GREEKS, FOREIGNERS, AND ROMAN REPUBLICAN PORTRAITS *

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The first part of this paper looks briefly at Greek representations of foreigners and the first individualized Greek portraits and the connections between them. The second part looks at Roman Republican portraits and the problem of the origins of their style and suggests that they should be seen in a historical and psychological context as a Greek reaction to a new group of foreigners of special concern to Greek artists and Greeks in general.

I

When portraying members of his own race the eye of the Greek artist was extremely blinkered; until the Hellenistic period his approach was little different from his approach to portraying gods and heroes, his attitude idealized and uncritical in the extreme. But when his subject was a foreigner, a βάρβαρος, he was moved to much closer observation. Already in the middle and late Archaic period, when figurative art had not been emancipated from the desire to create patterns, portrayals of negroes encountered in Egypt were very precisely observed and fully naturalistic. An Attic plastic vase from Tarquinia of about 500 B.C. with the face of a negro girl on one side and that of an idealized Greek girl on the other shows well the difference in attitude and observation (Pl. I, 1).[1] Around the time of the Persian Wars Athenian vase-painters evince a strong interest in the strange clothing and faces of the barbarian enemy, for example on a cup from Vulci.[2] An old Thracian slave, recognizable by her tattoos, is treated with a striking attempt at realism on a vase of the same period from Phaleron.[3] The bald, ugly and circumcized Egyptians, the henchmen of Busiris, being dealt with by the perfectly featured Herakles on a vase in Athens, are particularly interesting, for the vase-painter has tucked their tunics up into their belts so that their genital difference may also be viewed.[4]

It was the outlandish and the barbarian that excited the curiosity of Greek artists and caused them to look closely and portray unidealistically. They started in their imaginations with satyrs and centaurs but soon came real Egyptians, negroes, Persians, Thracians and Scythians. Negroes exercised a specially enduring fascination which lasted through the Hellenistic period, when they were joined in the minor arts by all sorts of social outcasts: notably drunkards, also the deformed and the diseased, who are regularly portrayed with a realism, often grotesque, often exaggerated to caricature, that has sometimes emboldened modern scholars to diagnose precisely the diseases which caused their outward deformities.[5] In the third century the Greeks encountered some new foreigners—the Gauls. They entered monumental art, and their faces, shaggy hair and moustaches were examined

fig. 12; cf. the similar plastic vase in the shape of a negro boy's head, in Boston: J. Boardman, *The Greeks Overseas* (2nd ed., 1973), 150, pl. 13a and cover.

[2] Beazley, *ARV²* 417. 4; J. Boardman, *Athenian Red Figure Vases, the Archaic Period* (1975), fig. 279; cf. ibid., 222 and A. Bovon, *BCH* 87 (1963), 579 f.

[3] Loutrophoros, in Athens: Beazley, *ARV²* 512. 13; E. Simon, *Die Griechischen Vasen* (1976), pl. 174; cf. K. Zimmerman, ' Tätowierte Thrakerinnen auf Vasenbildern ', *JdI* 95 (1980), 193, no. 34.

[4] Pelike, by the Pan Painter: Beazley, *ARV²* 554. 82; Boardman (op. cit., n. 2), fig. 336.

[5] Negroes: U. Hausmann, ' Hellenistische Neger ', *AM* 77 (1962), 255 ff. Hellenistic genre figures: W. E. Stevenson, *The pathological grotesque representation in Greek and Roman art* (Diss. Univ. Pennsylvania, 1975), with thoroughgoing disease diagnoses. For racial types: Richter, *Greek Portraits* III (1960), 28–31, figs. 100–32; cf. R. A. Higgins, *Greek Terracottas* (1967), 112, 132.

for what was particularly Gaulish about them.[6] They were shown as defeated heroes with considerable pathos, a luxury the Greeks could afford since they were the victors.

Partly because of the Greeks' idealized view of themselves and partly because of the Classical city-state's aversion to prestigious individuals, fully individualized portraits did not appear regularly until the late fourth and third centuries, long after most of the problems of naturalistic representation had been successfully solved.[7] Before then, the first individual-looking portraits that we have were made by Greeks in the service of foreigners : Tissaphernes, the Persian satrap, appears in fine portraits on coins of the late fifth century ; Pharnabazos and then Orontas follow in the first half of the fourth century.[8] That these are not merely foreign types is shown by the quite easily remembered differences between the faces of the three satraps. The strange wreathed heads of elderly men on coins of Cyzicus of the mid-fourth century must be portraits of mortals, and since they can hardly be Cyzicene citizens, they may well be local kings or chiefs from around the Black Sea being honoured for services to the city.[9] Likewise on a few coins of Cotys of Thrace there is a bearded head which has no divine attributes and which may well be Cotys himself.[10] Around 350 B.C. comes the fine portrait statue of Mausolus, or one of his ancestors, from his tomb at Halicarnassos.[11] The bronze head of a native ' Berber ' from Cyrene in the British Museum probably also belongs somewhere in the fourth century.[12] In all these cases the sitters were foreign and the portraits more carefully observed than contemporary portraits of Greeks, for example those of *strategoi* or writers.

There are only two surviving exceptions in the Classical period : the ' Pausanias ' and the Themistokles, both of which have an individuality far above that of their contemporaries. The ' Pausanias ', known in several copies, probably represents a Greek but one who has medized or has some close connection with the East, because he wears his beard in an oriental style, twisted in a knot under his chin.[13] Since the portrait should probably be dated on style before the mid-fifth century, L'Orange's identification of it as the Spartan king has a chance of being correct.[14] The Themistokles, preserved in a single inscribed herm copy from Ostia, has been dated from the early fifth century B.C. to the third century A.D., but scholarly opinion now rightly inclines to accept the early date on a convincing comparison with the Tyrannicides (477/6 B.C.) and the Olympia sculptures (460s B.C.).[15] But if the herm copies the statue set up in Magnesia, where Themistokles was appointed governor by the Persians after his flight from Greece, it could also then be classed with the portraits of foreigners as a portrait of a medizer.[16] Both these portraits are exceptional in the fifth century and require exceptional explanations.

In the late fourth and early third century B.C., with the decay of city-state ideals and the swiftly rising use of portrait-statues as honours, and perhaps in connection also with the increasing interest in the science of physiognomics,[17] realistic portraits of Greeks begin to appear regularly : for example the Menander and Demosthenes portraits.[18] These are realistic in the sense that they are representations firmly based on the real features of individuals. Whether they were the features of the person portrayed, as is doubtful in the case of the Demosthenes set up in 280 B.C. (and, one may add, in the case of the ' Mausolus ', which may be a portrait of an ancestor), does not really matter here ; it is the attitude or

[6] P. R. Bienkowski, *Die Darstellungen der Gallier in der hellenistischen Kunst* (1908) ; R. Wenning, *Die Galateranatheme Attalos I* (1978).

[7] cf. W. Gauer, *JdI* 83 (1968), 118 ff. ; D. Metzler, *Porträt und Gesellschaft* (1971) ; J. Dörig, in *Eikones ; Fest. H. Jucker* (1980), 89 f., with literature on the old discussion about the beginning of Greek portraiture.

[8] C. M. Kraay, M. Hirmer, *Greek Coins* (1966), nos. 621–2, 623, 718, 735.

[9] Kraay-Hirmer (op. cit., n. 8), no. 721 ; G. K. Jenkins, *Ancient Greek Coins* (1972), figs. 289, 298.

[10] J. Babelon, *Traité des monnaies grecques et romaines* IV (1926), 854, pl. 331. 1–3. I owe the suggestions about the coins of Cyzicus and Cotys to Dr. C. M. Kraay.

[11] G. B. Waywell, *The free-standing sculptures of the Mausoleum at Halicarnassus* (1978), 97 f., no. 26,

pls. 13–14 ; Lullies-Hirmer, *Griechische Plastik* (4th ed. 1979), pls. 198–9.

[12] Lullies-Hirmer (op. cit., n. 11), pls. 196–7 ; C. M. Robertson, *A History of Greek Art* (1975), 517, pl. 159a.

[13] Richter I, 99–101, figs. 413–25 ; Robertson (op. cit., n. 12), 188.

[14] H. P. L'Orange, ' Pausania ', in *Rev. Arch.* 6 Ser., 31–2, *Mélanges Charles Picard* II (1949), 668 f. ; reprinted in *Likeness and Icon* (1973), 1–8.

[15] H. von Heintze, *Helbig*[4] IV. 3019 ; G. Zinserling, *Klio* 38 (1960), 87 f. ; A. Linfert, *Ant. Plast.* 7 (1967), 87 f., with full literature and summary of opinions ; Robertson (op. cit., n. 12), 188. Best illustrations: Lullies-Hirmer (op. cit., n. 11), pls. 120–21.

[16] Sources in Richter I, 97.

[17] cf. E. C. Evans, *Physiognomics in the Ancient World* (*TAPS* n.s. 59. 5, 1969), 10.

[18] Richter II, figs. 1533 f., 1397 f.

approach of the sculptor that concerns us, not how any of these people actually looked. The portraitists certainly had a concept of a portrait being true to nature, but clearly did not think it necessary or even desirable to apply it all the time. Macedonian kings could be idealized and divinized or could be presented with some degree of realism; ageing philosophers and writers could be portrayed with all manner of very realistic outer decrepitude but were usually treated in a baroque style and given a pathos that appeals openly to the sympathy of the spectator: for example the Chrysippus and 'Pseudo-Seneca' portraits, both of around 200 B.C. (Pl. III, 1–2).[19] These show that Greek sculptors were by that date making portraits that were fully realistic, in the sense of mimetic fidelity to nature. In the East we find more harshly realistic portraits, on Greek royal coins of Bactria and Pontos.[20] The Bactrian kings were most probably all of Greek origin but the Pontic kings were not; they were descended from oriental royal stock and their coin portraits (before Mithridates VI) have an unusually dry realism and are made to look decidedly foreign. The next and most important foreigners that the Greeks encountered were the Romans.

II

In the second and first centuries B.C. there appeared in the Mediterranean very realistic portraits of Romans which we call, for convenience, Republican portraits.[21] A typical example is illustrated on Pl. IV, 2.[22] They are treated in an objective and strictly factual style, uncompromising and sometimes aggressively mundane, which often goes beyond strict realism, for ugly features are often dwelled upon: wrinkles, protruding ears, unusual shapes of head and so on are not only recorded but highlighted. This harsh style of realism sets these portraits apart from portraits of Greeks and from all previous portraits. So different is their style that its own technical name—'verism'—has been invented for it by scholars. It is the source of this distinctive element in these portraits, which goes beyond the simple transcription of nature, that is to be sought here. The apparently sudden advent of the style is a strange phenomenon, and a convincing explanation of its origins has long been elusive; they have been seen as Etruscan, 'Italic', Egyptian or Hellenistic and many shades and combinations of these.[23] However, no answer has proved entirely satisfactory. This is perhaps not surprising if the purpose is purely art-historical and aesthetic, that is, to trace stylistic influences, because the awkward fact remains that there is nothing quite like Republican portraits in Italy, Egypt, or the Hellenistic East, until Republican portraits appear. The explanation, we will see, most probably lies rather in the unusual social and political history of the period concerned, and in the peculiar relations of the artists and sitters; in attitudes rather than stylistic influences.

But first the known facts about the portraits and the evidence for when they start. They appear in marble on statues and busts (the few we have in bronze show that they were treated no differently from those in marble), and on coins and gems.[24] The first closely dated portrait of a Roman is that of Flamininus on a few gold staters minted in Greece *c.*

[19] Richter I, figs. 131 f. (Pseudo-Seneca); II, figs. 1111 f. (Chrysippus). The identification and date of the Chrysippus are generally accepted, and there is near-agreement to date the 'Pseudo-Seneca' either *c.* 200 B.C. or *c.* 200–150 B.C.: see H. von Heintze. *RM* 82 (1975), 154 for full discussion and summary of opinions.

[20] Richter III, figs. 1925–7, 1973 f.; for excellent enlarged illustrations: N. Davis, C. M. Kraay, *The Hellenistic Kingdoms* (1973), figs. 129 f., 198–206; cf. also Richter, *Archaeology* 16 (1963), 25–8. For the new tetradrachm of Mithridates V: M. Karamesini-Oikonomidou, in *Stele: Fest. N. Kontoleon* (1980), 149–53, pls. 49–51; L. Robert, *Journal des Savants* (1978), 154, fig. 5.

[21] The term 'Republican portraits' will be used here to mean portraits of Romans made in the late Republican period. Except in the most general context, with a chronological sense, the term 'Roman portraits' should be avoided. Failure to specify sitters and artists has been the source of much con-

fusion in the study of ' late Hellenistic ' and ' Roman ' portraits.

[22] See R. Bianchi Bandinelli, *L'arte romana nel centro del potere* (1969), 71, figs. 80, 84 (profile).

[23] For a typical view combining all sorts of artistic influences: Richter, *JRS* 45 (1955), 39–46. For a survey of the literature and opinions: Hiesinger, *ANRW* I, 4 (1973), 805–20; Breckenridge, ibid., 826–54. Some more recent views: Robertson (op. cit., n. 12), 597–8; R. Brilliant, *Roman Art* (1974), 166 f.; D. Strong, *Roman Art* (1976), 17–19; Toynbee, 10–11; Zanker, 584 f.; Stewart, 65–88, 143 f. The best full account is Zanker's, the most stimulating Stewart's.

[24] Sculptures: O. Vessberg, *Studien zur Kunstgeschichte der römischen Republik* (1941); B. Schweitzer, *Die Bildniskunst der römischen Republik* (1948). Coins: M. H. Crawford, *Roman Republican Coinage* (1974), II, 745–50. Gems: M. L. Vollenweider, *Die Porträtgemmen der römischen Republik* (1972–4).

196 B.C. (Pl. II, 2).[25] There are no further Roman coin portraits in the second century B.C.[26] and no closely dated portraits in the round: the first such are those of Pompey (Pl. V, 2).[27] Between Flamininus and Pompey there yawns an appalling gap in our evidence. It used to be thought that the style did not appear until the first or second quarter of the first century B.C., but since the myth that the Sullan period was a turning point in Roman art and architecture has been largely exploded,[28] it is now held that these portraits started sometime in the second century B.C. Because there are no certainly identified Republican portraits between c. 196 and 60 B.C. by which to date others to the second century on style, attempts to fill the gap have consisted mostly of blind guesses at the identification of unidentifiable portraits—most notably in a series of articles by G. Hafner, better noted for their recognition of a problem than for the evidence adduced to solve it.[29] In the absence of dated comparanda, more recent attempts to fill the gap by stylistic dating must be considered equally blind, although one would gladly believe some of the results.[30] For example that the fine ' Albinus-Cato ' portrait type (Pl. IV, 1), known in several copies, should be dated c. 150 B.C. on style is quite likely, and that it might represent Cato the Censor is very attractive, but neither suggestion can claim solid support.[31] Better evidence comes from outside Italy, from the Greek East, where, after Italy, Republican portraits occur most frequently: in Greece (Athens), the Aegean (Delos, Rhodes, Samos) and Asia Minor (Ephesos, Miletos).[32] Those from Delos (Pl. I, 2) are the best, most numerous and most important, since most of them were probably made before the Mithridatic sack in 88 B.C., as convincingly argued recently by A. F. Stewart.[33] Historically, the most likely upper date for their production would be 166 B.C., when Delos was made a free port by the Romans.

The engraved gem-stones with Republican portraits (Pl. II, 3–4) have forms that are hard to distinguish from those of Hellenistic types, so their dating also depends on identifications, and Pompey is again the earliest;[34] some are no doubt much earlier, but dating by stylistic comparison with ancestor portraits on coins not minted till the 50s B.C. (the only dated comparanda available) is unsound method. There are a few examples of moneyers putting their forebears on their coins early in the first century B.C., but it is not regular until the late 60s and 50s.[35] Approximately datable is the series of funerary reliefs from Rome with group portraits of freedmen and their relatives, which start in the Sullan period and continue to the early first century A.D., the majority coming in the Augustan period.[36] Their style is no doubt derivative from the portraits of their betters in the round, but they tell us more about the history of freedmen at Rome than about the dating of the Republican style.

[25] Crawford (op. cit., n. 24), no. 548/1; A. A. Boyce, in Hommages à A. Grenier (1962), 1, 342–50, pl. 70; J. P. C. Kent, M. A. Hirmer, Roman Coins (1978), no. 23, pl. 9.

[26] On the supposed coin-portraits of P. Scipio Africanus see: Crawford (op. cit. n. 24), no. 296; Toynbee, 18–9.

[27] The two most important are (1) the Copenhagen head (here pl. V, 2): V. Poulsen, Les portraits romains 1 (2nd ed. 1973), no. 1; (2) the Venice head: G. Traversari, Museo Archeologico di Venezia: i ritratti (1968), no. 10. On Pompey's iconography in general: F. Johansen, Medd. fra Ny Carls. Glypt. 30 (1973), 89–119; Toynbee, 24–8.

[28] See esp. F. Coarelli, PBSR 45 (1977), 9 f.; P. Gros, Architecture et société à Rome et en Italie centro-méridionale aux deux derniers siècles de la République (Coll. Latomus 166, 1978).

[29] See E. Berger, ' Ein Vorläufer Pompejus' des Grossen in Basel ', in Eikones: Fest. H. Jucker (1980), 64–75, with a list of Hafner's articles, 64 and n. 11.

[30] See esp. Berger, ibid., 71 f.; cf. also H. Kähler, Pantheon 31 (1973), 1–14; and in a rather different vein, T. Hölscher, RM 85 (1978), 324 f.

[31] Stylistic dating: Berger, Eikones (op. cit., n. 29), 71; Zanker, Studien zu den Augustus-Porträts I. Der Actium-Typus (1973), 36–7. Identification suggested by V. Poulsen, in Theoria: Fest. W. H. Schuchhardt (1960), 173; as A. Postumius Albinus (cos. 151 B.C.): G. Hafner, Das Bildnis des Q. Ennius (1968), 22 f. The ' Ennius-Vergil ' type could well

belong in the second century also: Hafner, op. cit.; cf. A. Giuliano, Catalogo dei ritratti romani del Museo Profano Laterense (1957), on nos. 4–5; Berger (loc. cit., 73 f.) suggests a tentative identification as Lucilius.

[32] In general: C. Michalowski, Délos XIII (1932); G. Hafner, Späthellenistische Bildnisplastik (1954); A. Giuliano, RIA 8 (1959), 146 f.; J. Inan, E. Rosenbaum, Roman and early Byzantine portrait sculpture in Asia Minor (1960), nos. 135, 203, 284; E. Buschor, Das hellenistische Bildnis (2nd ed. 1971), 42 f.; Stewart, 65 f.; H. Weber, ÖJh 51 (1976–7), Beibl. 19–48. Zanker, nn. 2–5, gives refs. to other individual pieces, to which add now: two important new busts from Delos—BCH 93 (1969), 1031–43 fig. 22; BCH 99 (1975), 716–23, fig. 5; Stewart, pl. 20 a–b; a new head from Pergamon: Radt, AA (1975), 363, fig. 9; AA (1976), 315–6; and J. Inan, E. Alföldi-Rosenbaum, Römische und frühbyzantinische Porträtplastik aus der Türkei, Neue Funde (1979), nos. 1, 122, 173, 248, 297 (Republican date ?).

[33] Stewart, 65–73.

[34] Vollenweider, Porträtgemmen (op. cit., n. 24), 106 f., pl. 71; note the remarks by Zanker, 585 n. 13.

[35] Crawford (op. cit., n. 24), 745 f.; Kent, Hirmer (op. cit., n. 25), 13 f.

[36] D. E. E. Kleiner, Roman group portraiture; the funerary reliefs of the late Republic and early Empire (Diss. Columbia, 1975); also fully treated by P. Zanker, JdI 90 (1975), 267 f.; and H. Frenz, Untersuchungen zu den frühen römischen Grabreliefs (Diss. Frankfurt am Main, 1974), esp. 76 f., 83 f.

Even within the first century it is very hard to date individual portraits except by identi-
fying them; the few known and dated Romans who have been identified with certainty
in portraits provide no framework for establishing a sequence of styles: they are Pompey,
Caesar, Cato, Cicero, Antony, Octavian and Agrippa.[37] B. Schweitzer posited an elaborate
scheme of development and successive stylistic types, but few feel any confidence in it.[38] It is
probably a mistake to expect development. The art of the first century B.C. in Rome was
thoroughly eclectic in all forms.[39] The works and styles of most periods of Greek art were
eagerly reproduced and re-created for their new Roman purpose—decoration. Many styles
co-existed happily in time and probably in the same workshops, which makes stylistic
dating closer than to a century impossible. So too probably with the portraits, where,
within the harshly realistic type, one is dealing with a multitude of variations, not with
separate types and styles. More or less linear or plastic styles are used for more or less
harsh effects: some are brutal, some almost comic, and some more tempered.[40] So a
stylistic chronology is probably out of the question. The portraits and their harshly realistic
style seem to start suddenly, for there are no examples in marble or on gems in which one
can readily detect the style forming. It became fashionable at all levels of Roman society
from consuls to traders to freedmen and lasted to the end of the first century B.C., when it
continued parallel with the classicizing style of Augustus and his family, created in the late
30s or early 20s B.C.[41] The style reappeared in the later first century A.D. under the Flavians
and again in the third century A.D., but for reasons that do not concern us here.[42]

Republican portraits seem distinctly Roman and conform very satisfactorily to our
idea of what tough Republican Romans ought to look like, and many have felt that although
the ideal and decorative art of the late Republic is obviously and demonstrably Greek, the
portraiture must somehow be peculiarly Roman. Penetrating analyses of form have been
devoted to discovering just where lies the difference between the Greek and the Republican
portrait: the one is said to be composed from the inside out, the other from the outside in,
the one organic in structure, the other inorganic; or the Greek portrait is a synthesis, while
the Republican is momentary like a photograph, the one spiritual, the other temporal.[43]
However, none of this is really very helpful, for though these are perhaps perceptive des-
criptions of the phenomena, they do not reveal their causes; and the often unhesitating
attribution of these differences to a Roman or Italian element seems to be flatly contradicted
by one of the few certain facts about Republican portraits, namely that whether in marble,
bronze or on gems, they were made by Greek artists. There is something of a conspiracy
of silence, both ancient and modern, about this. Some ignore it and talk about ' Roman
artists ';[44] others simply do not mention artists, perhaps assuming their nationality to be
unimportant since it seems not to explain why Republican portraits look so distinctive.
It will be argued here that this is perhaps the one fact which can fully explain this distinctive-
ness. The evidence for it should therefore be summarized.

Literature and epigraphy show unequivocally that artists of the late Republic and early
Empire in Italy were, with few exceptions, Greeks or men of non-Roman, non-Italian origin

[37] Pompey: n. 27. Caesar: F. Johansen, *Analecta
Romana Instituti Danici* 4 (1967), 7–68; Toynbee,
30–9. Cato: Toynbee, 39–41. Cicero: Johansen,
Medd. fra Ny Carls. Glypt. 29 (1972), 120–38;
Toynbee, 28–30. Antony: Johansen, *Medd. fra Ny
Carls. Glypt.* 35 (1978), 55–81; Toynbee, 41–6.
Octavian: Zanker, *Actium-Typus* (n. 31); Toynbee,
51–6. Agrippa: Johansen, *Analecta Romana Instituti
Danici* 6 (1971), 17–48; Toynbee, 63–7.
[38] op. cit. (n. 24), esp. 142–3.
[39] Richter, *JRS* 48 (1958), 10 f.; cf. Stewart, 76
'... the general free-for-all of late Republican
artistic culture '.
[40] Attempts clearly to distinguish two separate
trends in Republican portraiture, one idealizing and
Hellenistic, the other harsher, 'traditional' and
' Roman ' on the various bases of function, chrono-
logy, geography, or social groups do not really match
the evidence of the surviving portraits. See further
below pp. 33.

[41] Zanker, *Actium-Typus* (n. 31); K. Vierneisel,
P. Zanker, *Die Bildnisse des Augustus; Herrscherbild
und Politik im kaiserlichen Rom* (1979); S. Walker,
A. Burnett, *The Image of Augustus* (1981).
[42] See Zanker, *Gymnasium* 86 (1979), 353 f.; K.
Fittschen, in *Eikones: Fest. H. Jucker* (1980), 108 f.;
cf. also G. Zinserling, *Wiss. Zeit. Jena* 18 (1969),
193 f.
[43] Most influential here have been G. Kachnitz von
Weinberg, *Rend. Pont. Accad.* 3 (1925), 325 f.; *RM*
41 (1926), 133 f. (reprinted in *Ausgewählte Schriften*
II (1965), 5 f., 21 f.), and Schweitzer (op. cit., n. 24),
11 f.; cf. Zanker, 584 f., with literature in nn. 12–13.
[44] e.g. for Schweitzer (op. cit., n. 24) 13, there was
such a thing as ' der römische Porträtist '; and
apparently too, more recently, for W. H. Gross, in
Hellenismus in Mittelitalien (1976), II, 573.

bearing Greek names.[45] Writers on art of the Roman period were almost exclusively interested in the Greek masters of the Classical period, but the few famous artists mentioned as active at Rome in the second and first centuries B.C. were all Greeks; [46] the exceptions are a few aristocratic dilettante painters, mentioned for their eccentricity rather than for any ability (at least painting was not so demeaning as sculpture) and one or two architects.[47] Of the brilliant portrait-sculptors who effected a minor artistic revolution we hear nothing in literature, except for a possible cloaked and back-handed reference in Virgil (*Aen.* 6. 847 ff.) :

> Excudent alii spirantia mollius aera
> (credo equidem), vivos ducent de marmore vultus, . . .
> tu regere imperio populos, Romane, memento
> (hae tibi erunt artes), . . .

A likely interpretation of ' vivos . . . vultus ' would be portraits; [48] and that the ' alii ' are Greeks is shown clearly by extant signatures and funerary inscriptions.

Artists' and craftsmen's signatures under the Romans are normally in Greek until the later second century A.D. when they are sometimes in Latin. Sculptors' signatures seem virtually always to have been in Greek: we have isolated signed bases, signed copies of Greek works, signed portraits of Romans, and signed bases for portraits of Romans, from Italy and the Greek East—all have signatures of Greeks often with ethnics.[49] Many artists were slaves or freedmen. The latter became Roman citizens and often took pure Latin names but also often kept their own name as a cognomen; Greek freedmen sculptors seem always to have added their Greek cognomen, and often too their ethnic, when they signed: e.g. Aulos Sextos Eraton of Athens.[50] There seem to be no sculptors' signatures of Roman *ingenui*. All signed gems with portraits of Romans are signed by Greeks in Greek,[51] and since gem-engravers may often have been die-engravers as well, this could argue that the coin portraits were made by Greek artists also. Latin funerary inscriptions of artists and craftsmen tell a similar story: [52] there seem to be a few *ingenui*, but the majority are freedmen who sometimes use only their adopted Roman names and sometimes add their own cognomen as well; when they do, it is nearly always Greek, and Greek nationality should probably be assumed where nationality is not detectable, unless there is strong evidence against it. The message of the signatures and epitaphs is clear. Top artists, who sculpted the Roman aristocrats and are not recorded in literature, are represented by their signatures and were free Greeks and Greek freedmen. There were *no* top Roman artists or portraitists. Artists of middling to low ability and status, who imitated the style of the top artists for the lower orders of society, producing works like the freedmen's grave reliefs, are represented by the epitaphs and were mostly Greek freedmen and slaves with a probably small admixture of Roman and Italian *ingenui*. The epitaphs give the same picture not only for sculptors and painters, but also for nearly all the other artistic crafts.[53]

The fact that Greeks made Republican portraits may enable us to make a reasonable guess on historical grounds as to when they were first made: in the Aegean area, perhaps some time between *c.* 200 and 150 B.C., when Roman officers and businessmen first came into prolonged contact with Greeks and Greek artists; and at Rome, more precisely,

[45] Artists in general: J. M. C. Toynbee, *Some notes on artists in the Roman world* (Coll. Latomus 6, 1951); I Calabi Limetani, *Studi sulla società romana; il lavoro artistico* (1958). Sculptors and portraitists: G. Richter, *Three critical periods in Greek sculpture* (1951) ch. 3; *Proc. Am. Phil. Soc.* 95 (1951), 184–208.

[46] J. Overbeck, *Die antiken Schriftquellen* (1868), nos. 2206 f., 2227 f., 2262 f.

[47] Painters: Toynbee (op. cit., n. 45), 37 f.; architects: ibid., 9 f.

[48] So R. G. Austin, *Aeneid VI* (1977), on 848, but few other commentators. On Virgil's idiosyncratic use of ' excudent ' and ' ducent ': Bömer, *Hermes* 58 (1952), 117 f.

[49] There is no complete collection of artists' signatures from Italy. See Richter, *Three critical*

periods (1951), 45 f., 53 f.; Toynbee (op. cit., n. 45), 24 f.; E. Löwy, *Inschriften griechischer Bildhauer* (1885), nos. 338–46, 364–5, 369–85. Löwy, no. 373—an Aphrodisian sculptor trying to sign in Latin—is exceptional.

[50] Löwy (op. cit., n. 49), no. 334, from Olympia; possibly the same sculptor who signs as a slave at Rome, ibid., no. 378.

[51] M. L. Vollenweider, *Die Steinschneidkunst und ihre Künstler in spätrepublikanischer und augusteischer Zeit* (1966), 139–41.

[52] See Calabi Limetani (op. cit., n. 45) and *Enc. Art. Ant.* s.v. aerarius, architectus, argentarius, aurifex, caelator, eborarius, gemmarius, marmorarius, musivarius, pictor.

[53] See previous note.

perhaps some time between *c.* 190 and 146 B.C., when large influxes of Greek craftsmen from Greece and Asia Minor are recorded and when marble began to be used for statuary.[54] The equation between the ' conquest of Asia ' (meaning the Battle of Magnesia, 190 B.C.), the beginning of ' luxury ', the use of new, more expensive materials for sculpture, and the arrival of Greek artists in Rome is clearly made in the sources.[55] This is also the period when the first well known Greek sculptors are recorded making statues in Rome ; the most familiar are Timarchides the Elder and his son, Polykles the Younger.[56] Scholars have been slow to make the inference that this is perhaps the most likely period for the start of Republican portraits, perhaps because of a feeling that classicizing sculptors, such as Timarchides and Polykles are known to have been, could not have made Republican-style portraits. But Polykles' brother and son signed together a portrait of a Roman businessman on Delos *c.* 130–110 B.C. ; it is now a headless torso but it no doubt originally had a Republican head like that of the ' Pseudo-Athlete ', to which it is very similar in style.[57] There is no reason why Timarchides the Elder should not have made similar portraits at Rome fifty years earlier.[58]

The fact that Greeks made the Republican portraits under discussion also places them firmly within the tradition of Greek portrayal of outsiders and foreigners ; but before exploring this argument further and speculating on the possible content or significance of the style, we should pause to look at other theories of its genesis.

A native Italian tradition used often to be considered to have determined the character of Republican portraits. This view would have to show that there was a strong native tradition of realistic portraiture which the Greek artist was made to absorb and work within. This native tradition has been sought in : (1) a very heterogeneous group of terracotta and bronze heads of central Italian provenance, (2) Etruscan funerary figures, and (3) Roman funerary masks.

The ' Italic ' heads [59] are rightly no longer considered to be serious contenders, for none of the realistic-looking examples (e.g. the Berlin and Boston terracotta heads) [60] can be shown to be earlier than the arrival of the new wave of Greek influence in the early second century B.C. ; and one must assume that they reflect that new influence, rather than *vice versa*.

The heads of the figures reclining on Etruscan cinerary urns have been popular candidates for the forebears of Republican portrait style, and at first sight the idea is plausible because many of them, although small and poorly worked, have realistic-looking or at least harshly treated faces.[61] They survive in large numbers from tombs, for example at Volterra, Perugia and Chiusi, and are a very homogeneous group, so that the possibility of dating is better.[62] The series seems to start in the third century B.C. and continues

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[54] Influxes of artists : Plut. *Aem.* 6. 5 (168 B.C.) ; cf. Plut. *Tit.* 1. 1 ; Pliny, *NH* 35. 115 and 135. Marble statuary : first attested by Cic. *Pro Arch.* 9. 22, for the portrait of Ennius at the tomb of the Scipios, *c.* 150–40 B.C. ; see Coarelli, in *Hellenismus in Mittelitalien* (1976), II, 24–6 ; *Dial. Arch.* 2 (1968), 325 f.

[55] Esp. Pliny, *NH* 34. 34 ; cf. Varro, *ap.* Pliny, *NH* 35. 157–8 ; Livy 39. 6. 7–9.

[56] Pliny, *NH* 36. 35 ; Cic. *Ad Att.* 6. 1. 17 ; Coarelli, *Stud. Misc.* 15 (1970), 75 f. ; Stewart, 42 f. Other significant dates just before the middle of the second century are : 166 B.C.—Delos made a free port ; 158 B.C.—the Roman forum cleared of old (old-fashioned ?) honorific statues (Pliny, *NH* 34. 30) ; and 156 B.C.—Pliny's ' revixit ars ' (*NH* 34. 52).

[57] Torso of C. Ofellius Ferus : *Délos* XIII (1932), 21, fig. 13 ; Marcadé, *Receuil des signatures* II (1957), 41. Pseudo-Athlete : *Délos* XIII, pls. 14 f. ; considered by G. Hafner to be by the same sculptors as the Ofellius, *Späthellenistische Bildnisplastik* (1954), 73.

[58] It is impossible on the present evidence to say whether Republican portraits were first made in the Aegean area or at Rome ; see Stewart, 73 f. with opinions and references. He assumes, with Zanker, that our first roughly datable examples, the Delian,

were in fact the first ; this is by no means a safe assumption. But it is probably not a very important issue : the artists and the sitters were available in both the Aegean and Rome from *c.* 190 B.C. onwards. Clients and artists moved around the Mediterranean, not disembodied stylistic influences.

[59] Much of the relevant material is collected in the plates to Kaschnitz, *Ausgewählte Schriften* II (1965) ; cf. in general : W. H. Gross, in *Hellenismus in Mittelitalien* (1976), II, 571 f. ; Coarelli, *Dial. Arch.* 6 (1972), 97 f. Terracotta votive heads : see now esp. S. Steingräber, *RM* 87 (1980), 215–53 ; cf. Hafner, in *Eikones; Fest. H. Jucker* (1980), 130 f. ; cf. also *Roma medio-republicana* (1973) for material of before *c.* 200 B.C.

[60] Berlin head : Kaschnitz (op. cit., n. 59), pl. 17. Boston head : A. Hekler, *Greek and Roman portraits* (1912), pls. 144–5.

[61] The champion of this view was Kaschnitz von Weinberg, op. cit., n. 43. More recently, E. K. Gazda, *ANRW* I, 4 (1973), 855 f. ; see the comments of Zanker, 594, n. 65.

[62] M. Cristofani *et al.*, *Urne Volterrane* I–II (1975–7) ; G. Dareggi, *Urne del territorio perugino* (1972) ; D. Thimme, *St. Etr.* 23 (1954), 25 f. ; *St. Etr.* 25 (1957), 87 f.

down to the Augustan period, when the upheaval caused by land settlements finally disrupted the local culture. The majority seem to belong in the second and first centuries B.C., within which some of those at Volterra seem to be the latest,[63] while the urns of successive generations within some of the tomb-groups at Chiusi and Perugia have been worked out giving them dates spanning much of the second century.[64] More research of this kind, collating material from tomb-groups, especially any available coins, will probably yield greater precision. But for our purposes we have only to decide whether the realistic-looking type of head of these figures was a native creation which influenced Rome, or whether Rome influenced Etruria. Or to put it more historically, did colonists from Rome take to the area the new portrait style of their betters at Rome which then influenced the local population, or did the natives and colonists on visits to the metropolis tell their Roman betters and the Greek artists there about the style of the funerary figures in Etruria? Common sense says probably the former and obviously not the latter; and this is worth stressing because the real importance of Etruscan urn-figures for Republican portraits is surely that the higher the more realistic Etruscan examples can be dated, the higher the beginning of the harshly realistic style at Rome should be placed. The urns, like the ' Italic ' heads, have nothing to do with influencing the start of the style but may help to confirm an early dating for it.

Roman funerary and ancestral masks have often been posited as a source for the Republican portrait style. This view, for long discredited, occurs sporadically and has recently been strongly re-stated by H. Drerup.[65] He argues that death masks moulded straight from the face were early in use at Rome and exerted a ' direct influence ' on Republican portraits. We have no firm idea what these masks looked like in the second century B.C., so argument is difficult. The main evidence is as follows. From Polybius' famous description (6. 53) we can gather only that they were life-like masks worn at Roman funerals in the mid second century B.C.; they must have been of light material, perhaps thin clay or wax. It is certainly not implicit in his description that they were cast directly from the features of the subject, either alive or dead, and the ' likeness ' (ὁμοιότης)[66] he notes need be no greater realism than, for example, that of the ' Samnite ' head in Paris or the Capitoline ' Brutus ',[67] perhaps less. Pliny (NH 35. 6) tells us that in the old days, apud maiores, wax faces, expressi cera vultus, were kept in the atria of houses; these might be death masks proper or simply life-like masks.[68] Of physical remains, there are the strange little ancestral (?) busts from the House of Menander at Pompeii;[69] they are certainly not life or death masks. The famous Barberini statue of the first century B.C. or A.D. carries two life-size busts, presumably ancestral portraits, which do not differ from contemporary portraits.[70] There survive a few death masks in stucco and plaster and one in wax, taken from the negative moulds of human faces, some of which have been worked into portraits in the round; but none are datable before the first century A.D.[71] The evidence, as we have it, would thus fit perfectly well the view that the ancestral funerary masks merely kept pace with contemporary portraits in the round.[72]

If death masks moulded straight from the face were in common use as early as Drerup supposes, and if their ' direct influence ' is so readily detectable, it must be explained why

[63] C. Laviosa, Scultura tardo-etrusca di Volterra (1965), 13–14; A. Maggiani, Mem. Acc. Linc. (1976), 1 f.—the dating by Republican portraits renders the issue circular for us, but is no doubt methodologically correct.

[64] Thimme, loc. cit., n. 62; on dating and tomb-groups: M. Martelli et al., Caratteri dell'ellenismo nelle urne etrusche (1977) 86 f.; I. Krauskopf, Gnomon 52 (1980), 546 f.; cf. also W. V. Harris, Rome in Etruria and Umbria (1971), 175–84, 210–11, 303–18.

[65] H. Drerup, ' Totenmaske und Ahnenbild bei den Römern ', RM 87 (1980), 81–129.

[66] Polyb. 6. 53. 5: ἡ δ' εἰκών ἐστι πρόσωπον εἰς ὁμοιότητα διαφερόντως ἐξειργασμένον καὶ κατὰ τὴν πλάσιν καὶ κατὰ τὴν ὑπογραφήν.

[67] Kaschnitz (op. cit., n. 59), pls. 13–4. Whatever their dates these two portraits probably represent the best of native Italian portraiture before it became ' veristic ' under the influence of the new-style Republican portraits created by Greek artists; the

' Samnite ' head is probably an original from such a context, c. 200 B.C., the ' Brutus ' a much later, conscious re-creation of the style of the ' old days ': see esp. W. H. Gross, in Hellenismus in Mittelitalien (1976), 11, 564 f.

[68] In this whole passage on ancestral portraits (NH 35. 4–8) Pliny makes it doubtful that he has ever seen one of these painted wax faces.

[69] Drerup (op. cit., n. 65), 98–9, pl. 50. 1; cf. J. Ward-Perkins, A. Claridge, Pompeii A.D. 79 (1976), 76–7.

[70] Drerup (op. cit., n. 65), pl. 51; Bianchi Bandinelli (op. cit., n. 22), 80, figs. 85–7.

[71] Catalogue in Drerup (op. cit., n. 65), 85 f., pls. 34 f.

[72] cf. A. Zadoks-Josephus Jitta, Ancestral portraiture in Rome (1932), 36 f., cf. 89; Vessberg (op. cit., n. 24), 100; Brommer, RM 60–1 (1953–4), 164 f.; Adriani (loc. cit., n. 77), 106 f.; Hölscher, RM 85 (1978), 325 f.

very realistic portraits do not not appear in Rome and central Italy a hundred years or so earlier than they do.[73] However, even if there were death masks in the third or second centuries, which we are free to doubt, they would not go far to explain the development of Republican marble portraits, for it is one thing to make a realistic cast of a face but quite another to carve a realistic marble head. As far as the marble-carver is concerned there is little difference between looking at a real face and a cast of a face. Bronze casters could have used life or death masks (after considerable re-working) to make portraits, but again one would expect the very realistic style to start earlier. The best bronze portraits from central Italy which could conceivably date from before the second century, for example the ' Samnite ' head in Paris, show no such influence.[74] Also Lysippus' brother, Lysistratus, had apparently used casts of faces for bronze portraits in the fourth century without initiating a ' veristic ' revolution.[75] Life-like ancestral masks and unidealizing Italian sculpture might predispose the Roman to an unidealized view of himself, which would no doubt lead him to request unidealized portraits ; but this would not explain why those portraits came to be executed in such an aggressive and harshly realistic style.[76]

The theory of influence from Egypt, which is of course intrinsically less likely than Italian influence, has also quite recently been re-stated.[77] There is a group of portraits in hard Egyptian stones from Ptolemaic and Roman Egypt which sometimes have a harsh realism that is similar to that of Republican portraits.[78] The view of some scholars is that they began to be made before the Republican series and strongly influenced its inception, helped by the diffusion of Egyptian priests and cults in Italy and Greece. However, although the extant examples are plentiful, criteria for dating and even for stylistic groups are mostly lacking. Stylistic dates suggested often fluctuate by two or three centuries or more. For example the famous Berlin Green Head has been dated to both the seventh and the first century B.C.[79] The head and torso of Harsinbef (or Horsitutu, as read more correctly now) in Berlin has been dated by its inscription both to the early first and to the late fourth century B.C.[80] These are extreme examples but they underline the melancholy fact that there is no solid evidence for when the series starts. The portrait of Panmerit in Cairo is apparently dated by its inscription to c. 80–50 B.C. ; [81] that is a little help, but not much. Since there is no firm evidence to date any of the harshly realistic examples before the start of the Republican series, one is driven back on general historical consider-ations. The Romans had no extensive military or commercial contact with Egypt (from which Alexandria was culturally separate) before 30 B.C., so that Republican style is unlikely to have influenced Egypt directly, except from the Aegean which is quite possible. It is not likely that the Egyptian portraits influenced Rome and the Aegean through resident priests, since there had been priests and other Egyptians living in the Aegean long before c. 200–150 B.C. without their having initiated a ' veristic ' movement in Greek portraiture.[82] The priests would probably have adopted the prevailing portrait fashions, rather than the Romans have requested portraits in the style of some foreign priests. But the question of influence may be slightly misplaced here. These portraits were made in Egypt of Egyptians by Egyptian (and perhaps also Greek) sculptors and they may have been, in origin, a pheno-menon parallel to but separate from the Republican series.[83] But if an initial impulse to

[73] It is hard to see why Drerup's hypothetical and undated change from wax to plaster deaths masks should make the difference he claims.

[74] See above n. 67.

[75] Pliny, NH 35. 153.

[76] See below pp. 37, on the patron's role.

[77] A. Adriani, ' Ritratti dell' Egitto greco-romano '. RM 77 (1970), 72–109, esp. 98 f.

[78] H. Drerup, Ägyptische Bildnisköpfe griechischer und römischer Zeit (1950) ; B. V. Bothmer, Egyptian sculpture of the Late Period, 700 B.C.–A.D. 100 (1960), esp. 133 f., 164 f. Bothmer's Corpus of Late Egyptian Sculpture should clear up some of the difficulties here, when it appears.

[79] Bothmer (op. cit., n. 78), no. 127 ; Adriani (op. cit., n. 77), 95–8.

[80] Adriani (op. cit., n. 77), 75, 101 f., pl. 36. 2 ; R. S. Bianchi, in Das ptolemäische Ägypten (Ed. H. Maehler, V. M. Strocka, 1978), 95 n. 3, fig. 52 (with

new reading) ; cf. Bothmer, ibid., 101.

[81] Adriani (op. cit., n. 77), 101 f., pl. 51. 1.

[82] There were Egyptians resident in the Peiraeus already in the fourth century B.C. : OCD² s.v. Isis.

[83] This matter cannot be gone into here, but it seems to me that these portraits are to be connected with, and indeed are products of, the native Egyptian revival of the second century B.C. and that they are documents of the newly gained power and self-confidence of the Egyptian upper class and priesthood which were being increased especially during and after the reign of Euergetes II (145–116 B.C.). The movement started in the later third century (after Raphia, 217 B.C.), in the course of which should be dated the portrait of Teos II—Bothmer (op. cit., n. 78), 129, fig. 250—which is not yet ' veristic '. The harshly realistic examples probably started some time in the second century.

make them in an aggressively realistic style is sought, it came almost certainly from the Aegean to Egypt, perhaps in the form of imported portraits of Egyptians: one thinks of the Agora priest, [84] which is surely a portrait of an Egyptian resident in Athens executed by a Greek sculptor in the new Republican style.

The view of Republican portraits that is perhaps most prevalent today may be termed the 'late Hellenistic' view. This sees a continuous tradition between Hellenistic and Republican portraiture and tends to treat all portraits of the second and first centuries B.C. as part of a single development. To some of its proponents the nationalities of both artists and sitters are insignificant matters compared to the inexorable rules of stylistic progress governing them both.[85] More recently others, locating the start of the style in Greece and the Aegean, whence it was taken to Rome, and assuming correctly the artists to have been Greeks, see the nationalities of the sitters as not important and in fact not even detectable. This view, best expressed by P. Zanker,[86] involves three inter-connecting assumptions, all of which seem doubtful: (1) that there existed in Greece before the Romans arrived portraits of Greeks in the same style that came to be used for the Romans; (2) that there is a serious difficulty in telling apart portraits of Greeks from those of Romans in the second and first centuries B.C.; and (3) that Republican aristocrats and military dynasts often adopted the portrait style of Hellenistic monarchs. Thus portraits of Romans can look like portraits of Greeks and *vice versa*. But this totally blurs what used to seem to most observers to be the obvious distinctiveness of Republican portraits, the distinctiveness that required such urgent explanation.

The problem of deciding nationality in late Hellenistic portraiture has become exaggerated.[87] Considering the very large number of unidentified and relevant pieces, the number of doubtfuls is really quite few. Most are confidently and satisfactorily divided in books and catalogues between Greeks and Romans. There are only two factors which complicate the issue: first, in the more humdrum examples there is some blurring of prevailing portrait-styles which can conceal nationality; and secondly the harsh Republican style and the short-cropped hairstyle later became fashionable with some Greeks (but certainly not all), but none of these can be dated certainly before the early first century B.C.[88] and therefore provide no evidence for the assumption that the Republican style existed in Greece before it was used for the Romans. If one concentrates on the major portrait types on both sides, from which the more lowly pieces take their lead, there is usually little room for doubt. Fine gem portraits (Pl. II, 3–4) are important in this context because they probably represent the upper echelons of portraiture, and it is quite remarkable how easily they fall into categories of Greeks and Romans with few borderline cases.[89] The distinction partly continues in the Imperial period when some portraits of Greeks, although executed with the new techniques of Imperial portraiture, still look 'Greek' and not 'Roman'—for example some of the series of Athenian *cosmetai*.[90]

The assumption that some Roman aristocrats had themselves portrayed in the style of Hellenistic kings is fast becoming an accepted general rule without there being any certain examples of it.[91] That the Terme Ruler should represent Sulla, Lucullus or, most recently,

[84] E. Harrison, *Agora* I (1954), no. 3; Stewart, 80 f., pl. 24. It could have been made any time in the later second or first century B.C.

[85] Most influential in this approach have been: E. Buschor, *Das hellenistische Bildnis* (1st ed. 1949; 2nd ed. 1971); G. Hafner, *Späthellenistische Bildnisplastik* (1954); cf. H. Weber, *ÖJh* 51 (1976–7), Beibl. 19 f.; *Ktema* I (1976), 113 f.

[86] Most fully in *Zur Rezeption* ...; cf. *Actium-Typus* (n. 31), 34 f.; followed by Berger (loc. cit., n. 29).

[87] e.g. by G. Kleiner, ' Der Bronzekopf von Delos, Grieche oder Römer', *Münch. Jhb.* I (1950), 9 f.; Stewart, 91 n. 25. (The Delos head is surely either a Greek or at least a non-Roman.) Berger (loc. cit., n. 29) 67, sees ' keinem prinzipiellen Unterschiede zwischen einem Bildnis eines Römers und eines Griechen, sofern es sich um die gleiche Gesellschafts- und Berufsgruppe handelt ', but he then intuitively

and consistently distinguishes portraits of Greek and Roman writers on pp. 73 f.

[88] The first dated examples are the coin-portraits of Ariobarzanes I of Cappadocia (96–63 B.C.): Toynbee, 128, fig. 246. Like others in the Greek East, he adopted Republican style for political reasons: to show that the guarantors of his position were the Romans. I hope to return to these ' Philorhomaioi ' elsewhere. Greek freedmen at Rome adopted Republican style in their grave reliefs for analogous reasons; see above p. 27 and n. 36.

[89] Compare A. Fürtwangler, *Die antiken Gemmen* (1900), I, pls. 31–2 with pl. 47; G. Lippold, *Gemmen und Kameen* (1922), pl. 70 with pl. 71, cf. pls. 68–9.

[90] E. Lattanzi, *I ritratti dei cosmeti nel Museo Nazionale di Atene* (1968).

[91] See e.g. Zanker, 589; *Actium-Typus* (n. 31), 34 f.; Berger (loc. cit., n. 29), 71 f.; Walker and Burnett, (op. cit. n. 41) 10 f.

Flamininus, is the best known hypothetical example.[92] The idea has a historical plausi-bility, for the great Republican generals were heirs to the power and wealth of the Hellenistic monarchs : in private they cherished Hellenistic culture and Hellenistic ambitions. But their portraits, their public image, were not the direct followers of the Hellenistic royal portraits, as is often now asserted. Where Roman commanders can be certainly identified on coins, gems, and in the round, for example Pompey (Pl. V, 2), Caesar, and Antony,[93] the clear differences from the Hellenistic royal portraits with which they would have come into contact are far more striking and significant than any similarities. They may sometimes turn their heads and look up ; Pompey may have a very small Alexander-style *anastole*— but that is all.[94] Although there may have been some development towards full ' verism ' (perhaps *c.* 190–146) which we can no longer detect, it is unlikely that Republican portraits of the second century B.C. were so different in this respect that we cannot recognize them. The Delian examples of probably the later second century look clearly ' Roman ' (Pl. I, 2) and the rather rustic coin-portrait of the philhellene Flamininus (Pl. II, 2) shows already clear signs of the unflattering realism of the full Republican style, which is notably absent from Hellenistic royal portraits like those of Philip V and Perseus (Pl. II, 1) to which it is frequently likened.[95] The collective conservatism of the Roman oligarchy was clearly able to maintain some cohesion and uniformity in this matter of its public image. Even the fictional coin portrait (*c.* 58 B.C.) of the legendary king Ancus, who wears a Hellenistic royal diadem, looks quite ' Roman '.[96] And even the most overtly Hellenistic in technique of the Republican portraits, like the Tivoli general [97] or the new Florence-Basel ' Young Pompey ' type,[98] clearly represent Romans, not Hellenistic princes.

It is sometimes said that the Republican portraits follow the more realistic Hellenistic royal portraits of the Pontic and Bactrian kings of the first half of the second century B.C.[99] But any direct connection is very improbable, since the Romans had no contact with Bactria, and very little with Pontos before the first century B.C., by which time royal portrait-style there was very different.[100] The very realistic portraits of the Pontic and Bactrian kings are a phenomenon similar to the Republican portraits—especially the Pontic portraits, because they are more consistently unflattering in style than the Bactrians ; but the con-nection is merely in the common nationality of the artists and their approach to foreign sitters.

The Republican portraits are indeed part of ' late Hellenistic portraiture ', but within it they are a separate group and one that does not grow imperceptibly out of it. A rather strange theory which recognizes this states that Republican portraits are so distinctive, because Romans looked different, because they actually had different physiognomies.[101] Are we to understand by this that there were no pleasant-looking Romans before Octavian ? Nicely as this theory seems to fit the evidence, it will of course not do. Modern portraits show us that artists are quite able not only to make tired and ageing faces sympathetic, handsome, and still recognizable (e.g. Gainsborough),[102] but also to be so ruthless and ob-jective in portraying the surface of a young and good-looking sitter's face as to render it harsh and ugly (e.g. Lucian Freud).[103] So too with the Romans, for they can hardly all have differed so much from Greeks until the Augustan period when some suddenly start to approximate to Greeks. Rather one is dealing with Greek artists using different ways of portraying themselves and of portraying different sorts of foreigners, stemming from different

[92] *Helbig*[4] III. 2273 ; L. de Lachenal, in *Museo Nazionale Romano, le sculture* (1979), 198–201 with literature and opinions summarized ; as Flamininus (unconvincingly) : J. C. Balty, *MEFRA* 90 (1978) 669 f.   Other hypothetical examples : statue of ' Antony ' from Aphroditopolis—H. Kyrieleis, *Bild-nisse der Ptolemäer* (1975), 70 f., pl. 59. 3–4 ; A. Krug, in *Das ptol. Agypt.* (n. 80), 15 f., figs. 25–8 (both reject the identification as Antony) ; head of ' Flamininus ' in Delphi—F. Chamoux, *BCH* 89 (1965), 214 f., figs. 1 f. (surely a Greek).

[93] See above nn. 27, 37.

[94] pace D. Michel, *Alexander als Vorbild für Pompeius, Caesar, und M. Antonius* (1967).

[95] e.g. by D. Strong, *Roman Art* (1976), 13 ;

Zanker, *Actium-Typus* (n. 31), 36.

[96] Kent, Hirmer, *Roman Coins* (1978), no. 73, pl. 19.

[97] *Helbig*[4] III. 2304 ; E. Talamo, *Museo Nazionale Romano, le sculture* (1979), 267 f., figs. 163–4.

[98] Berger (op. cit., n. 29), 64 f., pls. 20–1.

[99] Richter, *Archaeology* 16 (1963) 25 f. ; Zanker, 589.

[100] See below, p. 35 and pl. V, 1.

[101] Proposed in its baldest form by Miss Richter, *Three critical periods* (1951), 60 ; cf. ead., *Sculpture and Sculptors of the Greeks* (4th ed. 1970), 248.

[102] e.g. J. Hayes, *Gainsborough* (1975), pl. 65.

[103] e.g. *Lucian Freud* (Arts Council of Great Britain, 1974), 29, no. 78.

attitudes to them. The most obvious difference in Republican portraits from those of Greeks and from Greek portraits of other foreigners is surely that they are all more or less unsympathetic likenesses, that is the artists were little concerned to put the sitter's case favourably—in fact rather the reverse.

To see this difference in attitude one may compare, for example, the portraits of Mithridates VI of Pontos and Pompey (Pl. V, 1–2), near contemporaries of similar age, station, and aspiration, one a Hellenistic king and the other a Roman. Mithridates was of course not actually a Greek, but to the Greeks and Greek artists of Asia Minor he was. In his propaganda he claimed dual descent, on one side from Cyrus and Darius, on the other from Alexander and Seleukos Nikator;[104] but in his portraits he is presented as purely Greek, as a highly idealized new Alexander-Herakles, and they are often hard to tell apart from those of Alexander and the gods.[105] Although the physical resemblance was apparently not close, Pompey also liked his appearance and achievements to be compared to those of Alexander.[106] However, even the most Hellenistic in execution of his portraits, that in Venice,[107] could never be mistaken for a portrait of any Hellenistic prince, let alone Alexander. Outwardly it has the Hellenistic ' pathos formulae '—turn of the head and neck, eyes looking upwards—but the Greek sculptor, rather than adapt the Roman general's features to a Hellenistic ruler ideal, has concentrated on bringing out the round fleshy face, the weak chin, the tiny piggy eyes, and the football-shape of the head. The sculptor of the well known Copenhagen Pompey (Pl. V, 2) carried this even further, to near comic effect. This head is an early Imperial copy, and Donald Strong remarks on it : ' the copy gives the head an air of caricature which may not have been shared by the original '.[108] But this is special pleading ; an early Imperial copyist would be more likely to smooth out ' an air of caricature ' than to impart it. The same sort of differences in the artists ' attitudes can be detected if one compares portraits of Greeks and Romans from other walks of life : for example the Chrysippus or ' Pseudo-Seneca ' (Pl. III) with the ' Albinus-Cato ' (Pl. IV, 1) or the ' Virgil-Ennius '.[109] It is suggested here that the reason Greek artists were so unsympathetic to Roman sitters is that not only were they foreigners to the Greeks but furthermore a group of foreigners whom in the second century B.C. the Greeks were finding increasingly unlikeable.

The story of how the Greek world succumbed to Rome is familiar : Syracuse 211, Cynoscephalae 197 (the euphoria of 196 was short-lived), Magnesia and Apamea 190/188, Pydna and the Day of Eleusis 168, Corinth 146, and the Attalid bequest 133—these were, from the Greek point of view, a series of seemingly rather regular, uninvited and undeserved blows, which undermined their view of the world and their confidence. After the Persian Wars the Greeks had considered themselves the only civilized men in the world, an opinion amply confirmed by Alexander's conquests : the weakling *barbaroi* were defeated and Greeks left the rightful masters of the *oikoumenē*. When the Romans in the space of about fifty years usurped that position almost completely, a few Greeks, the rich and the aristocratic, managed to accommodate themselves to the Roman scheme of things, which it soon transpired was to be based on privilege and oligarchy. Polybius sat down to explain the inevitability of it all to the educated Greek public, but the many conceived a deep-seated hatred for the Romans and their ' axes and . . . taxes ',[110] which manifests itself in the support given to Perseus, Andriskos, Aristonikos and Mithridates and also to the slave risings. As one scholar has said of the most bloody of these revolts, that of 88 B.C. : ' it is not difficult to understand why the peoples of Asia massacred 80,000 Roman citizens in one day at the bidding of Mithridates Eupator : it is less clear why such horrors were not repeated.' [111]

For our purpose we may look briefly at how the Greeks viewed the Romans as a

[104] Justin 38. 7. 1.

[105] M. Bieber, *The Sculpture of the Hellenistic Age* (2nd ed. 1961), figs. 480–7 ; O. Neverov, *Trudy Gosud. Ermitaža* 13 (1972), 110–18, figs. 1–2 ; cf. A. Krug, *AA* (1969), 189–95—the Roman bust of Helios in Venice, there identified as Mithridates, is surely only a Helios.

[106] Plut. *Pomp.* 2 ; cf. Appian, *Mithr.* 17. 117 ;

P. A. L. Greenhalgh, *Pompey : the Roman Alexander* (1980), index, s.v. Alexander.

[107] See n. 27.

[108] *Roman Art* (1976), 39.

[109] See nn. 18 and 31.

[110] Cic. *Pro Flacc.* 19.

[111] G. Bowersock, *Augustus and the Greek World* (1965), 1.

foreign race.[112]   In the fourth century the Greeks of South Italy regarded the Italians (Bruttians and Lucanians) who were constantly troubling them, and probably the Romans too, as barbarians. (Certainly later, Italians and Romans were not distinguished by Greeks.) For Pyrrhos the Romans were barbarians, while Eratosthenes later in the third century classed them among the more refined barbarians of the world (βάρβαροι ἀστεῖοι).[113]   For the Aetolians probably in the 230s they were apparently ' nempe pastores '.[114]   In the First Macedonian War the question whether the Romans were to be trusted as liberators or to be seen as the real threat, the barbarian and natural enemy of Greece, was an important propaganda issue ; for the pro-Macedonians they were ἀλλόφυλοι ἄνθρωποι and βάρβαροι.[115] After 196 the Romans could not so easily be called barbarians because they had won the war against Greeks and had declared Greece free—two un-barbarian things to have done. But by 190 all the Greeks were alienated from Rome again,[116] and the anti-Roman feeling was plain to Polybius in the bursting out of mass popular support for Perseus.[117]   Oppressiveness and arrogance were the characteristics the Greeks saw in the behaviour of Popilius Laenas in 168.[118]   After 146 the sources for the Greek point of view are very limited. Mithridates emphasized the rapacity of the Romans and attributed it to their low origins : they all have the insatiable greed of the wolf that nurtured their founders.[119]   The Sibylline oracle pronounced in a similar vein that Italy was not a mother of men but a nurse of wild beasts (θηρῶν δὲ τιθήνη).[120]   The detailed picture in Plutarch's *Pompey* (ch. 24) of the Greeks who turned to piracy in the 70s and their mock obsequiousness to Roman captives shows their scorn for the Romans as a pompous and overbearing people. So in the minds of most Greeks the Romans went from being barbarians to haughty foreign oppressors during the second century ; though to many they probably remained barbarians.[121]

After conquering the Greeks the Romans began to remove the works of art from their sanctuaries and cities, and in the cases of Syracuse and Corinth this even called forth censure from Polybius.[122]   It seems to have gone on continually from 211, merely reaching a peak with Verres, and was extremely offensive to Greek sentiment.[123]   The extortion of honours from Greek cities by Roman officials in the form of statues was also common.[124] These were practices which no doubt impressed themselves on working Greek artists of the day, and to them we should now return.

Greek intellectuals—philosophers, rhetoricians, historians etc.—soon acclimatized themselves to the conquest; new ideals and prestigious, lucrative careers were found. Artists however were not among this élite; they may have found numerous new clients and commissions but the late Republic and Empire witness a clear and significant fall in the status of artists, especially sculptors and especially those in the service of Romans in Italy.[125] The high status of the top artists in the Classical period is clear from the extensive literary sources and in the Hellenistic period from the few literary sources and a multitude of signed bases. Under the Romans signatures continue in diminished quantity in the Greek East, but in Italy they are very rare, and when they do appear they are often not on the base but on the statue itself, often small and concealed.[126]   The Romans were simply not interested in who made their sculptures, which, along with paintings and other art-works, they considered (in public anyway) to be trifling and contemptible things (*levia et contemnenda*),

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[112] On what follows: H. Fuchs, *Der geistige Widerstand gegen Rom* (1938), 14 f., 40 f. ; B. Forte, *Rome and the Romans as the Greeks saw them* (1972) chs. 1–2 ; J. P. V. D. Balsdon, *Romans and Aliens* (1979a), esp. ch. 12 ; cf. also A. Toynbee, *Hannibal's Legacy* (1965), II, 86–7 ; A. Momigliano, *Alien Wisdom* (1975), ch. 2 ; N. K. Petrochilos, *Roman attitudes to the Greeks* (1974).

[113] Plut. *Pyrr.* 16 ; Eratosthenes, quoted by Strabo 1. 4. 9.

[114] Justin 28. 2. 8.

[115] Polyb. 9. 37–9 ; 18. 22. 8 ; cf. 11. 5. 7 ; 10. 25 ; Livy 31. 29.

[116] Polyb. 39. 3. 8–9.

[117] 27. 9–10.

[118] Polyb. 29. 27. 4.

[119] Justin 38. 6. 7–8.

[120] *Orac. Sib.* 3. 469.

[121] See Cato to his son on Greek doctors, who, according to him, were planning to eliminate all non-Greeks and furthermore ' nos quoque barbaros dictitant ' (Pliny, *NH* 29. 13 f. ; A. E. Astin, *Cato the Censor* (1978), 170 f.) ; this was the other side of the coin : Roman paranoia about Greeks and Greek culture.

[122] 9. 10 ; 39. 2.   The whole subject has been thoroughly treated by M. Pape, *Griechische Kunstwerke als Kriegsbeute* (Diss. Hamburg 1975).

[123] Cic. *In Verr.* 2. 4. 132 f. ; cf. 2. 2. 158 f. ; Polyb. 39. 3. 9 f. ; Livy 31. 30.

[124] Cic. *In Verr.* 2. 2. 160–8.

[125] Dr. J. J. Coulton tells me that this was also discussed in the case of architects at a recent colloquium in Rome (Dec. 1980).

[126] See above n. 49.

ROMAN REPUBLICAN PORTRAITS

in which, like athletics and talking, the Greeks were far too interested.[127] In private they admired the paintings and sculpture of the Classical period which had been sanctified by Hellenistic art criticism, but they could not admire the artists who had made them. Art was not the career for a Roman, especially not sculpture.[128] In Greece, as at Rome, manual work of every sort had of course been looked down on, but the top artists, even sculptors, seem to have escaped the stigma and moved quite freely in society beside politicians and kings; under the Romans they joined the craftsmen and artisans in the lower orders of society.[129] Many, as we saw earlier, were Greek freedmen, who in most cases had no doubt been enslaved originally by Romans.

The Romans annexed Greece; they stole its art-works while despising art and demanded portraits of themselves while despising the sculptors who were to make them and who reciprocated the feeling. In this context of Greek and Roman relations we can perhaps better understand why Republican portraits are such harsh unsympathetic likenesses. Is it not at least partly because the portraitists did not like their clients? But there is of course the part of the client to consider.

Many scholars tacitly or explicitly ascribe the distinctiveness of the Republican portraits, their ' Roman-ness ', to the requests of the sitters, and there is certainly some truth in this; but the patron's role can be easily misunderstood or exaggerated. R. Bianchi Bandinelli saw the Republican portrait-style as the patrician style of the conservative Sullan upper class reasserting itself in the 80s; [130] but apart from the low date, it does not seem likely that the Republican portrait-style can represent only one group within the ruling class at Rome. We have seen that it was rather a ' Roman ' style for all: Brutus and Caesar are at one on this matter.[131] A. F. Stewart, locating the start of the style on Delos, thinks of it as a bourgeois merchant style in origin; [132] he compares Dutch seventeenth century portrait-painting, reckoning (historically a little inaccurately) that the taste for strong realism in portraiture increases the lower down the social scale one proceeds. But such portraits as we have that certainly represent Roman aristocrats show that they too favoured the style; it is therefore perhaps unlikely to have been a bourgeois style in origin. Both these views, although diametrically opposed, seek to explain the distinctive quality of Republican portraits by reference to the wishes of the sitters and patrons.

Now the character of the Romans and the functions of their portraits certainly would have predisposed them towards realism. They saw themselves as straightforward and literal-minded and in no need of the deceits of art; they should be portrayed as they were, without artifice, for this would best bring out their honesty and frankness, their *simplicitas*. They did not want to look like the mendacious Greeks in their portraits. They also needed realistic portraits. Greeks liked their leaders to look heroic or godlike and, if possible, young; and the portrait styles of Greek leaders were aimed directly at their followers. A Roman leader was far more concerned about maintaining his image among his peers, about his position in the continuing aristocratic competition for prestige. To reach the pinnacle of the competition, the consulship, a Roman had to be at least forty-two years old; [133] so his full age should be represented in his portraits. The good consul was looked on as a parent and guardian of the state; [134] his portrait should therefore look stern and patriarchal. The age of his likeness will reflect his *auctoritas*, its sternness his *severitas* (cf. Pl. IV, 2). Also the cognomina of the Romans could in the late Republic frequently be unflattering nicknames relating to various parts of the face, head, and body; [135] so too their portraits should identify them as individuals as unflinchingly as do their satiric names.

[127] Cic. *In Verr.* 2. 4. 132–4: ' deinde hic ornatus, haec opera atque artificia, signa, tabulae pictae Graecos homines nimio opere delectant. ... levia et contemnenda ... haec oblectamenta et solacia servitutis '.

[128] Cic. *Tusc.* 1. 2. 4; *de Off.* 1. 151; Virgil, *Aen.* 6. 847 f.; Seneca, in Lactantius, *Div. Inst.* 2. 2. 14; Plut. *Per.* 2. 1; Lucian, *Somn.* 9.

[129] For the Hellenistic period see now Stewart, ch. 4, esp. 105, with literature in n. 24; cf. in general A. Burford, *Craftsmen, in Greek and Roman Society* (1972)—she concentrates on the similarities in the positions of craftsmen in Greece and Rome and

between top artists and artisans and tends to blur the issues of nationality and status.

[130] *Enc. Art. Ant.* VI, 723; *L'arte romana nel centro del potere* (1969), 79.

[131] Kent, Hirmer (op. cit. n. 96), nos. 92–5, 98–9, pls. 25–8.

[132] Stewart, 143–4.

[133] By the Lex Villia of 180 B.C.: Livy 40. 44. 1.

[134] Cic. *De Orat.* 3. 1. 3.

[135] cf. I. Kajanto, *The Latin Cognomina* (1965), 63 f., 132, 222–46. (I thank N. Horsfall for this reference.)

These elements in the Roman character and in the function of their portraits would lead them to request realistic likenesses, but asking for a realistic approach would not determine the style in which the realistic portraits were carried out; they will explain, for example, why Pompey's portrait (Pl. V, 2) does not portray him in the idealizing manner of Alexander's and most Hellenistic royal portraits, but they will not explain why it has ' an air of caricature '. We are apt to think of realism as a fully attainable end in itself, towards which a portraitist may go some or all of the way, and that what is so distinctive about Republican portraits is that they go all the way. However, the portraits, for example, of Demosthenes, ' Pseudo-Seneca ', and Pompey (Pls. III, 1 ; V, 2), are all realistic ; it is their styles which differ.[136] The Romans would have asked for portraits that were ' realistic ' (ὅμοιος) or perhaps ' very realistic ' (ὁμοιότατος). They liked the portraits with which they were presented because they suited them and conformed to their idea of how they ought to look ; they were not concerned about trivial matters of style—that was for Greeks. How free the artists were in the matter of style is probably shown on the one hand by the great diversity of the portraits within the hard realistic type, and on the other by the very sudden introduction by Augustus of his uniform classicizing portrait, which must have resulted from quite explicit directions.

When asking for realistic likenesses, the Republican patrons probably did not want or expect the probing, unsympathetic style, since they often requested a realistic facial likeness combined with some of the external elements of Hellenistic idealizing portraiture, like the turn of the head and upward stare, and the nude athletic body, which were meant to enlist the sympathy and admiration of the spectator. When Greek sculptors accordingly combined a harshly realistic head of a Roman with some of these external Hellenistic elements, the result could be a strange but powerful hybrid, like the famous ' Pseudo-Athlete ' statue from Delos,[137] which however evokes in most observers today something nearer disgust than admiration and sympathy.[138] But the Romans were not to know this, and it cannot have been the conscious intention of the sculptor. So one should perhaps doubt whether, in requesting realism, the Romans had in mind the aggressive banality, the heightened ugliness, or the lack of any ' spiritual ' quality which most detect in comparison with portraits of Greeks. This was rather the product of the Greek attitude to these particular foreign clients which was allowed to work itself into the portraits because the artists had been freed from the usual obligation to flatter ; the style was not the result of a conscious desire on the part of the artists to caricature the Romans, but rather of an inborn, cool objectivity towards them as a foreign race, which was heightened by the events of the second and first centuries B.C.
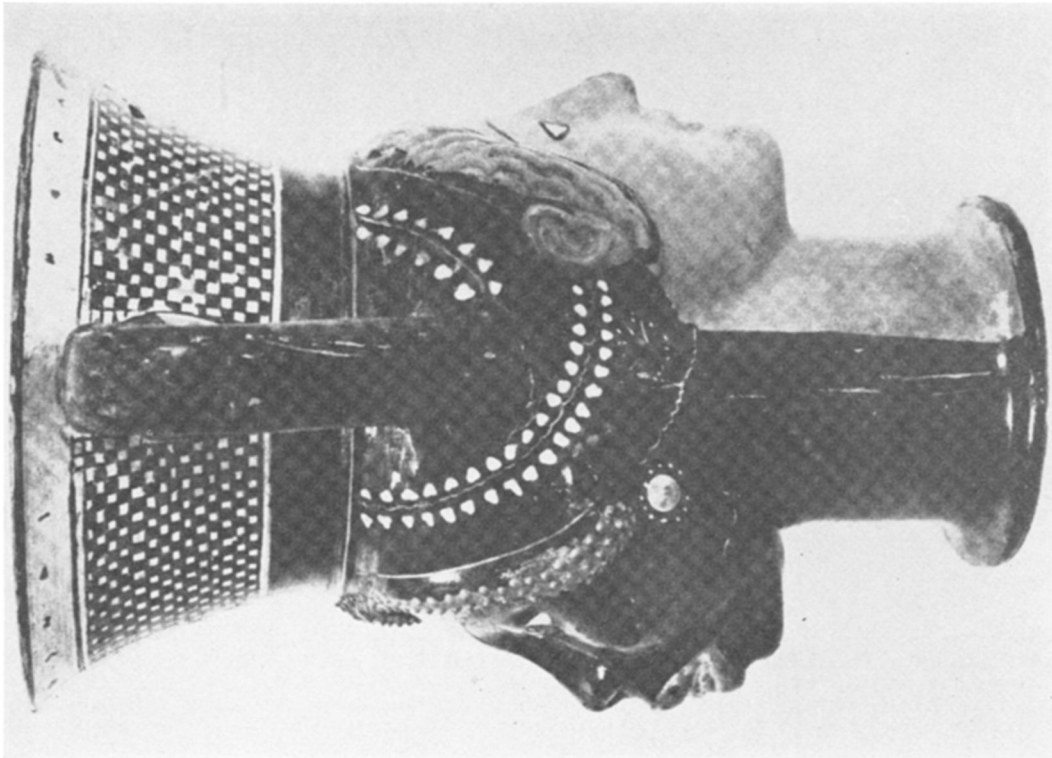
Magdalen College, Oxford

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[136] On this distinction see Stewart, 94 n. 48.

[137] *Délos* XIII (1932), pls. 14 ff. ; cf. D. E. E. Kleiner, *AA* (1975) 250 f.

[138] e.g. Stewart, 144 f. : '. . . a pastiche, a piece of pure kitsch, a monster of inauthenticity.' One wonders what the statue might have looked like to which the original of the Copenhagen Pompey belonged and what abuse it might have received to-day.

PLATE I

(2)

(1) ATTIC JANIFORM KANTHAROS FROM TARQUINIA, LATE SIXTH CENTURY B.C. VILLA GIULIA MUSEUM 5057. *From F. M. Snowden, Blacks in Antiquity (1970) fig. 12.* (2) MARBLE PORTRAIT-HEAD FROM DELOS, *c.* 166–88 B.C. DELOS MUS. *From Délos XIII (1932) pl. 23*
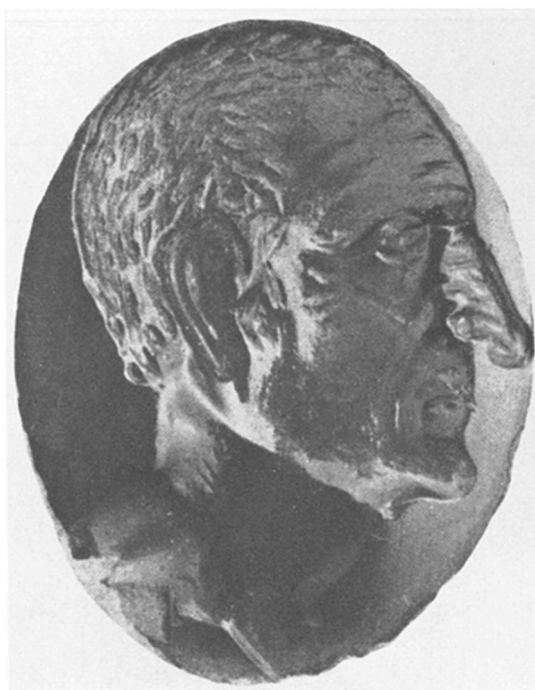
(1)

(1)

(2)

(3)

(4)

(1) TETRADRACHM OF PERSEUS, 179–168 B.C. N. DAVIS COLL. *From N. Davis, C. M. Kraay,* The Hellenistic Kingdoms (*1973*) *fig. 125.* (2) GOLD STATER OF FLAMININUS, *c.* 196 B.C. BERLIN. *From C. M. Kraay, M. Hirmer,* Greek Coins (*1966*) *pl. 175, no. 579.* (3) BLACK AGATE GEM-PORTRAIT (IMPRESSION), LATE REPUBLICAN. BOSTON MUS. FINE ARTS. *From M. L. Vollenweider,* Porträtgemmen der röm. Republik (*1972*) *pl. 52.6.* (4) HYACINTH GEM-PORTRAIT, LATE REPUBLICAN. PARIS (CAB. MÉD.). *From M. L. Vollenweider,* Porträtgemmen der röm. Republik (*1972*) *pl. 19.1*

(2)

CHRYSIPPOS, c. 210–200 B.C. (MARBLE COPY). VATICAN. *From G. M. A. Richter*, Portraits of the Greeks (1965) II, *fig. 1121*

(1)

(1) PSEUDO-SENECA, c. 200 B.C. (BRONZE COPY). NAPLES. *From museum postcard.* (2)
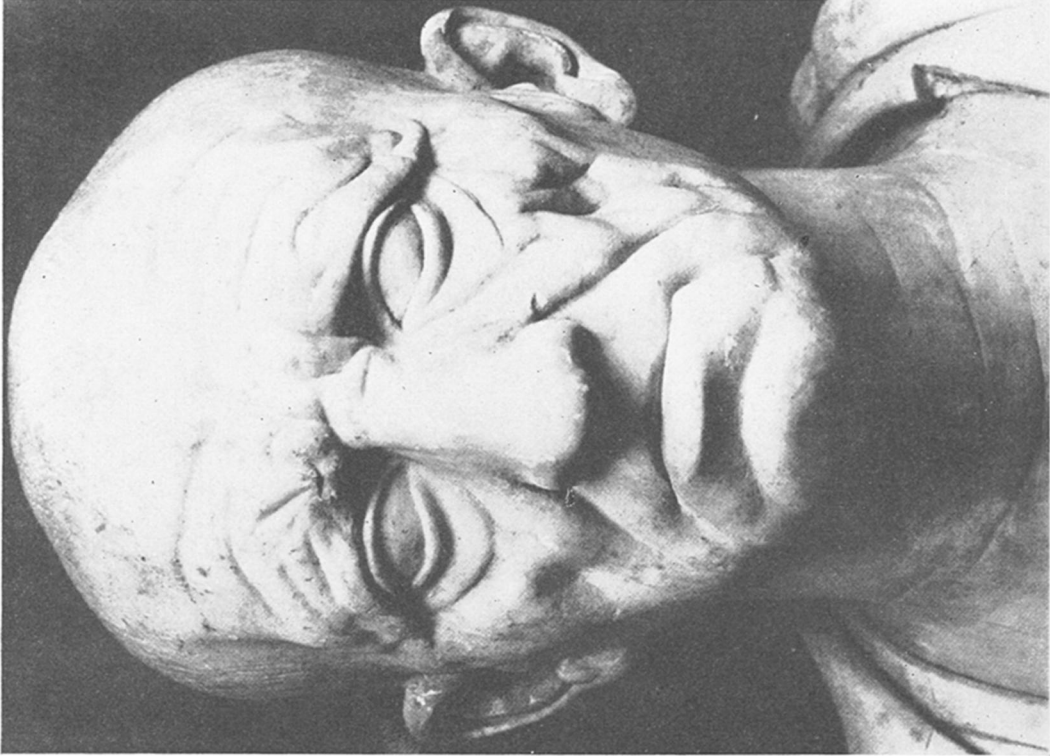
(2)

(1)

(1) 'ALBINUS–CATO', PERHAPS MID–SECOND CENTURY B.C. (MARBLE COPY). LOUVRE. *From V. Poulsen*, Röm. Bildwerke *(1964) pl. 23*. (2) MARBLE PORTRAIT-'HEAD, LATE REPUBLICAN. ROME (TORLONIA COLL.). *From* ANRW *I, 4 (1973), pl. 165*
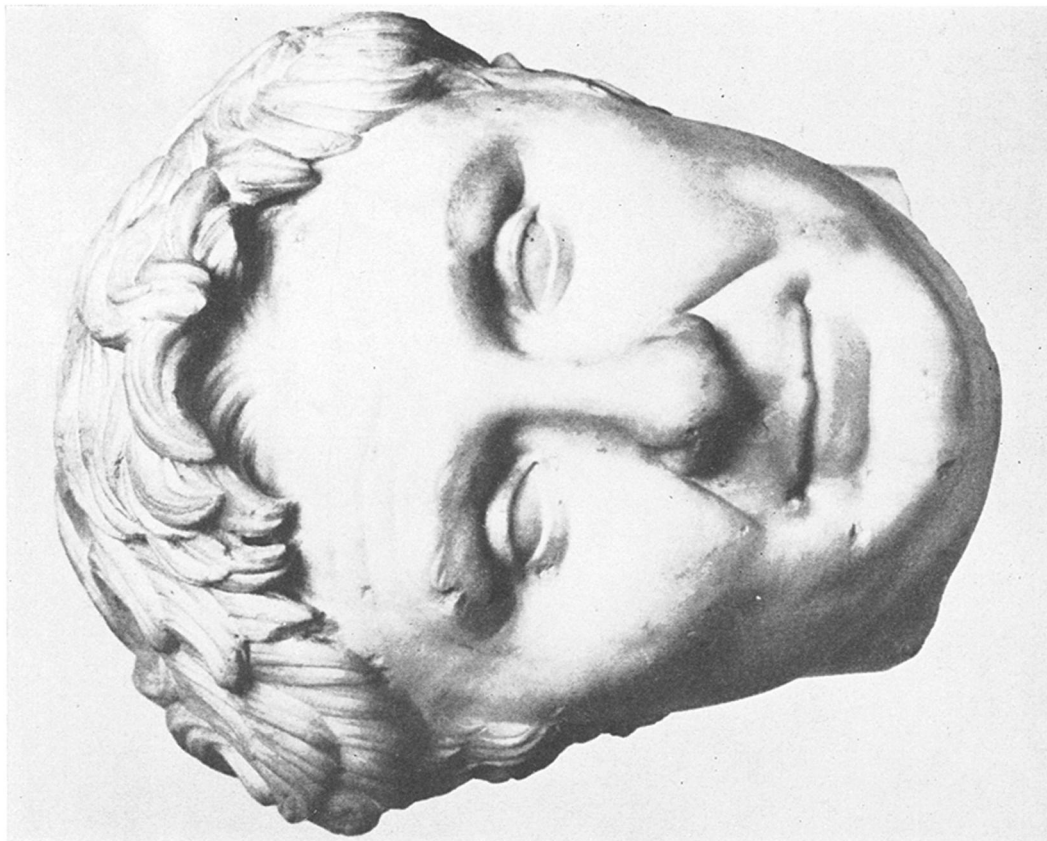
PLATE V

(1) MARBLE PORTRAIT-HEAD OF MITHRIDATES VI WITH LION-SKIN HEADDRESS, c. 90–70 B.C. LOUVRE. *Photo by the author.* (2) PORTRAIT-HEAD OF POMPEY, c. 60–50 B.C. (MARBLE COPY). COPENHAGEN (NY CARLS. GLYPT.). *From* ANRW I, 4 (1973) pl. 170