

LATE ROMAN PHILOSOPHER PORTRAITS FROM APHRODISIAS*

By R. R. R. SMITH

(Plates IV–XVI)

The rich finds of statues and inscriptions from Aphrodisias in Caria have done much in recent years to illuminate the world of the late Roman politician, the world of governors and local magnates.¹ Aphrodisias has also recently provided important new evidence for the philosophical image of late antiquity. In 1981–2, the excavations under Professor K. T. Erim recovered a remarkable group of marble shield portraits and busts that represent both contemporary late antique philosophers and ‘classic’ figures of the hellenic past. These portraits add a new dimension to our knowledge of Aphrodisias as an intellectual centre and provide a vivid insight into the pagan culture and education of late antiquity. We are in the world of Eunapius’ *Lives of the Sophists*. We are probably in the context of a philosophical school, perhaps *the* philosophical school of late Roman Aphrodisias.

In pagan society of the fourth and fifth centuries A.D., leading philosophers were prominent, influential, even glamorous figures.² They travelled widely, operating in an elevated cultural milieu. Cities might turn to them as advisers or spokesmen, or to act as ambassadors to the emperor. Philosophers were also the radical defenders of pagan religion. They acted both at a practical level through assiduous religious performance (sacrifices, hymns) and at a theoretical level through their philosophical writing. Constant exegesis of Platonic theology provided the old religion with a proper philosophical framework. Hand-in-hand with the promotion of pagan cults went equally assiduous teaching and study of the ancient authors—the classics of Greek literature and thought from Homer to Plato. Through the philosophers’ quasi-religious devotion to this corpus of hellenic culture, ‘hellene’ in the Greek East came in the fourth century to be synonymous with ‘pagan’.

In these circles, images of ‘classic’ thinkers and writers of the past achieved a new prominence and diffusion, and there is a growing body of late Roman sculpture, mosaic, and other artefacts from this environment—from Syria, Asia Minor, and Greece.³ The significance of such images would depend on the context and viewer, and doubtless it ranged from that of cultured décor to some kind of statement of philosophical interest or commitment. The new finds at Aphrodisias give a whole series of such portraits of exceptionally high quality from a unified, documented context—something unique in the archaeology of this period. They are not the first shield portraits to have been found at Aphrodisias. Earlier this century, a group of six medallion portraits was found at the site (the find-place was not recorded) that were

* I am most grateful to Professor Kenan Erim for inviting me to publish these interesting sculptures and for discussing them with me at length. Friends and colleagues have given many helpful comments and references: G. Fowden, C. P. Jones, G. Paul, J. Reynolds, C. Roueché, D. Theodorescu, and K. Welch. S. dell’Isola assisted with the illustrations, and A. Atwell drew the plan. I thank them all warmly.

The following abbreviations are used:

Aphrodisias Papers: C. Roueché and K. T. Erim (eds), *Aphrodisias Papers: Recent Work on Architecture and Sculpture* (1990)

Erim: K. T. Erim, *Aphrodisias: City of Venus Aphrodite* (1982). Figs are cited by page number and by letter (a–d).

IR I: J. Inan and E. Rosenbaum, *Roman and Early Byzantine Portrait Sculpture in Asia Minor* (1966).

IR II: J. Inan and E. Alföldi-Rosenbaum, *Römische und frühbyzantinische Porträtplastik aus der Türkei: Neue Funde* (1979).

POG: G. M. A. Richter, *Portraits of the Greeks* I–III (1965).

Richter-Smith: G. M. A. Richter, *Portraits of the Greeks* (abr. and rev. R. Smith, 1984).

Roueché: C. Roueché, *Aphrodisias in Late Antiquity* (1989).

Winkes: R. Winkes, *Clipeata Imago: Studien zu einer römischen Bildnisform* (1969).

Measurements for the sculptures are given in centimetres. H = Height, W = Width, D = Depth. Dimensions in brackets give actual measurements which are not the full original dimension.

¹ The statues: IR I, nos 242–6 and IR II, nos 196–209 (entries by K. T. Erim). The inscriptions: Roueché, with an excellent general account of late Roman Aphrodisias.

² For what follows and for background: Alan Cameron, ‘The Last Days of the Academy at Athens’, *Proc. Camb. Phil. Soc.* 195 (1969), 7–29; G. Fowden, ‘The Platonist Philosopher and his Circle in Late Antiquity’, *Philosophia* (Athens) 7 (1977), 359–83 and ‘The Pagan Holy Man in Late Antique Society’, *JHS* 102 (1982), 33–59; P. Brown, ‘The Philosopher and Society in Late Antiquity’, *Center for Hermeneutic Studies in Hellenistic and Modern Culture* (Berkeley, Colloq. no. 34) (1980), 1–17; P. Athanassiadi-Fowden, *Julian and Hellenism: An Intellectual Biography* (1981); J. F. Matthews, *The Roman Empire of Ammianus* (1989), ch. vii, ‘Julian and the Philosophers’; G. W. Bowersock, *Hellenism in Late Antiquity* (Jerome Lectures, forthcoming)—I thank the author for a copy of his text.

³ Discussed below, in Section III.

subsequently housed in the Evangelical School in Smyrna where they were destroyed in 1922. They are now known only from brief descriptions and old photographs.⁴ Though certainly of the late Roman period and most likely from one findspot, they cannot have come from the same context as the new group. The new portraits are of much higher quality and clearly from a different workshop.

The purpose of this article is to publish the new portraits. The first section (I) will describe the building complex in which they were found. The second part (II) will discuss the common features of their manufacture and then will present the portraits individually. The final sections (III–IV) will briefly try to set them in a wider context.

I. THE BUILDING COMPLEX

The marbles were found together between the back wall of the Sebasteion's north portico and the back of an apsidal building, in a barely accessible alleyway (see Pl. IV).⁵ They did not fall there in antiquity but had probably been carried out and dumped. All of them had had their heads deliberately knocked off. The head of one portrait (No. 11) was found inside the building, but its bust was outside. It is reasonable to assume, then, that the portraits were originally displayed in the apsidal building. The inside of the apse was articulated with a series of niches, the marble elements and revetment of which were found fallen in front. This once formed a rich, aediculated façade, and the medallions no doubt formed part of its sculptural decoration. They would have been framed in the marble revetment by moulded surrounds or small pilasters. It is not difficult to hypothesize positions for them; as we shall see, they may have been arranged in pairs.

Before discussing its function, we should briefly describe the archaeology of the building as excavated so far (Pl. V. 1–2).⁶ The complex extends some way to the north-east (taken as north in what follows) and consists of two quite distinct parts: an 'atrium' complex to the north (I), and the large apsidal peristyle building to the south (IV). The 'atrium' is at a lower level than the peristyle and centres on a handsome tetrastyle court (Pl. V. 1). It was clearly more domestic or private in character and must have formed the core of an old and impressive house, no doubt with its own entrance, as yet unexcavated. To judge by the very precisely carved bases and Ionic capitals of its columns, the tetrastyle court goes back at least to the early imperial period. A richly veneered exedra opens off the north side, entered between two smaller, spirally-fluted Corinthian columns on pedestals, of later (second-century) date. The central paving of the court and the rooms around it show signs of extensive later alteration (for example, the south side has been built over at a higher level). The covered ambulatory of the atrium-court was given a fine new patterned mosaic in the late Roman period (fourth to fifth century).⁷ A large and remarkable bust of a priest carrying a small idol of the Aphrodite of Aphrodisias was found here (at 'C' on the plan, Pl. IV).⁸ The form of the (headless) bust is third-century or later.

Leaving the atrium court by the door at its south-west corner, one could proceed into a small room with stairs leading to an upper storey, or down a short corridor to the east to another suite of rooms (II) located at the north-east boundary of the excavation. Here a smaller marble-paved court gave access to another, clearly important room entered between two double half-columns.⁹ Alternatively one could proceed down a long paved corridor to the south and into the large apsidal-peristyle building (IV). This corridor clearly connects the two parts of the complex, but the very restricted access it allowed (through doors at both ends of the corridor) shows that the two parts were conceived as quite separate areas.

⁴ G. Lippold, in P. Arndt, W. Amelung, *Photographische Einzelaufnahmen antiker Skulpturen* (1983f.), Nos 3204–8, with text cols 46–52.

⁵ For the Sebasteion, most recently: R. Smith, *JRS* 77 (1987), 88–138 and *JRS* 78 (1988), 50–77.

⁶ The following is based on a combination of the excavation notebooks, study of the remains, and the published reports, chiefly Erim, *Anat. Stud.* 33 (1983),

233 and *Aphrodisias Papers*, 15–18.

⁷ Erim, *Aphrodisias Papers*, 15, fig. 10.

⁸ *ibid.*, 18, fig. 9.

⁹ One of three small altars of blue-black marble decorated with garlands that were found in the north-east part of the excavation was positioned at the entrance to this room.

Most of the eastern half of the large peristyle (Pl. V. 2) is unexcavated (a modern garage-house lies over it). The west colonnade and part of the north colonnade have been uncovered, and there was doubtless a matching portico on the east side. The columns were Corinthian monoliths set on pedestals resting on a plain stylobate. Like that of the atrium, the plan of the peristyle is irregular. Due to constraints of the site, the north-west and south-east corners form acute angles—that of the south-east much more pronounced. The area between the colonnades (c. 18 m wide) was surely open. This clearly more ‘public’ part of the complex also had its own access: the chambers at the south-east corner of the excavation open directly, through an impressive, marble-framed entrance, onto the temple platform of the Sebasteion.¹⁰ Off the north side of the peristyle opened a richly veneered apsidal hall (III, W: c. 10 m)—its apse extends over what must have been the southern range of rooms of the ‘atrium’. In the north portico one sees a part of the floor paving of alternating black and white marble squares set diagonally. The same kind of paving is seen in various parts of the complex.

The west side of the peristyle ends in a narrow apsidal space (V) that was separated from the portico by some kind of screen for which the stone ‘track’ remains in the floor. The small apse had a mosaic floor beneath which were found an earlier floor and two illegible late Roman bronze coins. Lower, in the fill beside the foundations of the apse wall, a coin of the emperor Tacitus (A.D. 275–6) was found. Behind the barrier, a door in the west wall leads through to another largely unexcavated part of the complex, which lies at a slightly lower level than the peristyle building. Here, marked A and B on the plan, two lifesize statues were found buried, both headless. One, rather roughly worked, is a cuirassed general holding a spear, and the other is a very fine late statue of a draped feminine figure similar in workmanship to some of the shield portraits. It held what must have been a cithara and was surely a Muse (Pl. V. 4).¹¹

On the other side, the east portico of the peristyle terminated at the level of the main apse, where a doorway opened onto the space in which the shield portraits were found. This space is divided by a cross-wall built between the back of the main apse and the Sebasteion; the wall is pierced by a high window-like opening. The narrow area behind the cross-wall, in which most of the shield portraits were found, seems to have been inaccessible. The broken shield portraits were found at a considerable depth, at the same level as a large assortment of monogrammed fusiform unguentaria of sixth-century type; they should give the approximate date at which the marbles were dumped here. Above this level, there was a fairly dense layer of dumped roof-tiles.

The main apse was well constructed from small regular blocks of coarse stone, in a technique of the early and middle empire. The foundations of an earlier building are visible behind the apse. In front of it, no doubt originally on its axis, there was a colossal stone basin in the form of a phiale. The apse was decorated with nine alternating square and rounded niches, with two further round niches in its lateral extensions. Shallow podia project in front of the square niches, with the outer podia continuing in the front of the side extensions. The podia once carried elaborate marble aediculae of which the following elements were recovered: spirally-fluted monolithic columns, Corinthian capitals, curved and straight entablatures, round pediments, and a triangular pediment. Most of the elements and carved ornament, such as that of the entablatures, are difficult to date precisely: they seem third-century, but could well be later. Of very striking and certainly late Roman design, however, are the pediments. These do not have the usual form of low triangles and segments of early and middle imperial aedicular architecture; instead, the triangular pediment is tall and steep, and the rounded ones form a full semicircle (Pl. V. 3).

¹⁰ This platform or terrace was either built or extensively re-modelled in the late Roman period.

¹¹ Erim, *Anat. Stud.* 33 (1983), 233. Other sculpture found in the excavation of the complex included: fragments of a Herakles relief, fragments of a small,

finely worked Hanging Marsyas, a small torso of the ‘Seneca’ fisherman type, and fragments from a further three or four shield portraits of similar or the same format as those published here.

These are typically late antique pedimental forms, seen in various contexts and representations of façade architecture.¹² The surviving triangular pediment is carved with a huge acanthus; and of the rounded pediments, one has the normal shell motif, while the other has an extraordinary and ambitious figure scene in high relief of a seated frontal Aphrodite being escorted across the ocean by two flanking Tritons while she wrings out her long wet hair.¹³

Within the apse the shield portraits could be placed in the niches, perhaps two per niche, one above the other with a dividing frame between. They might also have been set higher up the wall, but this seems less likely for two reasons: they would there be hard to see behind the pediments of the aediculae, and their quality and evident cost seem to demand a more enhanced setting, like that provided by the aediculae and niches. A definitive answer to the question of their placement, however, must await a full study of the architecture of the façade. The columns of the aediculae were of both black and white marble, as was the surrounding revetment. When combined with the naturalistically coloured sculpture and pediments, this chequered or 'liquorice' setting must have given the whole apse display a rather striking overall effect.

We may summarize the likely building history of the complex as follows. The earliest part is clearly the atrium house (early first century A.D.?). At some point it acquired and was connected to the property occupied by the peristyle-apse complex. The basic structure of the main apse is later, perhaps of the middle empire. The coins in the floor of the small west apse (V) indicate a phase of alterations in the late third century. At a later date (fourth to fifth century), the main apse was equipped with the tall-pedimented aedicular façade, and the large hall off the north end of the peristyle (III) was built over rooms of the atrium house. Probably in the fifth century, the shield portraits were added to the apse façade (which may have been conceived for them), and the patterned mosaic floor was added around the atrium court. Sometime in the sixth century the shield portraits were removed and dumped in the deep alley behind the building. Since the marble elements of the apse architecture were found fallen in front of the apse and not behind it with the broken shield portraits, the building probably continued in use for a time. After its final collapse, with which the thick layer of tiles above the level of the shield portraits may be associated, the building was occupied by various lighter structures.

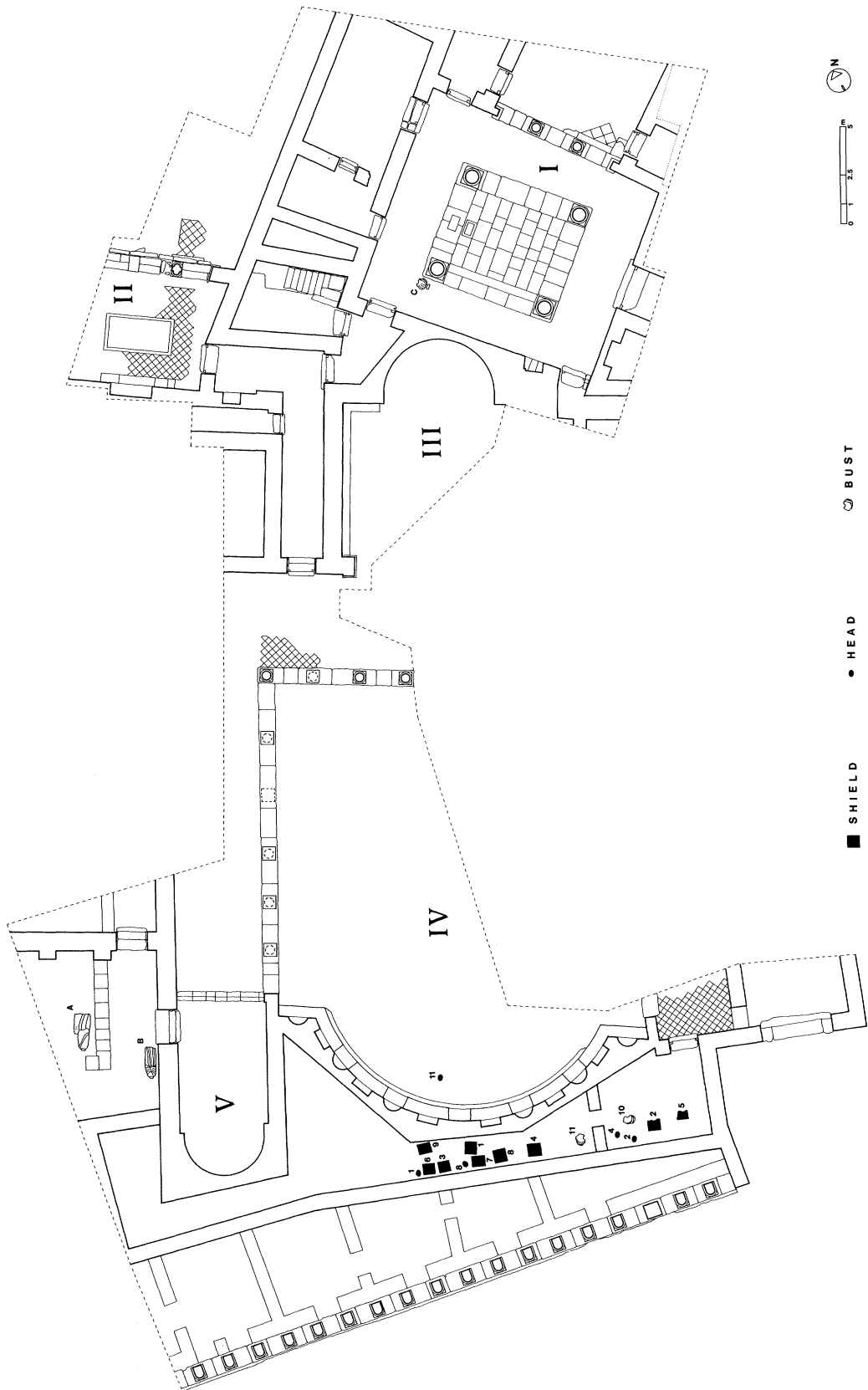
What was the function of this complex in late antiquity? It has a private domestic wing, and a more public peristyle with separate access from the Sebasteion sanctuary. The portraits of classical writers would suit a library, but there is no obvious place for storing books, and the domestic wing would be unusual. And for a private library the apsidal building seems unduly large. The sumptuous décor might suggest simply the house of a local grandee, but the presence of portraits of contemporary thinkers and of some 'specialist' philosophers of the past better suits a prestigious philosophical school or some kind of place of higher learning. The architecture gives the impression of a town mansion, combined with an open, gymnasium-like space and a richly appointed hall (at the north end of the peristyle) that would be appropriate for a lecture hall.¹⁴ The plan is similar to that of some grand town-houses in fifth-century Athens, plausibly identified as philosophical schools.¹⁵ Philosophers' schools, however, probably did not constitute an architecturally distinct category. That is, there was not necessarily anything in principle that distinguished the town-house of a philosopher from that of someone else. The hypothesis of a philosophical school rests in this case primarily on the gallery of portraits—on its unusual selection of 'classic' figures and on its inclusion of contemporary thinkers. The functions of private mansion, library, and place of higher learning need not be exclusive. Later (Part IV) we will meet known figures at Aphrodisias in this period who might have required just such a combination.

¹² Such pediments appear on sarcophagi, silverware, ivories, mosaics. Cf. E. Dillig, *Spätantike Architektur-darstellungen I* (1977).

¹³ Erim, figs. 135, 144a.

¹⁴ cf. Eunapius, *V. Soph.* 483 (=Loeb edn, p. 467) —a private lecture hall in a sophist's house in Athens.

¹⁵ A. Frantz, *The Athenian Agora xxiv: Late Antiquity AD 267-700* (1988), 34-48, esp. 42-7.



PRELIMINARY PLAN OF BUILDING COMPLEX, SHOWING FINDSPOTS OF SHIELD PORTRAITS AND BUSTS. *Drawing A. Atwell.*



1

1 VIEW OF 'ATRIUM' FROM NE. *Photo M. Ali Döğenci.*
2 VIEW OF PERISTYLE TOWARDS MAIN APSE. *Photo R. R. R. Smith*
3 ROUND PEDIMENT FROM MAIN APSE. *Photo R. R. R. Smith*
4 STATUE OF MUSE (?). *Photo R. R. R. Smith*



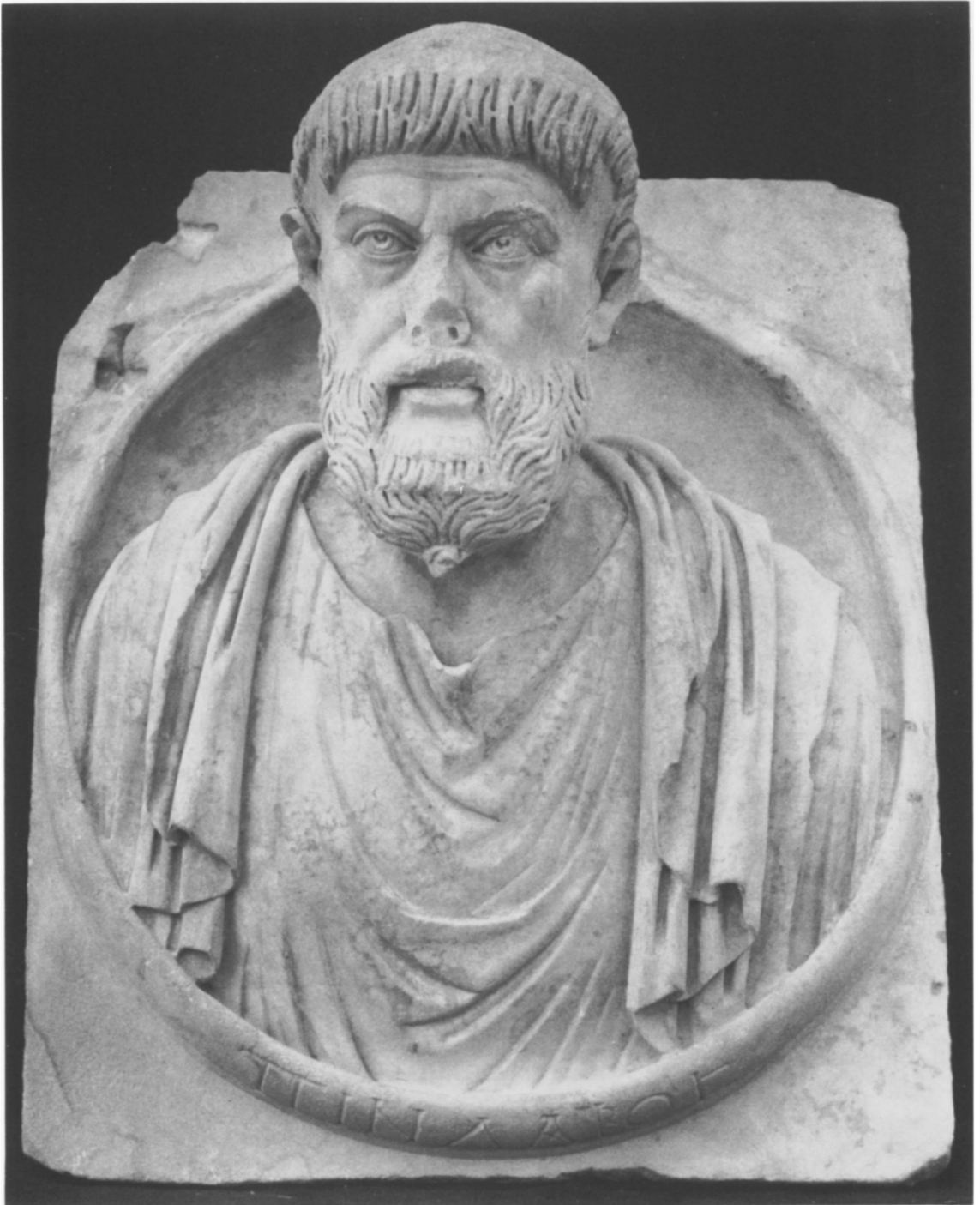
2



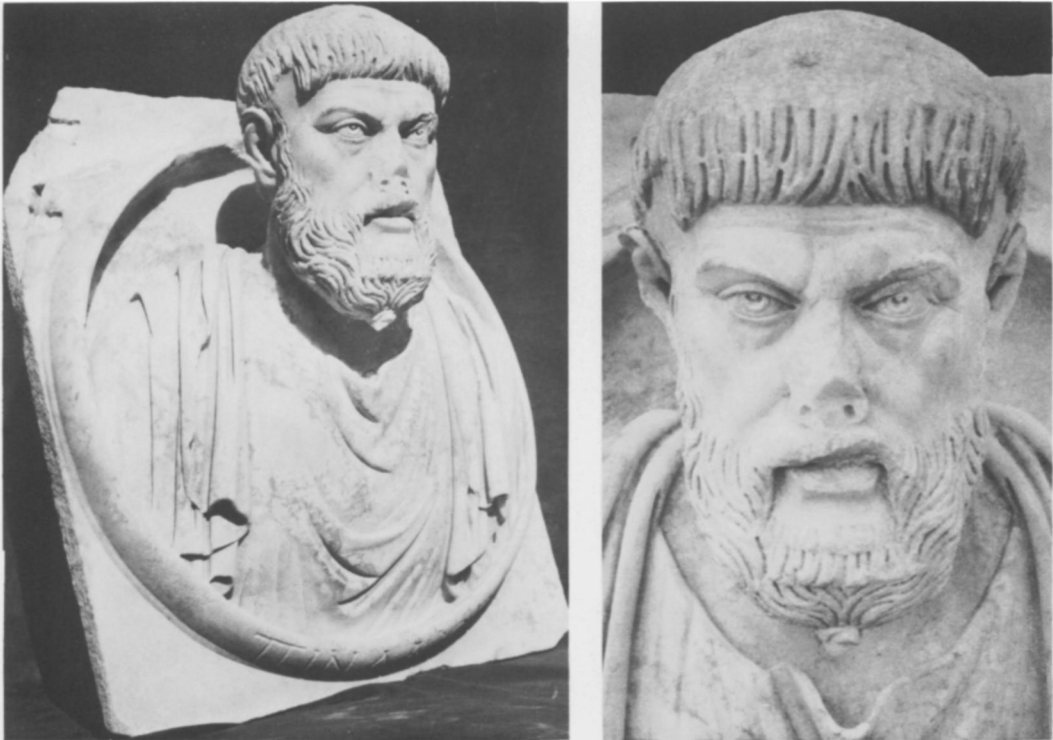
3



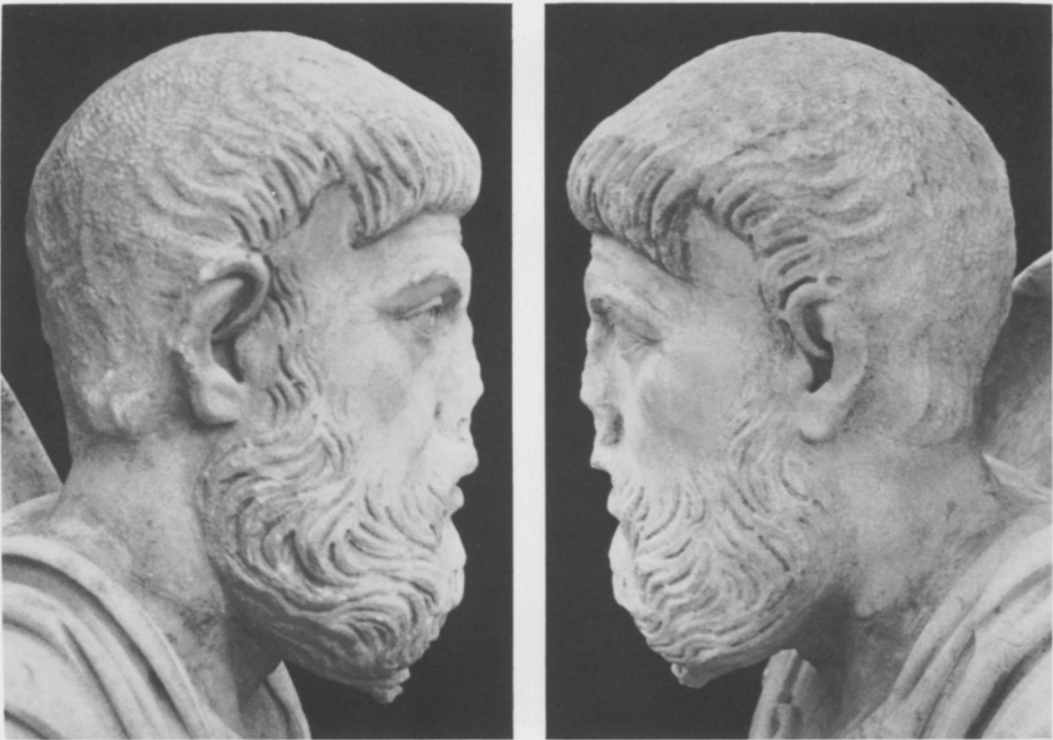
4



NO. 1, PINDAR. *Photo M. Ali Döğenci.*



1-4 NO. 1, PINDAR. Photo M. Ali Döğenci.



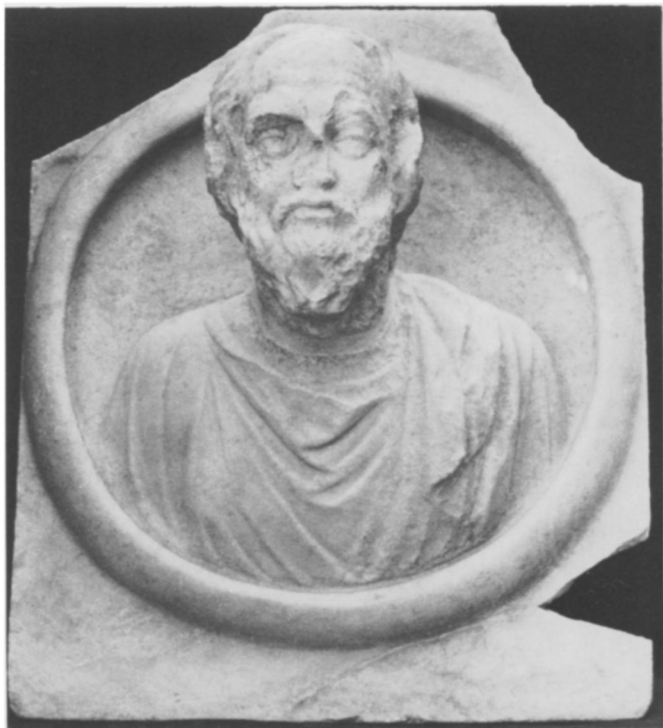


NO. 2, ALEXANDER. *Photo M. Ali Döğenci.*

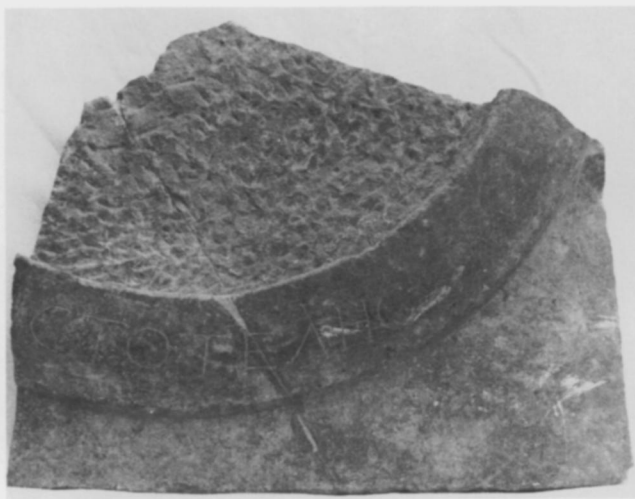


1-3 NO. 2, ALEXANDER. 4 NO. 3, ALCIBIADES. *Photo M. Ali Döğenci.*





1-3 NO. 4, SOCRATES. 4 NO. 5, ARISTOTLE. *Photo M. Ali Dögenci.*





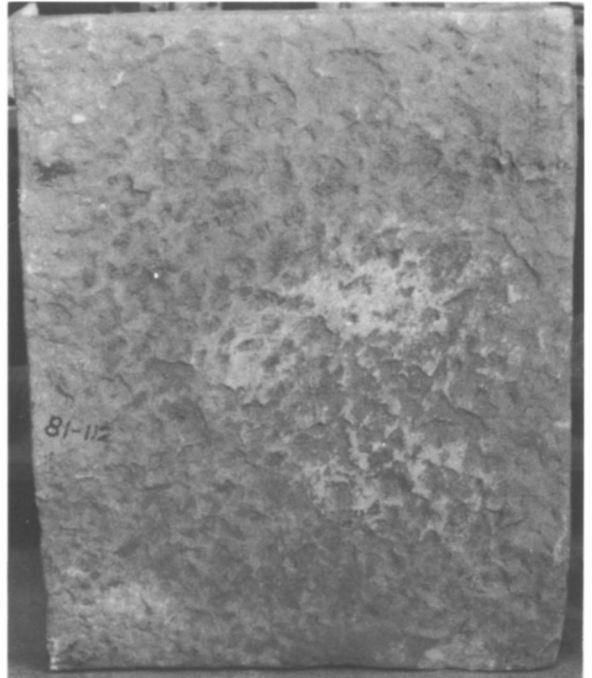
1 NO. 6, PYTHAGORAS. *Photo M. Ali Döğenci.*



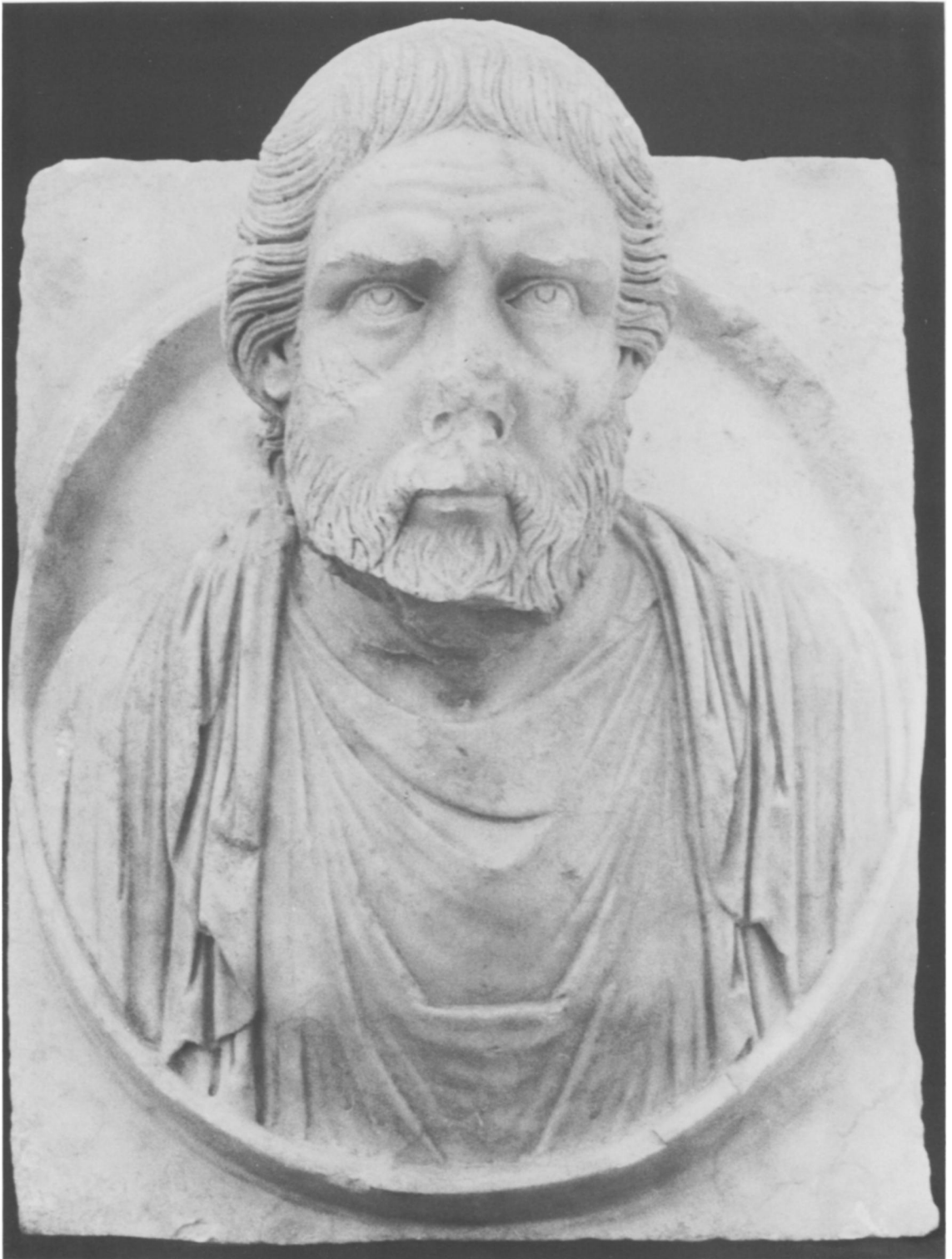
2 NO. 7, APOLLONIUS. *Photo M. Ali Döğenci.*



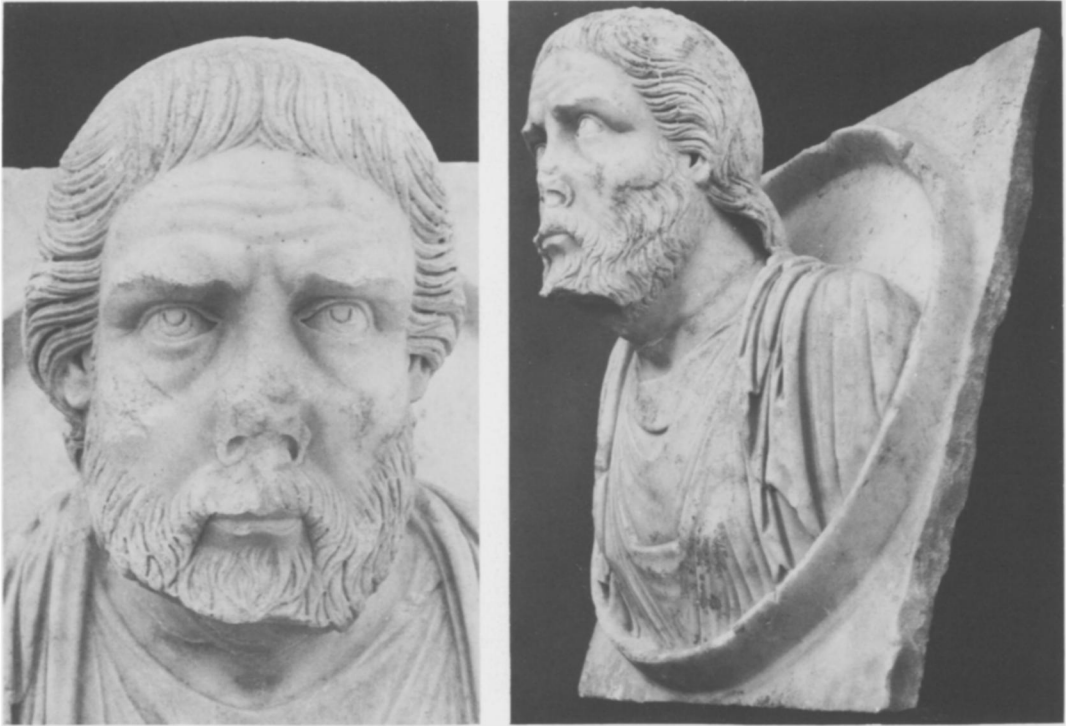
3 BACK OF NO. 6. *Photo R. R. R. Smith.*



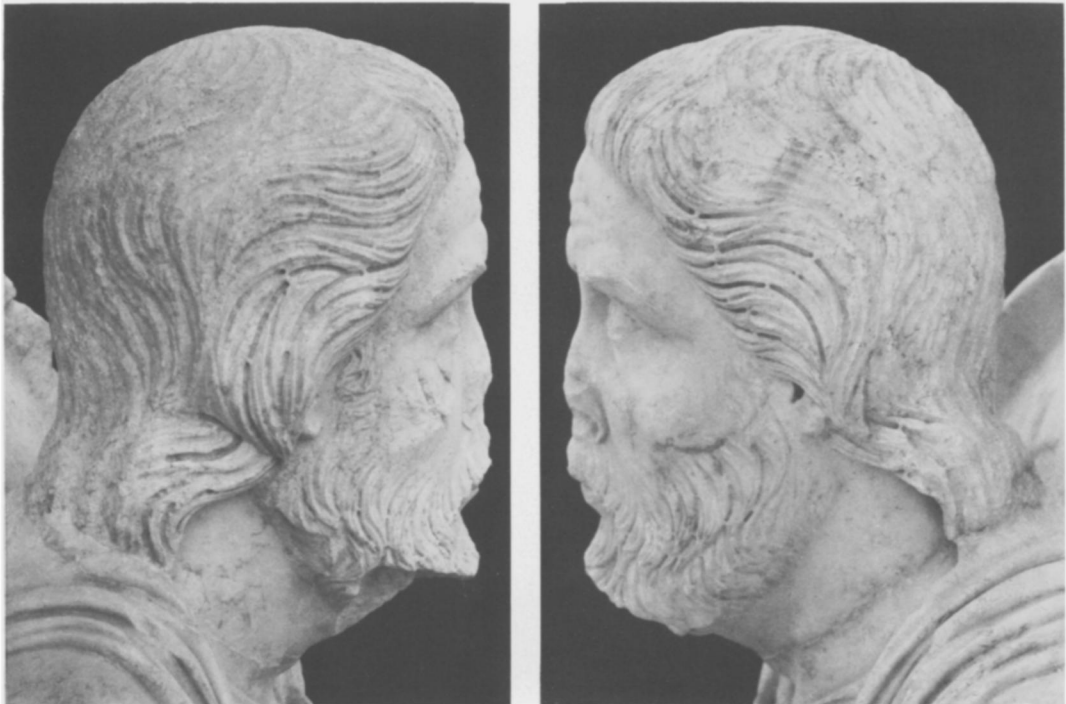
4 BACK OF NO. 8. *Photo R. R. R. Smith.*

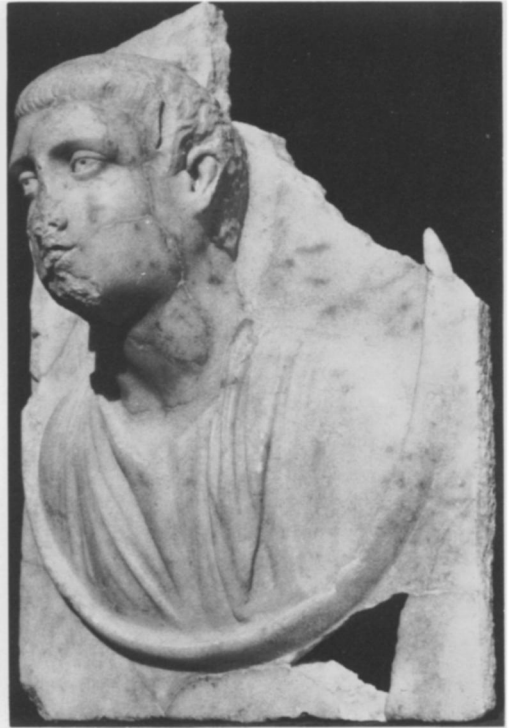


NO. 8, PHILOSOPHER. *Photo M. Ali Döğenci.*



1-4 NO. 8, PHILOSOPHER. *Photo M. Ali Dögenci.*



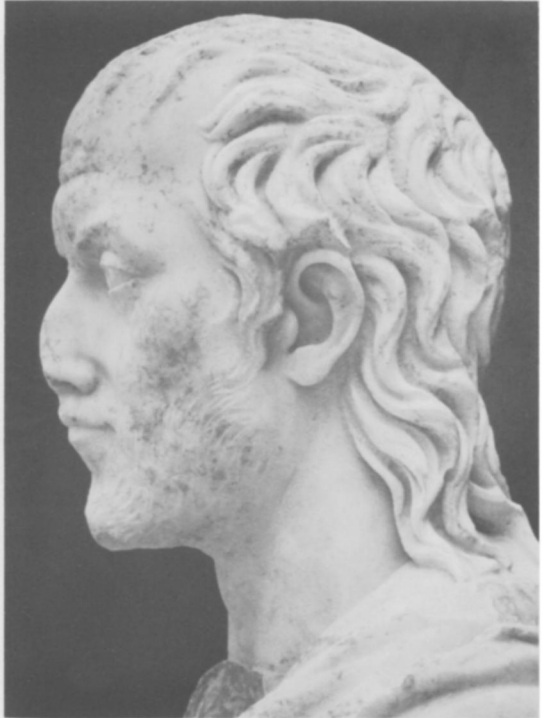


1-3 NO. 9, 'YOUNG PUPIL'. 4 NO. 10, HEADLESS BUST. *Photo M. Ali Döğenci.*





NO. 11, 'SOPHIST' BUST. *Photo M. Ali Döğenci.*



1-4, NO. 11, 'SOPHIST' BUST. *Photo M. Ali Döğenci.*



II. THE SHIELD PORTRAITS

The shield portrait had two essential features different from other portrait formats. First, in practical terms of context and display, it required some kind of frame or architectural setting; it was not an independent monument in the way a bust, herm, or statue could be. And second, it seems to have carried an elevating, honorific meaning that a bust or statue did not have in itself. The shield portrait conveyed a sense of eminence and honour that made it an appropriate format for a wide range of subjects—from the gods to the *immortales animae* of high culture.¹⁶ The idea of a portrait in a shield had a long past. In the Hellenistic period, inscribed decrees suggest it was the regular format for a painted honorific portrait (*eikōn en hoplōi*),¹⁷ and it was early in use at Rome also as a privileged portrait format (*imago clipeata*).¹⁸ Marble examples are found already in the later Hellenistic period,¹⁹ and in the Roman period they survive in quite large numbers.²⁰ They can represent, in different contexts, a wide range of figures: gods, emperors, the dead, and past writers and thinkers.²¹ (In our group, we will see, the shield portrait may distinguish the dead from the living, who are represented in busts). We have marble shield portraits from the same categories in the late Roman period, when they were also used for the Christian evangelists.²²

The late shield portraits from Aphrodisias are of a common type found elsewhere. They are each carved from a single block of marble and have three basic elements: the bust, the roundel, and a rectangular background. Close similarities of scale and manufacture clearly show that at least six of our nine medallions form a central group made at one time, evidently for a single commission (Nos. 1–3 and 6–8). The bust is set in a round tondo frame conceived as a shield, and the shoulders are carved in high relief within the tondo, usually ‘bulging’ beyond its frame. The head, carved in the round and ‘leaning out’ at an angle, is clearly meant to be seen from below (cf. Pls IX. 3 and XIII. 2). The shield is supported by a thin rectangular background panel (usually *c.* 3 to 4 cm thick, tapering towards the edges) which adapted the shield to its setting in a wall or niche. The rectangular background extends above the shield and slightly below. The total height is usually *c.* 65 cm. At the sides the frame is of the same width as the shield, forming tangents to its circumference. The shield diameter, or the width of the frame, is therefore the most important dimension, and it averages close to *c.* 55 cm in the main group. The frames often taper slightly in overall width from top to bottom (*c.* 1 to 2 cm, a negligible amount). This irregularity would easily be balanced by the surrounding revetment. Behind, the backs are roughly finished with the point, either completely flat (Pl. XI. 4) or hollowed out behind the bust to reduce the weight (Pl. XI. 3). The shield rim generally projects *c.* 5 cm from the background (*c.* 4 cm inside) and has a simple, convex exterior moulding, usually with a slight offset lip at the junction of the background frame. Even within the main group, strict uniformity in the shield format was not thought essential. The names of some of the subjects were inscribed on the lower part of the shield rim in large, well-cut quadrate letters, designed to be legible

¹⁶ Pliny, *NH* 35. 9.

¹⁷ H. Blanck, ‘Porträt-Gemälde als Ehrendenkmal’, *BonnJb* 168 (1968), 1–12.

¹⁸ cf. Pliny, *NH* 35. 4–14.

¹⁹ For heroes at Calydon: E. Dyggve *et al.*, *Das Heroon von Kalydon* (1934), 361 ff. For kings (Mithridates VI and friends) on Delos: F. Chapoutier, *Délos xvi* (1935), 32 ff.

²⁰ Good collection of evidence: Winkes, with testimonia on shield portraits in other media (bronze, silver, gilded). Also useful on shield portraits in general: C. C. Vermeule, *Proc. Am. Phil. Soc.* 109.6 (1965), 361–97. Rare extant bronze example: IR I no. 286 (Ankara).

²¹ Gods: H. Hoffman, *Jhb. Hamb. Kunst.* 8 (1963), 205–7—Apollo in Hamburg; V. S. M. Scrinari, *Mus. Arch. Aquileia: Catalogo delle sculture romane* (1972), nos 606–13—cycle of gods. Emperors: C. C. Vermeule, *Roman Imperial Art in Greece and Asia Minor* (1968),

32, fig. 12B—Marcus at Eleusis. The dead: Winkes, 81 ff., with testimonia xxxvii–liii. Writer-thinkers: POG, figs 512 (Albani Sokrates), 1382 (Doria Pamphili Aeschines), 1528 (Ex-Marbury Menander); cf. Tac., *Ann.* 2. 83—honours for the dead Germanicus.

²² Gods: Winkes, 158, pl. 11a–b—Ares-Mars in Dresden, surely fourth- to fifth-century (rather than Hadrianic, so Winkes); it is close in scale, format and technique to the new Aphrodisias medallions, especially No. 9. Goddess and woman: N. de Chaisemartin and E. Orgen, *Les documents sculptés de Silahtaraga* (1984), 71–6, pls 46–8. Philosopher: Winkes, 138, pl. V a and c—long-bearded thinker in tondo, probably fifth century, from Athens, now lost, Evangelist tondi, in Istanbul: G. Mendel, *Musées Impériaux Ottomans: Catalogue des sculptures grecques, romaines et byzantines* (1912–14), II. 661–4; B. Brenk, *Spätantike und frühes Christentum* (PKG 1977), pl. 117.

from below. The average height is usually 4 or 4.5 cm. The names of the uninscribed portraits might have been painted or otherwise labelled in their display, but labels may have been deemed unnecessary if the subjects were easily recognizable to the intended viewers.

The shield portraits in the main group are very similar in technique and execution. They were superbly finished, and their carved surfaces are almost perfectly preserved. The background panel and shield were finished with abrasives while the portrait bust was worked more finely, sometimes to a near-polish (Nos. 3, 6, 7), sometimes to a smooth matt finish (Nos. 1, 2, 8). The sculptors employed a considerable variety of carving techniques for drapery, beards, hair and eyes which is to be attributed, we will see, not to different dates, but to the different effects they sought to express. Common stylistic elements, for example, in the forms and style of repeated kinds of dress, clearly reveal their contemporaneity.

The shield portraits will be discussed in the following order: first those representing the long dead, 'classic' figures of the past (Nos. 1-7), then those of the more recent past or present (Nos. 8-9), including two busts which clearly belonged in the same display (Nos. 10-11). Of the classical subjects, two are versions of portraits known in other copies: Pindar (No. 1) and Socrates (No. 4). And two are free versions of portraits known elsewhere: Alexander the Great and Alcibiades (Nos. 2 and 3).

1. *Pindar* (Pls. VI-VII)²³

Shield portrait, preserved in two main pieces: shield and head. Additional fragments provide the upper corners (the left corner in three pieces). White marble, with slight blue-grey veins. H: 64.5, W: 54, D: 36 cm. Inscribed (in Greek): PINDAROS. Letter H: 4.5 cm.

On the head, the following are broken or damaged: nose, ear rims, left eyebrow, part of upper lip and moustache, and a small part of the beard knot under the chin. The shield border is broken behind the head, and part of the upper left corner of the background panel is missing. This corner had already been broken in antiquity and carefully repaired with two deeply countersunk swallow-tail clamps. The back is hollowed out behind the bust. The oval depression measures *c.* 30 by 40 cm and is 7 cm deep. The shield and background frame are of the standard format and dimensions used for the main group of portraits.

The portrait is identified by its inscription as Pindar. The head is a copy, or rather version, of a well-known classical portrait type which is only now correctly identified by this inscribed example. The draped bust, on the other hand, is clearly a contemporary fiction. The himation is draped over both shoulders, instead of one, as was usual both on classical statues and in life. It is worn like a short cape or shawl ending at the chest and seems to have been arranged with the shield frame in mind. Indeed the whole bust, which fills nicely about three-quarters of the available space, was clearly designed for this tondo frame. The deep folds of the himation are treated in a strikingly natural and classical manner. But the carving of the chiton beneath reveals the contemporary hand of the late antique sculptor. The chiton has a mannered tuck at the neck, where the material appears too thick, and the folds on the chest are beautifully finished but sparing and angular. The scale of the head seems too small for the bust and was no doubt taken over from the model that the sculptor was following for the portrait. The possibility of copying the head at a scale of one to one was probably more important to the sculptor than any apparent disjunction between bust and head.

The head is a version of a portrait type of the mid-fifth century B.C. already well known in several earlier copies.²⁴ One of the best of these copies also comes from Aphrodisias.²⁵ The type is easily recognized in the square face and the arrangement of beard and hair. The beard is distinguished by a highly unusual detail—a twisted knot under the chin. Formerly thought, on no good evidence, to represent Pausanias the

²³ *The Anatolian Civilisations* (Exhib. Istanbul, 1983), II, 118, B 317; Richter-Smith, 177, fig. 139; Erim, 148, fig. 148b.

²⁴ POG, 100, nos 1-5, with S. Sande, *Acta ad Arch.*

et Art. Hist. Pert. 2nd Ser. 8.11 (1982), 55-75, considering POG, nos 2 and 4 not ancient.

²⁵ POG Supplement (1972), figs 421a-b.

fifth-century Spartan general, the portrait is now identified by this inscribed version as Pindar. In this context only the great lyric poet of Thebes can be meant.²⁶

The correct identification of this classical Pindar type is of major importance for the history of portraiture in the fifth century B.C. We may briefly outline its significance. Together with the Ostia Themistokles and a few other pieces, like the recently discovered Porticello Philosopher, the Pindar type offers clear evidence of a more closely observed, individualizing portrait style within the more generic norms of fifth-century self-representation.²⁷ The new identity provides a chastening lesson: long thought to be appropriate for a classical general, the portrait turns out to be of a lyric poet. One might think this simply another case that shows how wrong classical archaeologists can be—which, of course, it partly is. But the interpretative error also reveals something important about public self-representation in the fifth century B.C. Hellenistic portraits of statesmen and intellectuals were differentiated in such a way that their respective roles in life can be deduced from their portrait appearance alone. This was, however, clearly not the case in the mid-fifth century B.C. The public roles of leading elder citizens—general, orator, poet, philosopher—were not then so differentiated in life, nor, we can now see more clearly, were they so differentiated in portraiture. The original portrait of Pindar aimed to express a much wider range of civic values than those of a poet or man of letters. It was indeed the portrait's expression of a severe public self-composure that made the denomination 'Spartan general' seem so fitting. The degree to which the name of a commander seemed appropriate for a contemporary portrait of Pindar is an index of the more unified expression of fifth-century self-representation.

We may turn now to the late antique reception of the portrait type. How has the late shield portrait treated the classical model? In differing parts, the sculptor has adjusted, simplified, reinterpreted. He has reproduced some of the main external features of the portrait, like the basic relationship of hair and forehead and the distinctive design of the beard below the mouth (it has two short, overlapping fringes cut in a straight horizontal line). He has also reproduced the unusual tight knot of beard under the chin. These features would have provided easy recognition for the ancient viewer, probably without recourse to the inscription. The sculptor has, however, also made considerable adjustments. There are both technical and formal changes which are allies in a far-reaching reinterpretation of the portrait image.

First, differences of technical treatment and detail. In the original portrait, the hair and beard were finely but flatly engraved. In the earlier marble copies this effect was rendered carefully and precisely with a flat chisel on its edge. Sharpness and detail were of the essence. In our shield portrait, the beard and forehead hair have been much more deeply articulated by the use of a later drill technique. Hair is represented by fine drill lines which leave one or two 'bridges' in each channel (since the hair design is so flat, none of the bridges are pierced). The alternating 'black and white' drill channels make a more lively effect, but they are much wider and fewer than the fine hair strands of the original composition. The result is a greatly simplified hair design. On the chin the 'two-tier' arrangement of the beard is just recognizable; but on the forehead, the hair preserves only the vaguest reminiscence of the slightly off-centre parting and of the complex play of small locks around it seen on the more accurate of the earlier copies. The original design is here sacrificed in the interest of a stronger, more immediate stylistic effect. On the original, the hair would, of course, have been executed equally finely all over, as on the earlier Aphrodisias copy (n. 25). On the shield portrait, the drilling of the hair stops about 5 cm above the hairline, and the rest of the hair is finished with flat and claw chisels (the top of the head is clawed, while the back is merely sketched with the flat). This cap-like or 'fringe' effect, which results here from carving in detail only that part of the hair that would

²⁶ G. Hafner, 'Verwirrung um Namen—Alkibiades und Pindaros', *Riv. di Arch.* 11 (1987), 5–10, identifies the subject here rather as one Pindar of Ephesus, a little known tyrant of that city in the mid-sixth century B.C., recorded by Ptolemy, 6.50 and Aelian, *Var. Hist.* 3. 26.

The position occupied by this figure in the historical imagination of later centuries, however, was probably fragile. Cf. below, n. 42.

²⁷ Richter-Smith, 65, 210, figs 29, 173; K. Fittschen, *Griechische Porträts* (1988), 18–19, pls 9–12, 34–5.

be clearly visible from below, is a common feature of the hairstyles of late antique portraits.²⁸ One of the most blatant changes in the design is also the hardest to interpret. On the sides of the head a large rectangular patch of hair has been 'shaved' from each temple. The exact and decisive manner in which this 'shaving' has been carried out on both sides (it is clearly not a mistake) perhaps indicates that we are missing some rather precise external reference.

More subtle and more telling are the formal adjustments in the facial features and the changes in the expression of the portrait. First the proportions. From the earlier copies it is clear that the face of the original had a decidedly compact square construction, with full simple contours. The shield portrait makes the face much longer and narrower, thinner in the cheeks, with a highly modulated contour. Secondly, the expressive components. The original was plain, severe, self-composed. In our late version, the taller brow has been lined and knitted, and the eyebrows made to flare and arch. They suggest dynamism and concentration. These features are also treated with much greater detail and complexity than was the case in the classical model. The face is older, and is given a soft, nervous treatment, while on the forehead and at the outer corners of the eyes the modelling is supplemented by sharply incised lines. Great technical care has also been expended on adjusting the expression of the mouth and eyes—two features we will see that attracted special contemporary interest. Where the original was tight-lipped, our sculptor has drilled open the mouth, carved the line of the upper teeth, and marked the teeth individually. Although the teeth are more apparent than they should be, due to the broken upper lip, they would have been readily visible from the intended viewpoint below. The engraved line of the lower lip was probably also added by our sculptor. It might reproduce the line of the copper inlay with which classical lips were coloured; but it would not necessarily have been part of the model to which our sculptor had access—surely an earlier marble copy. Engraved lip lines are found on the finest late antique marble portrait heads.²⁹ The highly wrought design of the eyes and their surrounding area must likewise have been mostly the work of the late sculptor. The folds of skin above the eyelids and inner corners of the eyes are deeply drilled, and the inside lines of the eyelids are incised. In the eyes themselves, the irises are finely engraved, and the pupils—the central point of animation of the portrait—are hollowed out in a deep half-moon shape that gives them a deep penetrating stare.

The expressive additions to the portrait aim to give the head more life, more direct impact. The arched brows, staring eyes, sunken cheeks, and breathing lips intensify, revivify the highly reserved classical model. Some of these additions arise from natural modulations caused by contemporary technique, others are clear borrowings from contemporary portraits. Some heads of the spirited, dynamic intellectual men of the fourth and fifth centuries A.D.—philosophers and others—display similar long facial proportions, thin cheeks, and flaring eyebrows.³⁰ Pindar is turned from a cool, aloof aristocrat into a committed, energetic exponent of the spiritual hellenism of late antiquity.

Pindar was not a common figure among groups of great intellectuals, either in this period or earlier, in marble or mosaic. Nor is he much discussed or quoted by late antique writers,³¹ but he was, of course, an impeccable representative of the purest hellenic literature and would be fit company in any high cultural context. He was in the top rank of his genre—lyric—and could have been paired with another literary great of another genre. In the other, lost, set of shield portraits from Aphrodisias, there was also a Pindar which would probably have been paired with Menander, whose portrait is certainly identified in another medallion of the same series.³² We thus have three sculptured Pindars at Aphrodisias: the earlier head and

²⁸ From many examples: IR I, no. 134, IR II, nos. 199–201.

²⁹ See especially IR II, no. 204 and below, No. 8.

³⁰ See especially the fine Getty head: H. Jucker and D. Willers, *Gesichter: griechische und römische Bildnisse aus der Schweizer Besitz* (1982), no. 95A—surely from western Asia Minor.

³¹ Julian uses Pindaric phrases quite freely (e.g., *Or.* III.116A; *Ep.* 25. 428B and *Ep.* 63. 387A). Libanius knows him a little (e.g., *Or.* 20. 1 and 22; 21. 8). And he is cited once in Macrobius, 5. 17. 7–14—a comparison with Virgil.

³² Lippold, *op. cit.* (n. 4), 3204–6. On late Menanders: see further below, nn. 109–10.

two late shield portraits. This constitutes nearly half the known versions of this type and suggests that the poet may have had some kind of special constituency in the city—perhaps a privileged role in the advanced school curriculum.

We will return later to the choice of Pindar. Here we may address the question of chronology. The exact date of this and the other medallions cannot be determined precisely on either sculptural or epigraphic grounds. The closest dated parallels for the technical details of hair, eyes, and drapery are a group of portraits of public officials from Aphrodisias dated loosely but certainly in the first half of the fifth century A.D. The most important are the two *chlamydati* statues referred to as the Elder and Younger Magistrates and a head now in Brussels.³³ These portraits employ clearly analogous eye-markings and hairstyle mannerisms to those of the shield portraits. Bridged hair channels are found in some middle imperial portraits, especially of the Severan period, but they are not of the same character or degree that we see here. In the medallions, the bridges are employed as a consistent, sometimes rather mannered stylistic effect—most prominently in the Alexander (No. 2). Pindar's lank forehead hair, with unpierced bridges, is very close to that of the Elder Magistrate, while the thick deeply-drilled hair of Alexander (No. 2) is closer to the Younger Magistrate. Pindar's eyes are most like those of the Brussels head and a fine fifth-century bust found recently at Carian Stratonicea.³⁴ And his flaring eyebrows and gaunt intensity are common to both the Elder Magistrate and the Brussels head.

A word on absolute chronology. Both at Aphrodisias and elsewhere in late antique art there is a clustering of dated monuments in the late fourth and early fifth century,³⁵ and a tendency for undated monuments to congregate there. There is not much that can be done about this—except in general to allow a wider latitude on both sides. For sculptured marble portraits in this period, absolute dates depend almost entirely on the series from Aphrodisias, among which there are three externally documented statues.³⁶ Other marble portraits at Aphrodisias may be placed approximately in relation to these three, and portraits from other centres more approximately.³⁷ From the evidence of the Aphrodisias series, we can be fairly sure the main group of medallions belongs in the late fourth or fifth century A.D. and more likely in the fifth. There are too few externally dated pieces—and none from this subject category—to be more precise. This however is enough. The subjects of the shield portraits and the sculptural style in which they are represented were constants in late pagan intellectual society.

2. *Alexander* (Pls. VIII–IX)³⁸

Shield portrait, preserved in three main fragments: shield, head, and lower face (nose, mouth, right cheek). A small fragment of shield joins at the upper right. White marble, unveined. H: (52), W: 54, D: 37 cm.

The upper part of the shield panel, above the circular frame, is missing, and the lower

³³ 'Magistrates': IR I, nos 242–3. Brussels head: IR II, no. 204. Several important portraits that belong here have been found since IR II.

³⁴ Stratonicea: R. Özgan and D. Stutzinger, 'Untersuchungen zur Porträtplastik des 5. Jhs. n. Chr. anhand zweier neugefundener Porträts aus Stratonicea', *Ist Mitt* 35 (1985), 237–74, pl. 50. Two other Aphrodisian heads of the same period have similar eye technique: IR II, nos. 199 and 200 (the latter is re-worked).

³⁵ Examples. (1) Theodosius' missorium, A.D. 388: R. Bianchi Bandinelli, *Rome: The Late Empire* (1971), 358, pl. 338; Brenk, op. cit. (n. 22), pl. 115. (2) Theodosius' obelisk base, c. A.D. 390: Bianchi Bandinelli, 355, pls 335–6; Brenk, pl. 108. (3) Early ivories, c. A.D. 400: W. F. Volbach, *Elfenbeinarbeiten der Spätantike und frühen Mittelalters* (3rd edn, 1976) nos. 1 and 55—Nicomachi (c. A.D. 400) and Probus (A.D. 406).

³⁶ (1) Valentinian II (A.D. 388–92). Statue: IR I, no. 66. Inscribed bases: Roueché, nos 25–7. Another togate statue from this imperial group was recovered in later excavations, and recently (1989) a fragment of its

diademed head. (2) Oikoumenios (end fourth to early fifth century). Statue: K. Erim, *DOP* 21 (1967), 285–6. Inscribed base: I. Ševčenko, *Synthronon* (1968), 29–41; Roueché, no. 31. (3) Flavius Palmatus (late fifth to early sixth century). Statue: IR II, no. 208. Inscribed base: Roueché, no. 62.

³⁷ The headless Oikoumenios dates the Elder and Younger Magistrates who date a series of heads of related technique and self-presentation, like the Brussels head and more recent finds. These form a loose but distinct group of say the early to mid-fifth century, that is, they seem later than the Valentinian (especially in eye technique) and earlier than the pieces grouped closely round Palmatus later in the fifth century which have again a distinct eye technique, hairstyle and self-presentation. Cf. in general, W. von Sydow, *Zur Kunstgeschichte des spätantiken Porträts im 4. Jhd. n. Chr.* (1969), 120–30; H. G. Severin, *Zur Porträtplastik des 5. Jhds. n. Chr.* (1967), 35–7, 56–66; IR II, pp. 24–38; Özgan and Stutzinger, op. cit. (n. 34), 242–74.

³⁸ Erim, 148, fig. 148a.

corners are damaged. On the bust, the fibula and some folds of drapery are broken. There are traces of burning on the background, behind the right shoulder. The back was not hollowed out.

The damage and breaks preserve important information on the destruction of the portrait. The whole chin, with a piece of the neck, was broken off in a single lump, probably by the same blow that sliced off the preserved lower part of the face, now re-attached. The damage to the features—the right eyebrow, nose, and most of the mouth are missing—was probably the result of deliberate defacing. The head itself was broken off at the base of the neck in a jagged line that runs from behind the fibula to the chlamys on the left shoulder—that is, *not* at the prominent and rough line around the middle of the neck. This line is not a break but a deep groove roughly gouged with a chisel that extends half-way around the neck on each side and no further. We may reconstruct the following sequence in the demise of the portrait. While still *in situ*, the head was defaced (obliteration of brow, nose, and mouth was a common procedure) and the groove was carved round the neck, either symbolically to cut its throat or to facilitate a planned decapitation. The whole shield portrait was subsequently removed, probably deliberately broken up—a massive blow could have removed the chin and lower face and detached the head all at once—and thrown into the dump behind the apse.

The portrait wears a hellenistic royal diadem and a chlamys over a cuirass. It is immediately recognizable as Alexander the Great by hairstyle, features, and posture—that is, from the distinctive *anastole* of hair over the forehead, the youthful heroic features, and the vigorous upward turn of the head. The shield is not inscribed nor does the portrait reproduce any one Alexander portrait type that we know of. Alexander's image remained too familiar to require either a label or a particular prototype. The lack of one particular model shows clearly, in comparison with the Pindar, in the more satisfactory proportional relation of the head to its bust. The whole, we will see, is a fresh late antique version of a particular kind of Alexander image.

The bust and shoulders fill about three-quarters of the shield and project in high relief well beyond its rim. The chlamys and cuirass are very clearly the design of the late sculptor. The chlamys is worn correctly, that is fastened with a round fibula on the right shoulder, but its sharp, unbroken folds radiating from the fibula across the chest are in contemporary style. The thick double fold round the neck is finely modelled, while the rest has a metallic patterned quality, a simple mannered design which gives the bust a rather startling effect. Beneath the chlamys Alexander has been equipped with a cuirass of unusual type. It should be of metal, but the form of the moulded right shoulder, which terminates in small rounded flaps, would be better suited to leather. The edging of these flaps and of the neckline are carefully articulated with incised lines. Beneath the cuirass, on the right arm, the sculptor has supplied the fringed leather straps usual on a Roman cuirass of the imperial period. The straps are carefully carved, again with engraved edging, and the twisted tassels of their fringes are fully articulated. On earlier imperial statues, such straps were often carved with great animation. Our sculptor prefers a simple flat design introducing only a hint of movement by the rather mannered turn of some of the vertical edges. Below the straps, the usual thin tunic worn under a cuirass appears briefly as some ruffled drapery. The unusually low neckline of the cuirass and the form of its moulded shoulder show that it is certainly a late design, perhaps largely an artistic fiction. The right shoulder is slightly ill-proportioned—it is rather too small in relation to the whole bust. This design error combined with the superb execution suggests free invention by the sculptor.

Alexander turns to the right and looks up from a thick powerful neck; the tendons of the neck and the Adam's apple stand out strongly. The face is broad and square, with a rather flat front plane and high cheekbones. Long sideburns are sketched in low relief, and the eyebrows are both modelled and engraved (paint would have made both more legible). The features are very finely worked, the mouth is carefully drilled back at the corners, and the lips are slightly parted to form a thin line of black shadow. The lines of the slightly bulging brow are modelled and lightly

incised. The enlarged, wide-staring eyes are set close under the brow and carved in great detail. The upper fold of the eyelids is carved as a sharp, continuous line as much to heighten the setting as to reproduce nature. Similarly the three concentric markings of the eyeballs are more part of a telling design than real eyes. The third, outer marking is not found in this form in reality. Roman portrait sculptors often indicated the line that in nature marks off the eyeball from the inner canthus, but it does not continue round the outer part of the eyeball as on our sculpture. The two inner markings represent respectively the iris and pupil, of which the iris is engraved very finely, the pupil a little more heavily. The deep U-shaped line that forms the pupil is slightly different from Pindar's and designed here for a particular iconographic effect: to show that the eyes are turned upwards and are larger than usual. It is found on another of the shield portraits (No. 8, there used for the same purpose) and on other heads of the period.³⁹

The wild curling hair is drilled with frequent bridges, as on the Pindar. Here, since the hair is both longer and thicker, there are more bridges per channel, and many of them are pierced by tiny drill-holes. The hairstyle is arranged around an off-centre *anastole*, or upswept parting, which was one of the identifying signs of Alexander's image. The parting is marked by a deep drill line crossed by several (five) bridges. The *anastole* is formed by a great pair of swirling locks springing from the forehead, and another pair springs up behind these to form a kind of double *anastole*. The hair is then swept back along the sides of the head in flowing locks which cover most of the ears and reach the shoulders behind. The hair is deeply undercut at the sides in order to 'free' it from the neck. Above the diadem and at the back, the hair is finished roughly with a flat chisel. The diadem, a broad, slightly convex band, is knotted behind and has ends hanging down to the shoulders. The unseen knot is only sketched out, but the flat ends have carefully engraved edges and are made to fall to the sides where they would be visible at the shoulders. They were carved in the round for the short span from hair to shoulder and are now broken. It is interesting that the sculptor still knows that the free-hanging ends were an integral part of the hellenistic royal diadem and was determined to make them visible since the band round the head was largely concealed by the wreath of hair.

The portrait as a whole is a remarkable reinterpretation or reinvention of Alexander's image. It is, at the same time, unequivocally recognizable as Alexander the Great but also unmistakably not a product of the hellenistic or earlier imperial period. The details of technique and of the cuirass show this is a work of late antiquity, but more than that it is very clearly not a copy or version of a particular earlier portrait. Although the image fits broadly into the general context of idealized Alexander images that continued through the Empire to the 'contorniates' of the fourth century A.D.,⁴⁰ our shield portrait has some elements that set it apart as an original interpretation of Alexander.

The hair and face are clearly derived from the inherited memory of various Alexander images, but the way in which the sculptor has proportioned them in the portrait is unlike any received type. Most space and emphasis are given to the portrait face; the wreath of hair is ample and beautifully worked, but plays a much lesser part in the whole than is usual in Alexander images. Hellenistic Alexanders (and hellenistic royal portraits generally) give much more emphasis to the hair. The hairstyle in the shield portrait sits on top of the portrait head rather than forming an integral frame for it. It is more in the manner of the fashion hairstyle of an Antonine or Severan youth than of a hellenistic Alexander. This may be partly due to the importation of a Roman-period portrait conception which emphasized physiognomy, but it also results partly from the kind of Alexander the sculptor wanted to evoke.

All Alexander portraits attempted to portray his charismatic power and élan. Most posthumous hellenistic Alexanders and their Roman-period derivatives fa-

³⁹ The pupils of the Getty head (n. 30) and the Elder magistrate (IR I, no. 243) are perhaps closest.

⁴⁰ M. Bieber, *Alexander the Great in Greek and Roman Art* (1964), 72-81. Contorniates: A. and E.

Alföldi, *Die Kontorniat-Medallions* I (1976), I ff., pls 1-22—Alexander is the most popular of the Greek figures on these tokens.

voured a soft, pathetic, and youthful image of the young conqueror. The few types that go back to Alexander's lifetime, however, show him as more reserved; and the most important of these, the Azara type, also shows him as more mature, more stern, with less emphasis on the hair.⁴¹ Our shield portrait then ignores the youthful pathetic Apolline image of the hellenistic Alexanders and evokes instead a more masculine, square-jawed image of his lifetime, like the Azara type. Our sculptor has combined this image with a thrusting dynamic vigour that the lifetime portraits never had. He has given the head a dynamism, and heroic martial drive to which the military cuirass is well suited. The shield portrait as a whole, then, takes an earlier, more mature Alexander image and, as in the Pindar, seeks to magnify, to intensify, by all the formal and technical means available, what the late antique eye saw as its latent character—that of the inspired fearless commander with divine connections.

3. *Alcibiades* (Pl. IX. 4)

Shield portrait, preserved in two joining pieces: the shield and a fragment of the head. White marble. H: (60), W: 55, D: 30 cm. Inscribed: ALKIBIADES. Letter H: 4.5 cm.

Missing: upper part of shield, lower right corner, and most of head. On the surviving part of the head, two blows removed most of the lips and chin. Parts of the shield and drapery have been abraded by water. Where not abraded, the sculptured surfaces are smoothed to a light polish. The shield has the dimensions and profile of the main group. The lip at the junction of shield and background is here sharply articulated. The back is hollowed out in a roughly circular depression (40 by 37 cm and 7 cm deep).

The portrait is identified by the inscription, and naturally the Athenian leader of the fifth century B.C.—the only 'classic' Alcibiades—is meant.⁴² He wears a himation over a bare chest and had a young beardless head with longish hair, of which there are slight remains at the back. The bust sits unusually high in the shield, leaving only a small space above the shoulders, and stands out well beyond the frame. The bare right shoulder and chest are smoothly modelled with little anatomical articulation. The collar bone and top of the sternum are slightly indicated, and on the chest only the tiny nipple interrupts the polished surface. The neck muscles and Adam's apple are more fully indicated but they are not as pronounced as those of the Alexander. The himation is draped simply over the left shoulder. Its treatment, like that of Alexander's chlamys, combines careful modelling of the thick overfold, which crosses the chest, with a few straight metallic ridges to represent the vertical folds below it.

Alcibiades turns to his right and seems to have had a full, clean-shaven face. The mouth is drilled open (wider than Alexander's) and the line of the upper teeth indicated (individual teeth do not seem to have been articulated as on the Pindar). The lips were full and were outlined with an incised line, parts of which are still visible at the corners of the mouth. The hair was quite long at the back, covering the nape, where it reached across to the shield border behind; a thin 'bridge' of hair is preserved between the neck and the shield. A long stylish lock of hair is preserved in front of the left ear. This and the preserved lower part of the ear indicate clearly that the hairstyle covered at most only the tops of the ears. The hair was, therefore, not of full 'royal' length, but was probably a longer, modish version of a classical hairstyle.

The shield portrait is related to the Alexander in format, style and execution and was probably meant to be connected with it, to be read with it. It is also very likely that the Alcibiades on which the late sculptor was drawing was already in some way related to Alexander images. Unlike the ever-present Alexander, Alcibiades was a rare subject for which a sculptor would prefer to borrow from a previous image—whether one to hand in plaster or a drawing, or merely one remembered. Our only other

⁴¹ Early Alexanders: R. Smith, *Hellenistic Royal Portraits* (1988), 58–62, cat. no. 1 (Azara type).

⁴² Hafner, *op. cit.* (n. 26), 5–7, would identify the subject of both this tondo and the mosaic (n. 43) as one

Alcibiades of Sparta, a figure active in local politics there in c. 200–180 B.C. (Livy 39. 35; Paus. 7.9). To the late antique eye, this person was probably of analogous interest to that of Pindar of Ephesus: see above n. 26.

certainly identified Alcibiades portrait is provided by a late mosaic from Sparta.⁴³ Both our shield portrait and the Sparta mosaic were probably interpretations of a hellenistic Alcibiades portrait,⁴⁴ and—as far as the shield goes—the two are consistent in their external features, that is, beardless young face and longish hair. Mosaic is a somewhat crude medium for portraits, and the rather smirking, rakish character of the Sparta Alcibiades was surely accidental. Youthful spirited élan was more likely the intended expression of the original behind it—and of our shield portrait.⁴⁵

Alcibiades was, in many of his swashbuckling ways, a kind of proto-Alexander, and his later posthumous image was no doubt modelled on, or drew from, hellenistic ruler portraits. It is easy to see in this light how our Alcibiades should be interpreted in conjunction with the Alexander. Alcibiades wears a simple himation, indicating a civic posture, as opposed to Alexander's military costume. He has a similar, youthful portrait but it is calmer, less dashing than Alexander's—he turns, but without looking up. He is a less imposing, less powerful figure. The portrait was probably to be read as echoing and 'foreshadowing' Alexander's. Alcibiades' career could be seen as a classical archetype for Alexander's.

Alcibiades and Alexander may make sense together, but they seem at first surprising in a gallery of cultural heroes. Their presence, however, can be easily explained within the context of the group. Alcibiades and Alexander were perhaps the two best known examples of the philosophical instruction of political leaders—suitable advertisements for any institution of higher learning. They have in common that they were each the most famous pupil of the leading philosopher of their day, that is, respectively Socrates and Aristotle. And both these philosophers were certainly included in our group: Socrates in a large, unfinished shield portrait (No. 4) and Aristotle in a shield portrait of unusual form (No. 5).

4. *Socrates* (Pl. X. 1–3)

Shield portrait, preserved in two main pieces: shield and head. The lower right corner is composed of three small fragments. A thin section of the neck is missing at the front, but the head joins directly at the back. White, bluish-grey marble. H: 74, W: 64, D: 35 cm.

Broken from the shield: upper corners, a piece at lower right. On the head, the following are missing or damaged: nose, left eyebrow, right cheek, and some hair at the left temple. The portrait is clearly unfinished.

The shield is considerably larger than those of the main group—the frame is about 8 cm wider, and about 5 to 10 cm taller. The profile of the shield border is also different: plain and thicker than usual. It is possible that we see here only the first stage of the work and that the profile, with the usual off-set lip, remained to be carved. The shield portrait was, for whatever reason, hurriedly pressed into service before it was finished. The background, shield, and chiton are finished with rasps, while the head, neck, and himation are only roughly worked, with flat chisels.

The balding, bearded portrait, wearing chiton and himation, is immediately recognizable as a dry and unfinished version of Socrates' principal late classical type. No inscription was required to identify this founding saint of ancient philosophy.

The bust and head do not adequately fill the large shield. Their inappropriately small scale was probably dictated by that of the model the sculptor was following, and he was either unwilling or unable to adapt, that is enlarge, it to the required size. The head is of the usual scale for this type (H: c. 25 cm) and reproduces the main lines of the portrait efficiently. Thick, long, centre-parted hair recedes from a wide expanse of balding forehead, covers the ears at the sides, and merges into a long straggling beard that comes to a point beneath the chin. The face, with broad nose, full mouth and plump cheeks, has the famed Silenos-like physiognomy. These features are clearly

⁴³ Richter-Smith, 83, fig. 46. Futher, n. 100.

⁴⁴ Two early hellenistic sculptors, Phylomachos and Nikeratos, each made an Alcibiades: Pliny, *NH* 34. 80 and 88.

⁴⁵ cf. Christodorus' excited characterization of an Alcibiades' portrait in the Zeuxippus at Constantinople: '... glistening with glory ... he had interwoven with the bronze the rays of his beauty' (*AP* II. 82).

reproduced from the famous portrait known as Socrates 'Type B', of the later fourth century B.C.⁴⁶ On our shield the details of the beard design have been merely sketched out. The lines on the forehead are already modelled. The line of the eyebrows has been sharply cut and work started on the details of the eyes: broad eyelids have been sketched, and the position of the pupils has been indicated by shallow round drill-holes.

Although the shield portrait as it stands is dry and unappealing, it is interesting to us in two respects. First, it reveals something of the work procedure on these medallions. The shield frame and bust were brought to a near-finish, no doubt by a junior or apprentice sculptor in the workshop, leaving the thicker drapery on the shoulder and portrait head in a rougher state. The master who modelled Pindar's face or drilled Alexander's hair did not spend his valuable time on simple drapery or shield frames. Secondly, the portrait gives some idea of the roughly worked 'blank' with which the master sculptor started. For just as he did not carve shield frames, it seems he probably also did not lay out the basic features of a portrait copy of a well-known type. He would receive a rough, but basically accurate rendering of the portrait from his apprentice which he would work up. Found out of context, there would be nothing in our Socrates head to show it was not merely an unfinished replica from the early or middle empire. This shows, in the case of versions of classical portrait types, that the aim of our late-period sculptors remained first a recognizable reproduction, then a refined and brilliant handling of it that would lend the image all the life and impact that contemporary sculptural technique could offer. The extraordinary reinterpretation, which the Pindar, for example, undergoes in this process of re-elaboration is all the more significant for being largely unconscious. The intensified expressive effect of a finished late antique Socrates can be seen in a fine marble version of this portrait type from Ephesos.⁴⁷

Circumstances in which our portrait might be left unfinished can be easily imagined. The apprentice sculptor perhaps carved too much of the head, that is, the blank copy did not leave enough 'outer' marble for the master to work with. It was then set aside. A need to complete the apse display quickly could explain why the purchaser was prepared to take the Socrates in this condition. The different scale of the shield and the different, bluish-grey marble suggest it was not from the same series as the main group (a different size could be easily accommodated in a façade of this type), but the similarity of the carving of the chiton drapery—the slightly 'pointed' breast occurs also on Nos 6 and 8—suggests it may be of the same period.

Socrates was the founding father of ancient philosophy, teacher of Plato and a welcome figure in any intellectual or cultural setting. Marble Socrates busts and herms had long been popular in the early and high empire, and he had even appeared as a quasi-divine figure in the company of the Muses on a sarcophagus.⁴⁸ In the late empire his image remained popular and is found in a wide variety of contexts: for example in mosaics from Apamea and Baalbek, and in sculptured heads at Athens and Ephesos.⁴⁹ At Aphrodisias, he appears earlier in a double herm with Xenophon, and elements of the Socratic image also inform two late portraits of contemporary figures from the city.⁵⁰ Socrates would have been an obvious choice in our group.

5. *Aristotle* (Pl. X. 4)

Fragment of shield of grey marble, preserved in two joining pieces: H: (36.5), W: (45.5), D: 9.5 cm. Inscribed: ..ISTOTELEŚ. Letter H: average *c.* 3 cm.

The bust was attached separately inside the shield. The surface inside the circular frame is recessed *c.* 3.5 cm and worked flat with a point chisel. The outside of the shield frame and the background panel are smoothed to a near-polish.

⁴⁶ POG, 112–6, figs 483 ff.; Richter-Smith, 199–202, figs 161–2. Known in about thirty copies.

⁴⁷ Selçuk Mus, inv. 745, from the Scholastikia baths: S. Erdemgil *et al.*, *Ephesus Museum Catalogue* (1989), 34–5.

⁴⁸ F. Baratte and C. Metzger, *Musée du Louvre: Catalogue des sarcophages* (1985), no. 84.

⁴⁹ Apamea and Baalbek: below, nn. 97–8. Athens: n. 106. Ephesus: above, n. 47.

⁵⁰ Head from the 'Bishop's Palace': IR II, no. 205. Head from the 'Water-Channel area': K. Erim, *AYA* 71 (1967), 238, pl. 70, figs 17–18, noting similarity to Socrates' image.

The shield no doubt contained a version of Aristotle's familiar portrait type.⁵¹ The separate addition of the whole bust to the shield is known in marble medallions elsewhere,⁵² and is attested at Aphrodisias by other fragments of late shield portraits. When complete, this shield would have been considerably larger than the medallions of the main group. Its original diameter can be calculated at *c.* 64 cm, that is, the same scale as the large Socrates, No. 4. The inscription is also unlike those of the main group. The letters are smaller, have a less monumental form, and are much more lightly inscribed. The fine shallow carving and the lunate sigmas are similar to inscriptions on columns of the same grey marble from elsewhere at Aphrodisias.⁵³ The proportions of the shield frame, its profile and offset moulding, and its relation to the background panel (contiguous at the sides, small space below) are clearly of the same type as the main group. Though perhaps from a different source and of different (earlier?) date, the Aristotle shield no doubt formed part of our portrait gallery. The common larger scale shared by the Aristotle and the Socrates may have corresponded to some articulation in the façade display. Of all the figures in our group, Socrates and Aristotle are much the most familiar, and it may not be an accident that they seem to be from a different source from the others. Their portraits would be the ones most readily available from old stock.

Aphrodisias had earlier produced important Aristotelian philosophers (most notably Alexander of Aphrodisias),⁵⁴ and Aristotle might naturally be included in our group. These four shield portraits, Nos. 2–5—Socrates and Aristotle, Alcibiades and Alexander the Great—make a coherent series of philosophical masters and political pupils, and they suggest the medallions may have been arranged in pairs. This association of Aristotle and Alexander as teacher and pupil is also made in this period in a (fragmentary) mosaic from Baalbek, where Aristotle appeared with the Macedonian royal family, no doubt in his role as Alexander's tutor.⁵⁵

So far, we have found ourselves in the context of any high-class school of late antiquity selling the basic fare of hellenic *paideia* for aspiring men of affairs. Grouping of the medallions in meaningful pairs is important for understanding what comes next. With the next two tondi, Nos 6–7, clearly a pair, we move up several grades to the 'higher' levels of late antique philosophy.

6. *Pythagoras* (Pl. XI .1, See now Addendum, p. 177 below)

Shield portrait, now headless, preserved in two joining pieces, broken horizontally above the shoulders. White, unveined marble. H: 65.5, W: 56, D: 16 cm. Inscribed: PYTHAGORAS Letter H: 4 cm.

Missing: head and upper rim of shield frame. Some damage to drapery on left shoulder. Front surfaces brought to a near polish. Oval depression (*c.* 32 by 39, D: 7.5 cm) hollowed out behind bust (Pl. XI. 3)

7. *Apollonius* (Pl. XI. 2)

Shield portrait, now headless, preserved in four joining pieces: main part of shield and three fragments broken off above the shoulders. White, unveined marble. H: 64.5, W: 53.5, D: 20 cm. Inscribed: APOLLONIOS. Letter H: 4.5 cm.

Missing: head, neck, part of left shoulder. Some folds of drapery broken. Front surface: near-polish. Back hollowed out (*c.* 36 by 37 cm, D: 7.5 cm).

These two shield portraits have the standard dimensions and format of the main group of our medallions. Further similarities of technique (surface finish), drapery

⁵¹ *POG*, 172–4, figs 976–1010: Richter-Smith, 95–9, figs 61–3. Known in about twenty copies.

⁵² Delos: above, n. 19. Silahtarğa: n. 22. Bust from Atalante: G. Neumann, *AM* 103 (1988), 221–38.

⁵³ Joyce Reynolds kindly informs me.

⁵⁴ Testimonia on the local Aristotelians Adrastos, Alexander, and Xenokrates: *Antiquities of Ionia* 111

(1840), 52 ff.—still useful account of intellectual life of the city. See also Roueché, 85–6.

⁵⁵ M. H. Chéhab, *Mosaïques du Liban* (*Bull. Mus. Beyrouth* 14–15, 1957–9), 43–50 pls 22–5—with an interesting inscription boasting of the owner's Platonic credentials and adherence to ancient piety. Late fourth century.

scheme, and, we will see, subject matter show that they must have belonged together as a pair.

Both portraits wear a chiton and himation, and the pattern of the chiton's folds over the right chest is nearly identical on each bust. There are, however, some differences in both handling and design. The Apollonius bust sits much higher in its shield and projects further from the frame. Pythagoras' bust fills less of the shield; it is also less full, has less 'body'. They both wear the same 'correct' arrangement of chiton with himation over the left shoulder, but other variations have been introduced to distinguish them. Their himatia, for example, hang from the shoulder in different patterns. The himation of Apollonius is shown circling his right shoulder and upper arm, and the neck of the chiton has an ambitious 'double' edge—this was an attempt to show the loose neckline of the tunic falling open. These variations aimed to prevent the effect of an identical pair, to give each bust its own individuality.

The sculptural handling of the two busts is also a little different. The drapery of the Pythagoras is slightly less careful, less fully modelled, less detailed. For example, the himation of Apollonius is animated by some complex folds across the chest and over the right arm where the drapery of Pythagoras has almost no articulation. Again, the Apollonius has a series of subsidiary folds incised on the right shoulder and chest. The effect created by a few sharp lines with smooth, slightly convex surfaces between is closer in appearance to the surface of leather or the skin of a fruit than to folds of cloth. This kind of 'surface' drapery representation is distinctively late antique.⁵⁶

The portrait heads were no doubt also differentiated. A few details confirm that they had at least different beard styles. The Pythagoras preserves some traces of his beard and hairstyle. At the back of the neck, some roughly sketched long hair is preserved—it covered the nape and the upper edge of the drapery. Just at the break of the neck, there are slight remains of a beard, and directly below there are two small lumps of marble on the upper edge of the chiton which must be the very ends of the beard (Apollonius has no such lumps on his chiton). Pythagoras' beard, therefore, was very long, was carved in the round between chin and chest, and was parted or forked at the end. This fits well with our only certainly identified images of Pythagoras, on coins, one type among which shows him as an aged, hunched figure with very long beard and gaunt features.⁵⁷

The subjects of the two portraits are identified by their inscriptions. Pythagoras can of course only be the great fifth-century thinker. 'Apollonius', on the other hand, is a very common Greek name. Taken with the others discussed so far, one would guess a literary figure like Apollonius of Rhodes, the epic poet—to complement, for example, the lyric Pindar. But Apollonius of Rhodes never reached canonical status in the literary hierarchy of antiquity. We have no portrait type and no record of statues of him.⁵⁸ When a representative of epic was required, the divine Homer was the obvious choice. In this period Apollonius of Rhodes was explicitly reckoned very second-rate, compared to Homer and Virgil.⁵⁹ On his own Apollonius of Rhodes would be an unusual but not impossible choice. However, given the presence of Pythagoras, who is on other grounds probably his pair, it becomes virtually certain this must rather be Apollonius of Tyana, the great Pythagorean wonder-worker of the first century A.D., widely known from his monumental biography by Philostratus. This Apollonius claimed himself a disciple of Pythagoras, and there is no other Apollonius of appropriate status.

The figure of Apollonius of Tyana had a strong reverberation in some pagan circles of late antiquity.⁶⁰ In the late fourth century the writer of the *Historia Augusta* invents a privileged position for him in the lararium of Severus Alexander, where he consorts with Orpheus, Abraham, and Christ (*Sev. Alex.* 29. 2). The same writer later devotes a chapter to the sage (*Aurel.* 24), in which he appears to the emperor Aurelian

⁵⁶ Oikoumenios is a good dated example: n. 36.

⁵⁷ *POG*, 79, figs 302–3. Mosaic portrait: n. 99. No other identifications are sure: cf. J. C. Balty, *BMusArt* 48 (1976), 5–34.

⁵⁸ cf. *POG*, 242.

⁵⁹ Macrobius, 5. 17. 4–5 (on Medea and Dido).

⁶⁰ W. Speyer, *Jhb. Ant. u. Chr.* 17 (1974), 47–63; E. L. Bowie, *ANRW* II. 16. 2 (1978), 1652–99; M. Dzielska, *Apollonius of Tyana: Legend and History* (1986), ch. 5.

to stop him destroying Tyana. Although Aurelian is said here to have recognized Apollonius from 'the portrait (*imago*) he had seen in many temples', his image was probably not so very widespread.⁶¹ He does not appear at all in the more 'popular' late antique medium of mosaics. The only surviving and certainly identified images of Apollonius are an inscribed marble bust formerly on the Italian art market (third century) and a head on the 'contorniates' of the later fourth century.⁶² Both represent ideal long-haired philosophers. The 'contorniates' are bland and reserved, the bust is more spirited. Neither probably is a safe guide to the appearance of our shield portrait.

The presence of Pythagoras and Apollonius of Tyana, on an equal footing with Socrates and Aristotle, casts a quite new light on the context of our group. Plato is missing but surely must have been present, for we have clearly moved into an environment of late Neoplatonism. In the fourth and fifth centuries A.D., leading Platonists had advanced further than rational contemplation and were engaged in the more direct means of access to divine knowledge called theurgy, that is, active engagement with the divine instead of just its theory.⁶³ The theurgist occupied the highest zone of Neoplatonic philosophy, and he was meant to be expert in divination, sacrifices, Chaldaean astrology, and miracles. Pythagoras was the patron saint of theurgical Neoplatonism, and his great stature rested not on geometry but on his unrivalled knowledge of divine cult and mysteries. He was deemed the archetypal spiritual philosopher. After Pythagoras, the most famous proto-theurgist was Apollonius of Tyana, a well-documented miracle-worker, naturally coupled with Pythagoras by late antique writers.⁶⁴ Pythagoras' earlier biography by Diogenes Laertios was re-written into full-blown hagiographies by both Porphyry and Iamblichus, and in the late fourth century a Latin edition or adaption of Philostratus' work on Apollonius was put out by a prominent pagan at Rome, Nicomachus Flavianus.⁶⁵

A student at a Neoplatonic school first studied 'normal' philosophy (Aristotle and early Plato) then rhetoric, then the highest level of philosophy, the nature of the divine, 'that wisdom', as Eunapius says, 'to which Pythagoras devoted his mind'.⁶⁶ Besides obsessive theology, Neoplatonism also sought to incorporate the entirety of Greek culture from Homer to hellenistic philosophy. As P. Athanassiadi-Fowden has put it in her book on the emperor Julian, 'like a snowball, Neoplatonism rolled downwards into the hellenic past absorbing whatever it found in its way'.⁶⁷ Radicals like Julian came to regard all hellenic culture as inspired by the gods and so of a sacred, spiritual character. This may help further explain the choice of Pindar in our group. In a specifically Neoplatonic context Pindar's work would recommend itself not merely as an expression of the best Greek cultural ideals, but also as a body of wisdom on the Olympian gods—he was said, like a good Platonic sage, to have had visions of various gods, to have been an *anthrōpos theophilēs*, a man beloved of the gods.⁶⁸ In this light we can perhaps see more clearly what the sculptor added to our portrait of Pindar (No. 1). The portrait has been not merely intensified, it has been 'spiritualized'. This is a Neoplatonic Pindar who has a privileged relation with the divine.

Plato, Pythagoras, and Apollonius of Tyana were the ancient divinities of

⁶¹ Note the epigram on Apollonius from Cilicia: C. P. Jones, *JHS* 100 (1980), 190–4; G. Dagron and D. Feissel, *Inscriptions de Cilicie* (1987), no. 88; D. Potter, *JRA* 2 (1989), 309–10.

⁶² Bust: S. Settis, *Athenaeum* 50 (1972), 234–51. Contorniates: Alföldi, op. cit. (n. 40), 32, pl. 38. 1–4. Apollonius was also included in a series of shield portraits in stucco relief (fragmentary when discovered, now lost) in a private building in Rome (on Via dello Statuto): R. Lanciani, *BullComm* 12 (1884), 48–9. The inscription of only one was legible: [AP]OLONIUS THYANEUS (= *ILS* 2918). Nothing survived of the portrait. Lanciani thought the building a library: cf. idem, *Ancient Rome in the Light of Recent Discoveries* (1898), 191 ff.—on libraries. (Refs G. Fowden.)

⁶³ E. R. Dodds, 'Theurgy and its relationship to Neoplatonism', *JRS* 37 (1947), 55–69 = *Greeks and the Irrational* (1951, 1966), App. II; A. Sheppard, 'Proclus'

approach to theurgy', *CQ* 31 (1982), 212–24; G. Fowden, *The Egyptian Hermes: A Historical Approach to the Late Pagan Mind* (1986), 126–34.

⁶⁴ Eunapius, *V. Soph.* 454 and 500 (= Loeb, pp. 347 and 543); Ammianus, 21. 14. 1; 23. 6. 19.

⁶⁵ Nicomachus: Sidonius, *Epist.* 8. 3. 1. The *Historia Augusta* writer (*Aur* 24. 9) also promises his own account. Cf. Jones op. cit. (n. 61), 193–4.

⁶⁶ Stages of education: Eunapius, *V. Soph.* 500 (= Loeb, pp. 541–3)—on Chrysanthius.

⁶⁷ Athanassiadi-Fowden, op. cit. (n. 2), 5.

⁶⁸ *Vita Ambrosiana in Scholia Vetera in Pindari Carmina* (Ed. A. B. Drachmann, Teubner, 1903) 1, pp. 1–2. Ref. C. P. Jones, who writes (personal letter): 'If we had more of Pindar's Hymns and Paeanes we would no doubt have more of what impressed the people who put him in the collection at Aphrodisias.'

Neoplatonism. After Plotinus and Iamblichus, its more recent masters were the great theurgists of Asia Minor—men like Aedesius of Pergamon and the great Maximus of Ephesus, the teacher of the emperor Julian. In the fifth century, the Academy at Athens, under the great Proclus, was especially influential. These teachers spawned many followers and schools elsewhere in Asia Minor and in Greece. The most impressive and finely worked of our shield-portraits (No. 8) should represent a philosopher of this kind, that is, a Neoplatonic master of the recent past.

8. *Old Philosopher* (Pls. XII–XIII)⁶⁹

Shield portrait, preserved in two parts: shield and head. White marble, with some dark blue-grey veins (like the Pindar, No. 1). H: 70.5, W: 58.5, D: 44 cm.

Missing: end of beard and chin, much of nose, parts of shield rim. Moustache and right cheek damaged. Otherwise surface excellently preserved. The head was broken off through the lower middle neck. The background panel tapers in width by about 2.5 cm towards the bottom. The slight inward curve of the lower right side is carved, not broken. As on the Pindar, No. 1, the sculptor has skilfully worked the block so that the dark veins of the marble colour the bust and shield but not the face—apart from a small patch on the upper forehead. The surface like that of the Pindar and the Alexander (Nos. 1–2), has been worked to remove all tool marks from skin and drapery, but has not been brought to the near-polish of the Pythagoras and Apollonius (Nos. 6–7). The back is flat (Pl. XI. 4).

This portrait was designed to represent an inspired, visionary philosopher, a man of the spirit, an impassioned thinker of divine thoughts. He wears a chiton and himation and has a long beard and fine, flowing hair cut in an unusual fringe over the forehead. This tondo preserves perhaps the finest sculptured image of a late antique sage to have come down to us.⁷⁰

The shoulders of the bust fill little more than half of the shield, which is slightly oval (taller than it is wide), probably to allow more room for the unusually large head. The head height, chin to crown, is 33 cm, while that of Pindar, for example, is only 28 cm. The himation is worn in the same 'illogical' manner as Pindar's, that is, around both shoulders instead of just one. The drapery is also treated in a very similar style to Pindar's. The himation has the same deeply drilled, naturalistic folds, while the thinner chiton has a flat and schematic articulation—here with an angular U-shaped fold in the middle of the chest 'framed' below by a symmetrical pattern of linear folds. The sculptor also wanted to indicate a prominent and ageing chest beneath the chiton, but the proper position of swelling pectorals was occupied on both sides by the himation. He therefore moved the pectorals inwards so that they appear, rather awkwardly, as a pair of small 'breasts' in the middle of his chest. The same feature occurs, in less pronounced form, in the Pindar. The interest in portraying a strong chest produced analogous results in the Pythagoras and Apollonius (Nos. 6–7), which also have rather oddly pronounced right 'breasts'.

The philosopher's head is set on a thick, rather short neck, and he looks straight ahead with his eyes focused well above the viewer. He has a long, rectangular saint-like face with a carefully groomed beard. The features are superbly worked and show great attention to detail. The furrowed forehead and gaunt, bony cheeks are very finely modelled without incised lines, while the rather mannered, knitted brows are both modelled and lightly engraved. The nostrils are drilled with closely observed naturalism. The tight-lipped mouth has a sharply carved 'V' in the middle of the upper lip, and the lower lip is outlined by a carefully engraved contour. The enlarged eyes are turned up and articulated in a very similar way to the Alexander's (No. 2).

⁶⁹ Erim, 148, fig. 148c.

⁷⁰ Other important sculptured portraits of late antique philosophers. (1) Acropolis head: G. Dontas, *AM* 69/70 (1954–5), 147–52. (2) Istanbul 'priest': *IR* II, no. 274. (3) Athens tondo: Winkes, 138, pl. V a, c. (4) 'S. Paul' head in Boston, from Athens: M. B. Comstock and C. C. Vermeule, *Sculpture in Stone* (1976), no. 381. (5) 'Plotinus' type (four copies): H. P. L'Orange, *Byzantion* 25–7 (1955–7), 473–85 = *Likeness and Icon* (1973), 32–42; *POG*, 289, figs 2056–8 (6) 'Iamblichus'

type and related heads: E. B. Harrison, *The Athenian Agora I: Portrait Sculpture* (1953), 101–5; M. C. Sturgeon, *Isthmia IV: The Sculpture* (1988), no. 85. None are externally dated or identified. Nos 1–4 are probably later fourth to fifth century. No. 5, 'Plotinus', is earlier. The 'Iamblichus' heads seem to range in date: the subject of the core group may have been an earlier Master reinterpreted, rather than a contemporary fourth-century figure. Further, n. 72.

The iris is lightly incised around the U-shaped pupil, which is formed by a thicker drill line. Unlike the Alexander, the third concentric line, marking the eyeball at the inner corner, is not carried illogically around to the outer corner. Also, the U-shaped pupil is not covered by the upper lid, as on the Alexander. There the effect is of a vigorous upward turn of the eyes under beetling brows. Here the expression of the eyes is rather a wide-open, intense gaze.

The fine-haired beard is represented by long engraved strands that wave and curl gently and which are divided into larger locks at intervals by narrow drill channels. The drill channels have occasional 'bridges', but none are pierced through: the movement of the beard is restrained. The shorter beard hair beneath the lower lip is simply engraved. The hairstyle is a surprisingly complex and singular one. On the top and crown of the head (unseen), a central patch of short hair is parted to either side. In front of this, there is a curious 'transverse' parting running across the head, from which a separate flat fringe is brushed forward onto the brow. This fringe is cut in a gentle arc across the top of the forehead and lightly parted in the centre. On the sides the hair is much longer and thicker and is swept back artfully, concealing much of the ears. At the back it falls to the shoulders. The thicker hair on the sides is formed into locks by drill channels, again with occasional bridges. Each lock is engraved into three or four separate strands. The lank hair on the forehead is carved mainly with a chisel, with only very sparing help from the drill. The aim of the sculptor, in both hair and beard, was to represent the texture of the very fine straight hair of an elderly man. The purpose of the highly unusual hair arrangement was probably to convey the idea of a 'real' hairstyle, as opposed to the hairstyle of a classical thinker portrait. For the creation of fictional images of ancient sages, like Homer or Pythagoras, there were much simpler, 'ready-made' hair arrangements available. Although the sculptor may have invented the curious system of partings on top of the head, the unusual arrangement would signify clearly 'real' or contemporary hairstyles.

The portrait is strikingly individualized, but it also contains many obviously invented expressive elements. It combines echoes from hellenistic philosopher images,⁷¹ with an expression of wide-eyed fervour that are very much its own and of its own age. The knitted brows were a familiar sign for concentration and vigour of mind, for intellectual power, but the expression of the whole portrait is rather of an overriding intense, beatific spirituality. Although intended to give the impression of a 'real' portrait, this strongly exalted expression makes it obvious that this must be a posthumous portrait. Viewers are presented with an intellectual and spiritual being who is self-evidently far above their own experience of the world. The response intended is pure admiration and awe. Just as the philosophical biographies looked back at the recent masters as divine spirits larger than life, so this portrait presents a panegyric in marble of a departed sage.

The shield has no inscription and cannot be identified. The philosopher could be a famous master of the day from elsewhere or more likely a leader or founder of the school at Aphrodisias. Since he is such a striking image of late antique philosophy, it is in one way fitting that we do not know his name: we may take him as the most instructive example of an important category.⁷² He gives us the best visual idea of what the philosophical biographies describe, and they in turn provide us with the range of ideas and terms that portraits like this were intended to express. Eunapius' *Lives of the Sophists* and Damascius' *Life of Isidore* are the richest sources. Eunapius, writing in Sardis around 400, looks back on the fourth-century masters, while Damascius, writing around 520, looks back on the fifth century. We may extract some key ideas from these hagiographies concerning ideal philosophical appearance.⁷³

⁷¹ The long solemn face, knitted brows, and severity of expression derive ultimately from portraits like those of Zeno and Epicurus: *POG*, 188–9, 195–7.

⁷² Of the portraits listed above, n. 70, the Acropolis and Istanbul portraits (nos 1–2) are the most generically similar to our portrait, in their long-haired, long-bearded visionary aspect. The Athens tondo (no. 3) was also similar but short-haired and more restrained.

⁷³ Damascius' *Life of Isidore* is cited by the sections of the epitome by Photius, in R. Henry, *Photius: Bibliothèque VI* (Budé, 1971), which contains the main fragments. The full fragments are translated by R. Asmus, *Das Leben des Philosophen Isidoros von Damaskios* (1911) and collected without translation by C. Zintzen (ed., 1967).

Purely external features had only a few requirements. The biographers often stress the master's sheer size, his impressive stature. For example, Prohairesius seemed to Eunapius to be a colossus nine feet tall.⁷⁴ Generally, the sage should be old in body (but, of course, young in soul), with a long beard and long hair,⁷⁵ and he should have a serene, radiant, commanding, and pleasant or handsome appearance.⁷⁶ His face is 'divinely inspired' (*entheos*), 'impressively awesome' (*aidoios* and *deinos*) and 'filled with the inner life of philosophy'.⁷⁷ It is also an essential part of the sage's nature that he can see where others cannot. He sees strange visions, daimones, he sees into the future, and he can see in the dark.⁷⁸ The biographers repeatedly describe the power of the philosopher's eyes and their relation to his soul. His eyes contemplate heaven, their 'pupils are winged', and they 'reveal the agile forces of his soul' (*hormaitēs psychēs*)⁷⁹ Alternatively: his eyes have 'the grace of Aphrodite, the wisdom of Athena', their gaze is 'both steady and swift, solemn and charming', and they are 'the exact images of the soul (*agalmata ... tēs psychēs akribē*) and of the divine effluence (*aporroē*) within it'.⁸⁰ The sage's eyes thus reflect the divine inner illumination of his mind—his *theia ellampsis*. No ordinary mortal has eyes like this, and the eyes are an obvious focal point of our portrait.

Also clearly expressed in the portrait are a series of qualities described by the biographers as essential for the process of striving towards the divine. The soul of the master is said to have a sharp, thrusting vigour, a fierce longing (*deinos pothos*), a near-Bacchic passion for the divine.⁸¹ He has an untiring devotion to his task (*philoponia*), and he exhibits a clear exaltation of mind (*hypsēlophrosynē*).⁸² The Neoplatonic sage, then, was a lofty, introspective visionary, and was meant to look like one. It was such characteristics that our portrait aimed to embody: a commanding scale, awesome presence, piercing vision, and an exalted spiritual fervour.

Masters had pupils and among them, naturally, they had especially favoured pupils, distinguished by their great promise or their public prominence. We hear of a noted sophist in Athens who put up portraits of the pupils he had most admired in his school.⁸³ It is such a person we should imagine in the following shield-portrait (No. 9), which shows a beardless adolescent.

9. *Young Pupil* (Pl. XIV. 1–3)

Shield portrait, badly broken. White marble, dotted with dark blue-grey veins. H: 63.5, W: 53.5, D: 23 cm. The medallion was smashed in antiquity. The shield and bust are composed of eight fragments, and the face and the neck of a further eight. Missing from the shield: upper right corner and part of the background panel below; the shield rim is damaged at the left. Missing from the head: most of the nose, mouth, and chin. The preserved surfaces at the front are worked to a near-polish. Behind the hair is finished roughly with a flat chisel.

The medallion is of the same scale and basic format as the main group; the background panel has the standard height, width, and thickness. There are also obvious differences. The circular shield frame is much lower, projecting only 2.5 cm instead of 5 to 6 cm, and it is not articulated with a clearly defined upper edge nor with an offset moulding at the junction with

⁷⁴ Eunapius, *V. Soph.* 487 and 492 (= Loeb, pp. 485 and 507). Cf. *ibid.*, 481 (= Loeb, p. 461)—Priscus' size; Damascius *Epit.* 49—Isidore's size.

⁷⁵ Beard: Eunapius, *V. Soph.* 473 (= Loeb, p. 427)—Maximus' beard, long and grey. Hair to shoulders: Damascius, *Epit.* 114—Heraiscus. Cf. Eunapius, *V. Soph.* 502 (= Loeb, p. 551)—Chrysanthius' hair stands on end in debate.

⁷⁶ Fine, handsome appearance is standard: Porphyry, *V. Plotini* 13; Eunapius, *V. Soph.* 473, 481, and 487 (= Loeb, pp. 427, 461, and 485)—Maximus, Priscus, and Prohairesius; Marinus, *V. Procli* 3; Damascius, *Epit.* 16—Isidore.

⁷⁷ Damascius, *Epit.* 80 and 248.

⁷⁸ Visions: Damascius, *Epit.* 12, 117, and 140. Seeing in dark: *ibid.*, 139 and 270. Cf. *ibid.*, 92: a philosopher (Cynic) tells the future from peoples' eyes.

⁷⁹ Eunapius, *V. Soph.* 473 and 502 (= Loeb, pp. 427

and 551)—eyes of Maximus and Chrysanthius. Cf. *ibid.*, 472 (= Loeb, p. 421)—Antoninus' eyes raised to sky, like a statue.

⁸⁰ Damascius, *Epit.* 16—Isidore's eyes. Cf. *ibid.*, 43: Isidore's teaching gives sight to his students' souls; and *ibid.*, 80: eyes reflect the mobility of his thoughts.

⁸¹ Especially Damascius, *Epit.* 31 (sharp *dynamis* and *eros* for the beautiful and good), 40 (unswerving *pothos* for the divine); Eunapius, *V. Soph.* 473 and 474 (= Loeb, pp. 427 and 429)—impulses and vigour of soul (*akmē tēs psychēs*). Bacchic: Eunapius, *V. Soph.*, 470 (= Loeb, p. 415). Passionate (*synenthousiōn*) for working miracles: *ibid.*, 474 (= Loeb, p. 431). *Deinos pothos*: Julian, *iv*, 130c–d.

⁸² Damascius, *Epit.* 31 (*philoponia*) and 54 (*hypsēlophrosynē*).

⁸³ Eunapius, *V. Soph.* 483 (= Loeb, p. 467)—Julian of Cappadocia.

the background. The profile of the shield frame is a reduced or approximate version of the usual form. The bust and head are small (head height, 23.5 cm), and they are set low inside the shield. The bust is carved in low relief, projecting only a little, and unlike the other portraits, the head is not carved in the round, but only in high relief, that is, firmly attached behind (Pl. XIV. 2). The shield frame has therefore to trace a tall oval in order to circumvent the top of the head. It is possible that this portrait was a separate addition to the main group. Many of the differences, however, could also be explained as designed to suit the 'junior' status of the subject represented. Certainly the smaller head and bust are simply those of a young boy—the difference is not of scale, but in the representation of relative ages. The less prominent shield frame could then be simply a natural adjustment to the smaller bust.

The youth wears a chiton and himation, both well finished, but articulated summarily with a few, sparing, rather leathery folds. He looks evenly ahead and is represented as an adolescent boy perhaps in his early teens—he has still quite full cheeks. He wears short hair brushed forward in a fringe across the forehead and has the simple ideal features of a classical ephebe: straight brows, large mannered eyelids, full chin, and small ears.⁸⁴ The mouth is animated by a fine drill line parting the lips, and the eyes are marked by shallow drill-holes in the shape of a small heart that indicate both pupil and iris.

The subject is clearly a contemporary one. Hair, face, and style are typical for youths and boy princes from the Constantinian period onwards. He may have been a famous pupil from elsewhere who studied at the school, or perhaps rather the son of a local benefactor, a distinguished pupil of the master. Eunapius provides another likely general context. He describes how his teacher at Sardis, Chrysanthius, had a prodigiously talented son. The boy was a brilliant student and a precocious diviner, but died suddenly when still a youth.⁸⁵ This medallion is most easily understood in similar terms: a son or favoured disciple of the master who died as a youth.

Two very fine busts (Nos 10–11), clearly a pair, were part of the same find as the medallions, are of the same scale, and probably belonged somewhere in the same display. The first is headless and wears only a plain himation—an indication probably that he was philosopher (No. 10). The other wears a himation with tunic, perhaps, we will see, to distinguish him as an intellectual of a different kind (No. 11).

10. *Headless Bust* (Pl. XIV. 4)

Bust of white marble. H: (38), W: 54, D: 15 cm. The missing head was violently broken off at the base of the neck. The bust is preserved whole, except for a joining fragment of drapery on the shoulder. Apart from slight damage to the drapery, the surface is perfectly preserved. The front is brought to a near-polish while the back is finished roughly with a point. The back 'edge' of the bust and its undersurface are finished with a claw. The whole bust with head was made in one piece. Behind there is a broad but shallow spine with a narrow bearing surface (W 14 by D 11 cm). The underside of the spine contains a deep dowel-hole for anchoring the bust (Diam.: 2 cm, D 10 cm.) Scale, format, and carving of the back connect the bust very closely to No. 11.

The bust extends below the chest and includes the upper arms. It wears a himation without tunic and is superbly worked. The edge of the himation is carefully undercut next to the body, and the bare chest is finely modelled, with a very sparing articulation of the anatomy. The collarbones and a vein on the right biceps are quietly indicated, as well as a muscle spanning the middle of the sternum that is not usually represented in sculpture. The fine quality of the workmanship is visible in a tiny perforation under the right arm where the surface has been accidentally worked through to the back of the bust. In its surface finish, design and treatment of the

⁸⁴ See, for example, (1) head from the Athenian agora: Harrison, *op. cit.* (n. 70), no. 51, and (2) late ephebe herm among the Athenian kosmetai: E. Latanzi, *I ritratti dei kosmeti* (1968), no. 33. Cf. E. B.

Harrison, *DOP* 21 (1968), 87–8, figs 30, 32.

⁸⁵ Eunapius, *V. Soph.* 504 (= Loeb, p. 559). Cf. also Damascius, *Epit.* 76: the prodigious son of the philosopher Hermeias who dies aged seven.

himation, and the handling of the small projecting nipple, the bust seems closely related to the Alcibiades shield portrait (No. 3).

11. *Bust of 'Sophist'* (Pls. XV–XVI)

Bust, preserved in several joining pieces: the head and six fragments of the bust. White marble, with some surface stains. H: 65.5, W: 57.5, D: 35 cm. The main bust fragments were found with Nos. 1–10, that is, in the space between the apse and the back of the Sebasteion. The head and a few drapery fragments were found inside the apse beneath the present floor level.

Missing from bust: part of right shoulder, much of lower chest at front. Missing from head: part of nose, small piece of chin. There is some slight damage to the left cheek and brow; otherwise the surface is excellently preserved. The drapery and skin are worked to a near-polish, while the beard and hair have a rougher 'matt' finish. The bust has the same shape and format as No. 10, and is finished behind with a point in the same way. It extends below the chest and includes part of the upper arms. Behind, it has the same rough spine—broad but shallow front to back—just sufficient for it to have stood unsupported.

The bust is a real masterpiece in terms both of subtle characterization and of superb technical quality. It represents a man in early middle age, with finely articulated features and concentrated expression. He has thick long hair at the back, balding brow, and a short light beard. He wears a chiton and himation. His overall presentation is one of an intellectual.

The himation is worn over one shoulder (the left), as it should be. Behind, it crosses to the right shoulder, and appears under the right arm where its thick folded edge forms the horizontal base of the bust. Great care was taken to distinguish the drapery of the himation from the finer material of the chiton beneath. On the shoulder the himation has large deep simple folds, while the chiton multiplies shallow, irregular creases. This and its low triangular neckline, with hemmed edge, lend the chiton an air of a real garment that those of the shield portraits (Nos 6–8, for example) do not have. The head is turned slightly to its left and looks evenly ahead. The neck tendons are strongly modelled and a vein stands out on the right side. The shape of the head and features are strongly individualized: wide balding brow, square face with deep prominent chin, and a large curving nose. The nose springs from low down between the eyes and has a sharp or narrow bridge. Due to the large brow and deep chin, the main features—eyes, nose, mouth—seem to be concentrated in the middle of the face. A few sharp horizontal lines on the forehead mark off the lightly swelling lower brow. Although the eyebrows arch strongly from vertical furrows at the root of the nose, the expression remains muted. The thin-lipped mouth is closed in a straight line, and the eyes are not enlarged or opened wide. While the profile has a more pronounced physiognomical articulation and a more forceful expression, in front view the portrait has a vivid but restrained, sympathetic air, perhaps designed to express such qualities of personal appearance as *harmonia* and *charis*.⁸⁶

The surface detail of the face is worked with a remarkable range of texture. The short trimmed beard is worked in very low relief and etched lightly with a chisel. It 'grows' towards the chin in a highly naturalistic manner. Cheekbones, slightly sunken cheeks, and lines under the eyes are all delicately modelled. The eyes have broad upper lids, and the pupils are marked by two contiguous drill-holes that form an approximate heart-shape. Neither the iris nor the inner line of the eyeball are marked. The hair is thin on top and brushed forward in lank strands on the forehead. It is thicker at the sides and over the temples, where it is arranged so as not to cover the ears. At the back it falls in long locks over the himation to the shoulder. Three locks cover the nape while behind each ear a long lock falls a little to the side, carved free from the neck in a 'bridge' reaching to the himation. The thin strands on top are carved with the flat chisel, while at the sides and back the hair is drilled with broad deep channels. Both in this thick, slightly unkempt hairstyle and in the

⁸⁶ Noted for example in the appearance of Oribasius (a doctor) by Eunapius, *V. Soph.* 499 (= Loeb, p. 537).

contrasting soft texture of the beard, the sculptor was striving for a strongly naturalistic effect.

One's first impression of this bust is that it dates from around the mid-third century. It is analogous to the so-called 'Plotinus' type which has a similarly refined physiognomy, and it has the kind of beard treatment often termed 'Gallienic'.⁸⁷ However, this bust is certainly much later in date. It has formal and technical relations to our shield portraits, especially the surface finish. The drilling of the eyes into a simple heart-shape, without engraved lines for the iris, is seen on the Young Pupil (No. 9). The strongly arched brows and the clustering of the features in the middle of the face also seem to be late features: the profile has a near-expressionist effect. The other bust of the pair (No. 10) has a hard, rather formless, almost porcelain-like handling of its naked chest that seems to relate it, as remarked above, to the Alcibiades (No. 3). This probably indicates a date close to that of the shield portraits.⁸⁸

What category of person does our bust represent? This combination of dress and hairstyle—himation, beard, and long hair—had for a long time, in both art and life, been external indications of a professional Greek thinker. In this period officers and magistrates of the Roman state wore the chlamys or toga; they and local leaders in the cities (who might represent themselves wearing the himation, that is, in their Greek civic aspect) generally have more ordered, more 'respectable' hairstyles.⁸⁹ The long lank hair, therefore, shows that the subject of our bust is an intellectual. Can we interpret it further? Does the image aim to express anything further about the subject's position in life? There may well be two further references that we can recognize. First, quite apart from the use of the bust format (instead of a shield portrait), it is clear that the image was intended to be a contemporary portrait. Comparison with the Old Philosopher (No. 8) makes plain the basic and important contrast that could be drawn between the portrait of a living and a dead intellectual master. The subject of the bust wears his himation correctly and has a short-clipped beard (an item of fashion) and a very real-looking hairstyle (bald on top, long at back) treated in apparently casual disarray. In comparison, the Old Philosopher's symmetrical drapery, meticulous beard, and bizarre hairstyle seem clearly ideal or fictional constructions. The features of our bust are strongly individualized, but more importantly his expression is restrained, psychologically convincing, objective-looking. The thinker iconography seen in the concentration of the brows and the sensitive long face is quietly presented. The portrait is subtle, complex, real. The Philosopher, on the other hand, abandons all objectivity in favour of a unitary ideal expression of his exalted godlike spirit. The precise date of the bust, whether before or contemporary with the Philosopher, is less important. The significant contrast between them is not one of date but of status and expression: contemporary and 'objective' *versus* posthumous and venerational.

Secondly, our bust has some features that seem to set it apart from a full-blown intellectual image. We observed earlier that he wears a fine chiton beneath his himation, while his headless pair, No. 10, wears a himation only. This difference might be explained as a simple device to distinguish the two busts clearly in their context. Taken with other features, however, it is natural to see here the expression of different roles. For centuries the essential signs of a life devoted entirely to philosophy had included a beard that was preferably both long and unkempt, or at least 'unstyled'. Our bust, however, has only a short and neatly trimmed beard. The expression of the portrait is also unusual for a pure philosopher image. The subject has little of the visible interior intensity of a philosopher, none of the overt

⁸⁷ Above n. 70, no. 5.

⁸⁸ Among undated late heads from Aphrodisias, closest in the handling of the beard and sensitive features is IR II, no. 199 (cf. also no. 196). The male bust from Stratonicea (n. 34) also has a very similar beard treatment.

⁸⁹ On togati: C. Foss, *Okeanos: Essays I. Ševčenko* (1983), 196–217. Few public figures in this period in

fact wear the himation in surviving statues (e.g. Pompeiopolis priest: IR I, no. 282, with IR II, pl. 273.1; priest bust, above n.8). Local figures should be assumed in some of the many late heads now without bodies. These can have various hairstyles but not long flowing locks. On dress codes, cf. *Cod. Theod.* 14.10 (military and civilian) and 13. 3. 7 (philosophers' dress).

unworldliness, none of the extravagant humility. On the contrary, he is very much of this world, presented with the apparently objective detachment appropriate to a living public figure. He is thoughtful, serious, reserved. As in many portraits of men of affairs, the effect of a real person is subtly blended with an ideal posture and ordering of the features. He is given a certain hauteur, a superior virtue, the precise nature of which the portrait is unconcerned to specify. In this period it was common for imperial officials and local magnates to wear a light growth of beard which is represented on their portraits either as thick stubble or as a short beard.⁹⁰ The neatly clipped beard of our bust could be taken as an elegant 'thinking' version of the same fashion.

The bust then seems to contain a coherent set of ideas about the subject. The manner of characterization and probably the bust format show that he is living. Long hair and himation indicate unequivocally that he is a professional intellectual. His short beard, 'public' posture, and 'pragmatic' expression qualify or complement his philosophical role—that is, we are meant to understand he is a thinker who is also capable of action in the real world. His full civic dress of himation *and* chiton complement his 'public' aspect. The portrait itself expresses these ideas about the subject. Whether or not they reflect accurately the real circumstances of his position in life, we, of course, cannot say. The role to which in this image he aspires, however, was one that is amply documented in this period and earlier. From the second century, when Greeks had begun seriously to penetrate the Roman ruling class, rhetoric and learning had become an important medium of competition and self-advancement within the Greek aristocracy in its bid for the senate. To service aspiring politicians a variety of intellectual rhetorical experts made themselves available—the men of the Second Sophistic.⁹¹ Sophists remained important in late antiquity, both as educators and local magnates in their own right.⁹² In these circumstances it was natural that there be some overlap, in both self-image and reality, between the intellectually-interested politician and the politically-minded sophist. The difference between the sophist, the display orator, and the philosopher, the contemplator of higher things, could become blurred (as sometimes in Eunapius), but it remained in principle a strong and real distinction. In this period it was, in effect, the difference between a professor of political science and a religious leader. At Aphrodisias, we can document the full range of the intellectual élite—philosophers, sophists, rhetors—and we will meet such figures in the late antique period shortly.⁹³

Before leaving this bust, one last detail should be mentioned. On top of the head, we saw, four lank strands of hair are brushed forward onto the balding brow. This apparently casual arrangement would not in fact be a natural or obvious way for such hair to fall. Whether or not our 'Sophist' wore them in this way does not matter—they have been so arranged on his portrait. The same arrangement of lank strands on bald brow occurs on two statues from Ephesus which represent probably the sophist Flavius Damianus and the sophisticatedly-minded local magnate P. Vedius Antoninus.⁹⁴ This feature had also appeared in precisely the same form very much earlier, on the classical portrait type of Aristotle.⁹⁵ The appearance of this rather unusual feature in the same form on these widely spaced images may not be a coincidence. It may have been a weak quotation of or reference to Aristotle's image.⁹⁶ In our bust, such a reference would be readily legible, since Aristotle's portrait, no doubt a version of his familiar type, was included in the same display (No. 5).

⁹⁰ Stubble: IR I, nos 199, 242, IR II, nos 202, 208. Short beard: IR I, no. 243; IR II, nos 199, 304; and the Stratonicea bust (n. 34).

⁹¹ G. W. Bowersock, *Greek Sophists in the Roman Empire* (1969); E. L. Bowie, 'The Greeks and their past in the Second Sophistic', *Past and Present* 46 (1970), 3–41; and 'The Importance of Sophists', *Yale Class. Stud.* 27 (1982), 29–59. On sophists v. philosophers, cf. J. L. Moles, *JHS* 98 (1978), 88–93—on Dio Chrysostom.

⁹² On the continued importance of sophistic education in late antiquity: A. F. Norman, *Libanius' Autobiography* I (1965), xx–xxxii.

⁹³ Important local figures styled 'sophist' in inscriptions of second and third centuries: *CIG* 2785 (= *MAMA* VIII. 501), 2798, 2812, and 2845 (*MAMA* VIII. 564). Rhetor: *CIG* 2797. Later sophists: Roueché, no. 33 and p. 85.

⁹⁴ IR I, nos 150 and 151.

⁹⁵ Above, n. 51.

⁹⁶ This feature is even included in the crude and simplified figure of Aristotle in the fourth-century Education of Alexander mosaic from Baalbek (n. 55), which may indicate that it was a well-recognized Aristotle 'sign'.

III OTHER PHILOSOPHER GROUPS IN SCULPTURE AND MOSAIC

Our group of portraits, then, included literary classics (Pindar) and founding fathers of philosophy (Socrates and Aristotle) together with, unusually, their most noted pupils (Alcibiades and Alexander the Great). There were two Neoplatonic saints (Pythagoras and Apollonius of Tyana), and there were also portraits of more recent thinkers (the Old Philosopher and the Young Pupil) and of two contemporaries (the Sophist bust and its pair). The group as a whole is a fine representation of Greek *paideia* and its late Roman professors. What comparable images survive from late antiquity? To bring out more clearly the particular character of our group, we may briefly survey some of the more important ensembles of thinker-writer portraits, from the later third to the fifth century.

There is a good series of late mosaics that can provide some comparison. Although floor decoration was obviously a less prestigious context for philosophical images than fine marble busts and shields, mosaic images generally in this period take on more significance, a higher level of iconographic content than, for example, in the second century. Philosopher and writer portraits were a part of this. From the Greek East, we have three great cycles in mosaic. First, a fine picture mosaic from Apamea (mid-fourth century) features a philosophical symposium with Socrates (inscribed) flanked by six unnamed wise men.⁹⁷ Secondly, a fine mosaic floor from Baalbek is composed of eight roundel busts of Socrates and the seven wise men (all inscribed) arranged around a central tondo of Calliope.⁹⁸ And thirdly, a more recently discovered and fragmentary mosaic floor from Seleucia in Pamphylia has a remarkable programme of writers and philosophers, again all inscribed.⁹⁹ Its central rectangular panel featured Homer, the Iliad and the Odyssey, and around it there were panel busts of the following (in this order): Anaxagoras, Pythagoras, Pherecydes, Demosthenes, Heracleitus, Hesiod, Lycurgus, Solon, Thucydides, Herodotus, [...]phon, and at least eight more now lost. Pythagoras is included here not as a proto-Neoplatonist, but rather as a representative of early philosophy. The central subject of the mosaic is the divine Homer from whom all hellenic literature and thought were deemed naturally to flow. It is thus a very catholic ensemble, in which the figures were chosen as the chief representatives of their various branches of culture: philosophers, law-givers, poets, historians, orators. Portraits of cultural figures are included in other mosaic compositions, for example Sappho, Alcman, and Alcibiades with Helios, Hemera, and the Muses at Sparta, Menander in two panels from Antioch with Komodia and Glykera, and Menander again with scenes from his plays at Mytilene.¹⁰⁰ The remarkable glass panels from Cenchreai, the port of Corinth (mid-fourth century, probably from Alexandria) also belong in this context.¹⁰¹ They included full-figured panels of Homer, Plato and Theophrastus (inscribed) as well as two 'consular' or donor (?) figures and several Nikai. This prominence of thinker-writer images in the mosaic decoration of houses was something new in late antiquity. The mosaics may represent merely the generalized intellectual background of late hellenism, but they also indicate how important it was in this period to display interest in serious philosophy and literature.

In the West, this phenomenon is less pronounced in our surviving evidence. There are two well-known mosaics, from Cologne and Trier. The Cologne mosaic featured a central bust of Diogenes surrounded by bust panels of Socrates, Sophocles, Cleoboulus, Chilon, and two others.¹⁰² In the famous Monnus mosaic from Trier, a

⁹⁷ POG, 118 (o), fig. 569. Cf. G. M. A. Hanfmann, HSCP 60 (1951), 205-33; J. C. Balty, CRAI (1972), 103-27; J. and J. C. Balty, *Dialogues d'histoire ancienne* 1 (1974), 267-304.

⁹⁸ Chéhab, op. cit. (n. 55), 31-43, pls 15-20.

⁹⁹ Antalya Museum. Unpublished.

¹⁰⁰ Sparta: Ch. Christou, *ADelt* 19 (1964), Chron II. 1. 138-41, pls. 138-40; G. Daux, *BCH* 90 (1966), 793, figs. 1-3; Richter-Smith, 83, 196, figs 46 and 157. Sappho appears again with Apollo and Muses in fifth-century wall-paintings at Ephesus: V. M. Strocka, *Die Wandmalerei der Hanghäuser (Forsch. Ephesos VIII. 1, 1977)*, 126-37, figs 312-41. Menander at Antioch:

Antioch-on-the-Orontes III (1941), 248-51; POG, 228, nos 8-9, fig. 1514. Menander at Mytilene: S. Charitonides and R. Ginouvès, *Les mosaïques de la Maison de Ménandre à Mytilène (AntK Beiheft 6, 1970)*, 27-31, pls 2. 1 and 15. 1—dating c. A.D. 300; L. Berczelly, *BICS* 35 (1988), 119-26—dating c. A.D. 400.

¹⁰¹ L. Ibrahim et al., *Kenchreai II: The Panels of Opus Sectile in Glass* (1976), 164-85, nos 27-32. Probably from Alexandria: L. Ibrahim, *The ARCE Newsletter* 121 (Spring, 1983), 19-22.

¹⁰² K. Parlasca, *Die römischen Mosaiken in Deutschland* (1959), 80-2, pls 80-2—dating to later third century.

central panel of Homer with Ingenium and Calliope was surrounded by eight inner bust panels that represented (unusually) heroes of Latin literature—Ennius, Virgil, Cicero, and Livy—as well as Hesiod and the ubiquitous Menander.¹⁰³ The widest range of cultural portraits in circulation in the West appears on the ‘contorniates’ of the late fourth century.¹⁰⁴ Apart from earlier and contemporary imperial portraits, they present a selection (in some ways odd) of nearly a dozen images of ‘classic’ figures. Four are Latin authors: Terence, Sallust, Horace, Apuleius. The others are Greek: Homer, Solon, Euripides, Demosthenes, Socrates, Alexander the Great, and Apollonius of Tyana—of which the last three, we saw, also appear in our group.

There are very few surviving groups of this kind in marble from late antiquity. Sculptured portraits of contemporary philosophers are represented by a heterogeneous assortment of isolated pieces, mostly without useful context.¹⁰⁵ A set of five small busts from a single find in Athens (third century) is the only one that combines, like ours, contemporary thinkers and philosophical ancients (a Socrates and a Plato are recognizable).¹⁰⁶ In the West, the extraordinary series of herms from the Roman villa at Welschbillig (late fourth century) included various thinkers, orators, and generals from the classical past. They are of inferior stone and so summarily worked that only a few (for example, Socrates) can be securely identified.¹⁰⁷ These herms are something very different from our group: they are the last example of the sculptured intellectual decor of villa gardens so popular in Italy in the early and middle empire. The Welschbillig herms show, in their unrecognizable classicism, how the workshop transmission of old image types had either broken down or ceased to concern the purchaser in this area of late Roman Gaul. It is this transmission that we see unbroken in the vigorous copying and re-interpretation of old portraits at Aphrodisias and elsewhere in the Greek East into the fifth century. Among isolated portraits of ancient thinkers from this period, there are a couple of Platos (one from Athens) and the superb Socrates from Ephesus.¹⁰⁸ The portrait most often reproduced, however, was that of Menander, in this period as earlier. We have at least five major late antique versions of his early hellenistic portrait type.¹⁰⁹ Earlier, Menander was both canonical and genuinely popular, and in late antiquity he came to have sage-like status.¹¹⁰

The only directly comparable group to ours is that of the six marble tondi from Aphrodisias destroyed in Smyrna in 1922. All six were briefly described by G. Lippold in the text of *Einzelaufnahmen*, but only four were illustrated.¹¹¹ The group combined ideal subjects with classical and late antique figures. None was inscribed, and only a Pindar and a Menander can now be recognized. Of the other two illustrated, one was a beardless youth wearing a tunic and bulla, the other a city goddess with mural crown. The remaining two (not illustrated) are described respectively as a ‘Kinderbüste’ and ‘Frauenkopf mit Diadem’ (the latter survived only as a head). ‘Diadem’ here must refer, not to an imperial diadem, but as often in archaeological parlance, to the tiara-like crown (or ‘stephane’) worn by some goddesses. The head was no doubt another ideal figure—a personification or goddess. As in our group, the six thus fall naturally into pairs: two literary classics (Pindar and Menander), two goddesses, and two youthful males.¹¹²

Taking all the late mosaics and sculptures together, Menander, Socrates, and Homer stand out as the most popular figures in this environment. Socrates appears in our group, but none of the other figures is represented elsewhere more than two or

¹⁰³ *ibid.*, 41–3, pls 42–7. Of these Latin authors, Virgil appears again in this period, in the well-known mosaic from Hadrumetum (Sousse): K. M. D. Dunbabin, *The Mosaics of Roman North Africa* (1978), App. IV, fig. 130.

¹⁰⁴ Alföldi, *op. cit.* (n. 40).

¹⁰⁵ See above, n. 70.

¹⁰⁶ G. Daux, *BCH* 85 (1961), 63, pls 19–23.

¹⁰⁷ H. Wrede, *Die spätantike Hermengalerie von Welschbillig* (1972), 46–54—Socrates, an orator (Aeschines?), Demosthenes (?), a strategos (‘Philip II’), Menander (?).

¹⁰⁸ Plato in Athens: H. von Heintze, *RM* 71 (1964), 81–103, pl. 22. 1–2. Socrates at Ephesus: above, n. 47.

¹⁰⁹ (1) Aphrodisias (lost): above, n. 3 and *POG*, 227, no. 3, figs 1522–3. (2) Rome, Capitoline: *POG*, 230, no. 9, figs 1553–5. (3) Konya: *POG*, 233, no. 46, fig. 1637. (4) Ephesus: *POG*, 233, no. 47, fig. 1636 = IR I, no. 187.

¹¹⁰ In late antiquity sententious remarks were gathered from his plays, and a collection of over 800 one-line gnomai were attributed to him: *OCD* s.v. Menander, citing W. Görler, *Menandrou Gnomai* (1963). Sidonius Apollinaris was still reading Menander to his son in mid-fifth-century Gaul: *Epist.* 4. 12.

¹¹¹ Lippold, *op. cit.* (n. 4), 3204–8.

¹¹² Pairing seen also by Sande, *op. cit.* (n. 24).

three times. Alcibiades, Alexander, Aristotle, Pythagoras and Apollonius appear elsewhere but not often, and Pindar's image is known only at Aphrodisias in this period. Four of these figures could be seen among the heterogeneous collection of eighty statues in the baths of Zeuxippus at Constantinople,¹¹³ but all six seem to have been more or less uncommon choices. Alcibiades accompanies his teacher Socrates and matches or 'pre-figures' Alexander. Aristotle was a local concern at Aphrodisias and the teacher of Alexander. Pythagoras and Apollonius, a significant pairing, establish a specifically Neoplatonic context. Pindar is highly unusual, but as a divinely-inspired connoisseur of Olympian religion, he is highly appropriate and may have been paired with another literary sage like Homer or Menander, now lost.

IV APHRODISIAS AND THE SCHOOL OF ASKLEPIODOTOS

The new portraits, then, come from a Neoplatonic setting of the late fourth or fifth century A.D., probably from a philosophical school or place of higher learning. What more can we say about their historical context? The emperor Julian was a converted hellenist who tried to turn back the Christian tide by promoting institutions and philosophers like ours. A possible context for our group would be here in the 'pagan revival' of the later fourth century. We should probably resist this idea. Julian had little lasting effect, there was no hellenist revolution, and Neoplatonism continued as before as a rather exclusive and inaccessible club. In terms of both sculpture and history, the evidence at Aphrodisias is much better in the fifth century. In the fourth century, the great centres of learning after Athens and Alexandria were Apamea, Pergamon, Ephesus, and Sardis. In the fifth century, we hear most about Athens and Alexandria, and a surprising amount about Aphrodisias. From the archaeology of this complex alone, we could probably deduce that the city was an intellectual centre of some standing in this period. However, we have excellent independent information on philosophy in fifth-century Aphrodisias.

Damascius, the head of the Academy in Athens in the early sixth century, wrote (c. A.D. 520) a fascinating biography of his master and predecessor Isidore, already cited earlier.¹¹⁴ In this wide-ranging work, we hear a great deal about other contemporaries on the fifth-century intellectual scene, and a philosopher who crops up most frequently is one Asklepiodotos, a very active master teaching at Aphrodisias. He is a colourful figure who brings to life the glamorous international milieu of the pagan philosophers, their relations with each other, their disputes, deeds and miracles.

Asklepiodotos lived in the middle and later fifth century, and a full curriculum vitae can be reconstructed for him.¹¹⁵ He was from Alexandria and studied in Athens under the great Proclus—he was later considered by some to have been one of Proclus' best pupils. After Athens, he went to Seleucia in Syria 'to study people'. He then came to Aphrodisias and married the daughter (Damiane) of a local magnate of the city, also called Asklepiodotos, whom we know from his inscribed tombstone and a statue base there.¹¹⁶ His newly acquired father-in-law was clearly a man of substance in the town and probably also involved in philosophy—this might explain why the Alexandrian Asklepiodotos happened to come to Caria.¹¹⁷ Our Asklepiodotos set up home there, and we meet him in the *Life of Isidore* firmly installed at Aphrodisias. His activities are described in some detail.¹¹⁸ He is said to be a very keen pagan, and pagan worship revives at Aphrodisias and elsewhere under his influence. He is a great inventor of mechanical devices for ceremonies. He adorns (renovates?) statues and writes a lot of hymns. Many examples of his various powers and visions are given. He

¹¹³ Christodorus, *Gk. Anth.* II. 16 (Aristotle), 82 (Alcibiades), 120 (Pythagoras), and 382 (Pindar). Socrates, Alexander, and Apollonius were absent.

¹¹⁴ See n. 73.

¹¹⁵ *PLRE* II Asclepiodotos 3, with L. Robert, *Hellenica* IV (1948), 115–26 and *BCH* 101 (1977), 86–8 = *Documents d'Asie Mineure* (1987), 44–6; G. Fowden, *JHS* 102 (1982), 47–8; Roueché, 87–93.

¹¹⁶ He is *PRLE* II Asclepiodotos 2. Base and tombstone: Roueché, nos. 53–4, with Robert (n. 115). Part of the epigram on the base is reproduced in *Pal. Anth.* 9. 704. It is perhaps significant that the tombstone is in the form of a pyramid.

¹¹⁷ So Roueché, 90.

¹¹⁸ For the following, see mainly Damascius, *Epit.* 116–40.

can read in the dark; he sees a lunar eclipse; and he accomplishes a miraculous rescue of himself and Isidore from drowning in the Maeander by uttering a mystic phrase to the sun. Isidore finds a serpent's head the size of a bull that fell to earth in Caria. Asklepiodotos, not to be outdone, sees a whole giant serpent floating in the sky. He explains the deadly vapours at Hierapolis to Damascius, and is said to be an expert at natural science, music, and medicine.

Damascius treats Isidore in the same glowing panegyric terms in which Eunapius had presented his favourite old masters; these biographies had, of course, other aims than mere historical truth. As a dead Neoplatonic master, Asklepiodotos shares in the exalted atmosphere of Isidore, but it is also his purpose in Damascius' narrative to supply the foil, the second-rate figure, beside whom Isidore shines yet more brightly. We thus hear of various philosophical deficiencies of Asklepiodotos which need not be taken at face value (for example, he is said to have a rather slow intellect, to be poor at the higher, divine levels of philosophy, that is, Platonic, Orphic, and Chaldaean thought).¹¹⁹ In spite of Damascius' strategic criticisms, Asklepiodotos emerges as the major philosopher in fifth-century Caria. Indeed, it was natural for Isidore and other philosophical magnates to journey to visit him at Aphrodisias. Asklepiodotos clearly knew both Isidore and Damascius very well—the major figures of the day. His school must have been an important centre. He was clearly a Neoplatonic theurgist of the usual type, but also with a strong Aristotelian, scientific background that was still traditional both at Alexandria and probably also Aphrodisias.

We also have a vivid picture of Asklepiodotos' school in the same period from a Christian viewpoint, in the *Life of Severus* by Zacharias of Mytilene.¹²⁰ In defending his Christian teacher and hero Severus (he was patriarch of Antioch) from the common charge of paganism in his student days, Zacharias tells a long story of the conversion to Christianity of an Aphrodisian youth called Paralios. Paralios has three brothers of whom one is a Christian and a monk living at Alexandria. The other two are pagans living at Aphrodisias—one a sophist, the other a 'scholasticus'—and the leading figure of their circle is our Asklepiodotos about whom, naturally, many scurrilous things are related. Paralios is sent to Alexandria for his early education (*grammatikē*) with strict orders to keep away from brother monk. He is, of course, soon converted, and writes back to his two pagan brothers at Aphrodisias to scold them about the silliness of all the sacrificing and pagan mumbo-jumbo they used to practise with Asklepiodotos. The comings and goings of Paralios, his active pagan youth and his conversion, revolve round his education, whether at Alexandria or Aphrodisias. His story illustrates the central role of the philosophical schools in the unspoken pagan contest with Christianity.

Whether or not our school is that of Asklepiodotos or whether he or any of his circle are represented, we cannot say. It is possible. The programme of portraits and the sumptuous décor would all suit a successful Neoplatonic school like his. On present evidence the tondi and busts seem earlier than the second half of the fifth century, but of this we can hardly be sure. The thoroughly committed pagan atmosphere of the complex and the fidelity of its owners to the city's goddess are well illustrated in a variety of ways—by the three small altars of black marble found in the north-east part of the excavation, by the large bust of a priest found in the atrium court, by the grand entrance from the temple terrace of the Sebasteion (whose temple was dedicated to Aphrodite as well as the Julio-Claudian emperors), and by the Aphrodite pediment from the large apse.¹²¹ Philosophers like Asklepiodotos, we saw, were zealous defenders of the old cults. There would, however, be little purpose in attaching particular names from the literary sources to our unnamed portraits. The texts may rather evoke for us the various categories of person involved in professional philosophy that we should imagine in portraits like these. For example, the Old

¹¹⁹ Damascius, *Epit.* 126. Other 'weak' philosophers have the same purpose: e.g. Damascius, *Epit.* 126—Hermeias, hard-worker but poor intellect.

¹²⁰ The text, extant only in a Syriac version, is translated in M.-A. Kugener, *Zacharie le Scholastique: Vie de Sévère (Patrologia Orientalia* II. 1, 1904; repr.

1980), with the relevant sections for what follows at pp. 14–44, esp 14–23 and 35–44. See also Robert, *Hellenica* IV, 120–6, with large excerpts. He is *PRLE* II Zacharias 4—originally from Gaza, later Bishop of Mytilene.

¹²¹ Priest bust: n. 8. Altars: n. 9.

Philosopher (No. 8) should help us to visualize a posthumous image of someone like Asklepiodotos. In the Sophist bust (No. 11) we might see someone like the elder Asklepiodotos, the philosophically-interested local magnate, and one could then imagine his son-in-law paired with him in a lifetime portrait in the other bust (No. 10), wearing only the philosopher's himation. A precocious son of Asklepiodotos or a brilliant brother of Paralios might be commemorated in a medallion like that of the Pupil (No. 9). In the draped Muse statue (Pl. V. 4)—a common female portrait conceit—we might picture someone like Asklepiodotos' wife Damiane.¹²² And so on. The whole complex would well suit the town mansion of such a person as either the elder Asklepiodotos—an intellectual grandee, host to the Platonic gatherings, lectures, and theurgical events of great sages like Asklepiodotos his son-in-law—or of the younger Asklepiodotos himself. Such a sprawling complex (it clearly extended well to both east and west: see Pl. IV), one could also imagine, might be easily shared by father, daughter, and philosopher husband.

Speculation aside, the literary evidence vividly evokes for us the social and intellectual ambiance of a major philosophical school at Aphrodisias during a period of tense co-existence and conflict between Platonists and Christians. This is the most likely context for our tondi and busts.

At some point the shield portraits were removed, broken up, and dumped, after which the building continued in use for a time. This is most easily understood in terms of the closing of the school, in a period of Christian ascendancy. The most likely time would be the mid to later sixth century, after Justinian had outlawed pagan professors (A.D. 529).¹²³ There were clearly Christians at Aphrodisias, like Paralios and his friends, who would be eager and ready to see this edict carried out. All the medallions and both busts had their heads deliberately knocked off. One portrait in particular, that of Alexander (No. 2), carries most interesting evidence of these events. Probably while the portrait was still *in situ*, someone chiselled a rough groove around its neck (Pl. IX. 3) either to cut its throat symbolically or (more likely) to facilitate its decapitation. The attempted beheading was abandoned probably because it was decided simply to remove the whole medallion, and the head broke off lower down the neck, no doubt when it was thrown into the dump. This jugular cut illustrates vividly the aggressive attitude of some Christians to the idols of the hellenic past: the philosophers and their icons were a powerful threat which had to be dealt with.

These new portraits provide a rare visual expression of the philosophical world of the fifth century A.D. They give us two extraordinary and quite different images of late antique thinkers—an exalted sage of the recent past (No. 9) and a contemporary intellectual (No. 11). These were combined in one display with portraits of great figures from the golden age of hellenic thought and culture. Some are versions of old portraits (No. 1), others fresh inventions (No. 2). It is striking that while classical types were still being copied in such a way that we can easily recognize them, their stylistic effect is in many ways so much closer to that of contemporary works than that of the prototypes. This had not been the case in the middle empire, when copies of classical portraits were generally treated without the sophisticated stylistic and technical effects of contemporary portraiture. In these elaborately worked marble images, a late pagan élite at Aphrodisias sought to connect itself directly to the spirit of the age of Pythagoras and Plato. The portraits lay claim to an unbroken tradition of eight hundred years, but the different vision that pervades even an ostensibly faithful reproduction of a classical portrait, like Pindar's, is for us a powerful expression of how much things had really changed.

Institute of Fine Arts, New York University

¹²² Above, n. 11: the statue almost certainly held a cithara. Cf. Damascius, *Epit.* 127, on Asklepiodotos' advanced musical interests, and *Epit.* 262, on the philosophical status of Isidore's wife. Female portraits as Muses: H. Wrede, *Consecratio in formam deorum: Vergöttlichte Privatpersonen in der römischen Kaiserzeit* (1981), 284–93. Muses were of course appropriate to a

philosophical setting: P. Boyancé, *Le culte des Muses chez les philosophes grecs* (1936, 1972), esp. 294–7, on Proclus' hymn to the Muses.

¹²³ See Alan Cameron (n. 2). For the archaeological evidence for the last occupation of the building, see above Part 1.