in the sense in which it is used by Rodenwaldt in his chapter entitled "The Transition to Late-Classical Art" in *C.A.H.*, XII, pp. 544-570 (see p. 544, note 2 and pp. 561 ff. for a definition of the term, which translates the frequently used German term "spätantike," and a statement of the essential qualities of Late Classical art). His chapter covers the development of Roman art from the time of Septimius Severus through that of Constantine (193-324), but Rodenwaldt dates the "transition" proper to the years A.D. 275-300, the accession of Diocletian (285) being taken as the beginning of the Late Classical (*ibid.*, p. 562). The precursors of the Late Classical, however, begin around A.D. 222, when the early third century style which continues the Antonine tradition (I should like to coin the term "Sub-Antonine" for this period) is replaced by a radically different style (cf. *ibid.*, pp. 545 and 563).

<sup>2</sup> The prevalent view is eloquently expressed by K. Michalowski, *B.C.H.*, LXX, 1946, p. 390: "Le fait incontestable, attesté par les monuments, c'est qu'en cette période, au déclin de l'empire romain, la Grèce encore une fois excella dans l'art, avec cet ensemble particulier de valeurs qui distingue la production plastique née sur son sol de celle qui se développe au même moment tant en Occident qu'en Orient . . . . Nous possédons plusieurs têtes-portraits de l'époque de Constantin le Grand, provenant de Grèce, dont le style contraste au plus haut point avec le froid classicisme, inspiré des modèles augustéens, qui regnait ailleurs dans l'art de ce temps."

<sup>3</sup> Graindor, *Cosmètes*, no. 33, pp. 378f., pl. 26; L'Orange, *Studien*, p. 57, cat. no. 85, figs. 161, 162.

So late a dating has been considered possible because scholars have continued to believe that the "Valerian Wall" was built in the fifteenth century and so can provide no useful *terminus ante quem* for the ancient sculpture that was found built into its core.<sup>4</sup> Now, however, the excavations of the Athenian Agora, through which the wall runs, have shown that it was built around A.D. 280, to fortify the city of Athens against the event of another incursion such as that of the Heruli which had laid waste the Agora in the year 267.<sup>5</sup>

Only if it could be shown that the section of the wall in which the portraits were found was not part of the original structure but a later repair would it be possible to assign a later date to any of the heads. All the evidence, however, is against such an assumption. The construction of the wall in which the portraits and the ephebic inscriptions were found, as described in the original excavation report, is the same as that of the "Valerian Wall" in general: the rectangular blocks, including the stelai and the herm shafts, were used to form the outer facings of the wall, and the irregularly shaped pieces, including the portrait heads, were thrown into the filling.<sup>6</sup> The heads of the kosmetai are for the most part excellently preserved (many actually have their noses intact), and it looks very much as though the heads had been struck off from their herms for the specific purpose of using the latter in the facing of the wall. The "Constantinian" head is among the best preserved of all.

None of the inscriptions from this part of the wall has been dated later than 267. It would seem, indeed, that the ephebic training in Athens lasted only for a very short time after the Herulian invasion. The latest known Athenian ephebic inscription (found not in the wall, but in two wells in the Agora) shows letter forms very similar to those of inscriptions dated just *before* 267 and is probably to be dated around 275.<sup>7</sup> There is no proof that all the portrait heads found in the filling of the wall at St. Demetrios Katephoris represent kosmetai or ephebes, but since no inscriptions belonging to other types of portraits were found with them, there is every probability that they do. Hence even if the wall could not be dated it would seem unlikely that any of these heads could be so late as A.D. 325, fifty years later than the latest Athenian ephebic inscription.

Once it is clear that none of the portraits of kosmetai can be later than around 280 we have next to decide what is the actual date of the latest piece. Certainly it is likely that very few of the portraits are to be placed after 267. In the period of insecurity and economic distress that followed upon the barbarian invasion portrait sculpture seems to have become a luxury that the private citizen could rarely afford.<sup>8</sup> The base belonging to a portrait of the historian Dexip-

<sup>4</sup> For the fullest statement of this view, accepted by Judeich, *Topographie*<sup>2</sup>, p. 165, see G. Guidi, "Il muro Valeriano a S. Demetrio Katiphori e la questione del Diogeneion," *Annuario*, IV-V, 1921-22, pp. 33-54.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. T. L. Shear, *Hesperia*, IV, 1935, pp. 332 ff., where the latest coin found in the footing-trench is said to be one of Probus (A.D. 276-282), and *Hesperia*, VII, 1938, p. 332, where a hoard of sixteen coins, the latest being one of Probus, is described as found in a layer of mortar immediately under the wall. On the latter cf. also W. B. Dinsmoor, *Hesperia*, IX, 1940, p. 52, note 121. Eugene Vanderpool informs me that he believes the wall was constructed around 280. Graindor believed that the wall was built in the 15th century (*op. cit.*, p. 241, note 4). L'Orange does not state his beliefs, but must also have followed this view.

<sup>6</sup> Πρακτικά, 1861, pp. 18f.

<sup>7</sup> Agora Inv. I 231. J. Oliver, *Hesperia*, II, 1933, pp. 505f., no. 17; republished with additional fragments, *Hesperia*, XI, 1942, pp. 71f., no. 37. The provenience of the new fragments is given, through a misprint, as Section Pi. Actually they are from Section Gamma on the west side of the Agora adjacent to Section Delta in which the first fragments were found. Professor Oliver informs me that he still dates this inscription around 275 and that it is undoubtedly the latest Athenian ephebic inscription preserved.

<sup>8</sup> See Day, *Economic History*, pp. 258f., for a summary of the economic situation following the invasion of the Heruli. There are a few inscriptions honoring Diocletian and Maximianus (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 3421, 3422, 5202) and L'Orange has identified a portrait in the Athens National Museum as Diocletian (*Studien*, p. 103, cat. no. 53, figs. 98, 99), but I know of no inscription from a portrait of a private person belonging to the last quarter of the third century or the beginning of the fourth.

pos, which was set up by his sons, apparently soon after the completion of his *Chronika* in A.D. 269/70, represents one of the latest examples known to us.<sup>9</sup> The area of the Agora itself seems to have lain in ruins for many years following its destruction at the hands of the Heruli and it is unlikely that any statues were set up there during this period. This consideration has been invoked by H. A. Thompson in favor of a pre-Herulian date for the Agora portrait of a young man, No. 51, which was found built into a mill-race of the fifth century on the east side of the Agora.<sup>10</sup> It has never been determined where the portraits of the kosmetai originally stood. The commonest supposition is that they were set up in the gymnasium known as the Diogeneion, since some of the ephebic lists found at St. Demetrios Katephoris indicate that copies were to be set up in the Diogeneion. On this basis the Diogeneion has been tentatively located in the vicinity of St. Demetrios.<sup>11</sup> G. Guidi, on the other hand, argues that portraits and ephebe lists were set up in the Agora itself,<sup>12</sup> but since his theory remains only an hypothesis, it cannot be proved that the portraits of the kosmetai stood in a part of the city that was wrecked in 267, and the date of their inclusion in the "Valerian Wall" is the only definite *terminus ante quem* for their erection.<sup>13</sup>

There seems to be no doubt that the invasion, though ultimately repelled by the Greeks under the leadership of Dexippos, dealt a mortal blow to the moderate prosperity that Athens had enjoyed in the mid third century. The cessation of the export of Attic sarcophagi<sup>14</sup> and the disappearance of sculptured grave stelai<sup>15</sup> at about this time show to what extent sculptural output was affected.<sup>16</sup> The question that immediately concerns us is: was the effect instantaneous or delayed? Certain bits of evidence suggest that several years passed before the worst effects were felt. First among these is the ephebic list mentioned above, which must be post-Herulian in any case and may be as late as 275.<sup>17</sup> The close similarity of the rather pretentious style of engraving to that which we find in the list to be dated in 262/3<sup>18</sup> shows that pre-Herulian standards had not yet collapsed. In the case of sculpture we have the Dexippos base to show that at least one portrait was set up at private expense soon after the invasion. It will be seen below that the style of the latest ephebe head from the "Valerian Wall" and that of certain heads in the "philosopher" group discussed below (Pl. 47, a and b) would best fit a date roughly parallel to that of the latest ephebic inscription.<sup>19</sup> These heads, which do not yet show the decline in technique that becomes apparent in Athenian works of the last quarter of the third century, are probably the work of some of the better sculptors of the pre-invasion period who survived the competition for the few commissions that were available in the years that followed.

<sup>9</sup> *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 3669; Graindor, *Album*, no. 105, p. 72, pl. 83.

<sup>10</sup> See above, p. 66.

<sup>11</sup> Judeich, *Topographie*<sup>2</sup>, p. 379, calls this location "quite uncertain."

<sup>12</sup> *Op. cit.*, above, note 4.

<sup>13</sup> None of the portraits shows signs of burning, and in general their excellent state of preservation suggests that they stood intact until they were decapitated for inclusion in the wall.

<sup>14</sup> Rodenwaldt, *Jahrb.*, XLV, 1930, p. 186.

<sup>15</sup> A. Mühsam, *Die attischen Grabreliefs in römischer Zeit*, p. 57. Riemann, *Kerameikos*, II, p. 50 postulates a Post-Gallienian date for two grave-stelai: Kerameikos P 190 (*ibid.*, no. 46, pl. 15) and Conze, no. 2042, pl. 444, on the basis of comparison with portraits, but the portrait of a priest from Eleusis (Pl. 46,e) which he cites is little, if at all, later than the time of Gallienus (see below, pp. 101–102) and his tetrarchic parallels are not really convincing. There may have been a few post-Herulian grave-stelai made in Athens, but these last few were doubtless made in the years immediately following the invasion.

<sup>16</sup> Some sculptors' workshops were actually destroyed in the sack: cf. the workshop in the Library of Pantainos mentioned above, p. 49. The industrial district to the southwest of the Agora, destroyed by the Heruli and not rebuilt until late in the fourth century (R. S. Young, *Hesperia*, XX, 1951, p. 284) doubtless contained a number of sculptors' workshops.

<sup>17</sup> See above, note 7.

<sup>18</sup> *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 2245; Graindor, *Album*, no. 104, p. 70, pl. 82; formerly dated either 262/3 or 266/7, now dated by Notopoulos (*Hesperia*, XVIII, 1949, p. 41) in 262/3.

<sup>19</sup> See below, pp. 99–105.

## THE EARLY THIRD CENTURY (A.D. 200-235)

The necessity of redating the latest of the kosmetai carries with it the necessity of revising the whole picture of third century portrait sculpture in Athens. To carry out such a revision in detail is beyond the scope of this work, but in order to date the Agora pieces that fall into the period in question I have had to assume its main outlines. To complete such a picture it is necessary to establish the relation of the known Athenian works to one another as well as to the imperial portraits on which the absolute chronology is for the most part based. Attractive parallels drawn between individual Athenian and Roman portraits are of little value if they result in separating pieces which, when set side by side, look like contemporary products of a single workshop.

Only one of the portraits of the kosmetai that belong to the third century is epigraphically dated. This is G 20, the herm of an unknown kosmetes set up in the archonship of Kasianos Hierokeryx in 238/9.<sup>20</sup> Another, G 21, resembles it so closely that its date must be virtually the same. It seems to represent a somewhat younger man and the execution is more careful, but the type is the same and the two men look so much alike that they might be brothers. These two works are not so helpful as one might wish. At first glance, indeed, they seem to stand completely outside the main stream of development of late Roman portraiture, so strong is the influence on them of the classical Greek tradition. For the dated portrait Graindor invokes in comparison the portrait of Thucydides,<sup>21</sup> L'Orange that of Lysias.<sup>22</sup> For us the important thing is the residue of contemporary style that remains when the classical elements are abstracted. The eyes are unaffected by classicism and are quite similar in the two heads, flat and almond-shaped with thin, narrow lids. In both portraits the surface of the face is rasped. The drill is used freely in the hair and beard but no longer in the Antonine "coloristic" manner in which numerous unconnected channels perforate and darken the mass; the coarse furrows now serve rather to emphasize with their heavy black lines the drawing of the individual locks. This use of the drill, which may be seen on contemporary sarcophagi, becomes increasingly common in relief sculpture as the century progresses. It occurs more rarely in portraiture because the short-cut hair that was fashionable gave little opportunity for its use, but many sarcophagi show such linear drilling in the hair of classicistic symbolic figures while the portrait figures beside them have undrilled short hair.<sup>23</sup>

These two heads prove that men with philosophical or literary pretensions might wear their hair and beards long even when the Emperor and the majority of his subjects were more closely shorn and shaven. For the long-haired members of the company of the kosmetai it will be necessary to consider not merely the cut of the hair and beard but also the technique by which these are rendered. Some pieces clearly represent a continuation of the Antonine tradition. The alert-looking kosmetes G 14, dated by Graindor to the time of Septimius Severus, is such a piece. The coarse drill-channels and lumpy locks of hair find a parallel in an early portrait of Caracalla from Corinth.<sup>24</sup> The relatively short beard may reflect the mode introduced by

<sup>20</sup> Graindor, *Cosmètes*, no. 20. From here on, references to portraits of kosmetai published by Graindor in this article will be designated simply by the initial G followed by the number of the portrait in his series. For the most recent dating of the archon Kasianos Hierokeryx, see J. Notopoulos, *Hesperia*, XVIII, 1949, p. 40.

<sup>21</sup> *Cosmètes*, p. 351.

<sup>22</sup> *Studien*, p. 10.

<sup>23</sup> Rodenwaldt, *Jahrb.*, LI, 1936, pls. 3-6. On the origins and development of "colorism," of which this outlining with the drill is also a form, see E. H. Swift, *Roman Sources of Christian Art*, pp. 161-194.

<sup>24</sup> Askew, *A.J.A.*, XXXV, 1931, pp. 442-7; *Arch. Anz.*, 1930, col. 105, fig. 6.

Caracalla (A.D. 211–217), though the Antonine technique survives in the vermicular drilling among its curls. The eyes, wide, clear and crisply drawn, recall those of the Agora head No. 37, in which the resemblance to portraits of Caracalla is marked. The neat and amiable kosmetes G 26 must likewise belong to this group. Here the use of the drill is more subdued than in G 14 but less so than in the Agora portrait. The smooth surface of the face, probably originally polished, is more usual for this period than the rasped surface of G 14. Rasping becomes more common, however, as time goes on. To this group should be added, perhaps as a somewhat later representative, the kosmetes G 16, which Graindor dates to the time of Caracalla.

The smoothness of face remains in the Agora portrait No. 38 which seems to reflect the portraits of Elagabalus (A.D. 218–222). Note that even here, where we have a young man represented, the hair is longer than in the imperial mode of the day. Increasing reliance on chiselwork and less use of the drill are observable in the hair. The remarkably unintelligent expression of the face cannot be charged to style; it must belong primarily to the individual portrayed. Nevertheless, it would appear that the Late Severan style in Athens as in Rome tended to replace the energetic alertness of Caracallan portraits with a more insipid, sometimes even sentimental expression. L'Orange has characterized the Late Severan style as one in which the smoothed surfaces of the face run together without plastic definition of the various parts.<sup>25</sup> This general characterization seems entirely correct, but I believe that L'Orange has gone astray in his identification of the Greek exponents of the style. If we make such heads as the ephebe with the stupid face, G 22, (Pl. 46, b),<sup>26</sup> follow directly on works of the time of Caracalla, we are left with several kosmetai who have nowhere to go. This group, which I should like to place in the Late Severan period, consists of G 27, G 17, G 18, and G 29. L'Orange, since he considered only a selected few of the kosmetai, did not worry about these. Graindor scattered them through the century, two in the post-Herulian period.<sup>27</sup> They all have longish hair and beards; the faces are generally polished and the expressions are inclined to be melancholy or sentimental. Though the hairy overgrowth leaves comparatively little free area in which the characteristic Late Severan fluidity of surface may manifest itself, there is in all these heads a continuous sweep across the upper part of the nose and into the planes of the cheeks below the eyes that seems to belong to this style. The hair and beard show in varying degrees the last remnants of Antonine technique. One of the earliest of the group must be the "Cynic" G 27, whose tempestuous locks show elaborate and varied chisel work enlivened here and there with the drill. We have compared this portrait with Agora No. 38, the young man who resembles Elagabalus. Next comes G 18 with a rather tamer treatment of the beard and with less abundant hair (this is an older man) but with the same technical means employed in about the same proportions. G 17 still shows drill channels in the sides of the beard, but no longer in the hair. G 29, finally, abandons the drill altogether, and the chiselwork is more superficial, though the eyes and the modelling of the polished face still link it with the foregoing portraits. There is no means of fixing the date of the termination of this style in Athens. We know only that G 20, the kosmetes of 238/9, shows a different style in the face, though the shape of the beard is much the same.

The fine herm portrait from the Agora, No. 39, must come fairly early in the Late Severan period, for it retains the alive, expressive quality of portraits of the time of Caracalla. The hair

<sup>25</sup> *Studien*, p. 1.

<sup>26</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 12, cat. no. 8, figs. 20, 22.

<sup>27</sup> G 27 (dated vaguely in the second half of the century, but with parallels cited from the end of the century) and 29 (period of Claudius Gothicus, 268–270).

still recalls Antonine work in the plastic relief given to the locks, though the drill is used very sparingly. The face has been worked over with a fine rasp, a practice that we have already met in the kosmetes G 14.

Only one kosmetes wears his hair in the mode of Alexander Severus, and this one, G 25, is regularly compared by scholars with portraits of the young Gallienus!<sup>28</sup> The hair is here quite short, though still not so short as in the Roman counterpart, and is rendered with fine parallel chisel-strokes, a technique mid-way between the longer chisel-carved locks such as those of Agora No. 38 and the scattering of little curved strokes in a roughened surface exemplified by Agora Nos. 44 and 45.<sup>29</sup> The specific influence of the portrait of Alexander Severus (222–235) on G 25 is apparent in the direction of the hair over the forehead, swept to the right from a parting above the left eye across the center and down on the right side, forming a continuous arch, not an abrupt angle, above the right eye.<sup>30</sup> The formation of the forehead, concave above the projecting ridge of the eyebrows, is very close to that in a portrait of Alexander Severus in the Louvre.<sup>31</sup> The very smooth face links this kosmetes with the group we have discussed, but the carving of the eyes is closer to that in G 20 and G 21 (the kosmetes of 238/9 and his “brother”).<sup>32</sup> The short, curly chin-strap beard of the kosmetes is, of course, the element that has given rise to the Gallienian comparisons, but actually it does not grow down on the neck in the true Gallienian fashion. Though the head of the kosmetes is broken off just below the chin, the difference is readily apparent when one compares its side view with that of the youthful Gallienus in Berlin.<sup>33</sup> In the former the edge of the beard runs straight down from the ear along the line of the junction between the head and the neck; in the latter it turns back to cover part of the neck itself. The amount of surface covered by the beard of the kosmetes is about the same as in the portraits of Caracalla and Alexander Severus; the difference is that the Athenian has let his grow a little longer. The degree of curliness varies with the person, not simply with the date.

#### REALISM (A.D. 235–253)

The period of Maximinus Thrax (235–238) inaugurates a new trend in Roman portraiture, one that has been characterized as a return to the old Roman realism.<sup>34</sup> To express this in terms of the marble rather than of the spirit, we might say that the linear emphasis which hitherto has appeared only in the features now invades the flesh of the face, so that, whereas formerly the clearly delineated features floated in an undifferentiated expanse, they are now drawn together by a taut pattern of lines and folds. The composition of the face depends less and less on plastic forms and more and more on these lines, which are effective principally in the front plane of the face. At the same time the expression of the eyes is further emphasized, and slack sentimentality gives way to a worried intensity. In many works of the period a deliberate asymmetry accentuates the impression of realism. Few Greek portraits of this period succeed in

<sup>28</sup> L'Orange, *Studien*, p. 13, cat. no. 10, figs. 24, 28; G. Bovini, *Mon. Ant.*, XXXIX, 1943, col. 254.

<sup>29</sup> Strokes of about the same length, though coarser, are to be seen in a head of Alexander Severus in Cairo (Graindor, *Bustes et statues-portraits d'Égypte romaine*, no. 19, pl. 18). This head also shows the same pattern in the direction of the hair on the side of the head as does our kosmetes.

<sup>30</sup> Cf., besides the head in Cairo, above, note 29, the portrait in the Vatican, L'Orange, *Studien*, figs. 1, 3, and one in the Louvre, Goldscheider, *Roman Portraits*, pl. 81.

<sup>31</sup> See above, note 30.

<sup>32</sup> Two heads of little boys from the Agora, Nos. 41 and 42, and the head of a somewhat older boy in the Athens National Museum (no. 511) are close to G 25 and must be of about the same date.

<sup>33</sup> Blümel, *Römische Bildnisse*, R 114, pl. 74.

<sup>34</sup> L'Orange, *Studien*, p. 3.

exploiting fully the expressive possibilities of the Roman style.<sup>35</sup> The Agora head of a shaven priest, No. 43, is unusual in this respect and must be the work of a sculptor who had closer contact with Rome than had most of his contemporaries. G 20, the kosmetes of 238/9, shows only traces of the new style. It has the deep irregular wrinkles in the forehead. The eyebrows are heavily emphasized and the narrow eyes looking up from under them are more like those of Maximinus or Philip than like those of earlier portraits. Close to the two "brothers" G 20 and G 21 but showing more of contemporary style and less of classicism is the flat-faced old man G 19. In the form and distribution of the wrinkles, in the shape and carving of the eyes, and even in the direction of the glance, there is a close resemblance to portraits of Maximinus Thrax.<sup>36</sup> The fact that the pattern of the face is all linear and is spread out in the front plane while the side plane is utterly neglected recalls the Agora priest No. 43, but the intensity of the Agora head is lacking in the big, flabby face of the kosmetes; here the classicistic and Roman elements neutralize one another, and the portrait as a whole becomes ineffectual. The careless carving of the ears seems to be typical of the period. From now on in Athenian work the tendency is to neglect the ears, representing them with the simplified outline that we see here and with a minimum of interior modelling. The surface of the face is rasped as in G 20 and G 21.

The truculent kosmetes G 23, which Graindor places in the time of Philip (244–249), fits such a date very well. The hair and beard represent a final simplification of the long-haired types we have been studying. There is no drill-work and the chisel-strokes are coarse and heavy. The scowling face with its narrow eyes and deep frown-wrinkles makes an effective realistic portrait in spite of the fact that this is not a careful piece of work. The pupils of the eyes already have the crescent form that increases in popularity as the fourth century approaches.<sup>37</sup> The face is again rasped; we seem to be in a period in which smoothed faces are, for Athens, the exception rather than the rule.

For the later part of this realistic period in third century portraiture L'Orange has underlined the essential features with admirable clarity: "Besonders die spätesten Porträts, diejenigen des Decius, zeigen wie sich in den Einzelformen die lebendig-organische Spannung löst, während zugleich die ausdrucksgebenden Konturen gestrafft werden, s. z.B. die Augen, die ihre plastische Wölbung fast verloren haben, während die Konturen ihrer Ränder einen sehr akzentuierten Schnitt erhalten, oder die Stirnfurchen, die trotz der kräftigen Betonung ihrer Konturen skizzenhaft grob gezeichnet und nachlässig aus der Muskulatur herausgeholt sind."<sup>38</sup> The kosmetes G 15<sup>39</sup> looks like an illustration of this sentence. The enormous eyes are astoundingly flat, even more so when one sees the actual stone than they appear to be in photographs. The short beard that grows down on the neck is in the fashion of the times, though the hair is in tumbled curls, much longer than a Roman of the day would have worn it. The side view shows the same features we have noticed in the preceding portraits, the carelessly carved clam-shell

<sup>35</sup> Cf. *ibid.*, p. 10.

<sup>36</sup> Cf. the bust in the Capitoline Museum, Goldscheider, *Roman Portraits*, pl. 83; Hekler, *Bildniskunst*, pl. 291 a.

<sup>37</sup> Crescent pupils vary in shape from what is really a semicircle, as here, to a simple U-shaped line. Destined to become the regular form in the fourth century, the crescent pupil appears only sporadically in the first half of the third along with the plain circular pupils which represent the alternative simplification of the cardioid form. The two forms appear together on the Attic Achilles Sarcophagus in the Capitoline Museum where the male portrait (L'Orange, *Studien*, fig. 12) has circular pupils and the female head (Goldscheider, *Roman Portraits*, pl. 89) has the crescent type. The crescent appears in various provincial portraits even in the second century: cf. the portrait of an elderly woman from Leptis Magna, R. Bartoccini, *Le Terme di Lepcis* (Bergamo, 1929), p. 174, figs. 190–193, with Hadrianic coiffure (here the pupils are cut by means of a row of small drill-holes forming a semicircle, a procedure sometimes employed in the fourth century also) and a second-century double herm from Gaul (*Arch. Anz.*, 1930, col. 237, figs. 21–22).

<sup>38</sup> *Studien*, p. 4.

<sup>39</sup> Also published in L'Orange, *Studien*, cat. no. 6, fig. 18.

ears and the general neglect of the side plane of the face. A portrait from the Agora, No. 44, has the same flat eyes with the sharp outline of the lids emphasized by undercutting. The hair is short, indicated by little curved incisions into a roughened surface, the Athenian version of the current Roman convention. The striking similarity of the Agora head, both in physiognomy and in technique, to the ephebe portrait G 22 (Pl. 46, b) makes it clear that L'Orange erred in dating the latter to the time of Alexander Severus. The two portraits must have issued from the same workshop at about the same time. The need for such a redating of the ephebe is shown also by its relation to the kosmetes G 24, which looks like a somewhat later product of the same shop. This and the Agora head of a negro, No. 45, have bulging eyes with heavy upper lids that seem to overhang the face. A somewhat similar effect may be seen in the bronze statue in New York (Pl. 46, c) called Trebonianus Gallus (251–253),<sup>40</sup> as well as in a bronze head in Florence,<sup>41</sup> perhaps a portrait of the same emperor. A number of Greek portraits of mid-century and after show this formation of the eyes. The two replicas of a single portrait (probably an Athenian priest) for which L'Orange has hazarded the identification Longinus seem to show that it continued into the time of Gallienus (Pl. 46, d).<sup>42</sup> We find it even in the portrait of a small boy No. 46, from the Agora.

#### THE THIRD QUARTER OF THE THIRD CENTURY

The period of Gallienus has long served as a dumping-ground for late Roman portraits that could not easily be placed elsewhere. There are several reasons for this. In the first place, the Gallienian "renaissance," the deliberate recultivation of classical Hellenic culture in the fields of philosophy and letters, leads one to expect a similar reaction in the field of art, and the portraits of the Emperor himself seem to give evidence that one actually took place.<sup>43</sup> There has been disagreement, however, as to the extent of the renaissance, and a drastic overestimation of the revivifying effects of such a revolution of taste on the purely technical aspects of portrait-making has caused some scholars to place in this period works made as much as a hundred years earlier.<sup>44</sup> Second, and this adds to the confusion caused by the first, the hair and beard style adopted by Gallienus differs only in length from certain earlier modes, e.g. that of Maximinus Thrax,<sup>45</sup> and we have seen that the Greeks tended to let their hair and beards grow longer than the fashion demanded. Thus we may occasionally find a seemingly Gallienian coiffure on a non-Gallienian portrait. Third, once such heterogeneous works have been attributed to the period, the situation tends to aggravate itself as more and more pieces are collected around the original misattributions. We must be on guard, therefore, and must try, at least, to

<sup>40</sup> Richter, *Roman Portraits*, no. 109.

<sup>41</sup> Goldscheider, *Roman Portraits*, pls. 98–99; Bovini, *Mon. Ant.*, XXXIX, 1943, col. 195, figs. 9–10.

<sup>42</sup> L'Orange, *Studien*, cat. nos. 11 and 12, figs. 25–27, 29.

<sup>43</sup> See especially Alföldi, *25 Jahre Römisch-Germanische Kommission*, pp. 33 ff.

<sup>44</sup> The most notable example is the Antonine long-haired portrait in the Athens National Museum which has been variously called "Rhoimetalkes," "Herodes Atticus," "Polemon" and "Christ" and which Alföldi, *op. cit.*, p. 46, identifies as Gallienus himself (*ibid.*, pls. II 1, III 2, IV 1, V 1; Hekler, *Bildniskunst*, pl. 261). F. Poulsen, *B.C.H.*, LII, 1928, pp. 245–255, dates "around 270" a clearly Antonine philosopher portrait in Delphi to which he tentatively attaches the name "Plotinus" because of the Platonic shape of the subject's beard. The much-discussed head from Miletropolis in Berlin (Blümel, *Römische Bildnisse*, R 113, pl. 73; Alföldi, *op. cit.*, pls. III 1, and V 2) is brought in both by Alföldi and by Poulsen as a companion for their would-be Gallienians, though its eastern style makes it difficult to compare with Athenian works. L'Orange, *Studien*, p. 6, note 2, refutes Poulsen's theory of a revival of drill-technique in the time of Gallienus.

<sup>45</sup> Maximinus Thrax is the first to permit the short beard to grow on the neck as well as on the face. When his beard style is worn a little longer by a curly-bearded person, the effect is like that of Gallienus's beard.

find some logical relationship between the various Athenian works that seem to have been made in the time of Gallienus and the decade immediately following.

#### THE KOSMETAI AND RELATED PORTRAITS

Of the thirty-three portraits of kosmetai which he published, Graindor dated nine, G 25–33,, after the middle of the third century. Of these, G 25, 26, 27 and 29 belong, as we have already seen, to the first half of the century, while G 32 properly belongs, as Hekler has pointed out,<sup>46</sup> to the early Antonine period. G 30 is a poor and hasty piece of work, but it would appear to be most at home among works of the first three decades of the third century. That leaves three pieces which may be later than 253: the classicized old man with the philosophical long beard, G 28; the disdainful gentleman, G 31, whose pride cannot, in Graindor's opinion, be based upon his intellectual attainments; and the "Constantinian" ephebe, G 33 (Pl. 46, a), with whom we are already familiar.<sup>47</sup>

Among the Agora portraits, those which appear to fall within the third quarter of the century are: Nos. 46, 48 and 49. Of these the head of a little boy, No. 46, with its overhanging eyes and its expression of anxiety, shows the most direct relationship to the preceding portraits, those that we dated around the time of Trebonianus Gallus. At the same time its features show a strange resemblance to those of the priest portrait (Pl. 46, d), L'Orange's "Longinus,"<sup>48</sup> which is perhaps of all Athenian portraits the one that shows most affinity to the portraits of Gallienus himself. The priest has still the anxious eyes with heavy upper lids, the vertical wrinkles (like reversed parentheses) between the eyebrows, and the heavily engraved forehead wrinkles that we saw in the kosmetes G 24. The hair conforms exactly to the mode established by Gallienus except that it does not extend so far down on the back of the neck; the disposition of the front hair in flat locks above the forehead is genuinely Gallienian. While the portraits of the Emperor himself have not so tense an expression, they often show the same basic pattern of forehead lines (especially the reversed parentheses between the eyebrows). It is to the later types of the portraits of Gallienus<sup>49</sup> that this portrait shows most affinity, and so we must assume that the continuous tradition represented here by the series G 22 (and Agora 44), G 24 and the priest portraits lasted almost until the arrival of the Heruli. In this series the tense worried expression that is characteristic of Roman works around 250 survives, and there is little of the stiffening, flattening and smoothing that appear in the late portraits of Gallienus himself.

The kosmetes with the long beard, G 28, combines hair and beard which seem copied from some classical Greek philosopher portrait with a mustache in the style of the time of Gallienus. In the very dry, detailed carving of the hair the drill has no part. The eyes with their heavy upper lids and their pupils rendered by a single round hole recall other Athenian works of the mid third century and after.<sup>50</sup>

The disdainful kosmetes G 31 was dated by Graindor in the time of Carinus, but it shows a certain relation to Athenian works of around 250 that argues against too late a date. The lumpy shape of the skull recalls the ephebe G 22 and his relative from the Agora, No. 44. The rasped

<sup>46</sup> *Jahreshefte*, XXI–XXII, 1922–24, p. 196, fig. 66.

<sup>47</sup> See above, p. 90.

<sup>48</sup> See above, note 42.

<sup>49</sup> See L'Orange, *Studien*, pp. 5 ff., figs. 8–11.

<sup>50</sup> For round pupils cf. Nos. 44 and 51, the kosmetes G 15 and the ephebe G 33 (Pl. 46, a). For projecting upper lids cf. No. 46 and G 33.

surface and the wide open spaces around the eyes are further points of similarity. The beard covers the chin as it does in the kosmetes G 24, but it is a little longer. The rendering of the hair shows a more radical departure; it is carved in long parallel gouged strokes that are extremely shallow and give the effect of rather long thin locks brushed forward from the crown of the head. This longer hair must place the kosmetes in the time of Gallienus. The hair style alone would fit equally well a date just after Gallienus, did not the face and beard so strongly resemble earlier work.

In the ephebe G 33 (Pl. 46, a) as in the kosmetes G 31 the shallow carving of the hair gives the impression of lank strands brushed uniformly forward, but the drily meticulous attention to detail shown in the ephebe portrait is in sharp contrast to the shadowy suggestion of hair in the portrait of the kosmetes. It is the arrangement of the hair, all brushed forward and with the ends forming a regular arch over the forehead, that has suggested to scholars a date in the fourth century, and the careful symmetry of the features and the simplification of the planes of the face have been adduced in confirmation. The date of the coiffure with long thin strands brushed forward to frame the face interests us not only for its occurrence in the present portrait, but because it appears as well in the puzzling group of late Athenian portraits in which Rodenwaldt saw representations of Neo-Platonist philosophers.<sup>51</sup> The thin strands occur in the man's portrait on the famous Annona sarcophagus in the Terme, dated by the woman's coiffure to the 270's.<sup>52</sup> Here, however, the side front hair is still brushed back toward the ears. The closest approximation to the mode worn in our Athenian portraits is to be found in the portraits of the brothers on a sarcophagus in Naples, dated by Rodenwaldt just after the time of Gallienus.<sup>53</sup> The coins of the post-Gallienian emperors show the progressive tendency toward brushing forward all the hair that frames the face, though the military cut worn by the emperors is usually shorter than the hair of our portraits. Coins of Claudius Gothicus (268-270) show examples both of forward-swept and back-swept hair at the sides of the face, but the forward-swept predominates. The hairline forms reentrant angles at the sides of the forehead.<sup>54</sup> In the coins of Aurelian (270-275) the forward-swept hair again predominates and the angles are blunted so that the outline of the hair becomes more nearly oval.<sup>55</sup> Probus (276-282) returns to the angular outline but continues to brush the side hair forward in most examples.<sup>56</sup>

The portrait of the ephebe with its oval hairline shows most resemblance to the coins of Aurelian and on this basis might be given a date *ca.* 270-275, contemporary with the latest preserved ephebe list and only a few years before the portraits of the kosmetai were finally sacrificed to the building of the wall and vanished from sight. An oval hairline is frequent, however, on portraits of youths and boys even when a different type prevails elsewhere: e.g. the head of a boy in the Athens National Museum (no. 511), probably to be dated *ca.* 235-240, and the little boy from the Agora, No. 46, which we have placed in the time of Gallienus. Hence any date between the first appearance of the forward-swept coiffure with the long strands and the building of the wall would seem possible for the ephebe. Whether or not this coiffure had already appeared in the reign of Gallienus we cannot be sure. Certainly it was in evidence by the

<sup>51</sup> See below, pp. 100-105.

<sup>52</sup> Rodenwaldt, *Jahrb.*, LI, 1936, p. 109, fig. 12.

<sup>53</sup> Rodenwaldt, *Zeitschrift für bildende Kunst*, n.f. XXXIII, 1922, pp. 119-123; Bovini, *Mon. Ant.*, XXXIX, 1943, pl. 7.

<sup>54</sup> Delbrück, *Die Münzbildnisse von Maximinus bis Carinus (Herrscherbild)*, III, 2, Berlin, 1940, pl. 22, Beil. 5, 18.

<sup>55</sup> *Ibid.*, pls. 23, 24.

<sup>56</sup> *Ibid.*, pls. 26-28.

time of Claudius Gothicus,<sup>57</sup> and it becomes in a sense the ancestor of all subsequent late Roman male coiffures.

So far as the modelling of the face is concerned, a comparison with works of the time of Constantine does not support a fourth century date for the ephebe. In the sculptured portraits of Constantine and his contemporaries the surfaces are harder and flatter than they are here, and abrupt intersections of planes are not avoided. The offsets are sharper and the features are given a heavier emphasis.<sup>58</sup> In the ephebe portrait all the surfaces are rounded and all the edges blunted. Details such as the eyes and eyebrows are rendered precisely but unemphatically. In the fourth century portrait the parts of the face are more important than the whole: eyes, eyebrows, mouth and chin form an independent architectural framework on which the whole structure of the head is based. In the ephebe portrait, on the other hand, the features scarcely interrupt the egg-like continuity of the whole. The symmetry and simplification of planes observable here may be due in part to a classicism that, like the oval hairline, seems particularly common in portrayals of the very young. Again one may compare the head in the National Museum, no. 511, and our little boy, No. 46. In the latter, though it seems to be a product of the school that produced the tense, rather realistic portraits of older men, the planes are very much simplified. The eyebrows are sharp arrises and the upper part of the nose is a flat continuation of the forehead plane. The plane of the forehead also curves around without interruption to join that of the cheek.

On the other hand, the dry, finished style of the ephebe head, in which all the details of the hair are meticulously rendered with the chisel, links it with that of the long-bearded kosmetes, G 28. The rendition of the pupil of the eye by a simple deep cup is a further point of similarity. The distinction between the tense style and the dry style in Athenian portraiture cannot be wholly chronological, for the tense style is carried on not only in the Gallienian priest portraits (Pl. 46, d) and No. 49,<sup>59</sup> but also in portraits of the last quarter of the century such as our No. 50 and a related head in the Athens National Museum (Pl. 47, e).<sup>60</sup> The dry style may have begun in the time of Gallienus, the period to which we have tentatively assigned the long-bearded kosmetes. Its peak, represented by the ephebe head and the better examples of the "philosopher" portraits of the second group discussed below, seems to have been reached just after Gallienus, and the Agora provides a decadent example, No. 52, from near the end of the century. The head of a youth, No. 51, belongs essentially to the dry style, but its exact date remains a matter of conjecture. The origin of the style may lie in the much-discussed Gallienian classicism, of which we find otherwise very little evidence in Athenian portraits. The dichotomy here introduced is continued at the end of the century by L'Orange's "Eastern" and "Western" styles, of which the Eastern favors symmetry and simplification, the Western a more irregular form of expression.<sup>61</sup>

#### THE "PHILOSOPHERS"

In No. 49, the burnt and sadly weathered portrait of an aged man crowned with strophion and wreath, the Agora excavations have added a new member to a group of portraits that has contributed perhaps even more than the ephebe from the "Valerian Wall" to the legend of the

<sup>57</sup> See above, note 54.

<sup>58</sup> Cf. L'Orange, *Studien*, figs. 146–150, 157, 158, 163–166; Delbrück, *Spätantike Kaiserporträts*, pls. 27–39; Richter, *Roman Portraits*, no. 110.

<sup>59</sup> See below, p. 101.

<sup>60</sup> L'Orange, *Studien*, cat. no. 56. See above, No. 50, note 1.

<sup>61</sup> *Studien*, pp. 16 ff.

superior plasticity of late Roman portraiture in Greece. Rodenwaldt, who was the first to call attention to this group as such, listed seven pieces.<sup>62</sup> Later discoveries have brought the number up to ten.

- I. Pl. 47, c. In Athens, Nat. Mus. no. 582. From the Asklepieion at Epidauros. Rodenwaldt, *76 Wp.*, pls. 1–2; L'Orange, *Studien*, cat. no. 65, fig. 114.
- II. In Athens, Nat. Mus. no. 581. From the Serpentje Wall on the south slope of the Acropolis. Rodenwaldt, *76 Wp.*, pl. 3; L'Orange, *Studien*, cat. no. 64.
- III. Pl. 47, a. In Athens, Nat. Mus. no. 580. Provenience not recorded. Pentelic marble. Rodenwaldt, *76 Wp.*, pl. 4; L'Orange, *Studien*, cat. no. 62.
- IV. In Athens, Nat. Mus. no. 3411. Provenience not recorded. Pentelic marble. Rodenwaldt, *76 Wp.*, fig. 1; L'Orange, *Studien*, cat. no. 63.
- V. In Delphi Museum, no. 4040. Found in Delphi south of the temple. Rodenwaldt, *76 Wp.*, no. V; L'Orange, *Studien*, cat. no. 60, figs. 111 and 113.
- VI. In Athens, Nat. Mus. no. 360. From Delphi. Rodenwaldt, *76 Wp.*, pl. 5; L'Orange, *Studien*, cat. no. 59, figs. 110 and 112.
- VII. Pl. 46, e. In Eleusis Museum. From the sanctuary. Rodenwaldt, *76 Wp.*, fig. 2; L'Orange, *Studien*, cat. no. 58, figs. 108 and 109; Hekler, *Die Antike*, XVI, 1940, pp. 135 ff., fig. 23.
- VIII. In Rome, the Vatican Magazines. Kaschnitz-Weinberg, no. 679. Provenience unknown. Described by Kaschnitz-Weinberg as being of medium-grained white marble and undoubtedly the product of an Attic workshop. L'Orange, *Studien*, cat. no. 61, fig. 115.
- IX. Pl. 31. In Athens, Agora excavations Inv. S 659, above, No. 49. From a mixed deposit containing sherds of the Turkish period.
- X. Pl. 47, b. In Corinth. Inv. 2415. Exact provenience unknown. Brought in from outside the excavations in 1938.<sup>63</sup>

The persons represented are elderly men with lank hair falling over their foreheads and with beards of medium length. The group seems to divide into two basic types, of which the first shows a close stylistic relation to the "Longinus" portrait (Pl. 46, d), i.e. to the late Gallienian "tense style," while the other is closer to the ephebe portrait, G 33 (Pl. 46, a), representing the post-Gallienian (?) floruit of the "dry style." There can be no doubt that the Agora and Eleusis heads (Nos. IX and VII) represent a single person and that this is not the same person as the one represented in the Epidauros portrait. The type is characterized by the marked asymmetry of the features and by the tense, worried expression of the face. L'Orange has pointed out the resemblance of the Eleusis head to Late Gallienian works, especially to the "Longinus." Regarding the somewhat longer beard and the locks brushed forward onto the forehead as slightly later features, he dates the piece in the seventies.<sup>64</sup> The burned condition of the Agora head suggests (though certainty is impossible, in view of the late mixed context in which the head was found) that this particular piece was made before 267 and suffered in the barbarian invasion of that year. In any case, the arrangement of the side front hair in back-

<sup>62</sup> *76 Wp.*, pp. 3–7. Rodenwaldt dated the portraits to the second half of the fourth century. L'Orange (*Studien*, pp. 40f. and discussions of individual pieces under cat. nos. 58–65) recognizes that this date is too late. He regards the group rather as a developmental series that continues the tradition of the third century down into the fourth. The dating proposed below is somewhat earlier still.

<sup>63</sup> I am grateful to Edward Capps, Jr. for permission to use photographs of this portrait which will be published by him in his forthcoming volume on the sculpture from the Corinth excavations of the American School of Classical Studies (*Corinth*, IX, ii, no. 95).

<sup>64</sup> *Studien*, p. 41.

swept waves behind the temples is definitely Gallienian in contrast to the forward-swept style that predominates in the seventies.<sup>65</sup>

Of the remaining eight pieces, five: Nos. I, III, IV, VIII and X seem clearly to represent a single person by means of a single type, which we call, for the sake of convenience, the Epidauros type. Such differences as exist between these five are differences of technique only. This portrait is characterized by symmetrical and ornamental treatment of the features, the hair and the beard. The eyebrows form prominent ridges, smoothly arched, and the wrinkles across the forehead are parallel grooves following the curve of the eyebrows. The hair is brushed forward above the ears. In the back it lies in long, curving strands against the nape of the neck. The beard, a little longer than that of the Eleusis type, is brushed forward and down in great sweeping curves over the cheeks, and the ends fan out into a decorative row of curls along the jawline and under the chin. The ends of the mustache curve in below the mouth, and the beard on the chin is all brushed toward the center.

The two fragmentary heads in Athens, Nos. III (Pl. 47, a) and IV, are certainly products of a single workshop, as is shown by the identical treatment of the hair, in small, overlapping locks that give the appearance of pointed scales. The Vatican head, No. VIII, is close to the one in Corinth. Both show a shallow, sketchy treatment of the hair, and the modelling of the faces is similar. In both the center of the forehead rises in a sort of boss. In the Epidauros head, the execution is altogether different. Harsh engraved lines have replaced the more plastic modelling of the features and the sketchy treatment of the hair in the other examples. Iconographically, however, the portrait does not deviate from the basic type in any important respect. The arrangement of the locks over the forehead, including the fork above the right eye, the symmetrical wrinkles of the brow, the projecting arched eyebrows, the forward sweep of the beard on the sides, the symmetrical enframement of the mouth, and the ornamental rows of curls in which the beard terminates are all in perfect conformity with the type. The head must have been copied from one of the others, but by a different hand and at a different time.

For the more plastic, and so presumably earlier, representatives of the Epidauros type our closest Athenian parallel is the ephebe from the "Valerian Wall," G 33. We may compare, despite the difference in the ages of the subjects, the decorative symmetry of the face as a whole, the forward sweep of the hair over the ears and the slight parting of the forehead hair above the right eye. The precise, dry carving of the strands of the beard in No. III (Pl. 47, a) is comparable to that of the hair on the ephebe, though the hair of No. III is more sketchily rendered. The combination of straight, forward-brushed hair with a curly beard is to be found on the post-Gallienian sarcophagus in Naples mentioned above.<sup>66</sup>

In the head from Epidauros (Pl. 47, c) everything has become linear. Coarse engraved lines are used not only for the strands of the beard but also for the locks of hair and even for the outlining and inner drawing of the eyes. One is reminded of the technique used in late Roman plastic vases (Pl. 47, d)<sup>67</sup> where the technique of drawing the details by means of gouged lines is a natural one. Since similar effects, especially in the outlining of the eyes, are to be found in works of the last quarter of the century,<sup>68</sup> it seems likely that the Epidauros head is a somewhat later replica of the type than the heads from Athens and Corinth.

<sup>65</sup> See above, p. 99.

<sup>66</sup> See above, note 53.

<sup>67</sup> See above, No. 51, note 4.

<sup>68</sup> Cf. L'Orange, *Studien*, figs. 98-103. A very poorly preserved head of a small boy from the Agora, Inv. S 450, shows similar outlining of the eyeball.

The portrait from the Serpentje Wall in Athens, No. II, is not an exact replica of the Epidauros type, but may well be a simplified version of it. The lines in the forehead, the swing of the eyebrows, the curved nose with its drooping tip, the sunken cheeks and the mouth are essentially the same as in the other heads. So are the curve of the beard on the sides and the curls along the jawline. It is in the hair that the most drastic simplifications have taken place: the front fringe is pulled together to a single point in the center of the forehead, and on the sides a single series of parallel lines runs from front to back, curving over the tops of the ears and all the way down to the nape of the neck, as though the hair were a hank of yarn draped over the head.

The two heads from Delphi, Nos. V and VI, seem to be related to the other two types already described without being exact replicas. Vertical worry-wrinkles between the eyebrows, brows that do not arch but sag, unsymmetrically placed eyes, and a beard without formal pattern link No. VI with the Eleusis and Agora heads. The most marked deviation is in the front hair, which instead of being brushed back toward the ears on either side comes forward above them as in the Epidauros type. The locks over the forehead also fail to conform to the pattern of the type. The hair on the nape of the neck is thin and straight as in the Eleusis head, but there is no wreath. If the Delphi head is a wreathless version of a wreathed type, the lack of connection between the front and back hair is thus accounted for.

The other head from Delphi, No. V, might be a watered-down version of the Epidauros type. The slight cock of the head to the right, the high trapezoidal forehead, the high-arched eyebrows, the sentimental expression (here rendered slightly ridiculous by the inept carving of the eyes), the symmetrical sweep of the mustache and beard around the mouth and the ornamental curls in which the beard terminates all belong to the type. Deviations are the absence of the wave in the hair on the back of the neck and of the forward-sweeping curve of the beard over the cheeks. Both these heads have a lifeless, crude workmanship that sets them apart from other members of the group. They would seem to be late versions made after the decline in technique that followed the economic decline of late third century Athens became strongly felt, or else provincial versions made by inferior local sculptors. In any case, they must be later than the Athenian originals of these types, for the changes in the arrangement of the hair are such as would accord with later fashions.<sup>69</sup>

Various attempts have been made to identify these portraits. The bearded type, the age of the men and their concentrated expressions led Rodenwaldt to the conclusion that these were philosophers, and the fact that several of them were found in sanctuaries suggested to him that they were Neo-Platonists, philosophers who made themselves champions of the old pagan sanctuaries in their final struggle against Christianity. L'Orange favors the identification of the men as Neo-Platonists, though his raising of Rodenwaldt's chronology<sup>70</sup> presents a different set of possible subjects. For the Epidauros type he suggests Iamblichos, "the central figure of the Hellenistic philosophy of the fourth century."<sup>71</sup> More recently Hekler has suggested that the Eleusis head represents Nikagoras, a sophist of the third century, a descendant of Plutarch and a sacred herald of the Eleusinian Mysteries.<sup>72</sup> This identification cannot be proved, though it

<sup>69</sup> I.e., the elimination of the Gallienian back-swept waves in front of the ears that characterizes the Eleusis type and of the forward sweep of the beard in the Epidauros type. In general, portraits of the late third century show the hair all brushed forward and the beard all brushed back (if it is long enough to show direction).

<sup>70</sup> See above, note 62.

<sup>71</sup> *Studien*, p. 43.

<sup>72</sup> *Die Antike*, XVI, 1940, pp. 135f.

was suggested by the actual existence of the base of a statue of Nikagoras in the sanctuary at Eleusis where the head was found.<sup>73</sup> Whether or not it is right, however, it is the right *sort* of identification. The priestly insignia of the Agora replica make it likely that the subject of this portrait was a member of one of the Athenian noble families who held priesthoods at Athens as well as at Eleusis. Nikagoras must, however, have lived to a very ripe old age if it is he who is represented, for those who have worked out the genealogy of his family suggest a birth-date for him *ca.* 175–180.<sup>74</sup>

Our dating of the Epidauros type in the immediately post-Gallienian period precludes the identification with Iamblichos proposed by L'Orange. The number of replicas (five certain plus one probable and one possible) seems at first glance an astonishing number for a portrait of someone who was certainly not an emperor or a member of the imperial family. Yet a glance at the inscriptions of the surviving Greek statue-bases of Roman times serves to show that it was by no means unusual for a prominent citizen to have more than one portrait (whether statue or herm) erected to him, even though his renown may never have spread much beyond his own city.<sup>75</sup> Various important offices and priesthoods held and various benefactions performed for the city at different times might serve as the occasions for erecting new statues, sometimes at the expense of the state and sometimes with the permission of the state but at the expense of some member of the subject's family. There is no reason to think that a new type would be created on each of these occasions. The activities of Herodes Atticus<sup>76</sup> are sufficient proof that those who filled the Greek towns and countryside with statues and herms in the Roman period took no pains to spare the passerby the boredom of encountering the same face over and over again. A good type, once established, would doubtless be repeated with only those variations required by the occasion: the addition or subtraction of wreaths or the adjustments required to make a statue-portrait into a herm-portrait.

In view of the rapid decline of sculpture in the last third of the third century, the striking difference in technique between the plastic and linear versions of the portrait need not represent a very great lapse of time. It is perhaps not due entirely to chance that the face of No. II, the head from the Serpentje Wall, looks somewhat older than those of the others. The sculptor may have been able, without altering the basic type, to suggest the advancing age of his subject.

There is no real evidence for the identification of this most-copied of late Athenian portraits. If the two Delphi portraits are actually versions of our Eleusis and Epidauros types, the coincidence of their occurring together at Delphi may argue some connection between them, but as to what this might be we have as yet no clue. In the absence of other indications for the Epidauros type, one is tempted to wonder whether it may not preserve for us the features of the historian Dexippos.<sup>77</sup> A wealthy and influential Athenian citizen and a member of the priestly clan of the Kerykes, he combined civil and military leadership with his literary profession. He claims credit for the expulsion of the barbarians from Greece, and the inscription on the base

<sup>73</sup> *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 3814.

<sup>74</sup> O. Schissel, "Die Familie des Minukianos," *Klio*, XXI, 1927, p. 367. This means that he must have lived a very long time in any case if it is true, as Hekler suggests, *op. cit.*, p. 136, that he survived by about two decades his friend Philostratos (who died between 244 and 249).

<sup>75</sup> There are, for example, three inscriptions surviving from portraits of the historian Dexippos (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 3669–3671) and three of his father (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 3666–3668). The appearance of a copy of our portrait at Epidauros may indicate that the subject held a priesthood there, as prominent Athenians sometimes did: cf. Q. Alleius Epiktetos, an archon of Athens in the second century, Oliver, *Hesperia*, XI, 1942, p. 86, note 32 (where the reading of *I.G.*, IV<sup>2</sup>, 691 is corrected and Alleius is shown to have been an Athenian, not an Epidaurian). In the fourth century Ploutarchos who was ἀρχιερεύς at Athens and ἱεραπόλος at Epidauros dedicated two statuettes of Asklepios in the sanctuary (*I.G.*, IV<sup>2</sup>, 436, 437).

<sup>76</sup> See above, under No. 26.

<sup>77</sup> For the career of Dexippos see Schwartz in Pauly-Wissowa, *R.E.*, s.v.

of a statue erected to him about 270<sup>78</sup> calls him "famed throughout Hellas" for his historical writings. Such an identification has, however, even less real evidence in its favor than has that of the Eleusis type as Nikagoras, for none of the replicas can be shown to have the same provenience as any of the inscriptions of Dexippos.

#### THE LAST QUARTER OF THE THIRD CENTURY

It is not surprising that the last quarter of the third century is poorly represented among the Agora portraits, for the Agora itself lay in ruins at this time and no portraits were set up there. No. 50, with which we have compared a head in the Athens National Museum (Pl. 47, e) dated by L'Orange to the early Tetrarchic period,<sup>79</sup> represents the continuation of what we called the "tense style" in works of the preceding quarter-century. These portraits are the final offshoots of the school from which the priest portraits (Pl. 46, d) and our No. 49 originated in the late Gallienian period. Their late date is apparent in the hair style and in the cruder technique and harsh use of incised lines.

The head of a middle-aged man with stubble beard, No. 52, is certainly later, very near the end of the century if not after, but it differs from No. 50 also in the fact that it seems to stem from the "dry style" of the seventies. In keeping with the fashion of the times it shows a stippled beard rendered with direction-less strokes and a sharp off-setting of the hair mass from the neck in back. The technical inferiority of the piece shows up particularly in the carving of the eyebrows and nose, which may be compared with that in the poorer of the two "philosopher" portraits from Delphi, above, p. 101 No. V.

The youth with the stippled beard, No. 51, shows considerably greater proficiency in the modelling of the face, which, except for the simplified treatment of the forehead, bears a certain resemblance to that of the ephebe G 33.<sup>80</sup> The manner of stippling the beard, however, and the sharp line that divides the hair from the face, seem to place the work at the end of the century. If H. A. Thompson is right in considering this head a pre-Herulian work,<sup>81</sup> these features must be regarded as less reliable evidence for dating than has been hitherto supposed.

#### THE FOURTH CENTURY

The three ill-preserved pieces which can be attributed to the fourth century, Nos. 53-55, form a pathetic epilogue to the story of late Athenian portraiture as read in the finds from the Agora excavations. In their present condition these pieces tell us little about the quality of Athenian work during this period except that the carving is very flat and the forms are rigidly stylized. The male head, No. 53, with its flat brow and blank eyes appears to reflect Constantinian classicism in a particularly cold and empty form. The female head No. 55 with the slender oval face seems almost archaic in the simplicity of its planes. Here we are left with a

<sup>78</sup> *I.G.*, II<sup>3</sup>, 3669.

<sup>79</sup> See above, No. 50, note 1.

<sup>80</sup> See above, p. 66.

<sup>81</sup> See above, *loc. cit.*

half-formed vision of something that might have been quite attractive if only a little more of it had been spared for our enjoyment.

#### THE FIFTH CENTURY

In fifth century Athens, a university town whose students and visitors continued to bring her a measure of prosperity and of contact with the outside world, portraits were still being made. A few of these survive, but no portrait head of this century has as yet come to light in the area of the Agora. The headless statue of a magistrate, No. 64 above, is our only representative of the period. Its shallow carving and block-like form, preserving the shape of the stone from which it was carved, suggest that it belongs late in the century when even this last brief flowering of Athenian prosperity had begun to wither away.

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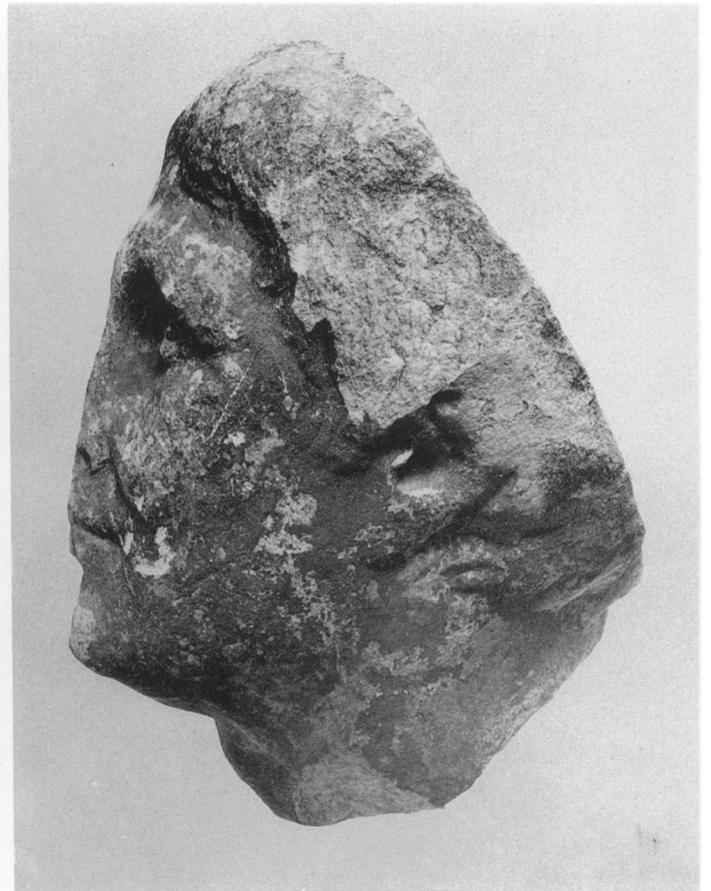
“VALERIAN WALL”: 2, 66, 90–91

WORKSHOP GROUPS: 6–7

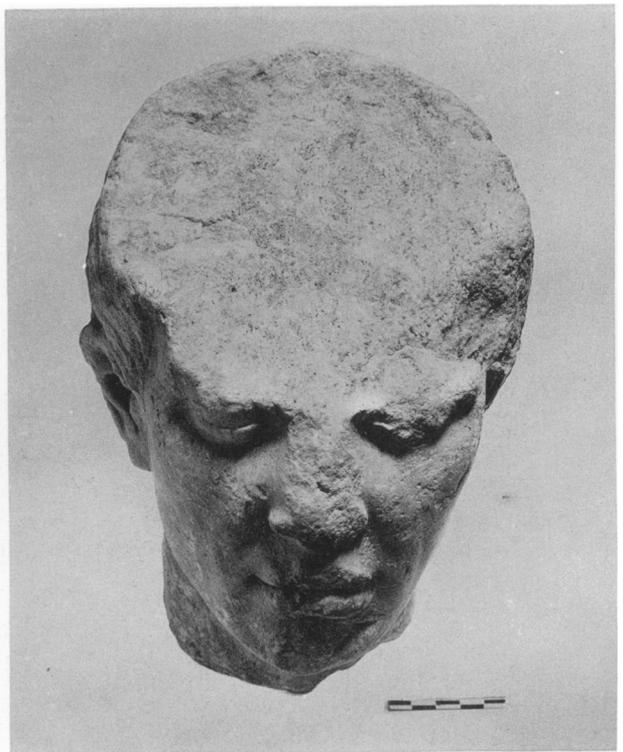
Wreaths: 27–28, 34–35, 41, 53–54, 54–55, 55, 56, 60,  
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## PLATES





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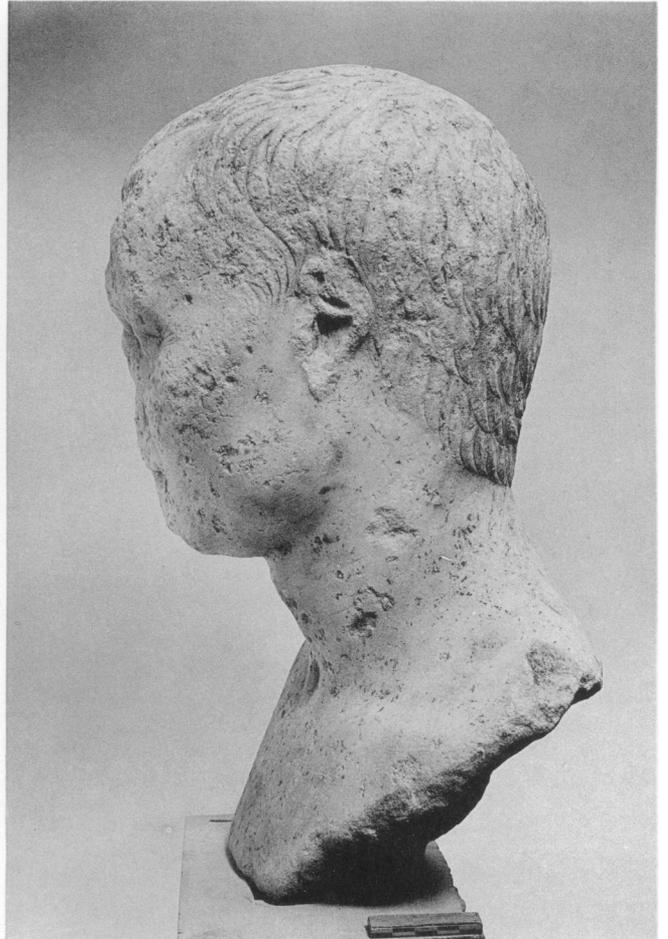


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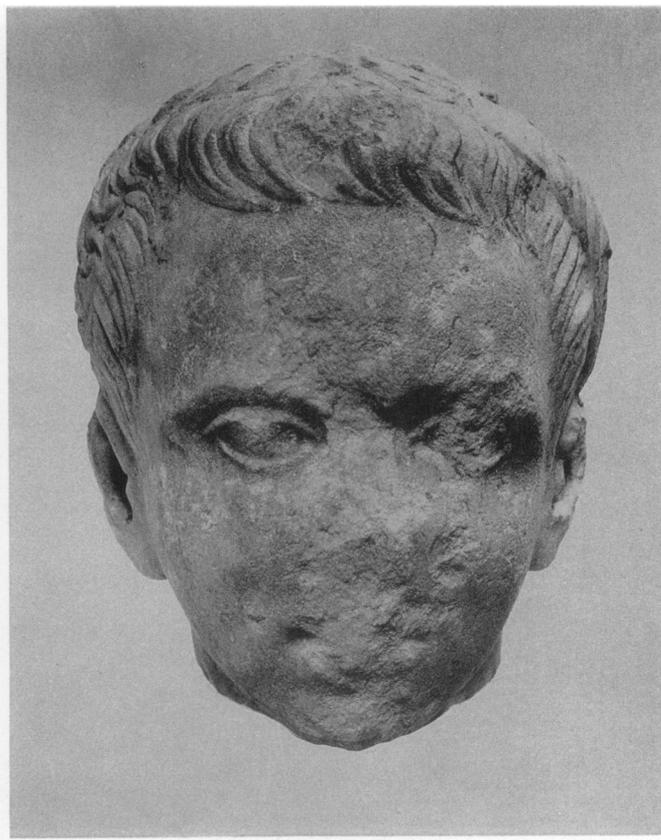


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PLATE 6



7.



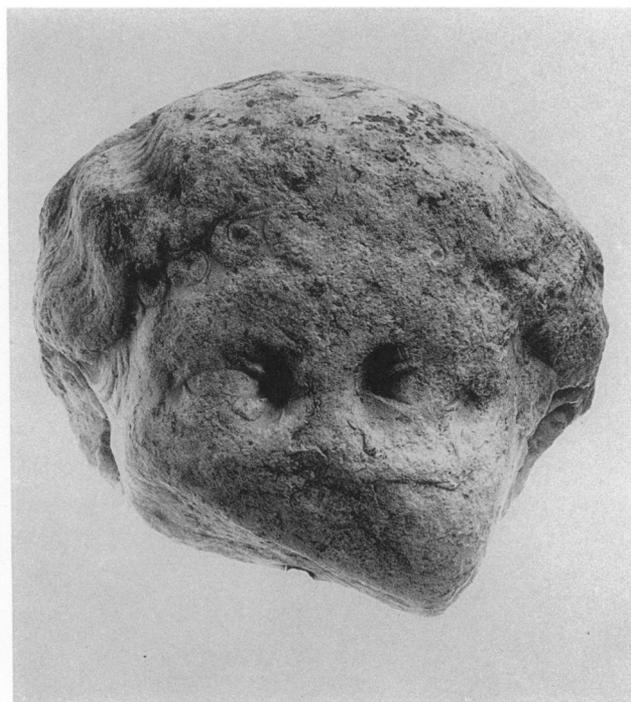
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11.



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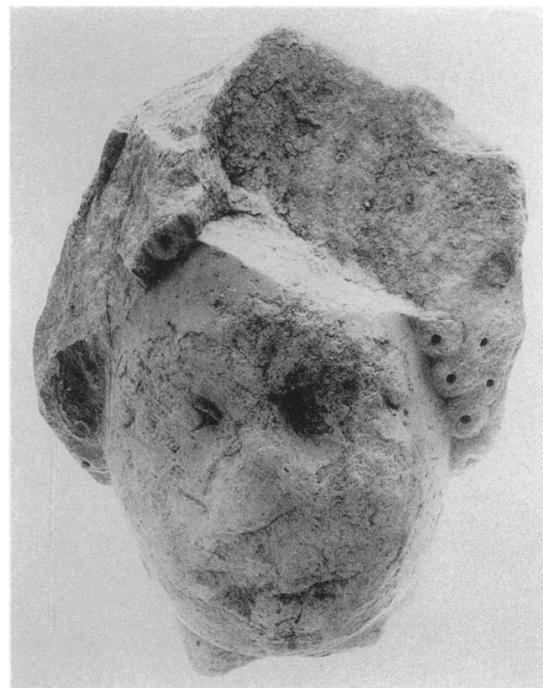
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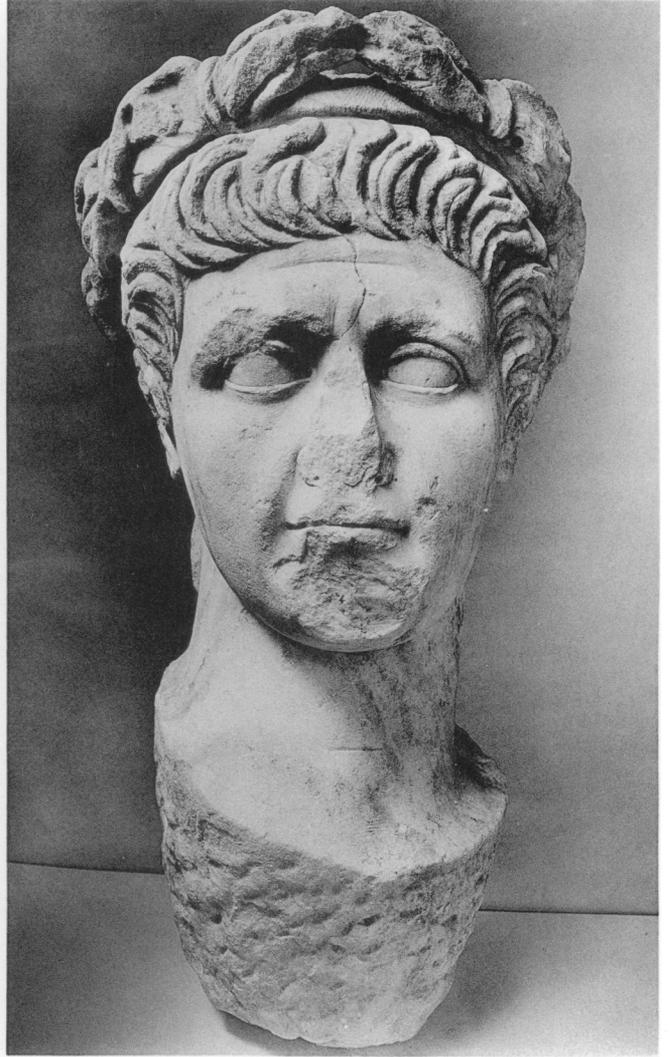


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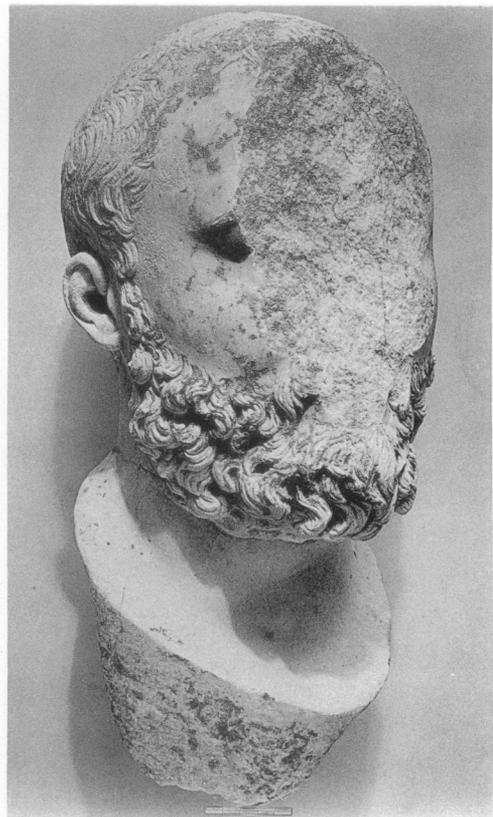
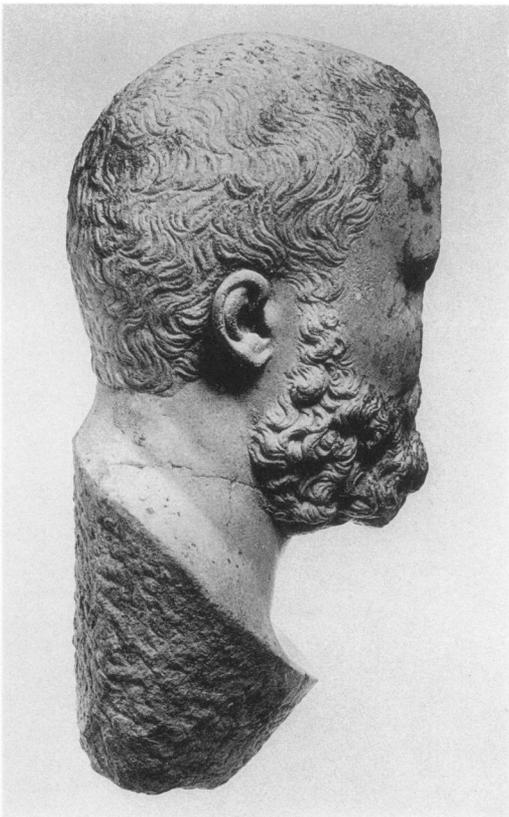


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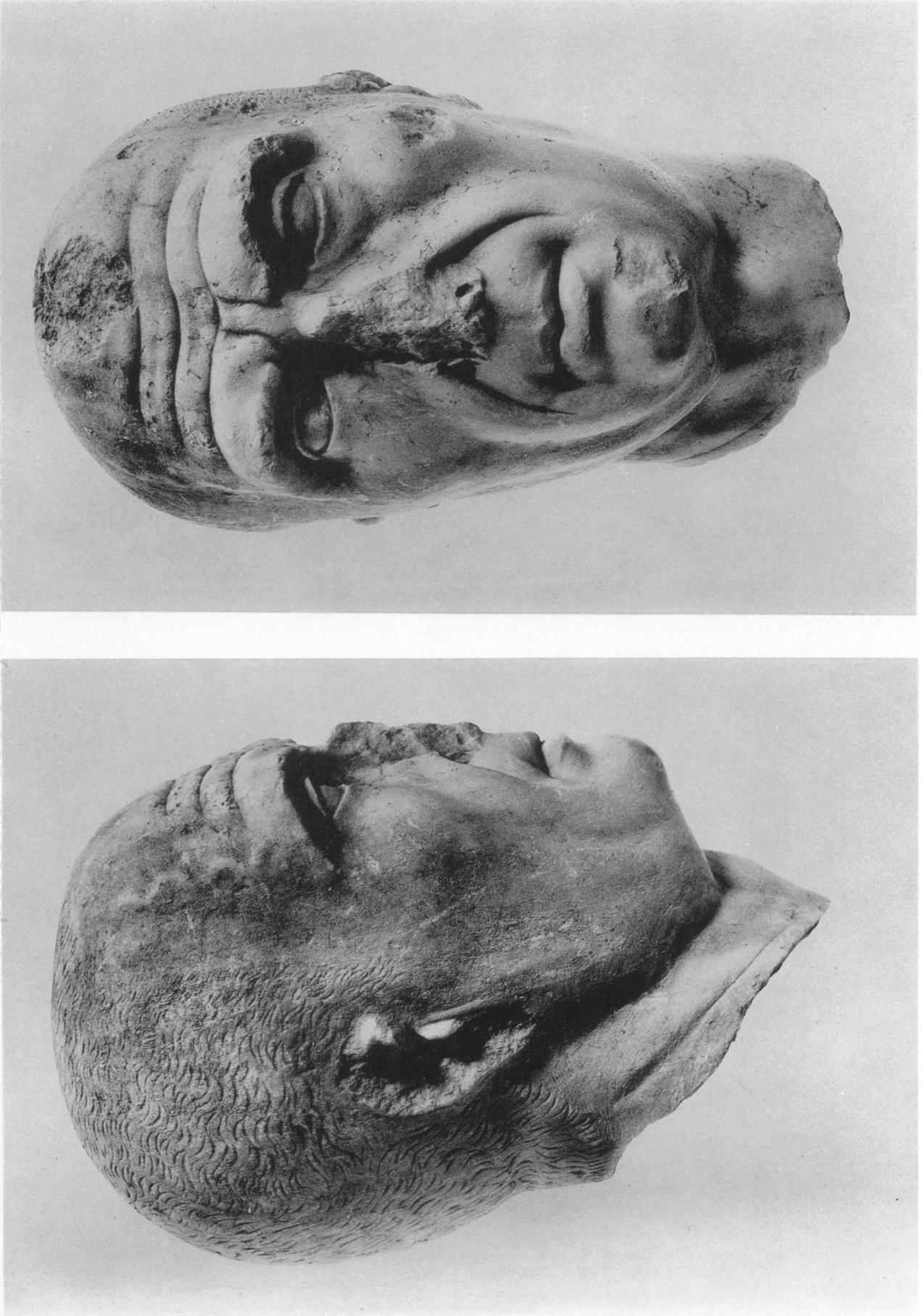
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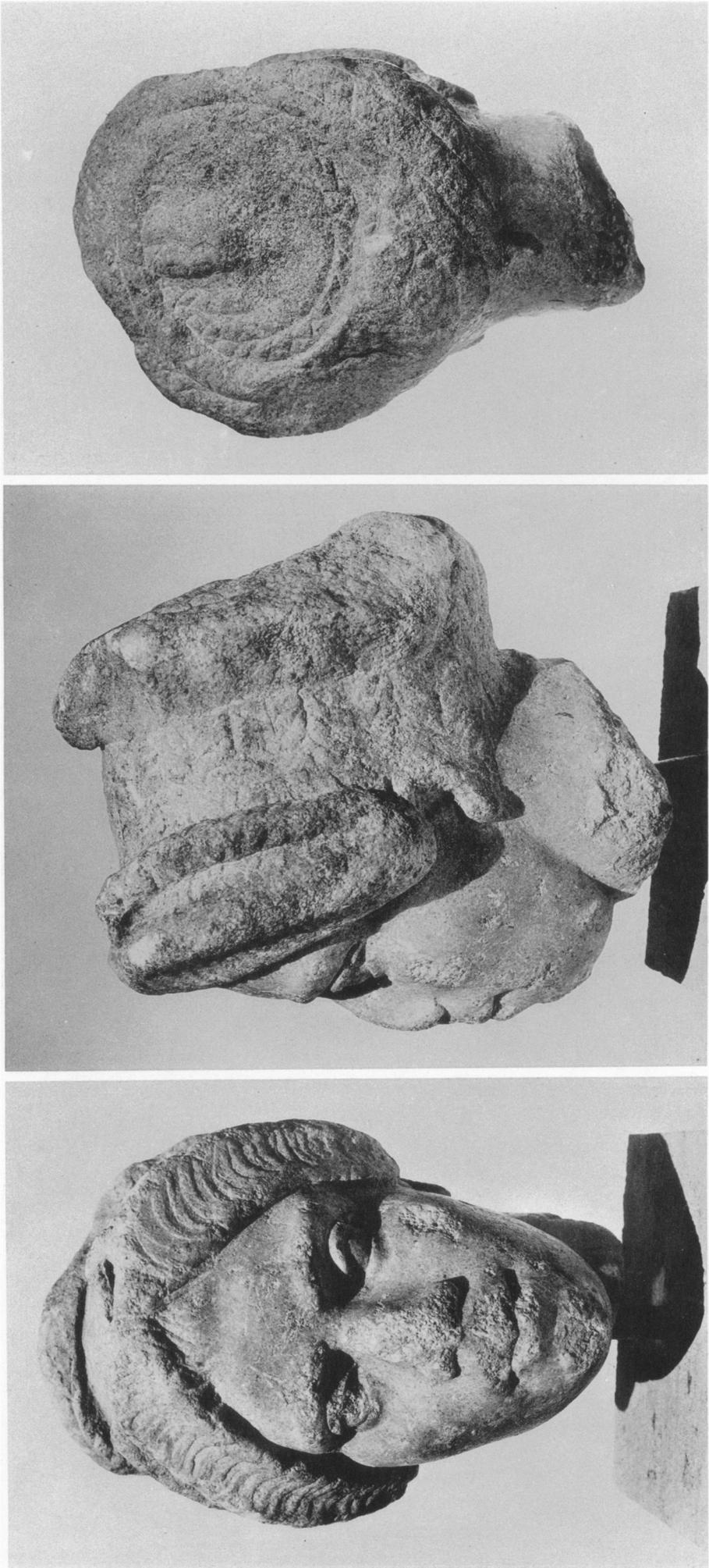
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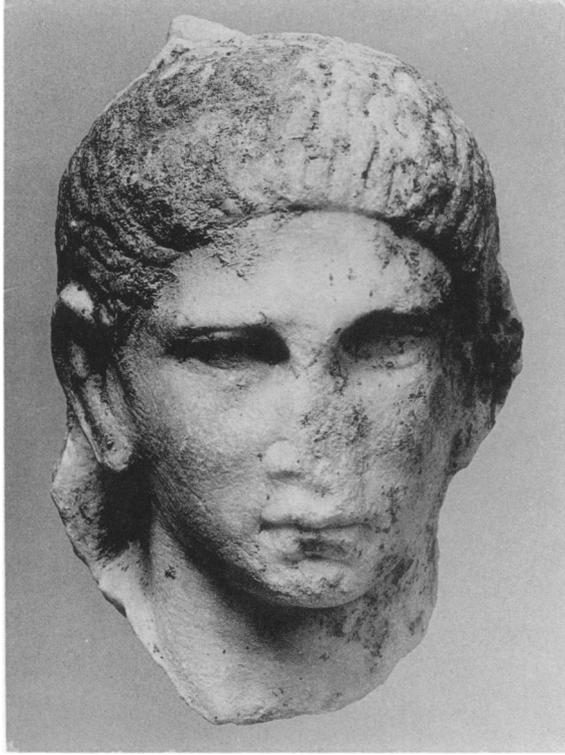
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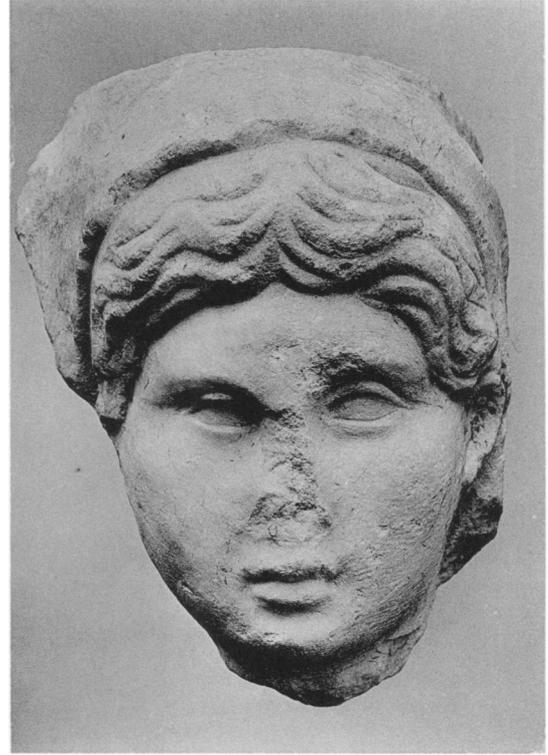
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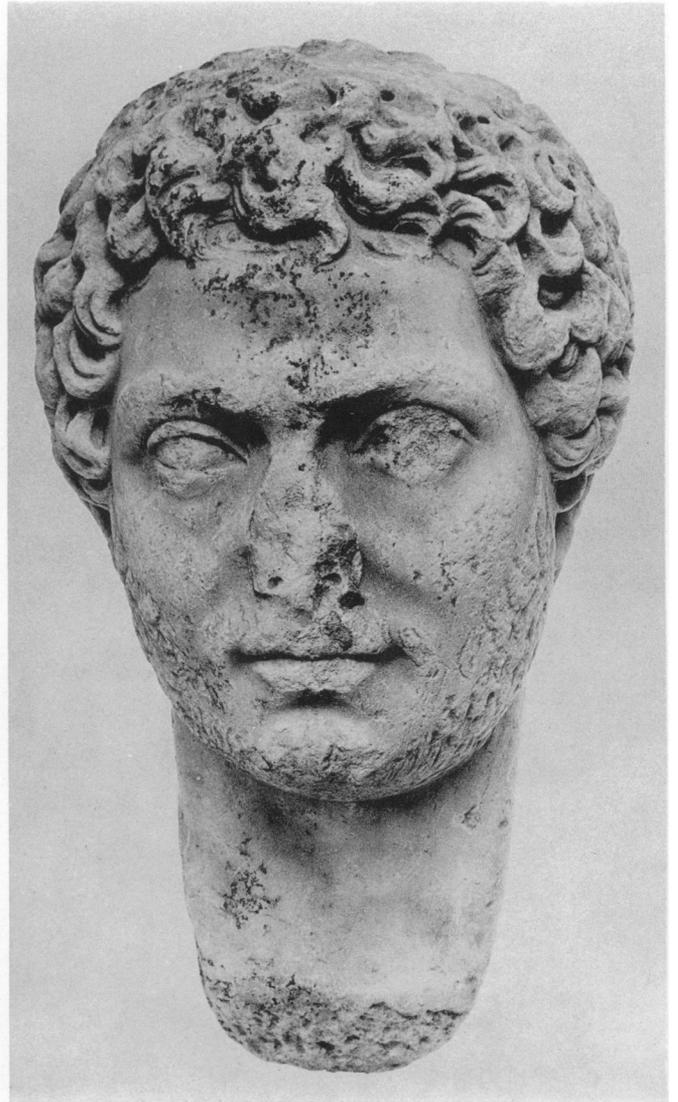
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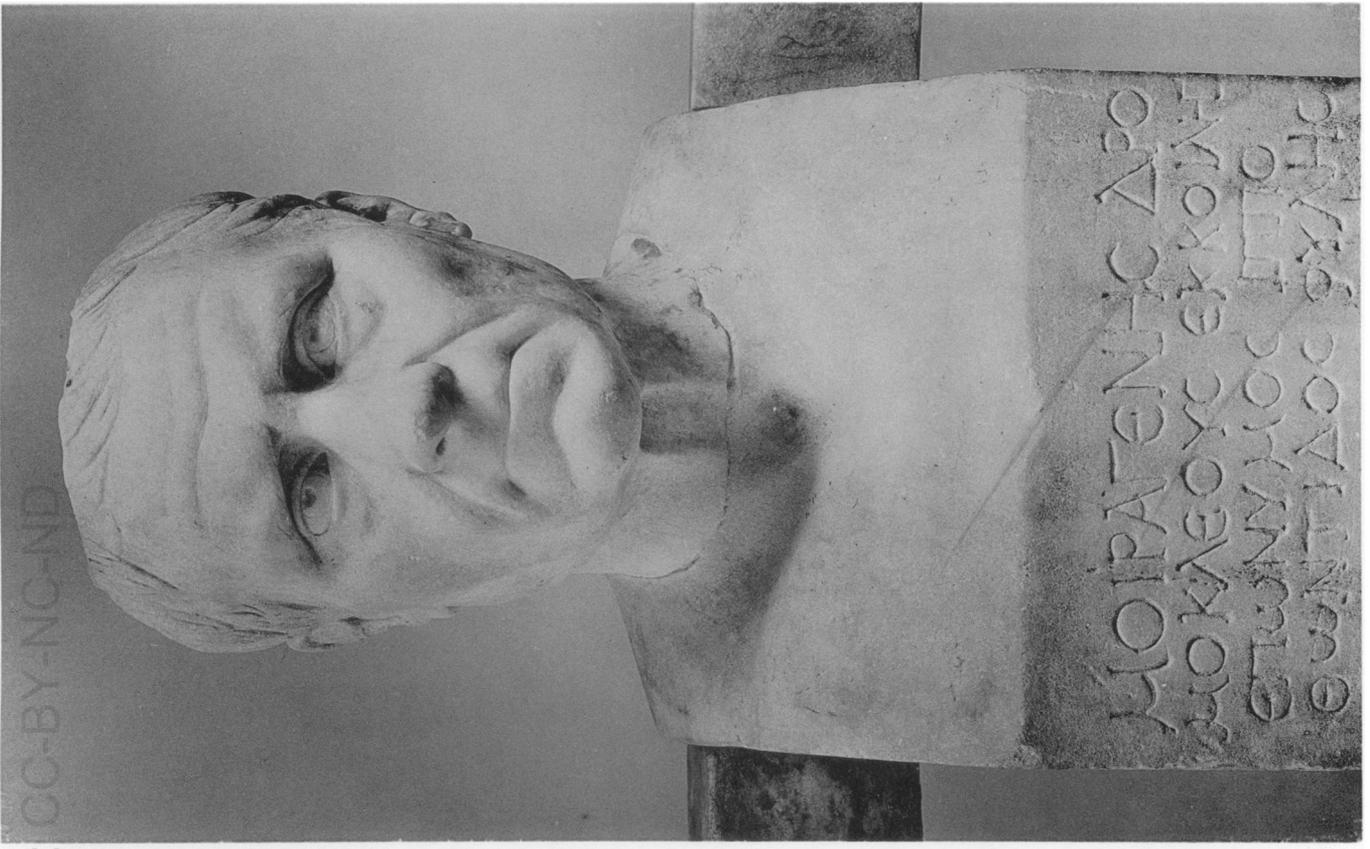
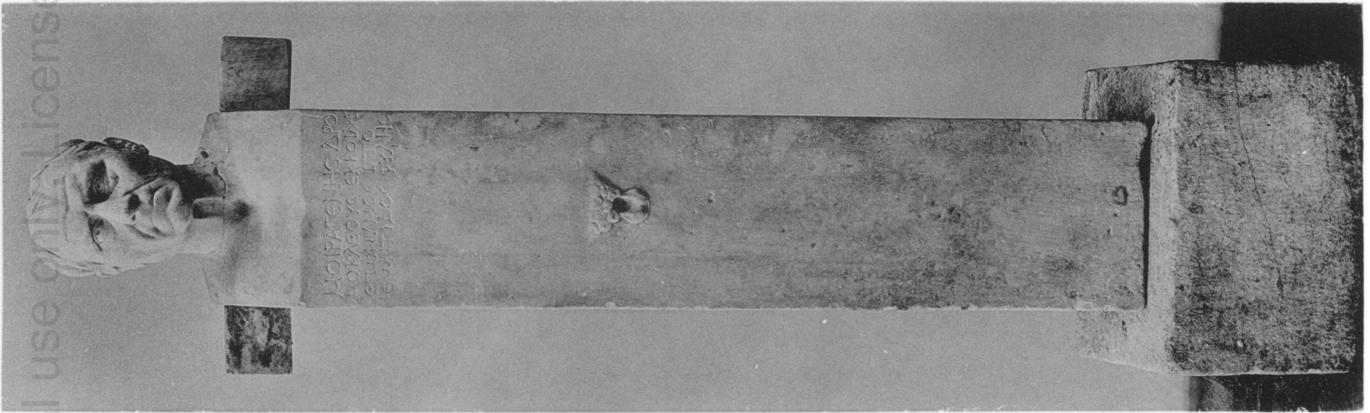
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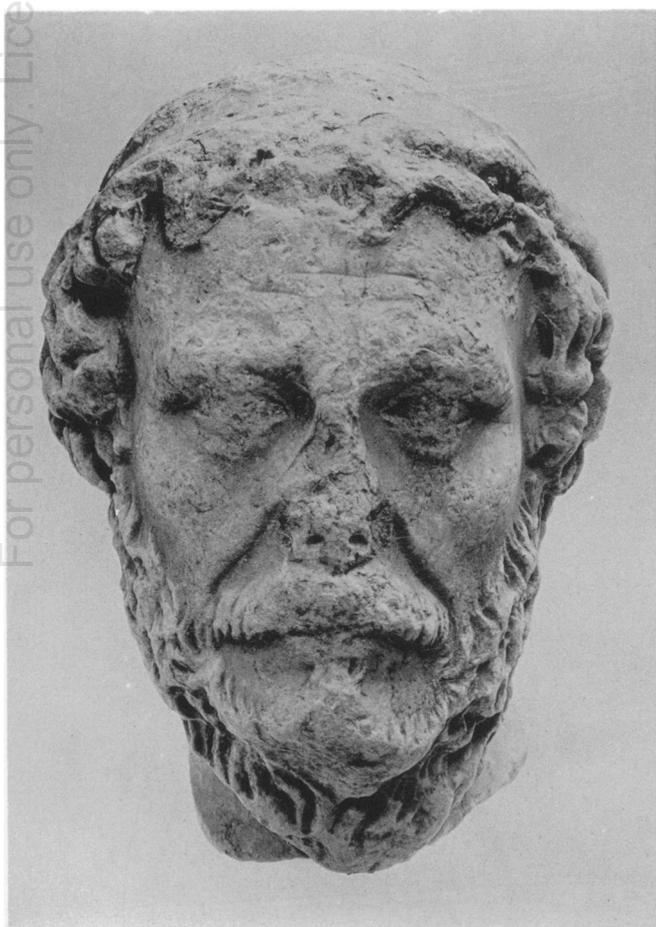




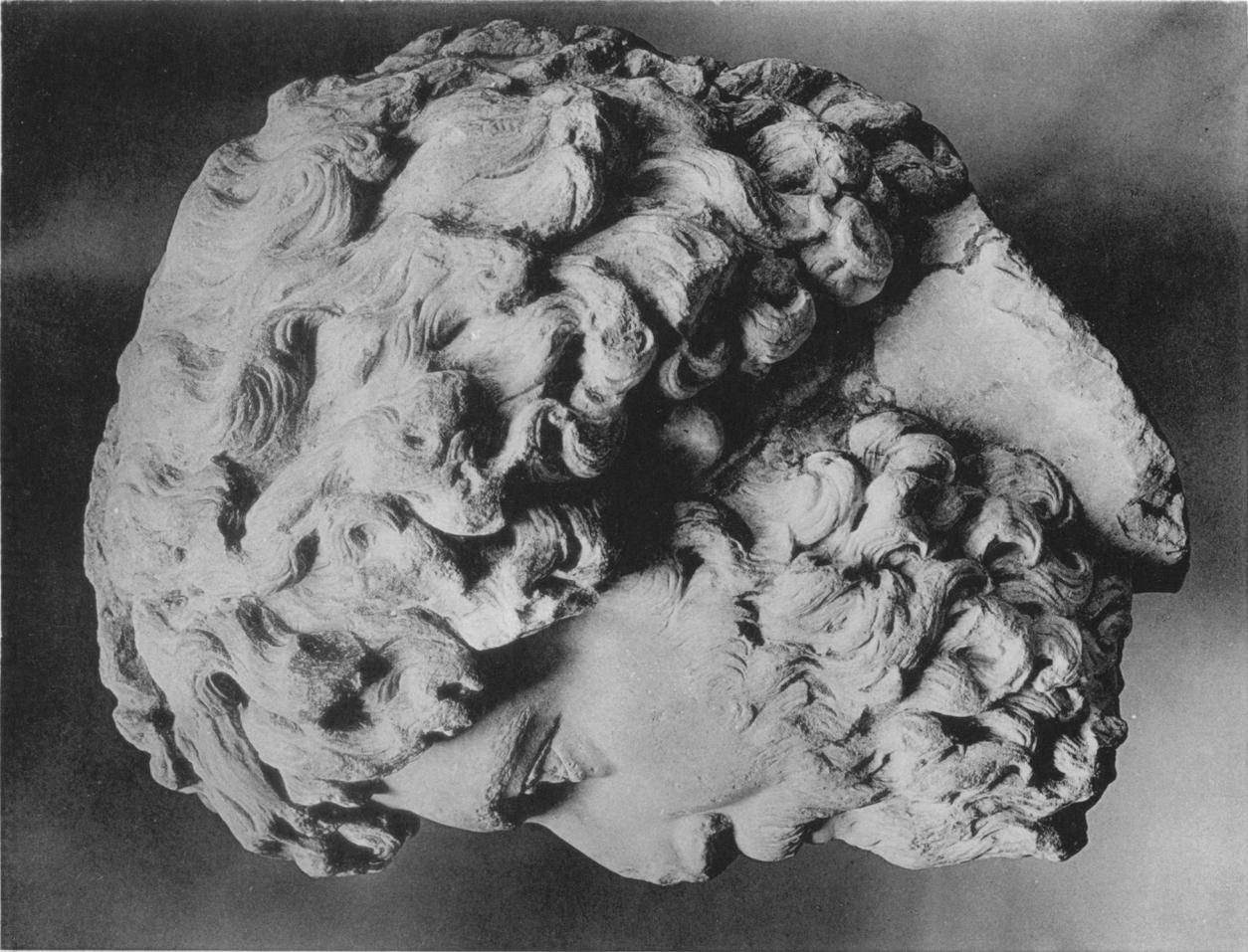
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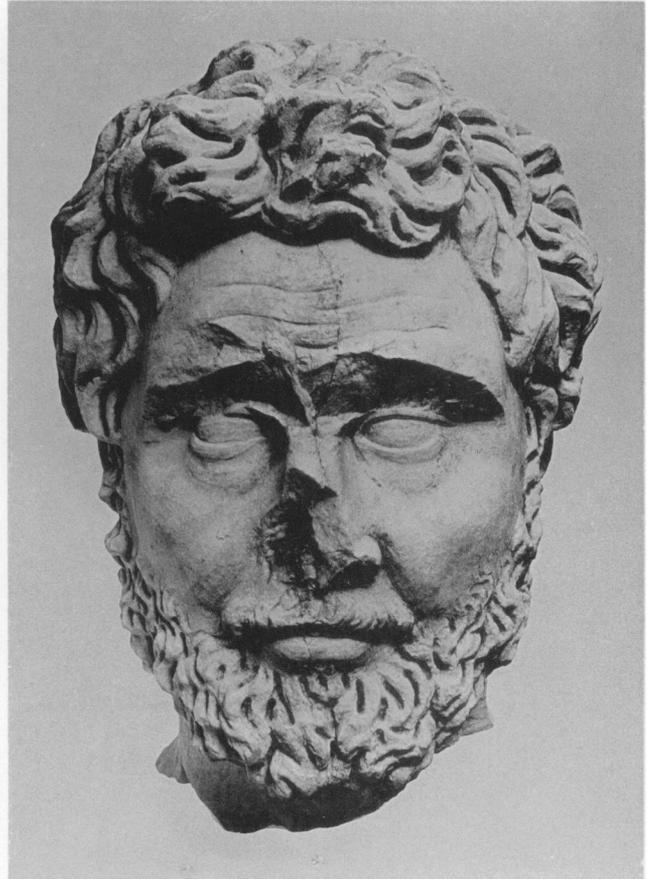
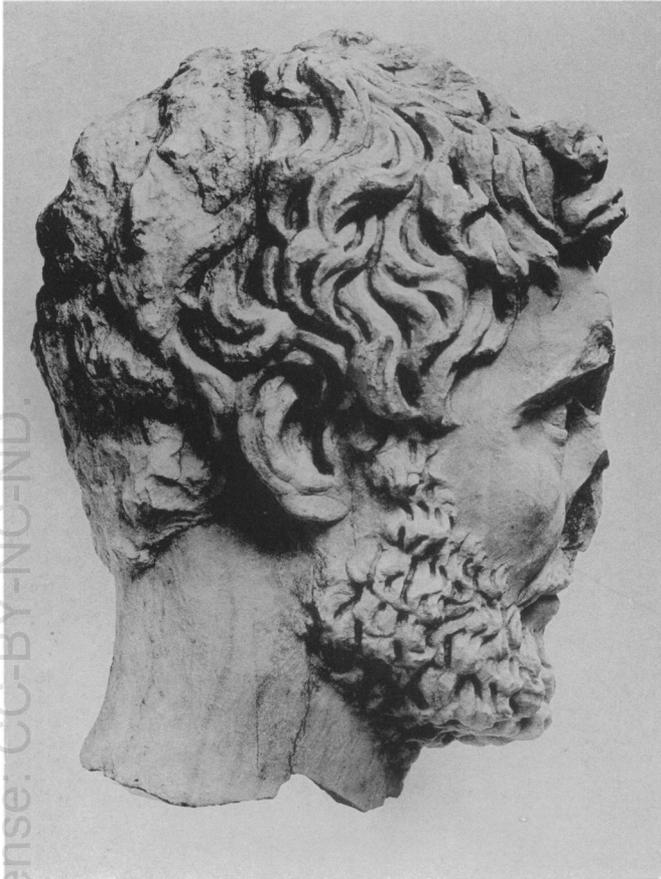


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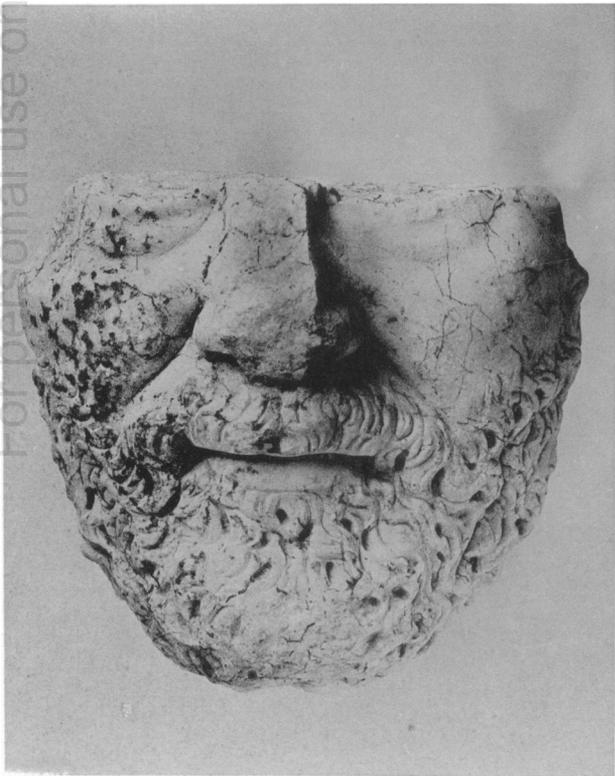


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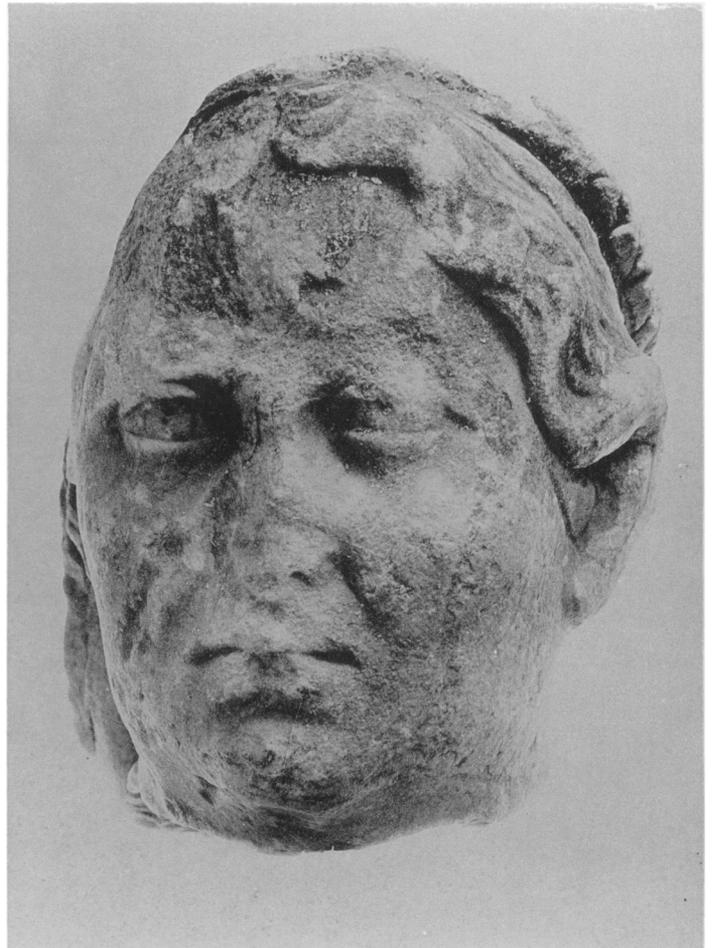
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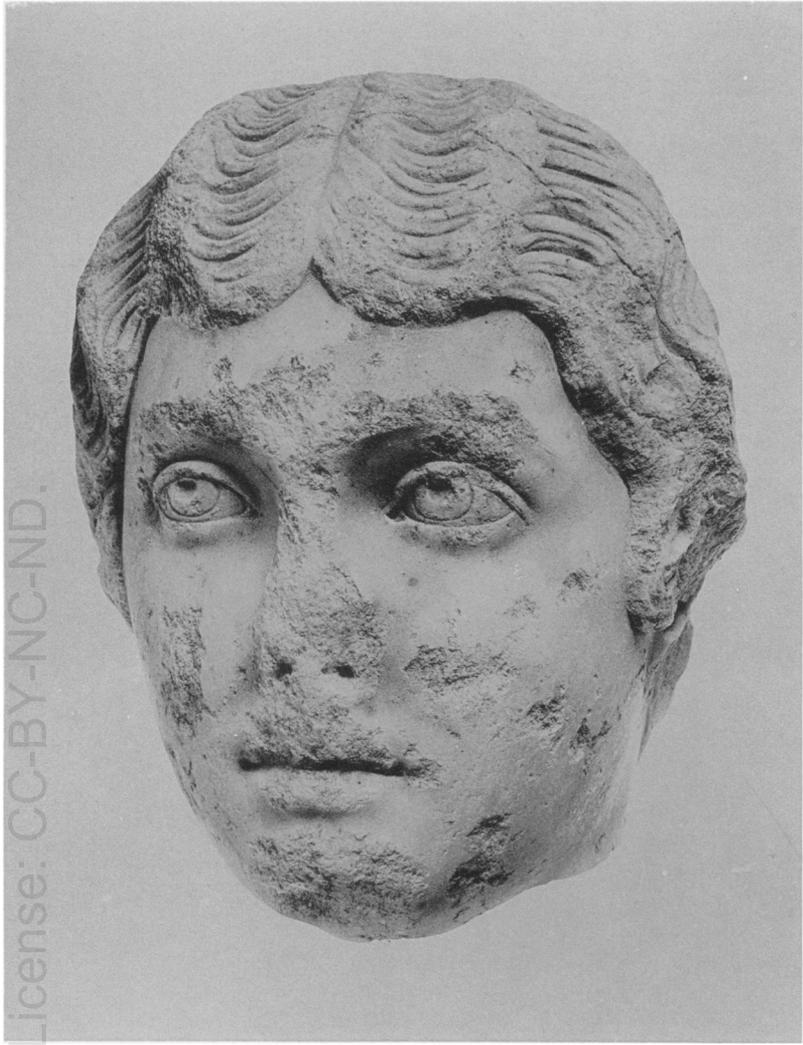
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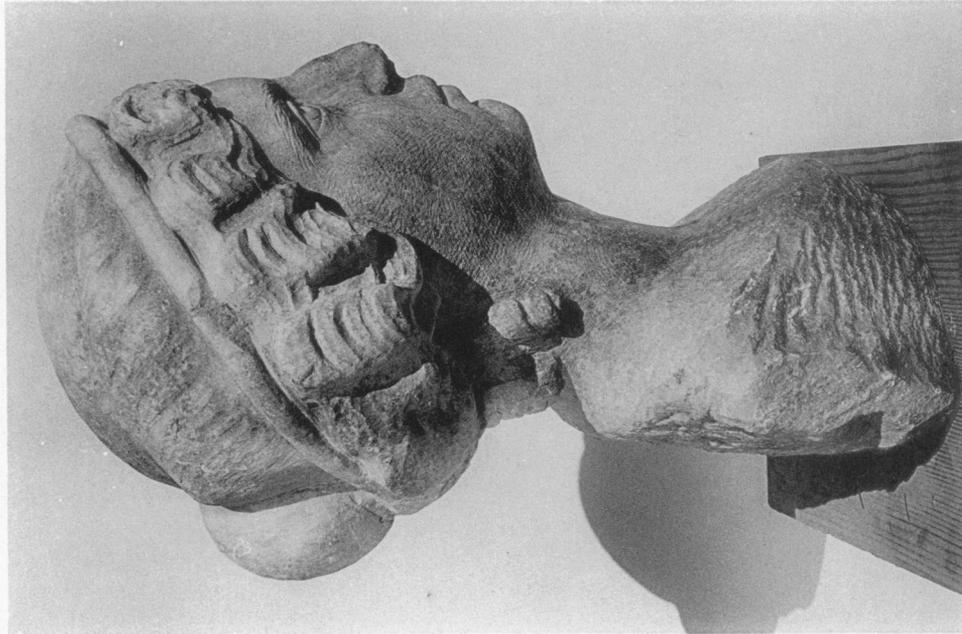
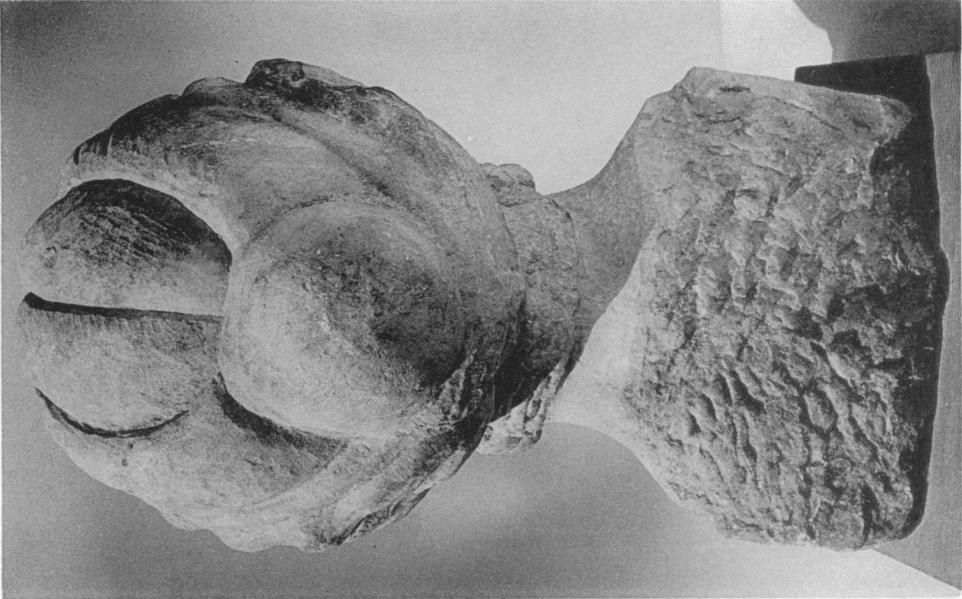


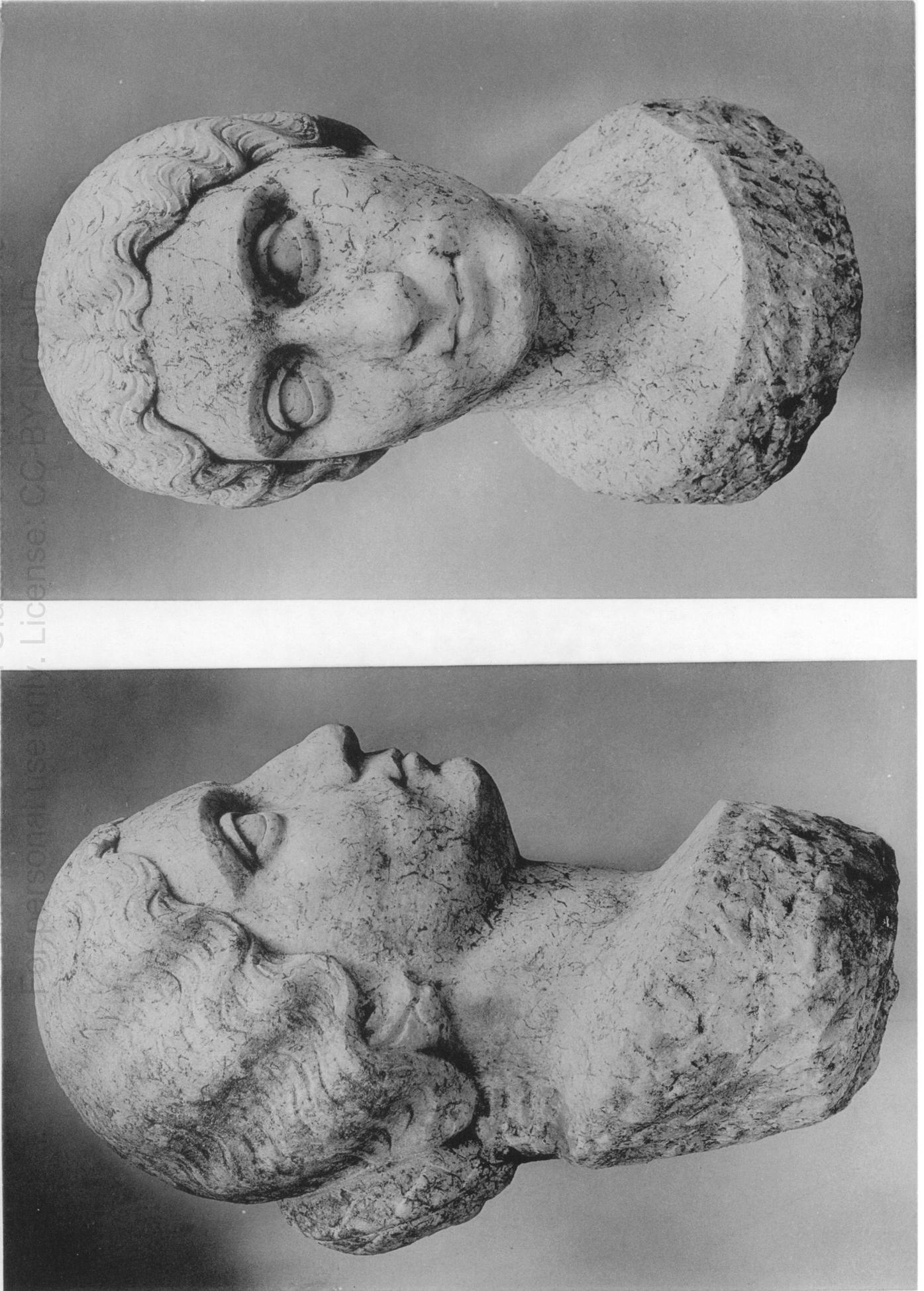
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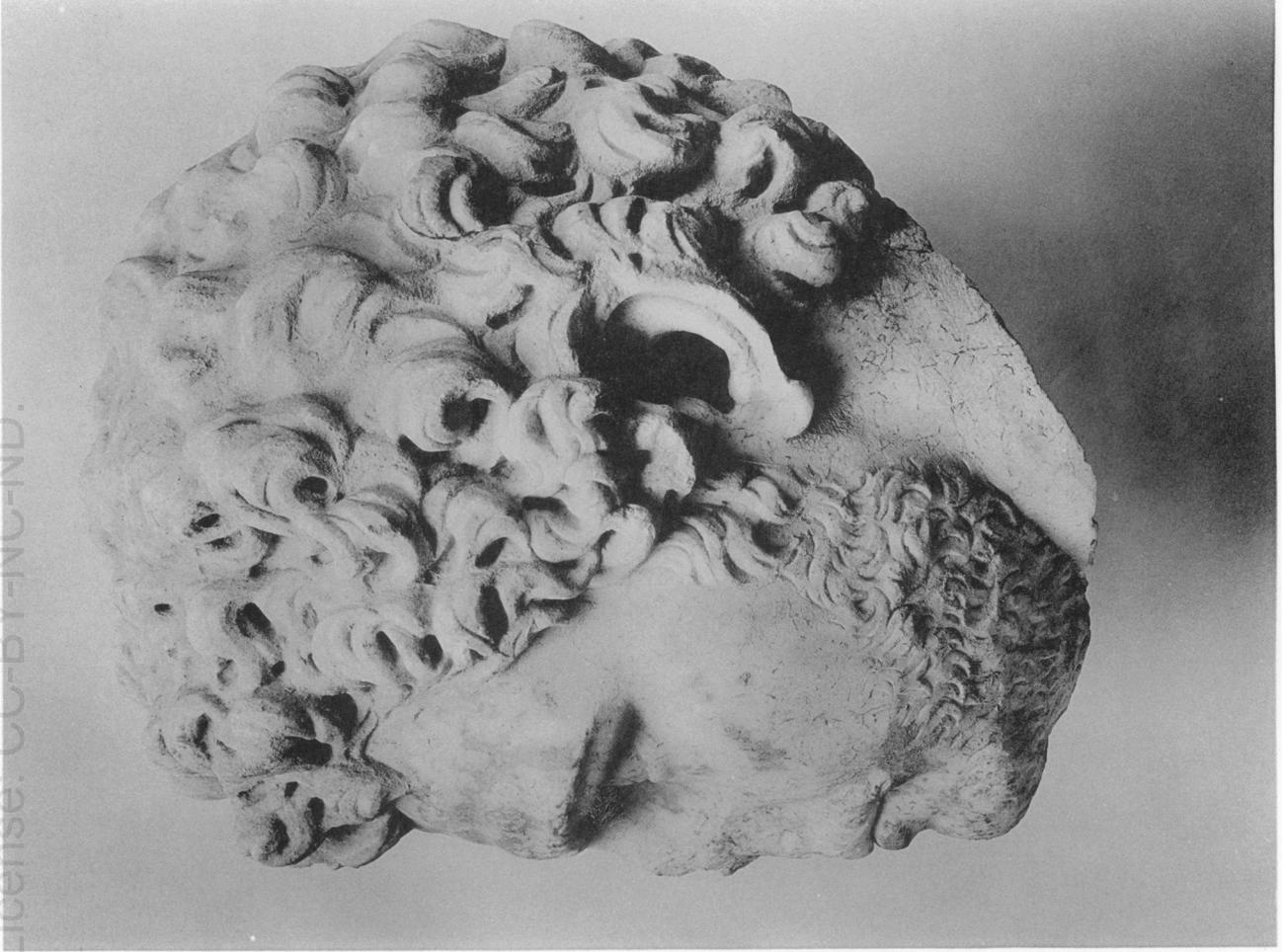
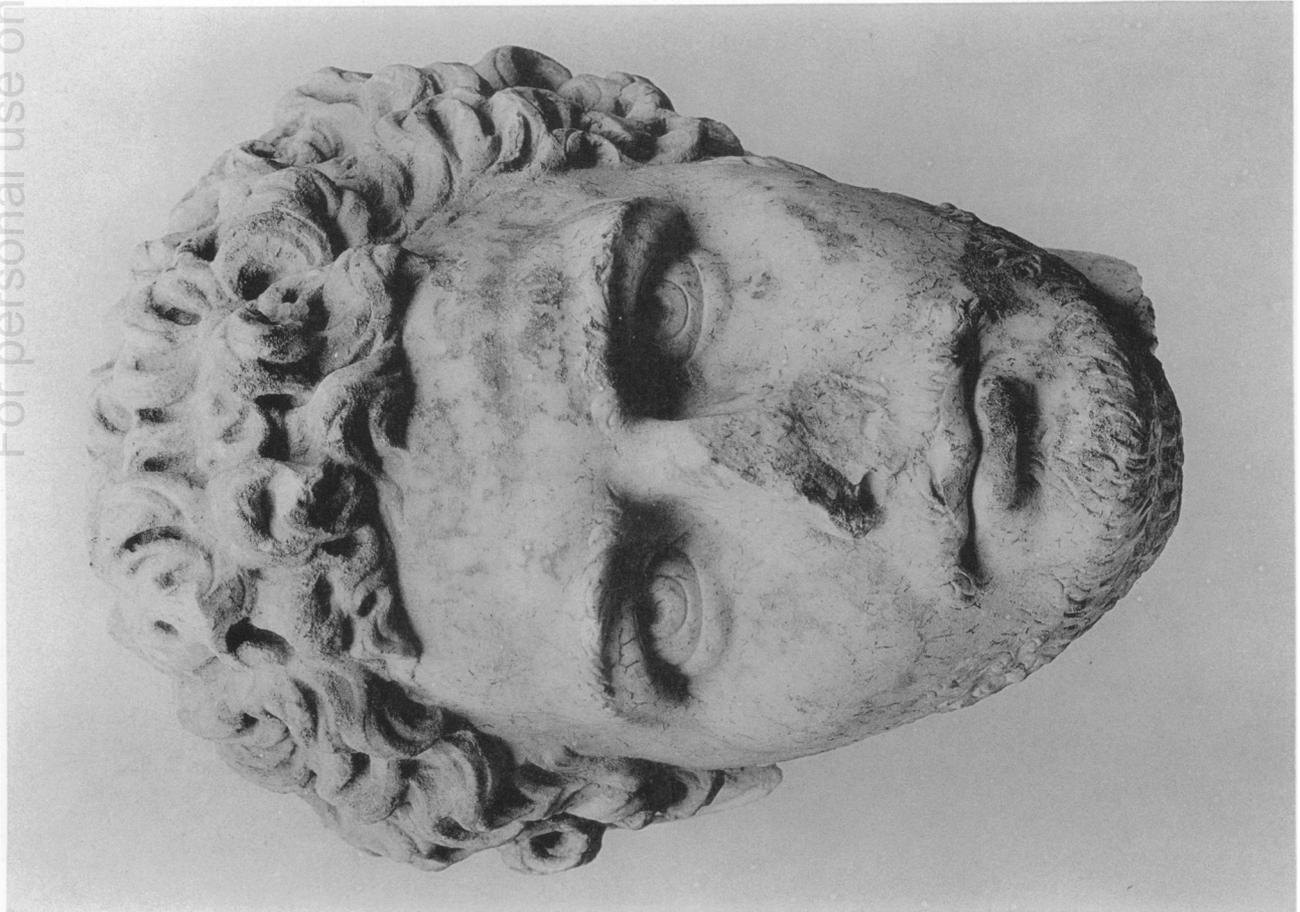
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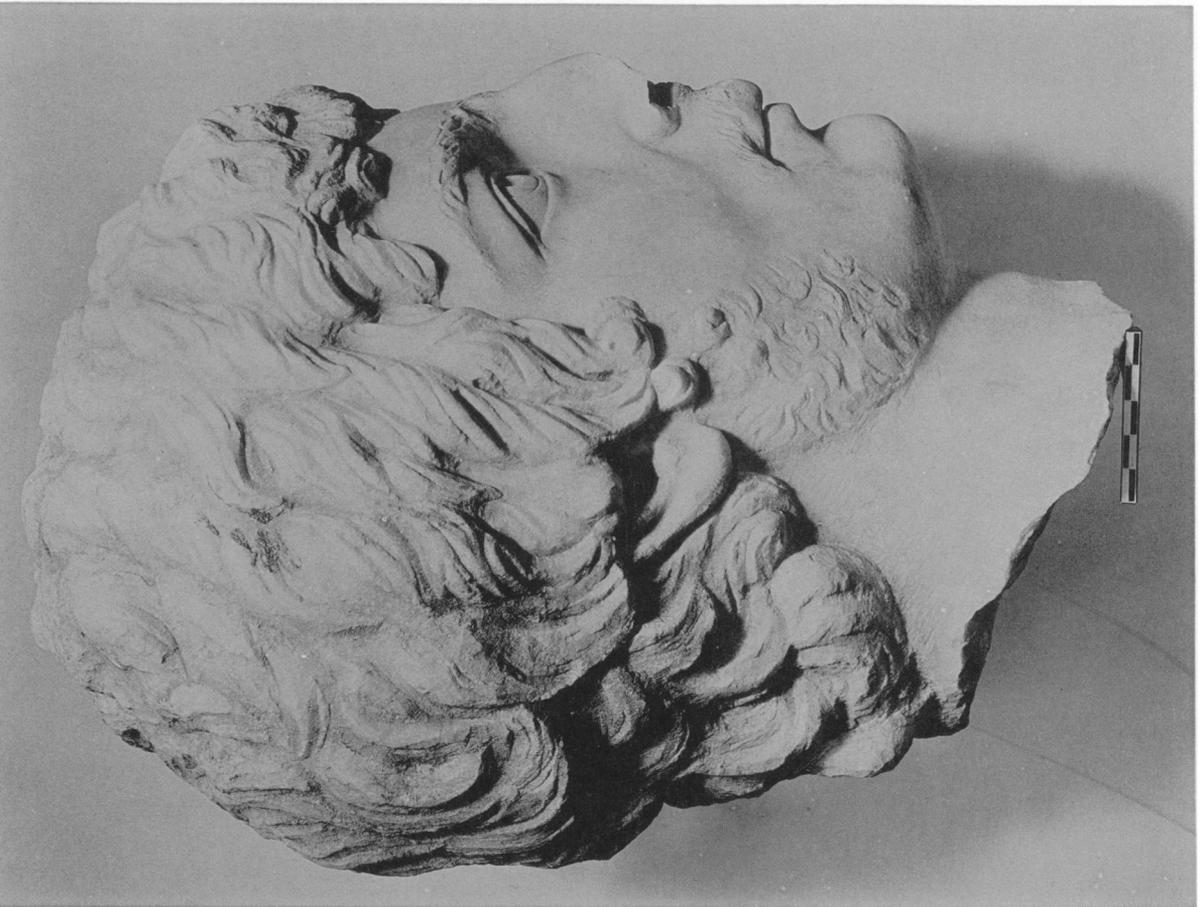
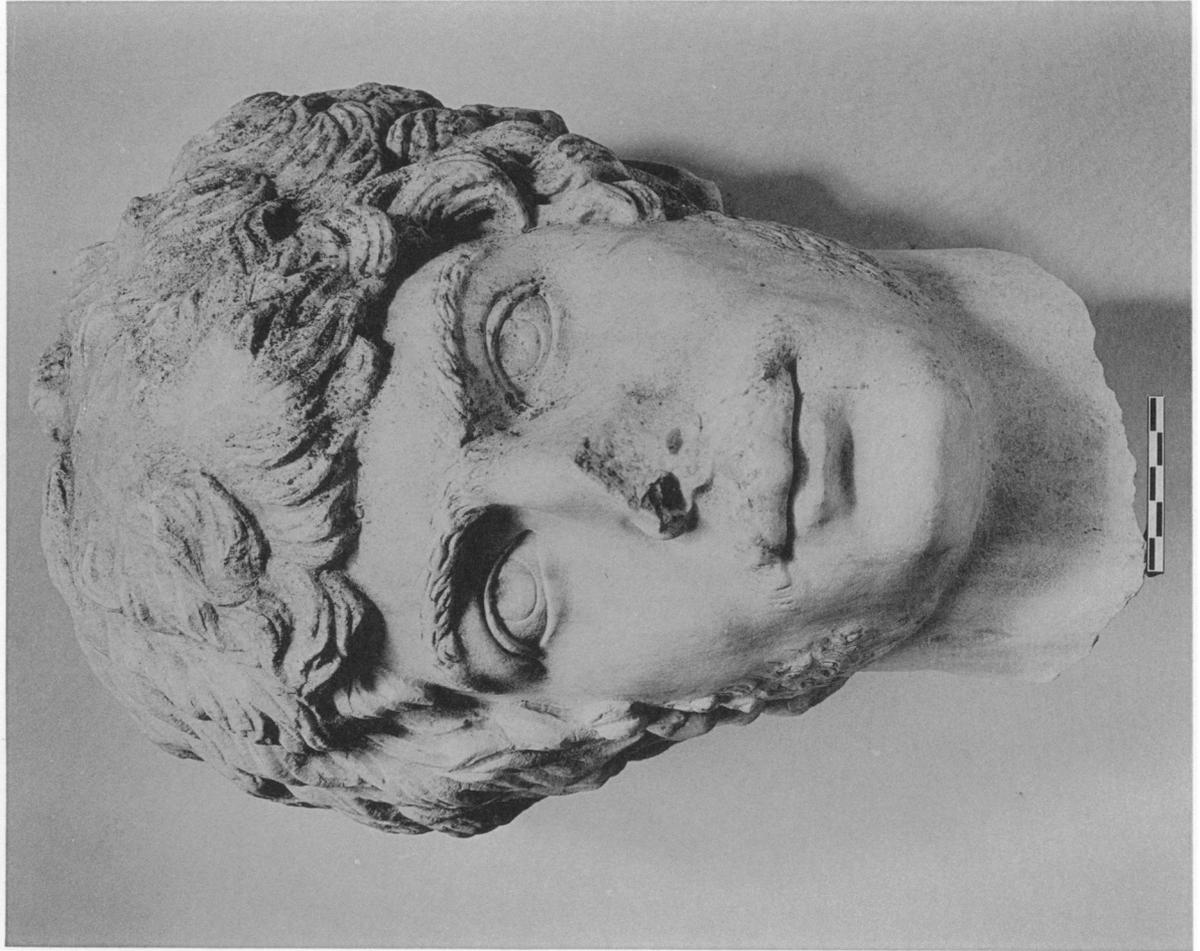




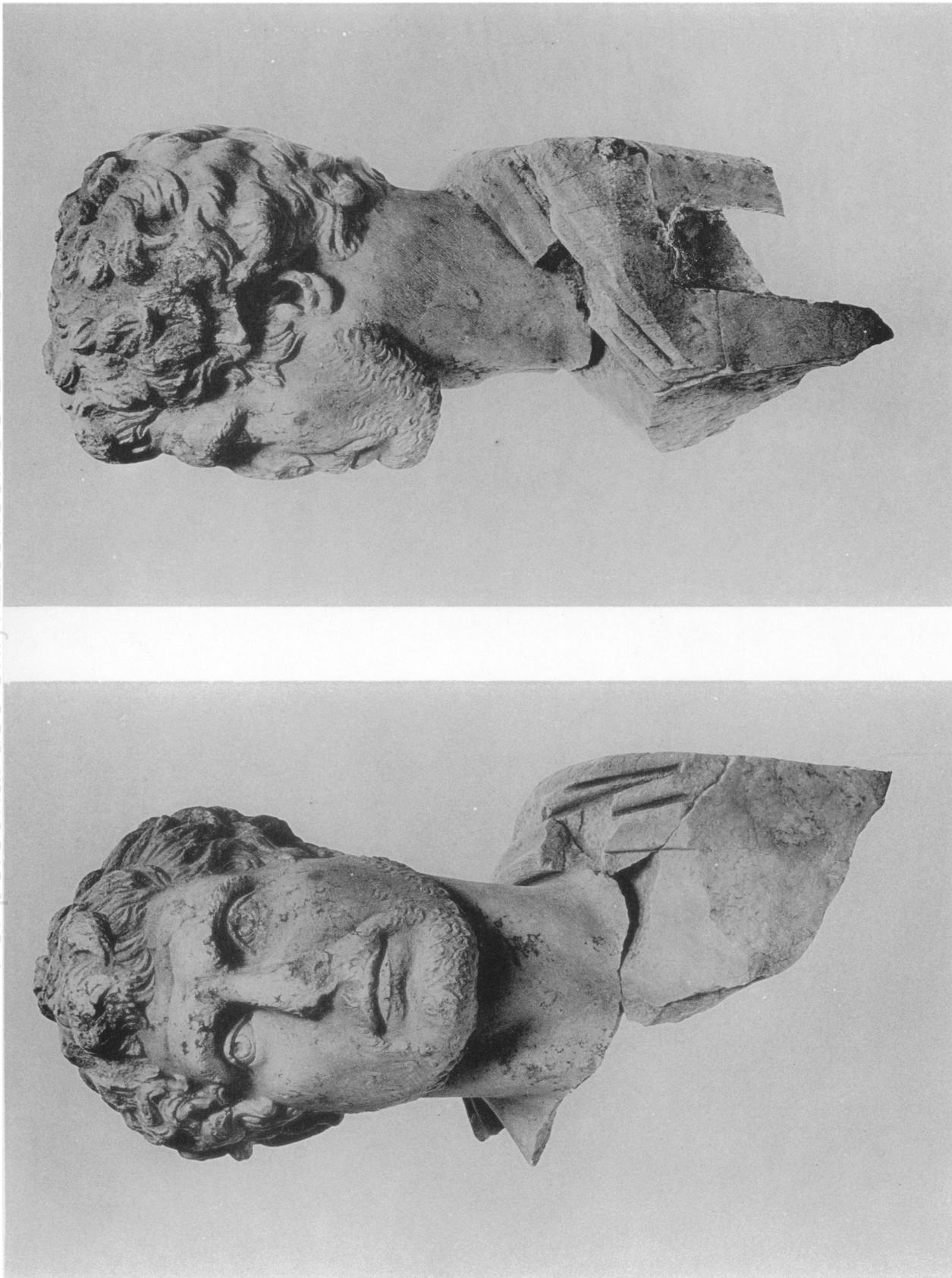
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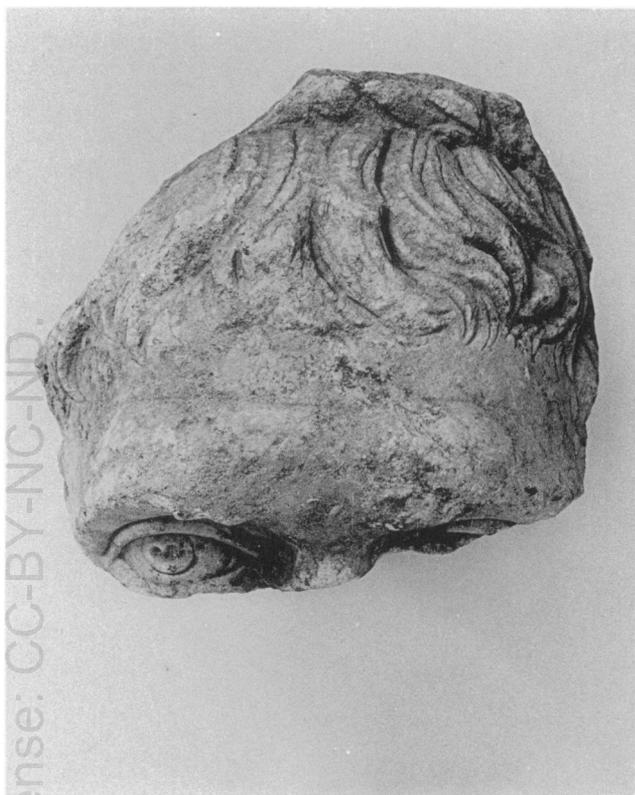
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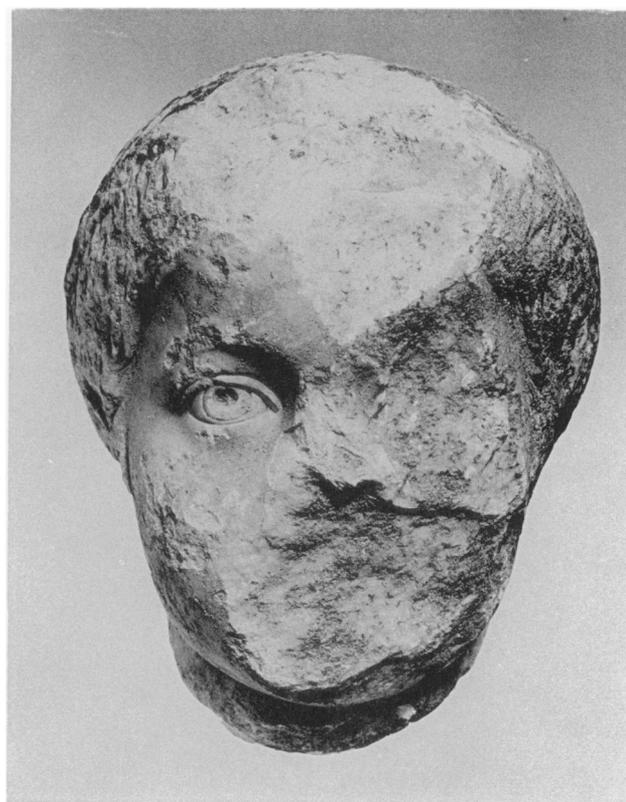


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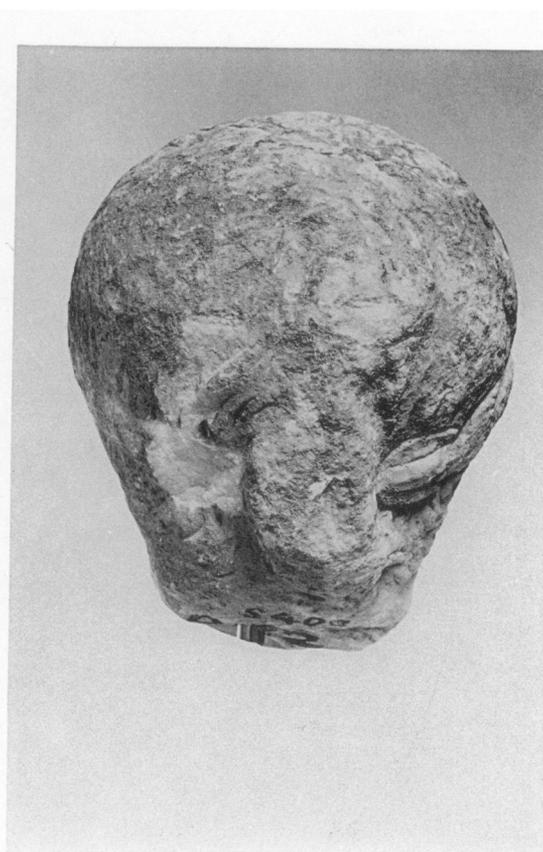
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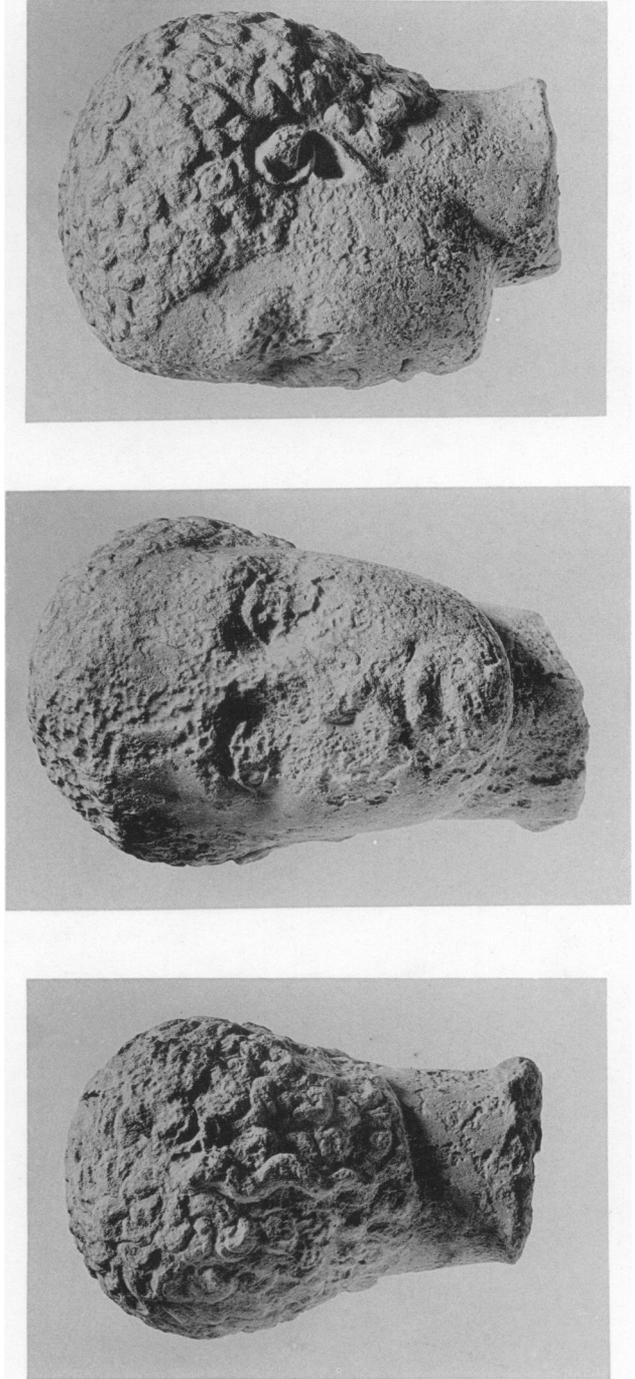


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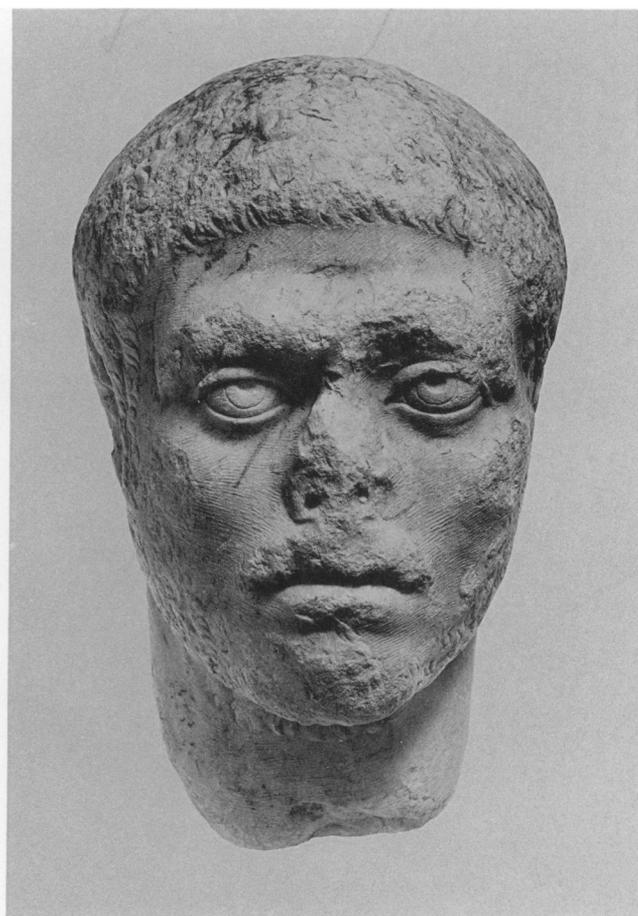




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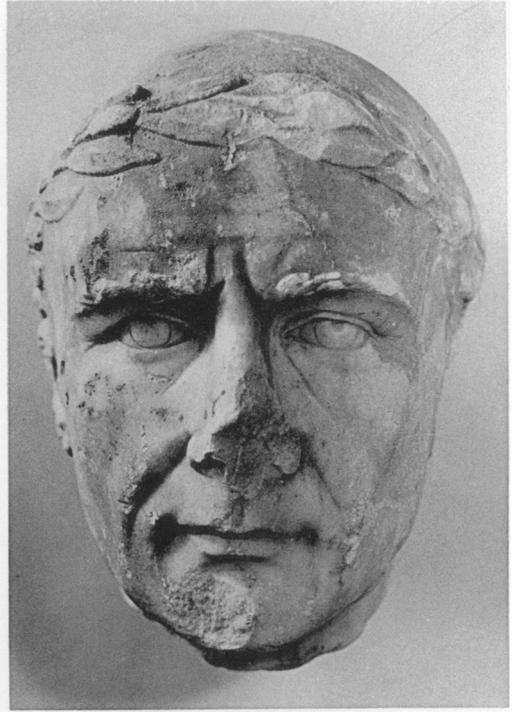
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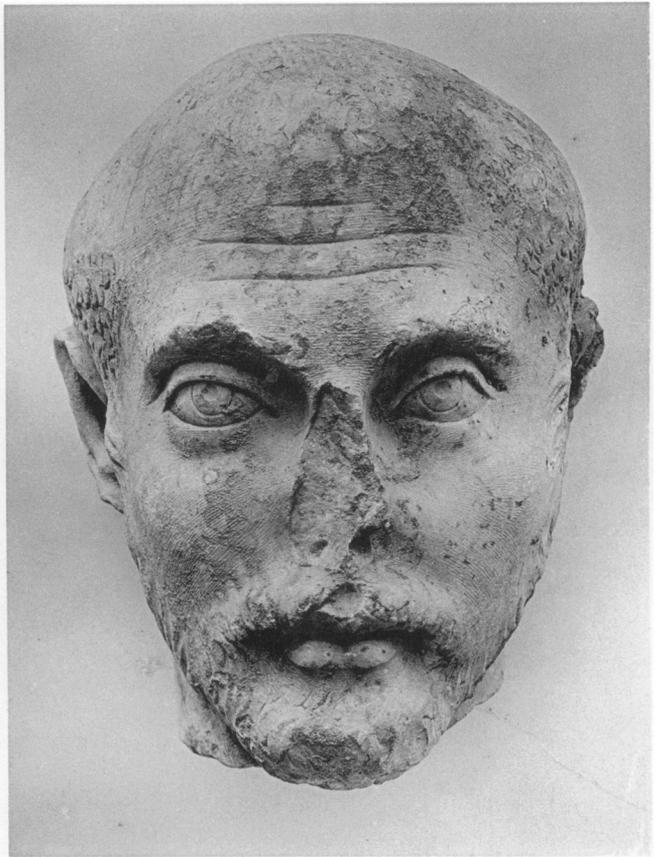
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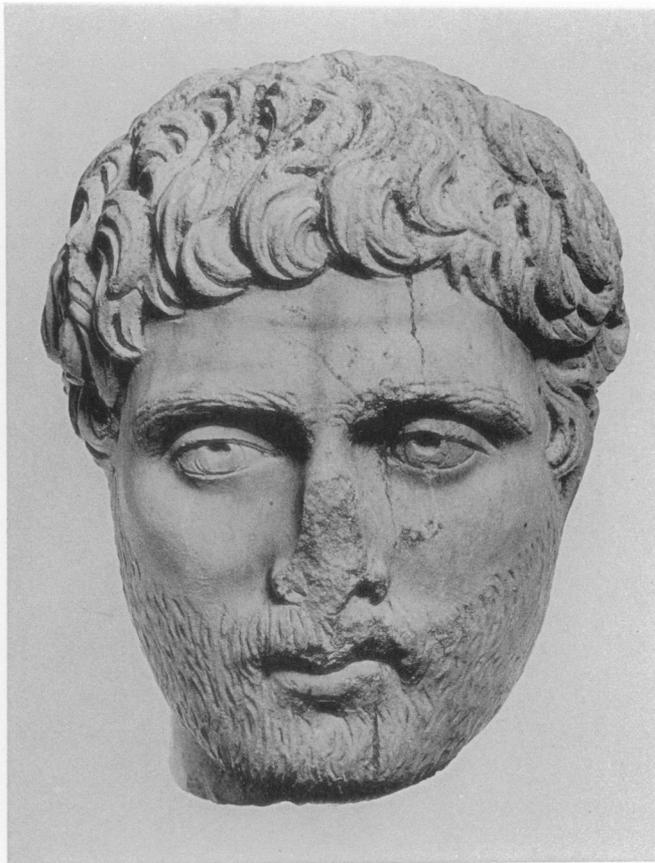
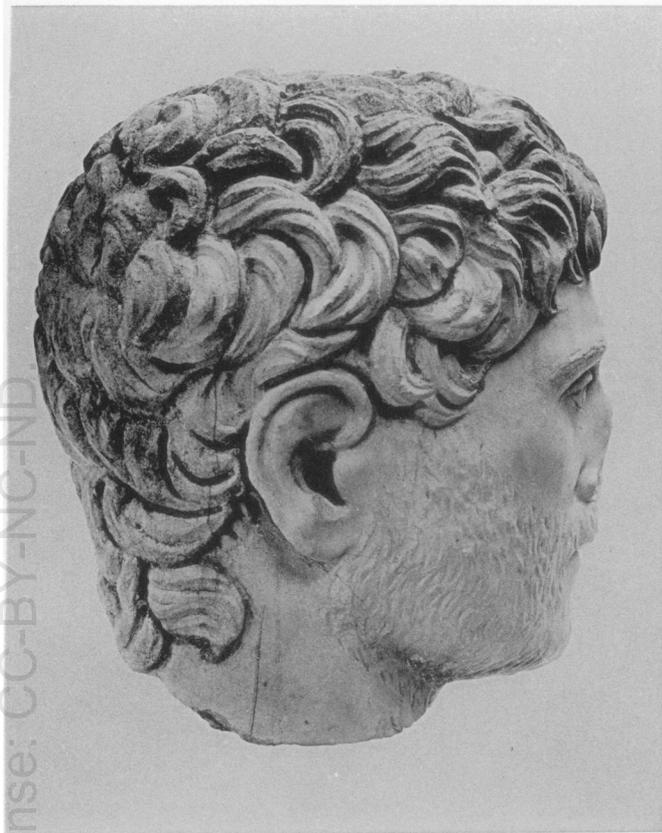


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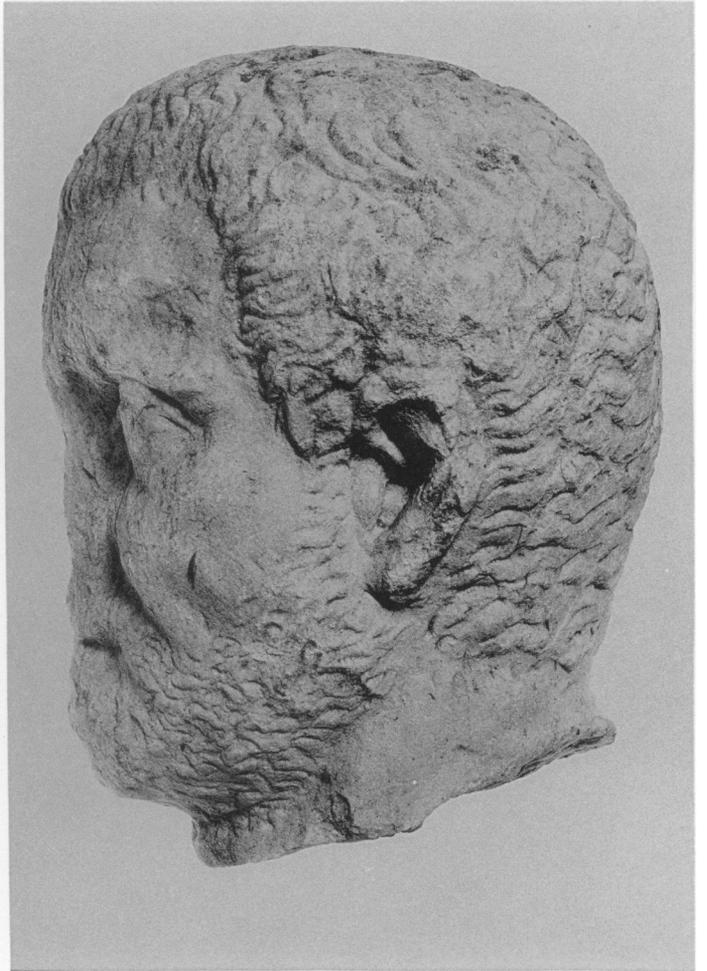
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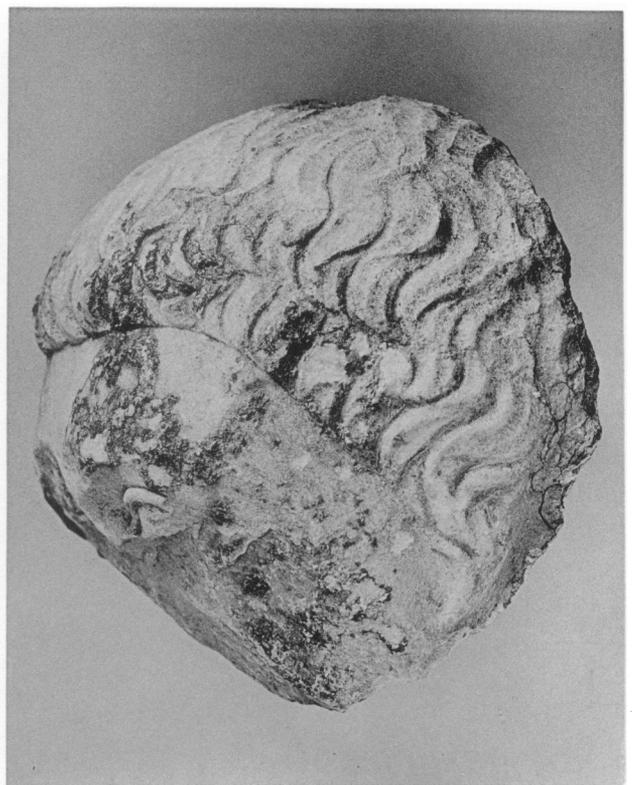
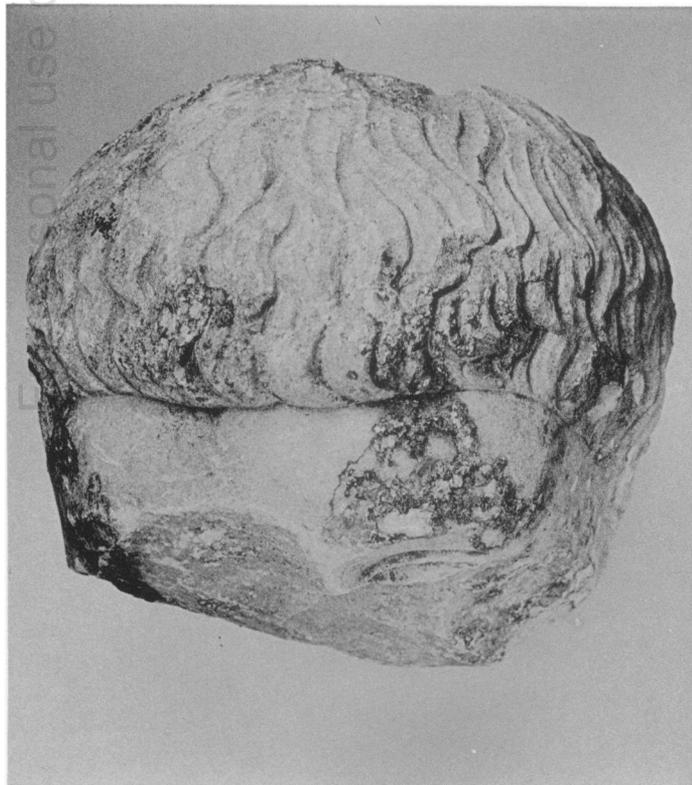
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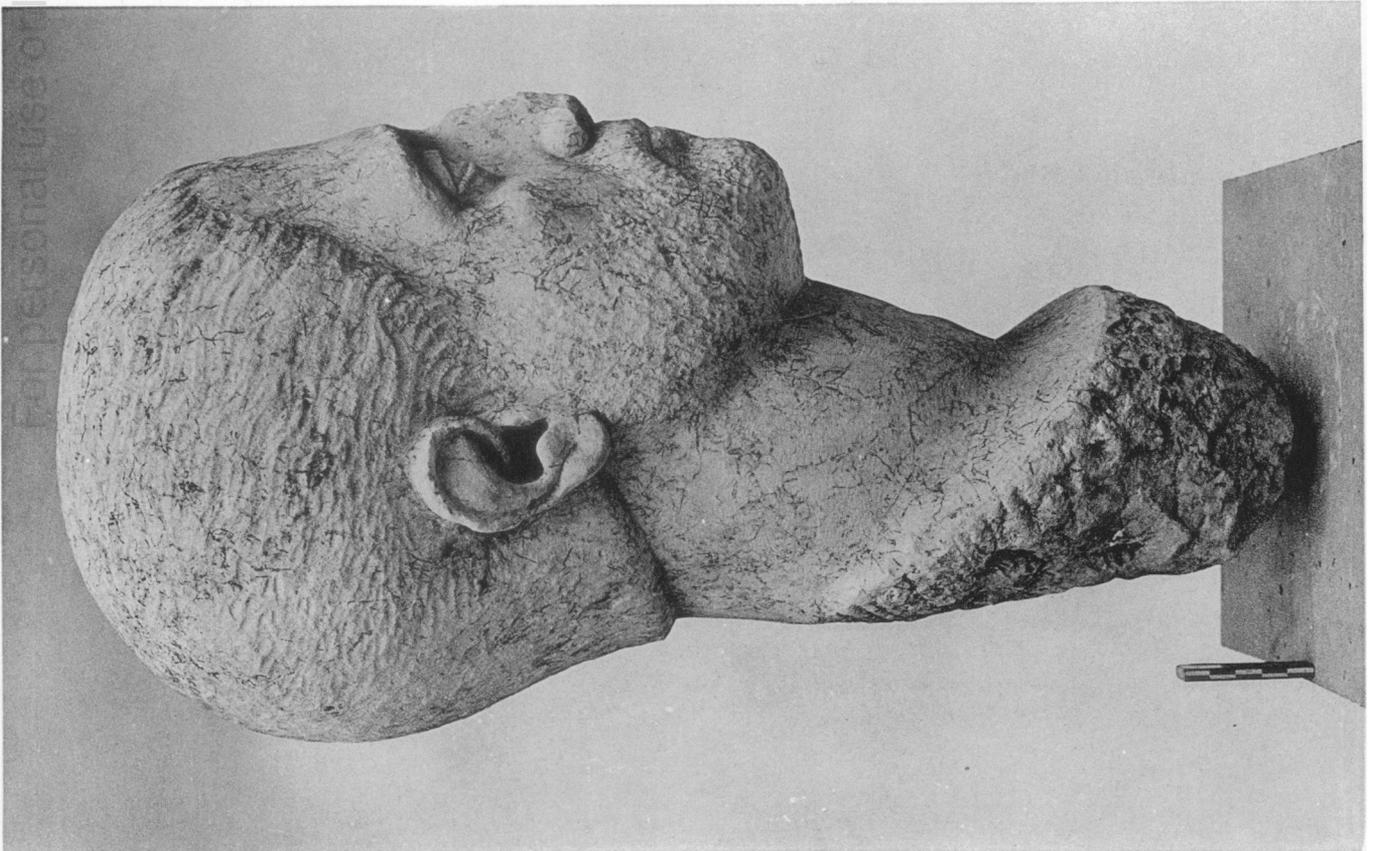
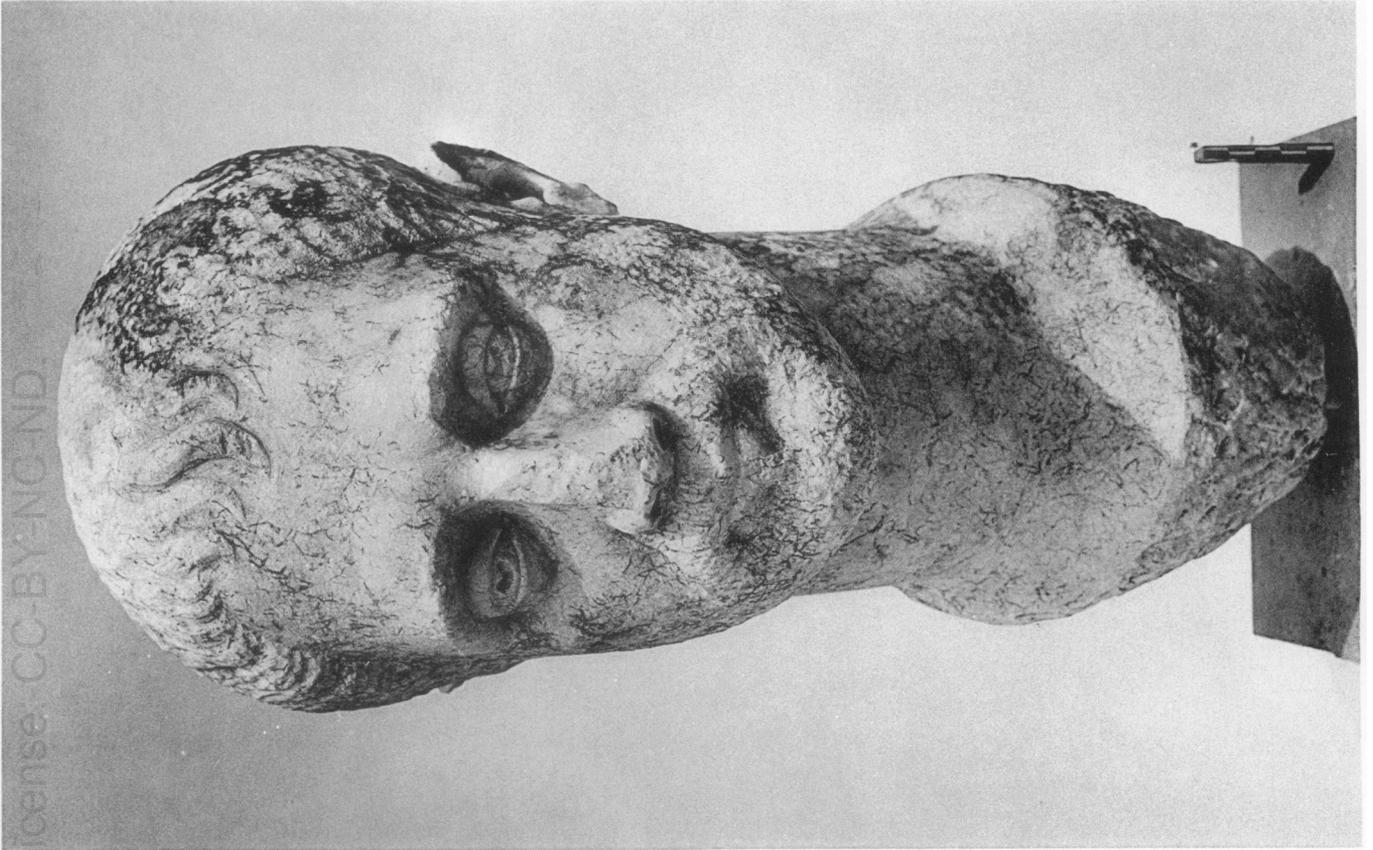
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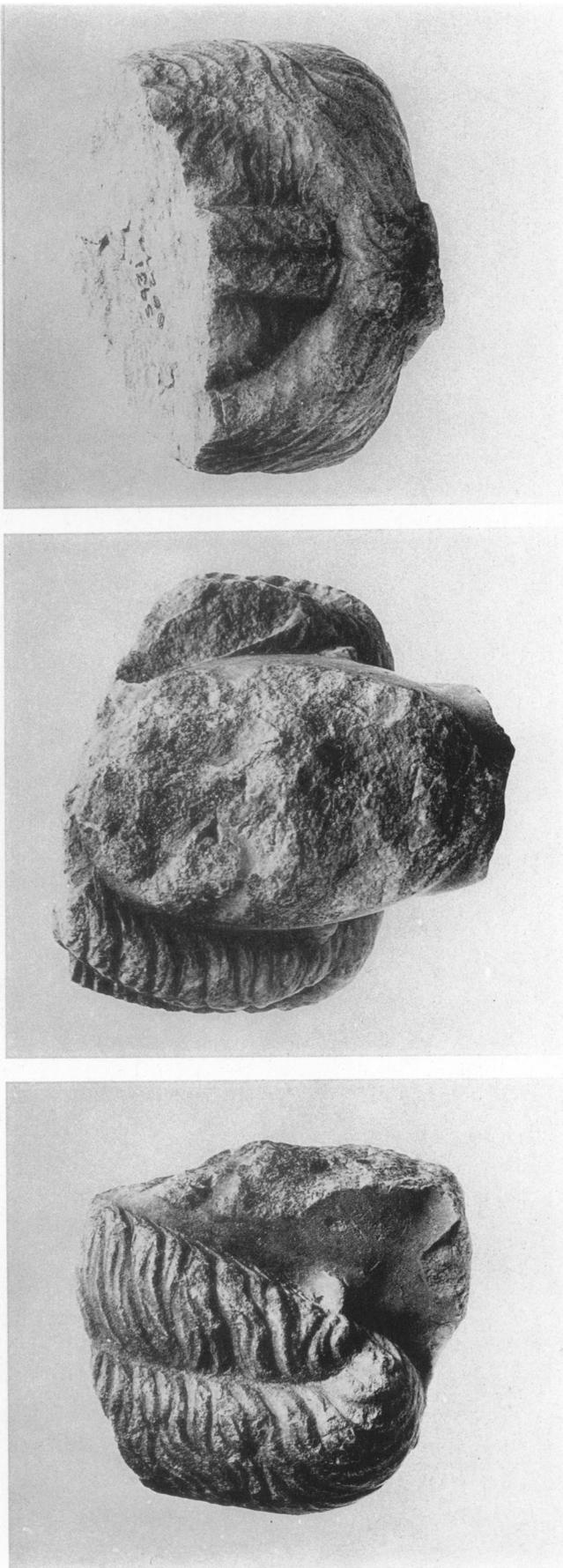


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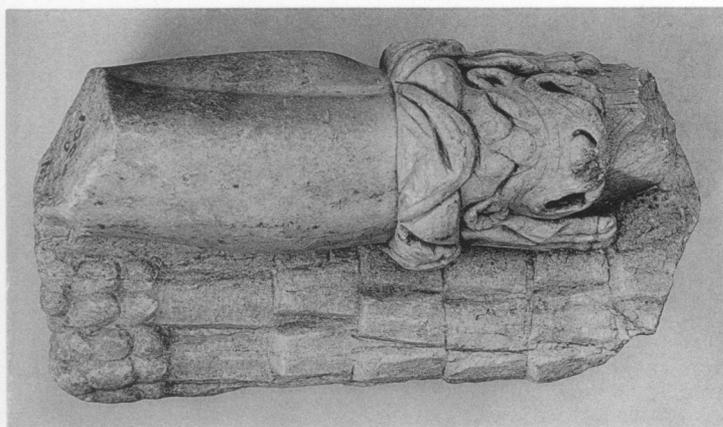
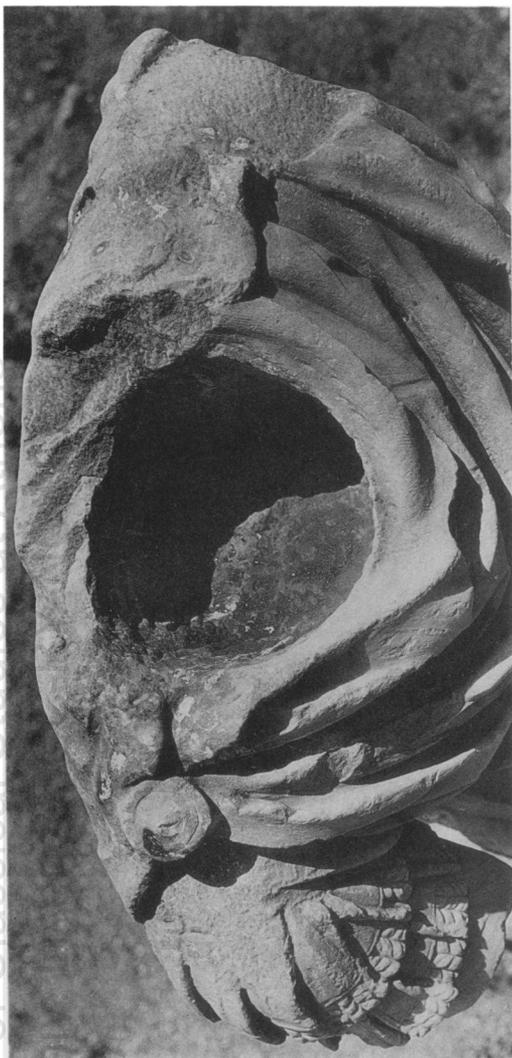


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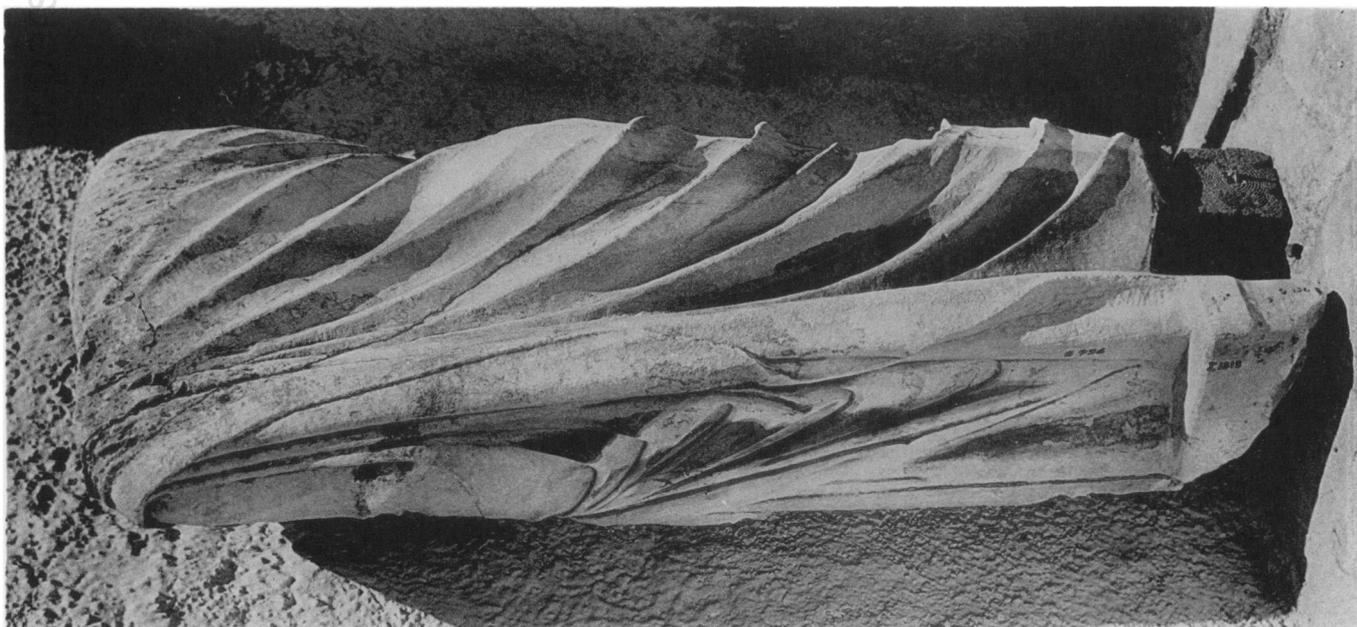
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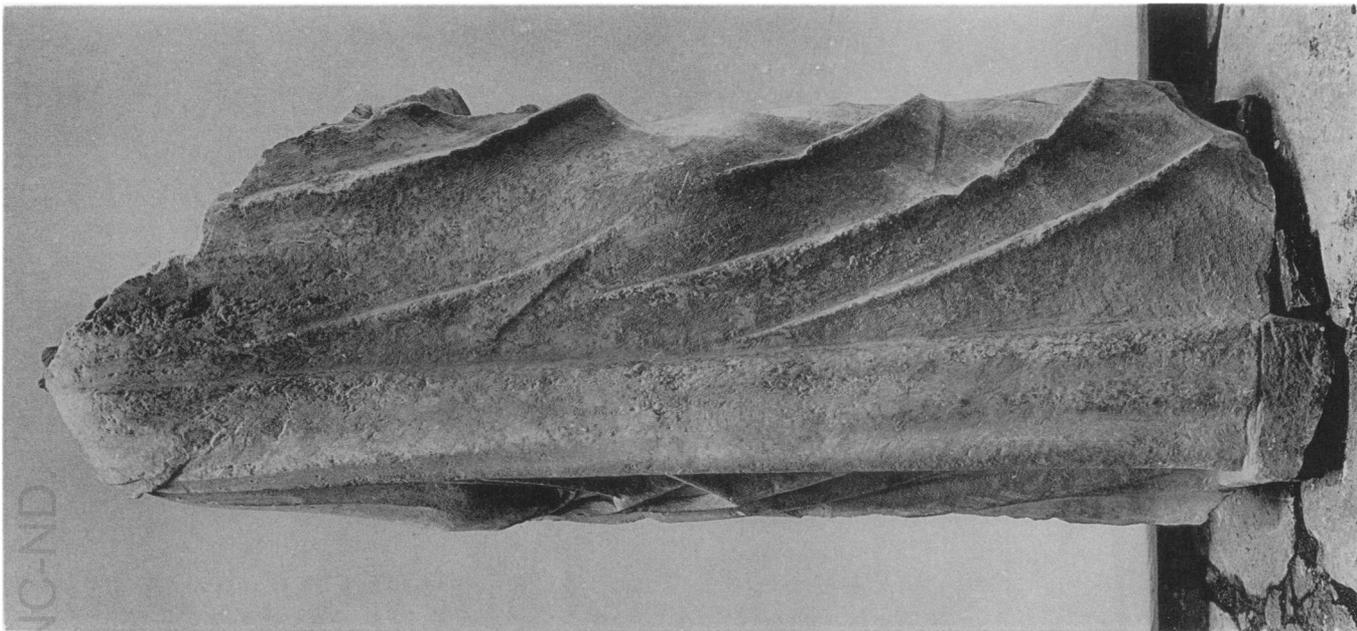
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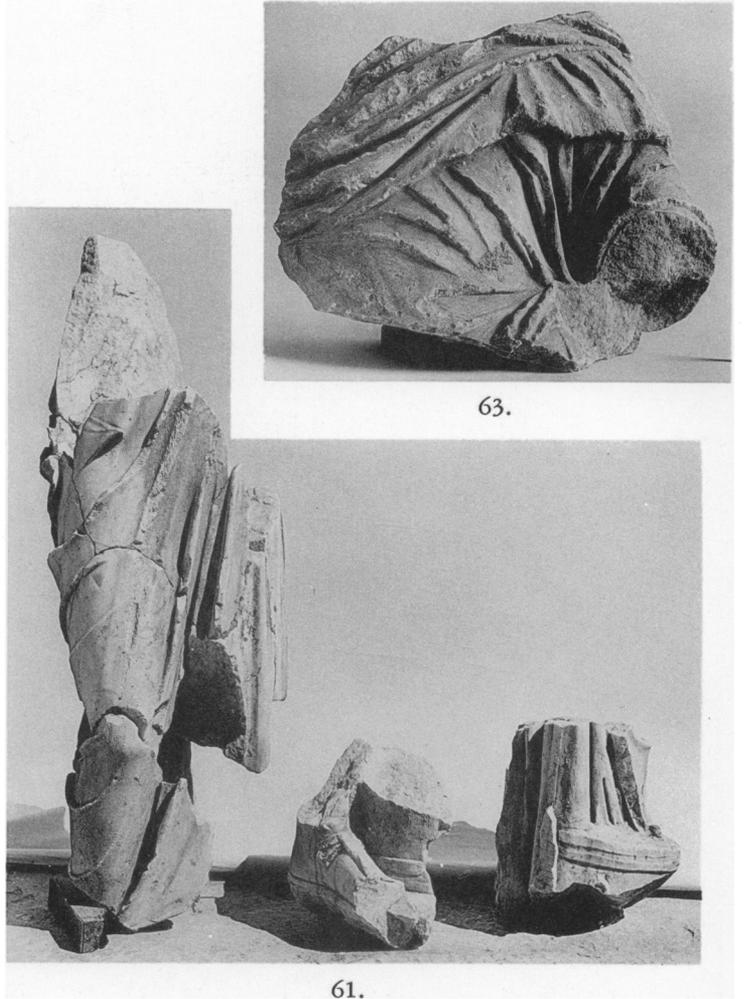
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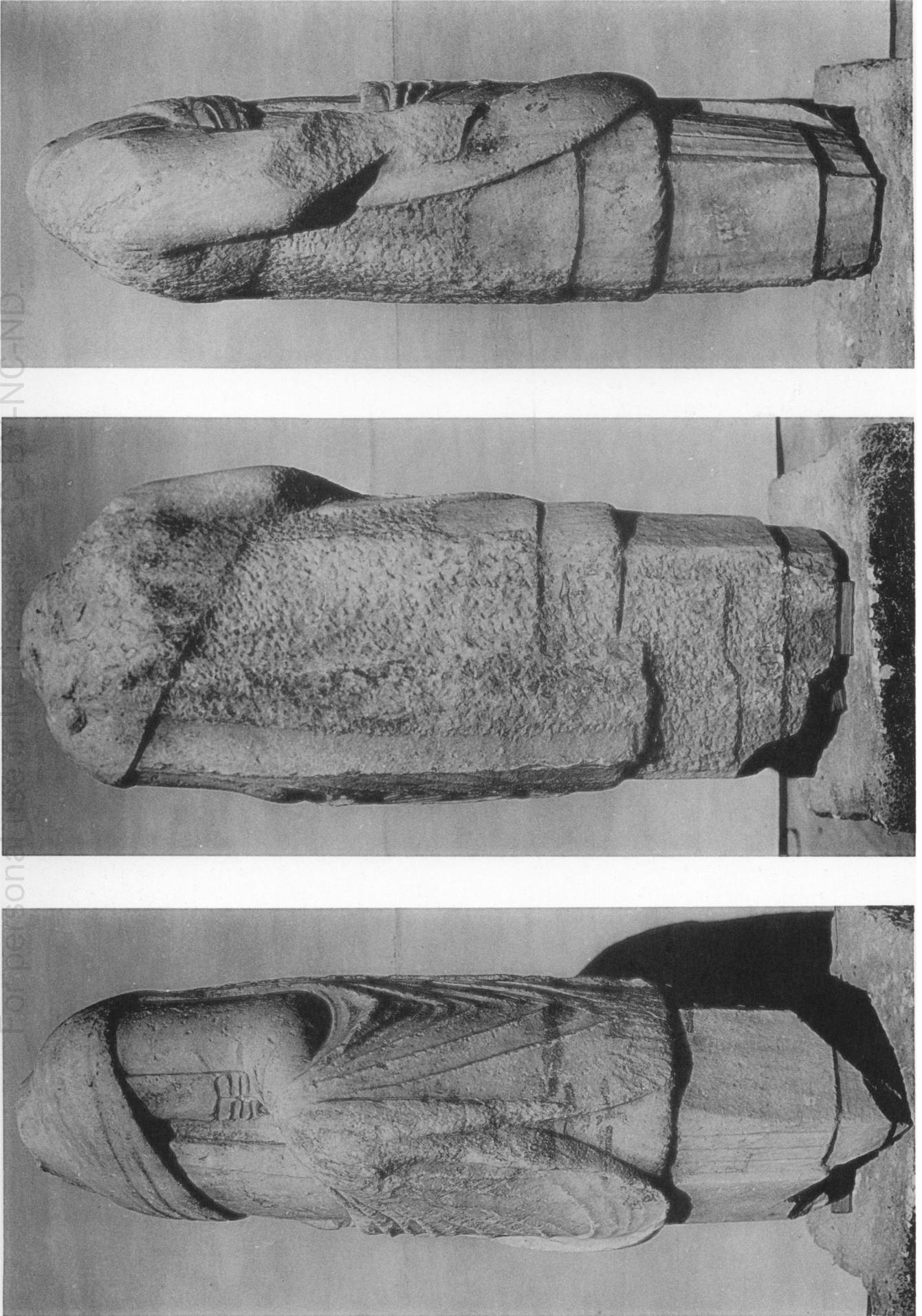
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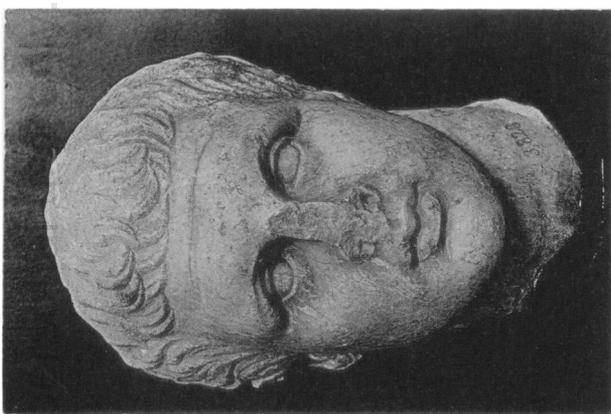




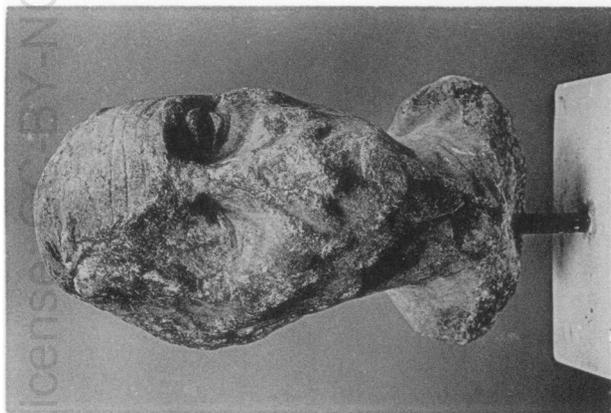




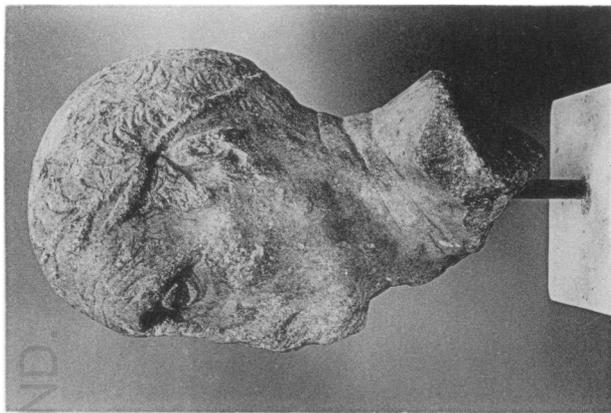
a. Herodotus (Courtesy of Metropolitan Museum of Art)



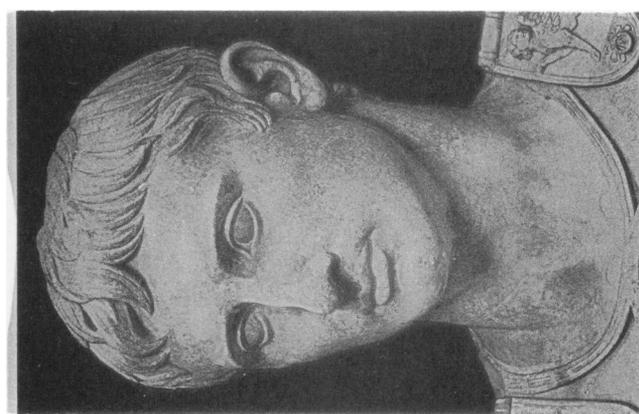
b. Head in Athens, National Museum



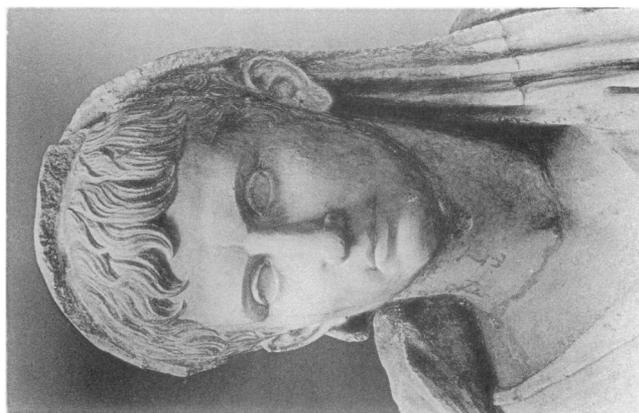
c. Head in Corinth



d. Augustus (?) from Nola (Courtesy of Metropolitan Museum of Art)



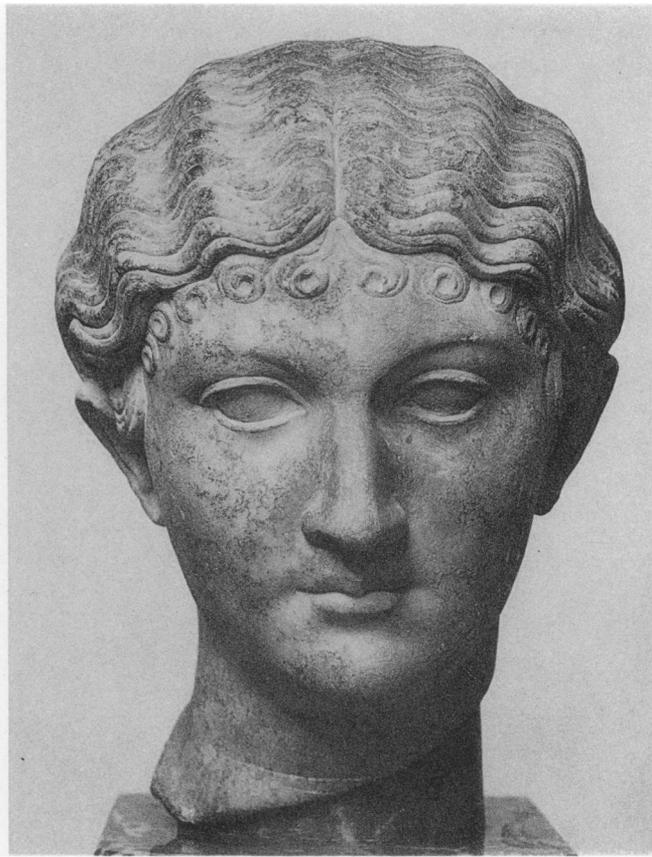
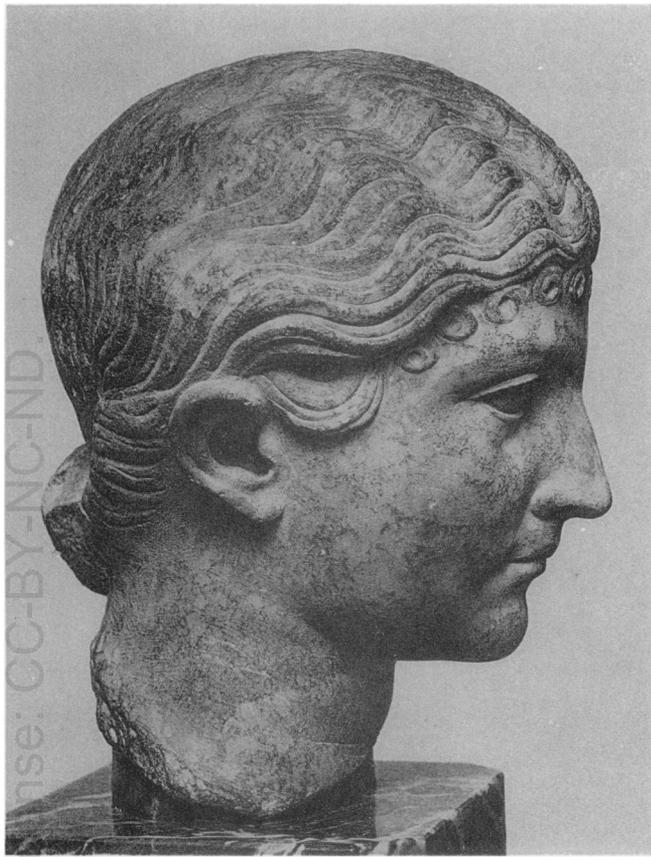
e. Augustus from Prima Porta



f. Augustus in Corinth



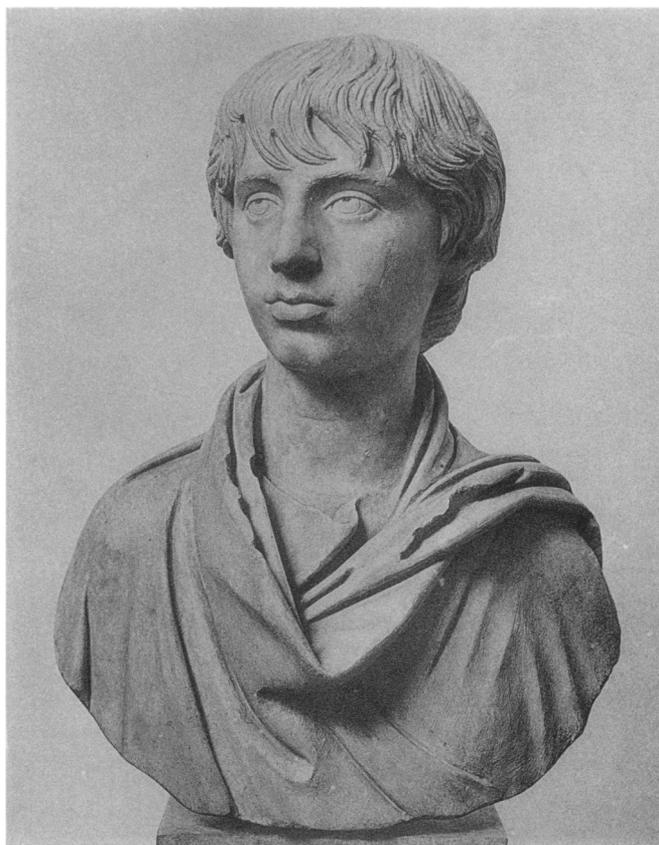
g. Augustus in Samos



a. Antonia (?) in Berlin



b. Faustina the Younger in Olympia



c. Polydeukion (?) in Berlin



Hadrian from the Olympieion, in Athens, National Museum



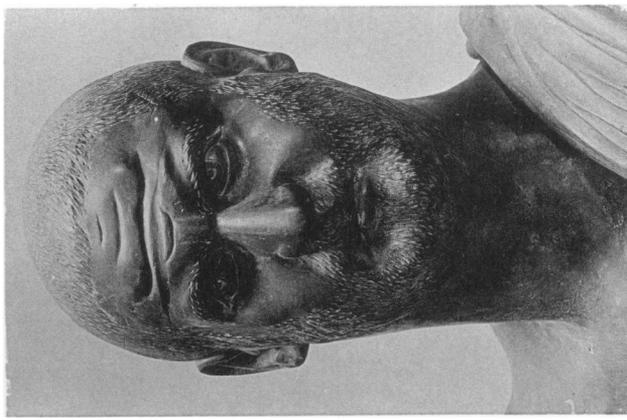
a. Ephebe in Athens, National Museum



a. Ephebe in Athens, National Museum



b. Ephebe in Athens, National Museum



c. Trebonianus Gallus (Courtesy of Metropolitan Museum of Art)



d. Priest in Athens, National Museum



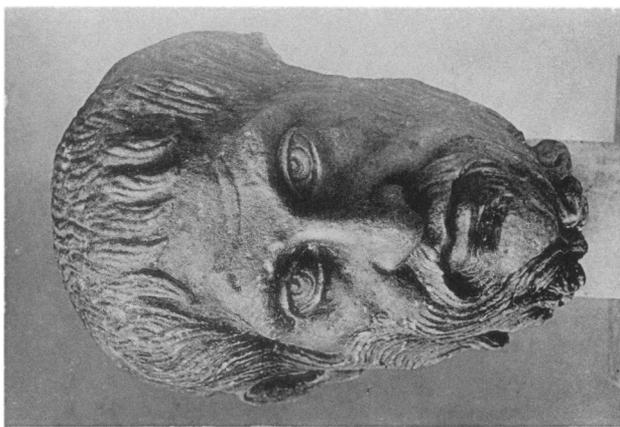
e. Priest in Eleusis



a. Head in Athens, National Museum



b. Head in Corinth



c. Head from Epidauros in Athens, National Museum



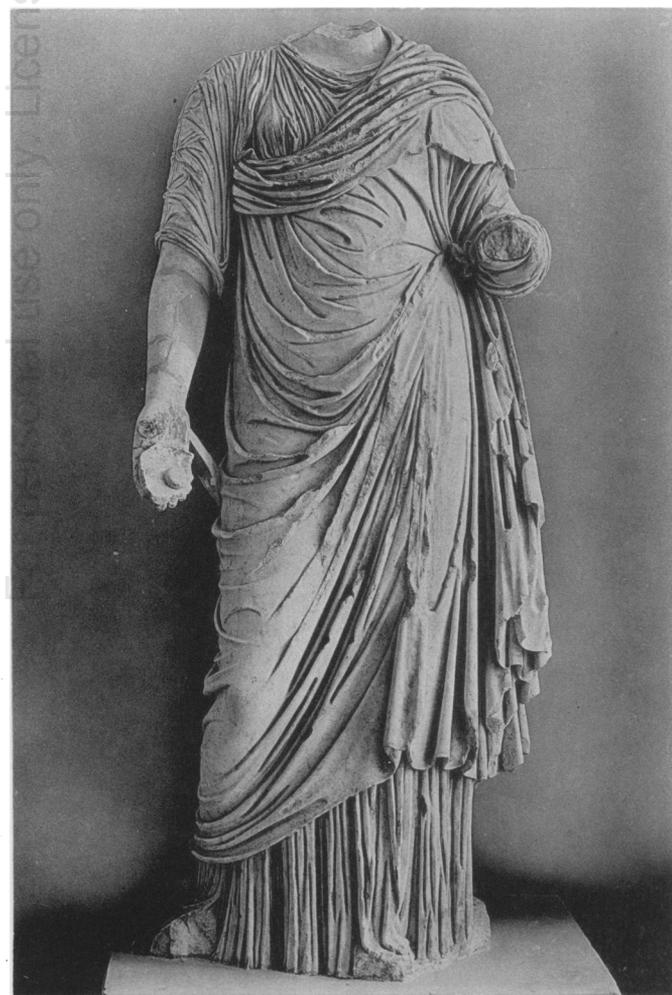
d. Head-Vase in Athenian Agora



e. Head in Athens, National Museum



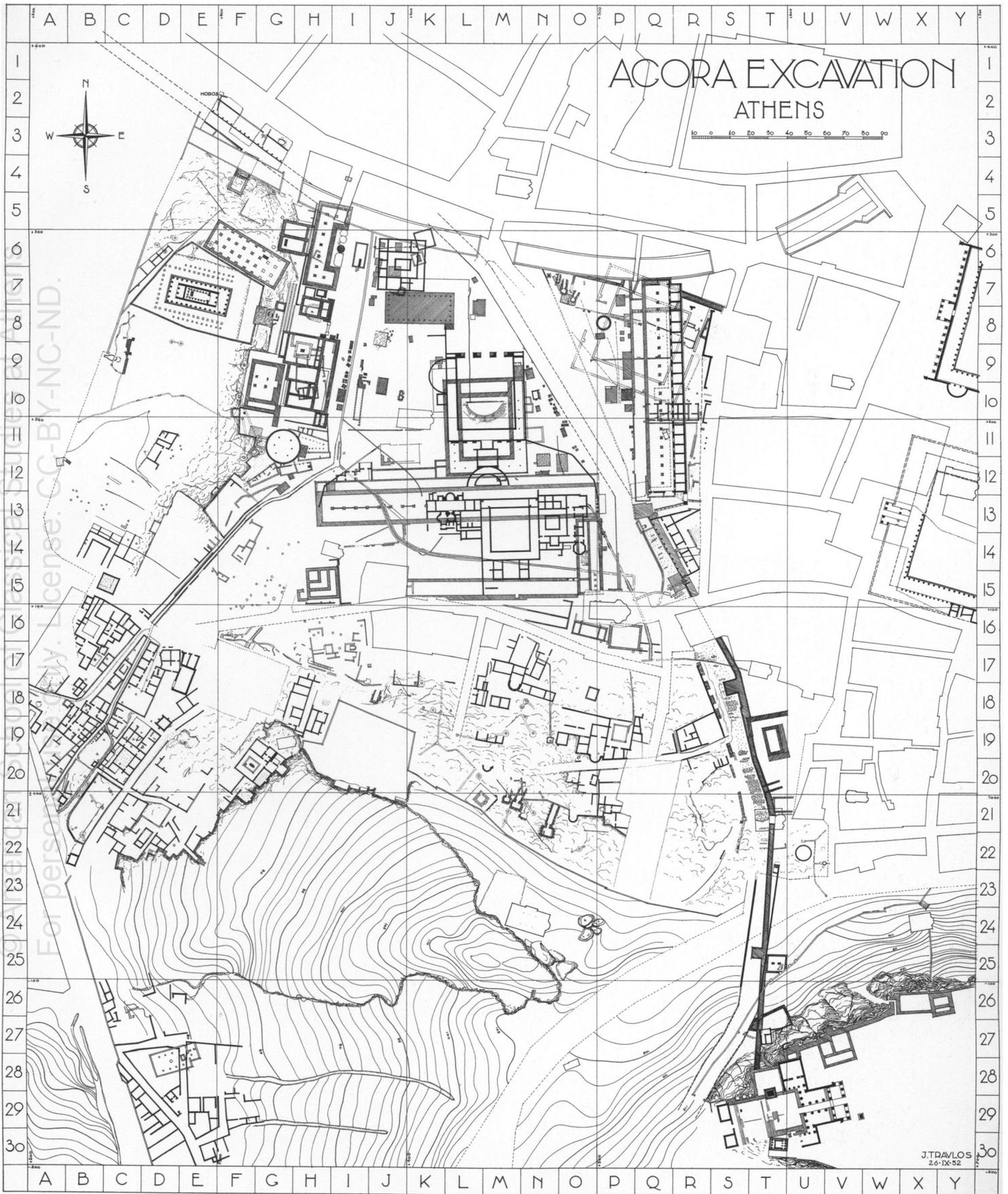
a. Flaccilla (?) (Courtesy of Metropolitan Museum of Art)



b. Regilla in Olympia



c. Diptych of Boethius



Actual State Plan of the Athenian Agora