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***'CAPITA TRANSFORMATA: REWORKED PRIVATE ROMAN
PORTRAITS, FIRST THROUGH FOURTH CENTURIES AD'***

**A Thesis presented in partial fulfilment of the requirements for
the degree of Master of Arts in History at Massey University**

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INTRODUCTION

Long before the modern day interest in recycling, the Romans were reusing materials such as stone and precious and base metals in their art and architecture. In fact, any culture that produces art works from laboriously obtained or scarce materials is likely to reuse these elements. The extent of such recycling by the Romans is far-reaching and surprising, and reflects the entrenched practice of reuse in that society. Building material was commonly reused, ranging from architectural elements and sculpture to create the aggregate required for concrete, to decorative marbles to be reinstalled in a new context.¹ Honorific inscriptions carved on marble could be turned and reused for other purposes.² In clever and very practical examples of sleights-of-carving, old or disused architectural elements were transformed even into likenesses of a given subject.³ Statues could be reused by replacing the original head with that of someone else, sometimes with amusing and incongruous results.⁴ Funerary inscriptions and altars could be reused by having the inscriptions recarved.⁵ Architectural reliefs were also recycled, by having the portrait features reworked.⁶

¹ For the reuse of building material, see Kinney 1997, 122-129. The most well known example of re-employed marble ornamentation is the Arch of Constantine in Rome: see most recently, Elsner 2000, with earlier literature. Reused material was also employed in the construction of mosaics. Existing evidence also suggests that mosaicists salvaged and recycled material from redundant pavements. Examples have been found both of mortar beddings from which *tesserae* (cubes of stone, glass, or terracotta used in the making of a mosaic) have been systematically removed and of reused *tesserae* with traces of old mortar adhering to them: Ling 1998, 13.

² A case in point is an inscribed piece of marble in the University Museum in Philadelphia with an honorific dedication to Domitian from AD 95/6 on one side. Following the death of Domitian, the marble was turned and reused in the Trajanic period by being carved with a scene depicting members of the praetorian guard, soldiers who were employed as the emperor's personal bodyguard: see most recently, Flower 2001, with earlier literature.

³ A column fragment in the Mariemont Museum, for example, was refashioned into the portrait of a lady: Lévêque and Donnay 1967, 78-79, no. G33. A similar example is a portrait of a Flavian man from Egypt, now in the Princeton University Art Gallery, that was carved from a Corinthian *anta* capital: Antonaccio 1992, and below, 84. A portrait of a Constantinian man from Cyrenaica was carved out of an architrave block: Rosenbaum 1960, 122-123, no. 282.

⁴ See, for example, a draped female statue from the first century AD in Cyrene, which had the head replaced with a portrait of the emperor Marcus Aurelius: Catani 1996, 42-43. The replacement of the head of a statue with that of someone else is mentioned by Pliny the Elder, *NH* 35.4. See also Isager 1998, 115.

⁵ For the reuse of funerary inscriptions and reliefs, see below, 83-84. For the reuse of altars: Andreae 1994, 36-37, pls. 408-409; Kinney 1997, 118, note 6.

⁶ For example, the Cancelleria Relief in the Vatican depicting the *profectio* of Domitian had the features of this emperor recut to represent those of his successor, Nerva. See most recently, Meyer

Because of their value as a precious material, even cameos could be reused by having the portraits on them reworked to depict new subjects.⁷

Portraits in the round were also subject to reuse. Naturally, images made from bronze, silver, and gold could simply be melted down and reused. This explains the small number of extant works that have been executed in these materials.⁸ Even portraits made from marble could be reused. The Roman sculptor faced significant technical difficulties when reworking a marble image of one individual into the likeness of another. The reworking of a marble image into another likeness was severely limited by the form of the previous portrait. Because of the restrictions involved in reworking a marble image, there are several visual clues that may indicate that a portrait has been recut. Reworked portraits often co-opt physiognomical traits, traces of coiffure, or other elements from the earlier image. The drilling of the pupils and the incising of the irises may also indicate that a portrait was reworked, if this was not practiced during the time when the image was originally produced.⁹ The addition of a specific hairstyle or beard may also indicate a reworking, if these features were not stylistic elements of the period in which the portrait was originally created. Conflicting stylistic features between the head and the bust or body can also provide important visual clues for reworking. In the cases where the head was carved separately to be inserted into a body, an inserted head

2000, 124-136, with earlier literature at 125, note 396. 'Reworking' is defined in this thesis as the recarving of the hair and/or facial features of a marble portrait to represent a different subject.

⁷ See Megow 1987; more recently, see Sande 2001. This phenomenon, however, appears to have been almost exclusively limited to cameos depicting imperial subjects.

⁸ It is important to note that what exists today is not an accurate reflection of what existed in antiquity. A silver portrait of the emperor Lucius Verus in Turin, and a gold image of Marcus Aurelius in Switzerland, for example, represent two cases of the few portraits surviving today in precious metal. For the silver bust of Lucius Verus, see Wegner 1939, 248, pl. 41. For the gold bust of Marcus Aurelius, see Jucker and Willers 1982, 141-143, no. 58.

⁹ This innovation did not appear in any marble sculpture until AD 130, during the time of Hadrian: Wegner 1956, 10; Fittschen 1999, 18, note 135; Stročka 2000, 136. Before this time, the details of the eyes were painted directly onto the smooth stone: see Bonanno 1976, 32-33; Henig 1983, 88; Kleiner 1992, 238; Ramage and Ramage 1996, 95, 198; Ling 2000, 165. In addition to the eyes, the hair and drapery of portraits and statues were also painted in antiquity, to make such sculpture look more realistic. The paint on the majority of ancient sculpture has worn off, but some pieces still preserve traces in areas such as the crevices of the hair or drapery: see Reuterswärd 1960; Ramage and Ramage 1996, 95; Bartman 2001, 7.

could be easily replaced with a new one. However, in the cases where the head was carved in one piece with the bust or body, the head could be reworked while the rest was left in its original form. These remaining conflicting stylistic features, whereby a bust or statue body in the style of an earlier period was combined with a portrait head in a style from a later period, are important visual clues for indicating a reworking, as well as the date of the original carving.

Recent scholarship on recut portraits has largely focused on the reworking of the images of imperial personages, predominantly as a result of official or *de facto* cases of *damnatio memoriae* in the wake of an emperor's fall from grace.¹⁰ Such an emphasis reflects a broader tendency among scholars studying Roman portraiture to concentrate upon the extant portraits of famous persons, especially members of the imperial family.¹¹ Studies of private portraiture are much rarer,¹² and they have often made clear why private portraits have been of less interest to scholars.¹³ First, because of difficulties in identifying these images, since the archaeological context of many of these portraits has been lost and rich biographies like those of famous people cannot be attached to them; and secondly, because of a lack of originality, since private portraits largely follow the style and conventions of contemporary

¹⁰ For reworked imperial portraiture, see most notably: Bergmann and Zanker 1981; Jucker 1981 (a); Jucker 1983; Pollini 1984; Pekáry 1985, 29-41, 134-142; Varner 1993; Born and Stemmer 1996, 101-118; Stewart 1999; Schäfer 1999; Varner 2000; Meyer 2000; Galinsky, forthcoming 2003; Varner, forthcoming 2003 (a); Varner, forthcoming 2003 (b).

It is important to note that the term *damnatio memoriae* is a modern coinage, used to refer to the wide range of penalties employed in ancient Rome against the memories of dead enemies of the state. There was no collective term referring to *damnatio memoriae* in antiquity, only a range of penalties for repressing the memories of public enemies: Flower 1998, 155-156; Hedrick 2000, 93. For a general discussion of how the Roman state attempted to purge the memory of those who were condemned as its enemies, see Hedrick 2000, 89-130.

¹¹ This bias is reflected, for example, by a perusal of the titles of the well-known and distinguished series in the field of Roman portraiture, the *Römische Herrscherbild* series of the German Archaeological Institute, some of which clearly reflect the focus on the portraits of a single emperor or an entire imperial dynasty: Wegner 1956; Wiggers and Wegner 1971; L'Orange and Wegner 1984; Boschung 1989; Boschung 1993.

¹² For example, Daltrop 1958, who sought to establish the chronological sequence and absolute dating of private images from the Trajanic and Hadrianic periods, based on the securely dated imperial portraits.

¹³ On the private Roman portrait, see most recently, Fejfer 1999.

images of prominent personages.¹⁴ Many extant Roman portraits, however, fall into the category of private portraiture, and depict non-imperial subjects who cannot usually be identified. These works could populate public spaces but were predominantly displayed in the home and in the tomb of the subject for the purpose of representing, retaining, and commemorating visually the subject as an individual.¹⁵ As Patricia Erhart has written, ‘private portraits are either identified by inscription, or they are not identifiable, be they patrician or plebeian, freedman or slave.’¹⁶

Admittedly, the loss of identity, documentary evidence, and contextual material makes private portraits less accessible for study. The study of private Roman portraiture, however, has much to offer the modern researcher. One issue that has not received the attention it merits is the reworking of sculpted portraits depicting unknown subjects. This phenomenon was by no means limited to imperial images, and impacted many of the portraits of anonymous subjects that have survived from antiquity. However, although individual pieces have been discussed, a detailed, collective study that considers the reworked portraits of private male and female Roman subjects has not been undertaken. This thesis is such a study of reworked marble portraits in the round of private male and female individuals in the Roman imperial period, that is, from the beginning of the first century AD, through to the death of Constantine in AD 337.¹⁷

The study is divided into three chapters. Chapter One is primarily art historical in nature, in that it discusses the stylistic and technical elements that indicate that

¹⁴ On this matter, see Zanker 1982, who analyses the phenomenon of *Zeitgesicht* (‘the face of an age’). This was the attempt by private subjects to emulate the official imperial style in their sculpted portraits, by more or less copying the hairstyles and physiognomic traits of the portraits of members belonging to the imperial household. On *Zeitgesicht*, see further, Balty 1993, 13-14; La Regina 1998, 29. However, see also Bonanno 1988, who emphasises that there were also times when *private* portraiture introduced new fashions and styles which were then taken up in official portraiture.

¹⁵ Fejfer 1999, 139.

¹⁶ Erhart, Frel, Morgan, and Nodelman 1980, 9.

¹⁷ For a chronological list of the historical periods and members of the imperial family mentioned in this thesis, see Appendix One.

private portraits were recut, as well as the types and extent of this transformation of these images during the Roman imperial period.¹⁸ Since the Roman sculptor could take several approaches to the recycling of a marble portrait, the first two parts of Chapter One discuss the portraits according to the extent to which these images were reworked. The first part discusses images that were thoroughly or 'drastically' reworked. The second part of Chapter One examines private portraits that were more moderately reworked. The third part of Chapter One discusses the evidence for the reworking of imperial portraits into private likenesses. The fourth part of Chapter One discusses the conclusions that can be reached regarding the types and extent of the reworking of the images discussed in the first two parts.

Chapter Two critically reinterprets a number of private female portraits whose coiffures were supposedly updated through reworking, whereby part of the hair was chiselled away and a new portion added, to bring the hairstyle up-to-date. Attempts in recent years to find examples of female images that have been altered in this way have often been over-enthusiastic and cite a desire on the part of Roman women to update their hairstyles in response to changing hair fashions as the main reason for these supposed later modifications. Admittedly, there are a few, seemingly anomalous, cases of private female portraits whose coiffures were indeed updated through recutting. In this author's opinion, however, it can certainly be questioned whether other supposedly 'updated' images represent cases of reworking. This thesis argues that many of these images are more likely to be cases of piecing (assembling the portrait with pieces of marble carved separately and put together using dowels or adhesive) or that their appearances are related to technical reasons besides reworking.

¹⁸ For practical reasons, the discussion in this thesis will be limited to sculpted private portraits refashioned from other sculpted private images, and not private portraits reworked from architectural elements. Because of time constraints and the lack of first-hand examination by this author of the images discussed in this work, this thesis does not attempt to provide an exhaustive discussion of reworked private portraits. The images in this thesis have been selected on the basis of providing the clearest evidence of reworking, as well as their greater accessibility for photographic study than other recut portraits. This selection process does not in any way alter the conclusions that have been reached in this thesis from the study of such portraits.

The discussion of such portraits will not be exhaustive. Instead, the female portraits discussed in Chapter Two are representative of a number of other images whose coiffures were supposedly modernised through recutting, but which remain dubious cases similarly in need of a fresh, more critical reinterpretation. The aim of the reexamination of the female images in this chapter is to cast doubt on the modern idea that Roman women followed fashions in hair so closely that they often commissioned the updating of the coiffures on their marble images. In the light of this reevaluation, explanations as to why much fewer private female portraits appear to have been reworked in this way will be advanced.

Chapter Three examines the reworking of private Roman portraiture from a historical and contextual perspective. This chapter firstly examines the reasons for the reworking of private portraiture, which are different from those for the reworking of imperial images. The availability of imperial images for reuse primarily resulted from political causes, most notably *damnatio memoriae*, whereby any trace of the memory of a condemned emperor was eliminated through the removal, destruction, or reworking of his portraits into the likenesses of his successors or revered predecessors.¹⁹ Although portraits of private Roman citizens were also recut to depict new identities, the central motivation behind such transformations was different. It will be argued that the reworking of private portraits was partly the result of a surplus of sculpture, and that such transformations were also facilitated by the fact that much of this sculpture must have depicted unknown or forgotten subjects. Central to this thesis, however, is the contention that a clear relationship exists between the frequency of reworking of private portraits and the level of economic prosperity, in that these images were mainly reworked as the result of a lack of money and materials.

¹⁹ For *damnatio memoriae* and Roman imperial portraits, see above, 3, note 10.

Secondly, Chapter Three examines the intriguing question relating to the context from which portraits destined for reworking were utilised. It is unfortunate that we do not know the contexts in which the vast majority of extant portraits were originally displayed: being movable, statuary tends to migrate from its original setting.²⁰ Nevertheless, the extended span of time between the original carving and the later reworking and the fine state of preservation of many reworked portraits suggest that these images were stored in safe, yet ultimately accessible, locations, which allowed their reuse at a later date. This thesis will argue that cemeteries, houses, and villas would have provided the main supply of marble portraits that were reworked at a later time.

²⁰ Bartman 1991, 72.

CHAPTER ONE: REWORKED MALE AND FEMALE PORTRAITS

This chapter discusses from a technical point-of-view a number of sculpted images depicting private Roman subjects that were reworked during the imperial period. The chapter is divided into four parts. It firstly discusses private images that were extensively reworked. Such images can be described as extensively altered portraits because the reworking involved the extensive transformation of most of the features of the earlier image, or even a change in gender. The second part of Chapter One discusses private images that received a more partial or moderate reworking. The faces of these portraits were not completely reworked, and no change in gender was involved. Such images commonly retain much of the style of the original portrait, combined with elements from a later period. The third part of Chapter One discusses several imperial portraits that appear to have been reworked into private likenesses. The fourth part of Chapter One discusses the conclusions that can be reached from the study of the reworked private images discussed in the first three parts.

Extensively Reworked Portraits

The most drastic kind of sculptural transformation involved the treatment of the original image simply as a scrap piece of marble, whereby the sculptor fashioned a completely new likeness, independent of the appearance and style of the original portrait. Such reworked images could also involve a change in the orientation of the derivative image. Two portraits, in Princeton and Turin, are good examples of this kind of transformation. The first head, in the Princeton University Art Museum (**no. 1, figs. 1-3**), was recut from an older portrait, whose right eye, mouth, and residue of the nose are discernible at the back.²¹ The shape of the base of the neck suggests that it was inserted into a separate body, with the original face likely used as a tenon matching a mortise in the body. This is confirmed by the deep hole in the chin of the

²¹ Varner 2000, 220-223; Padgett 2001, 11-14, no. 3. The *left* and *right* of the portraits discussed in

face beneath the lower lip for the metal pin that secured the later head within the statue.²² It seems likely that the earlier head wore a helmet or crown, which provided ample material for recarving.²³ The gender of the earlier head is unknown, but it is likely that it depicted a female subject. It is possible that the head could have originally depicted an Athena or Minerva wearing her helmet far up on her head, or, if the head comes from Egypt, an image with a wig or crown.²⁴ The exact identification or dating of the earlier portrait, however, is not possible.

The facial features of the new portrait are weathered, but the physiognomy is idealised, and the hair is centrally parted over the forehead, brushed behind the ears in waves, and gathered into a ponytail at the nape of the neck. The hair on the top and back of the head is summarily treated, and because of an insufficient amount of marble, the woman lacks a realistic occiput. A private image from the Tiberian period in the Capitoline Museum is similar to the Princeton portrait in the parted, wavy hairstyle tied in the back, the smooth cheeks, the large shallow eyes, the long thin lips, the small forehead covered with hair, and the partial covering of the ears (fig. 4).²⁵ It thus seems likely that the Princeton portrait can also be dated to the Tiberian period.²⁶ The provenance of the Princeton head is unknown. However, considering the radical nature of the reworking of the head compared to other similarly reused heads with secure Egyptian origins, it is possible that the portrait originated from Egypt and that the reworking reflects a drastic response to the shortage of marble in this region.²⁷

this thesis refer to the proper *left* and *right* of each image.

²² Padgett 2001, 12. This is also suggested by the good condition of the earlier head, which is much better than that of the eroded later image.

²³ *Ibid.*

²⁴ Padgett 2001, 13-14. For an example of a helmeted image of Athena, see Ridgway 1994, 53-56, no. 15. For an example of a head with a wig or crown, see Meyer 2000, 65, figs. 126-127. Varner 2000, 220, also suggested that the head originally depicted a helmeted deity, such as Minerva or Mars.

²⁵ Padgett 2001, 14.

²⁶ *Ibid.*

²⁷ On the shortage of marble in Egypt and North Africa, and the various responses to this shortage, see, for example, Graindor 1936, 26; Rosenbaum 1960, 5-6; Ingholt 1963, 126; Strocka 1967, 122; Kyrieleis 1975, 130-136; Anderson and Nista 1988, 70; Claridge 1988, 139-140; Smith 1991, 206;

The second portrait, that of a bearded, middle-aged man in Turin (**no. 2, figs. 5-7**),²⁸ was reworked in a similar way to the Princeton head, in that a completely new likeness was sculpted from a preexisting image, which involved a complete change in the orientation of the second portrait. From the original portrait, the left ear at the back of the head is clearly visible. On the basis of the traces of hair and beard on the neck, it has been assumed that the portrait was refashioned from a bearded portrait dating to the Antonine period.²⁹ The portrait in its second form has been dated to the Gallienic period, based on its similarities to private images from this period in the treatment of the facial features and beard.³⁰

The portrait in its present form is below life-size,³¹ whereas the original image was life-size.³² It is likely that the refashioning of this smaller image from a life-size portrait would have been attractive in terms of the optimum volume of marble that would have been available to the sculptor for creating a viable second likeness. A vertical line behind the ears divides the roughly worked surface of the original portrait from the engraved hair. Rough chisel-marks at the back of the head clearly show where the later sculptor summarily removed parts of the original portrait's hair.

An alternative approach to the reworking of a marble portrait, shown by images in Rome, Copenhagen, and Tunis, involved no change in the orientation of the secondary likeness. However, such portraits still received an extensive reworking of virtually every feature of the previous image. Moreover, in each case, stylistic discrepancies between the head and the statue body or bust provides further evidence that the portraits were reworked. The first example is a bust in the Palazzo dei Conservatori (**no. 3, figs. 8-11**) that was reworked in the Severan period from a Hadrianic work.³³ The bust depicts a young girl with a plump, round face, and a

Antonaccio 1992, 444; Goette 1997, 44, note 20, with further references.

²⁸ Wataghin 1988, 232; Liverani 1990-1991, 167; Boschung 1993, 78, note 370.

²⁹ Wataghin 1988, 232, note 18; Liverani 1990-1991, 167.

³⁰ Wataghin 1988, 234-235.

³¹ Height (total): 23.5 cm. Height (head): 19.5 cm.

³² Wataghin 1988, 232, note 18.

³³ Fittschen and Zanker 1983, 103-104, no. 152; Goette 1989, 461; Goette 1990, 66, 82, 149.

large, thick-lipped mouth slightly turned down at the corners, which gives the subject a sad expression. The coiffure is similar to the 'melon hairstyle' first introduced by the empress Plautilla, wife of Caracalla, which was worn by many girls and young women in the Severan period (figs. 12-13). The hair is centrally parted. Thick horizontal plaits of hair cover the top and sides of the head, and are gathered into a bun at the nape of the neck, giving the coiffure the ridged effect of a melon, for which it is named.³⁴ The bun on the back of the head forms a relatively long, leaf-like shape. On the basis of this hairstyle, the portrait in its reworked form may be dated to the first decade of the third century AD.³⁵

However, as Fittschen and Goette have shown, such a dating conflicts with the form of the bust, which is similar to examples from the Hadrianic period. The draping of the toga is especially close to a bust in the Palazzo dei Conservatori (fig. 14) and two busts in the Museo Chiaramonti (figs. 15-16).³⁶ Thus, one is faced with two possibilities. If it is assumed that the portrait as preserved is the original creation, the first possibility is that early forms of the skull-plait hairstyle were already worn during the Hadrianic period; or, secondly, that Hadrianic bust forms were imitated at the beginning of the third century AD. Given the lack of evidence for either of these possibilities, it seems most likely that the girl-portrait was reworked from a Hadrianic male image at the beginning of the third century AD.³⁷ There are additional indications of this: firstly, the right ear (fig. 11) appears as if uncompleted and is also much larger than the left; and secondly, around both ears there are empty, untouched surfaces, which indicate that the reworking was not completed.³⁸

The second case is that of a statue in Copenhagen (**no. 4, figs. 17-21**), which depicts an unknown woman in the guise of the goddess Ceres. The portrait appears to have

³⁴ Hill 1964, 8.

³⁵ Fittschen and Zanker 1983, 103.

³⁶ *Ibid.* Fittschen also noted how the careful execution and smoothing of the rear of the bust of the girl fit well into the Hadrianic period.

³⁷ Fittschen and Zanker 1983, 103.

³⁸ *Ibid.*

been reworked significantly later than the date of the original.³⁹ The statue is an example of 'theomorphic' portraits, that is, statues that combine a realistic rendition of the subject's head, but with the body of a deity or hero.⁴⁰ The majority of these 'theomorphic' images were produced in the second century AD, after which they declined in frequency in inverse proportion to the rise of mythological sarcophagi.⁴¹ The Copenhagen body is a copy of a statue type that has been connected to the goddess Ceres. There are twenty-four preserved portrait statues in this 'Ceres' type, the vast majority of which date to the second century AD.⁴²

The body and head have been dated to the time of Trajan or Hadrian, in the second century AD.⁴³ The stylistic features of the statue, for example, are especially similar to a full-length image of the empress Sabina in Ostia from this period (fig. 22). The style of the head, however, is very different, because it was extensively reworked in the fourth century AD. The face and the hair over the forehead were recarved.⁴⁴ The ten long fluted tongues framing the forehead and temples below a high, broad circular plait form a hairstyle that is first evident in portraits from the early fourth century AD, and which continued in images of Constantine's mother, Helena. The eyebrows were engraved and the eyes were deeply recut, thus, acquiring the stony, gazing appearance typical of much fourth-century AD portraiture.⁴⁵ The only feature from the original portrait can be seen in front of the right ear, where remnants of a lock of hair which hung down are extant.⁴⁶ The reworking has resulted in a strong contrast between the stiff rendering of the face and hair, compared to the smoothed out forms of the body.⁴⁷

³⁹ F. Poulsen 1951, 386-387, no. 552; Richter 1955, 39; V. Poulsen 1974, 204-205, no. 211; Kruse 1975, 241-242, no. A15; Wrede 1981, 218-219, no. 75; Fittschen and Zanker 1983, 65, note 5; Johansen 1995 (b), 196-199, no. 87; Kinney 1997, 139; Lenaghan 1999, 530-531, no. 270.

⁴⁰ Kinney 1997, 137.

⁴¹ Kinney 1997, 138-139.

⁴² Lenaghan 1999, 205. For a full treatment of the 'Ceres' statue type, see Lenaghan 1999, 204-217.

⁴³ Richter 1955, 39; V. Poulsen 1974, 204; Kruse 1975, 242; Wrede 1981, 219; Johansen 1995 (b), 196; Kinney 1997, 139; Lenaghan 1999, 530-531, no. 270.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*

⁴⁵ F. Poulsen 1951, 387.

⁴⁶ V. Poulsen 1974, 205; Kruse 1975, 241.

⁴⁷ Kruse 1975, 241.

The third example of an extensively reworked portrait is that of a statue of a man in Tunis (no. 5, figs. 23-25), the head of which appears to have been reworked from an earlier likeness. A lion's skin is pulled over the head of the subject, while the paws are knotted across the chest and around the hips. His dog sits on the support beside the man's right leg. The great disparity in style between the body and the head suggests that the sculpture was reused.⁴⁸ The statue is stele-shaped and has very limited depth, like a relief figure. The rendering of the folds using drilled ornamental lines is very similar to the depiction of the figures on the reliefs from the attic of the Arch of Septimius Severus at Leptis Magna (fig. 26), which has been dated to the early third century AD.⁴⁹ The very realistic head, however, stands in direct contrast to the style of the body: the hard, expressive face, prominent naso-labial lines and forehead creases, as well as the short coiffure and beard, allow a dating of the portrait to the time of the emperor Trajan Decius in the mid third century AD (compare fig. 27).⁵⁰ On the basis of these stylistic differences, it seems possible that the statue was originally carved in the early third century AD, while the head was subsequently reworked some fifty years later. Because the statue appears to have breasts, it seems possible that the sculpture originally depicted a female subject as Omphale, and that the portrait was reworked to depict that of a mid third century AD male as Herakles. A further indication that the portrait may have been reworked is the projecting ears that are only flatly worked out in front of the background.⁵¹ Such a feature is very similar, for example, to a portrait of Claudius that was reworked from an image of Caligula (fig. 28). The portrait retained the hairstyle of Caligula, but the newly fashioned, and thus, deeper laid, physiognomy of Claudius resulted in the peculiar position of the ears.⁵²

⁴⁸ Heintze 1990, 154; Bol 1999, 283-284.

⁴⁹ Heintze 1990, 154; Bol 1999, 284.

⁵⁰ Bol 1999, 284.

⁵¹ Bol 1999, 284.

⁵² *Ibid.* For the reworked portrait of Caligula, see Fittschen and Zanker 1985, 16, no. 15; Boschung 1989, 120, no. 50.

Another approach to the extensive transformation of a sculpted private portrait involved the thorough reworking of the face to represent that of a new subject, often of the opposite gender, while preserving only one or more significant elements from the original likeness. Four such portraits are examined here. The portrait of a man in Berlin (**no. 6, figs. 29-30**) appears to have been transformed from an earlier, female, head.⁵³ The reworking of the head is confirmed by the two different styles evident in the portrait. The hairstyle of the portrait is similar to female images from the Flavian period. The drilled toupet of curls which forms a halo over the temples and the forehead is similar, for example, to the hairstyle of a portrait of Domitia Longina, consort of the emperor Domitian, in Leningrad (fig. 31). This image of Domitia has been dated to the years between AD 70 and AD 81,⁵⁴ which makes a date around this period likely for the original carving of the portrait in Berlin.⁵⁵ The reuse of a female head is also confirmed by the fact that the plait of hair on the nape of the neck was chiselled off, as is shown by the uneven surface in this area (fig. 30).⁵⁶ The small gap between the surface of the forehead and the roots of the hair indicates that the second sculptor removed a layer of marble here as a way of increasing, by one to two centimetres, the height of the forehead.⁵⁷ In addition, corners were engraved into the former semi-circular contour of the toupee running around the forehead, so that the forehead is now almost squarely framed.⁵⁸

Although the Berlin head preserves the halo of hair from the earlier female likeness, the facial features were thoroughly reworked to represent a male subject. The projecting cheekbones and lean face, the small sideburns, the form of the mouth with the deeply carved flesh around it, the deep, horizontal furrows lining the forehead, and the pronounced Adam's apple are features which are inexplicable in Flavian

⁵³ Pandermalis 1972, 116-118; Kiss 1975 (b), 267-270; Trillmich 1982, 297-300; Heres et al. 1990, 136-137, no. 49; Kunze 1992, 207, no. 97; Cain 1993, 126-127, no. 8.

⁵⁴ Varner 1995, 187, 189-190.

⁵⁵ Pandermalis 1972, 117.

⁵⁶ Cain 1993, 127.

⁵⁷ Pandermalis 1972, 116-118; Cain 1993, 127.

⁵⁸ Cain 1993, 127.

female images.⁵⁹ These features suggest that the reworking of the portrait took place around AD 96-98, in the time of Nerva (fig. 32).⁶⁰ The full, fleshy features of the woman would have been easily recut into the much leaner features of the man. In addition, the large noses of many Flavian women would have been relatively easily reworked into the hooked nose of a male subject, a feature that was typical of portraits from the period of Nerva. The portrait originates from Egypt. It is likely that the unusual reworking of a portrait of a woman was necessitated by the lack of a native marble supply in this country.⁶¹

A similar case to the Berlin head is that of a portrait of an elderly man, formerly on the Roman Art Market, but now lost (**no. 7, figs. 33-35**). The image was recycled from a much earlier portrait of a woman.⁶² As in the case of the previous head in Berlin, the Art Market portrait retains a prominent element from the hairstyle of the earlier image in the form of a braided wreath at the back of the head. However, the face was again thoroughly reworked to depict a male subject. The man is depicted with a short, sparse beard and moustache, and hollow cheeks. The eyes are large with deeply-drilled circular pupils and irises which are incised as three-quarters of a circle. The unusual wreath on the back of the head is formed by a thin plait wound around itself several times, where the hair is braided, forming many small triangular shapes that differ markedly from the rest of the hairstyle. An identical hair-wreath can be found on the portraits of women from the Trajanic period, especially those of Matidia, the niece of the emperor Trajan, daughter of Marciana, and mother of Sabina. The single portrait type created for Matidia depicts her with a long, thin face framed by a gable of hair across the forehead finishing in front of each ear with two small, curly locks of hair. Above this rises a semicircular toupet of hair in two levels.

⁵⁹ Pandermalis 1972, 116-118.

⁶⁰ Pandermalis 1972, 117-118. For the portraits of Nerva, see Bergmann and Zanker 1981, 380-388.

⁶¹ On the lack of marble in Egypt, see above, 9, note 27.

⁶² Blanck 1963, 156-158; Blanck 1969, 53-54; Kiss 1975 (b), 268; Rilliet-Maillard 1978, 76, note 3; Kinney 1997, 118; Freyer-Schauenburg 1999, 169, note 12; Matheson 2000, 77.

The remainder of the hair is braided into a large wreath on the back of the head (figs. 36-37).⁶³

When seen from the front, it is clear that the hair on the top of the Art Market head forms two raised sections, of which the upper one is not quite as long as the forehead, while the lower one reaches to the middle of the temples.⁶⁴ Presumably, these terraced levels were a result of the reworking, when the tiered hairstyle of the original portrait was removed. Thus, it appears that the Art Market portrait was reworked from a female portrait similar to those of Matidia, but that the wreath on the back of the head was not altered, because it was presumably of some importance: perhaps it was meant to portray the wreath of a priest.⁶⁵ The reworking probably occurred in the last quarter of the third century because of the similarity of the facial features and beard to certain images from this period.⁶⁶

The third example, a portrait of a woman in Copenhagen (**no. 8, figs. 38-41**), was reworked from a likeness of the emperor Hadrian's Bithynian friend, Antinous.⁶⁷ After having drowned in the Nile in AD 130, the youth was deeply mourned by Hadrian, who, in his honour, founded a new city, Antinoöpolis, had his lover deified, and instituted the cult of Antinous. As a result, between AD 130 and Hadrian's death in AD 138, a series of portraits of Antinous were commissioned to be used in his cult.⁶⁸

The portrait depicts the woman with a veil over the crown of the head. The hairstyle, parted in the middle, framing the forehead in a gable-like fashion and covering the temples and ears in fine strands, can be dated to the early Severan period, around AD

⁶³ On Matidia's portraits, see Wegner 1956, 80-83, 123-125.

⁶⁴ Blanck 1969, 54.

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*

⁶⁶ Blanck 1963, 156-157.

⁶⁷ Strocka 1967, 136, no. 10; V. Poulsen 1974, 205-207, no. 212; Rilliet-Maillard 1978, 76, note 6; Bergmann 1981, 189; Fittschen and Zanker 1985, 60, note 11; Meyer 1991, 49-50, no. I 27; Fittschen 1992, 238-239; Johansen 1995 (b), 200-201, no. 88.

⁶⁸ La Regina 1998, 97.

200.⁶⁹ The hairstyle at the back of the head is completely different: the thick, curly hair is characteristic of the portraits of Antinous (fig. 42). Moreover, a narrow horizontal hair-band stops incongruously exactly at the point where the woman's hairstyle begins. Thus, it is clear that a portrait of Hadrian's young lover Antinous from the Hadrianic period (between AD 130 and 138) was recut into the likeness of a private Severan woman. The face, the hair over the forehead, and the veil belong to the recarved section.⁷⁰ The reworking was probably facilitated by the fact that since the death of Hadrian, Antinous was no longer regarded as being important. It has been suggested that the original portrait may have been a commission that was no longer required following the death of Hadrian.⁷¹

A fourth portrait of a woman in Aquileia (no. 9, fig. 43) also received extensive reworking, but was never completed,⁷² providing an important visual document, a 'snapshot', for the sculptor at work. The head can be dated to the late republic or early first century AD.⁷³ The style of the coiffure is similar, for example, to the hairstyle of a late republican woman in Princeton (fig. 44). The fact that the Aquileia image represents an incomplete reworking, rather than an unfinished work, is confirmed by several details. Features like the bun of hair at the back of the head and especially the ears, which are here finished, are elements that one would expect to have been completed last because of their protrusion and thus vulnerability to damage. The hair from the original portrait is also preserved in the form of incised lines, but the later sculptor removed some marble from the top of the head at the front. It is very likely that the sculptor removed the *nodus* that was originally on top of the head (compare fig. 44). The *nodus* was the prominent roll of hair over the forehead on the portraits of women from the late republic and early first century

⁶⁹ Bergmann 1981, 189; Meyer 1991, 49-50; Fittschen 1992, 238; Johansen 1995 (b), 200.

⁷⁰ Fittschen 1992, 238.

⁷¹ Bergmann 1981, 189. Further reworked private portraits involving a change in gender from male to female include the head of a third century AD girl with a skull braid in the Ashmolean Museum in Oxford: Claridge, forthcoming 2003; and the head of a girl from the early third century AD in the Villa Albani: Bol 1989, 156-158, no. 44.

⁷² Scrinari 1972, 89, no. 265; Claridge, forthcoming 2003.

⁷³ Scrinari 1972, 89.

AD.⁷⁴ It is possible that the sculptor's intention was to replace the *nodus* with a centrally-parted hairstyle, as seen on an image of Antonia Minor in Copenhagen (fig. 45), a style that became popular during the Tiberian and Claudian periods.⁷⁵ Thus, despite the incomplete reworking, one could suggest that the reworking of the head occurred during this period. The sculptor also clearly started to rework the face with a chisel, but for some reason this remained unfinished.

We have seen that the four portraits in Berlin and Copenhagen, the head formerly on the Roman Art Market, and the image in Aquileia, have in common the fact that the faces were extensively reworked. With the exception of the fourth head in Aquileia, the reworking of these images also involved a change in gender, at the same time retaining elements of the former hairstyle. The Berlin head preserves the crown of drilled hair from the original Flavian likeness, while the Art Market portrait retains the wreath of hair from the former Trajanic image. In a similar way, the Copenhagen image retains the curly hair of Antinous at the back of the head.

Another method of sculptural transformation involved the opposite process, whereby the *face* was left in its original form, while the *hair* was altered. The portrait of a youthful male in Brescia (no. 10, figs. 46-47) is an example of such a transformation. The image, which was originally produced during the Tiberian or Claudian period, was recut into the likeness of a young man during the time of Gallienus.⁷⁶ Although, compared to the preceding examples, many features of the portrait were not reworked, it should be considered a 'drastically' reworked image because of the fact that a change in gender was involved. Frederik Poulsen first recognised that the expression of the head is feminine, that the knot at the nape of the neck was chiselled

⁷⁴ The *nodus* hairstyle was introduced by Octavia (fourth wife of Antony) in about 40 BC, and was subsequently worn by Livia, wife of the emperor Augustus, and her daughter, Julia: Bartman 1999, 36-39. For the sculpted portraits of Octavia and Julia, see Bartman 1999, 213-217; Wood 1999, 51-63, 70-74. For the portraits of Livia, see most recently, Bartman 1999; Winkes 2000.

⁷⁵ An image of Livia in Volterra also had the *nodus* chiselled off, perhaps in the Claudian period, to conform to the style of her later portrait type: see Bartman 1999, 22, 160, no. 34.

⁷⁶ F. Poulsen 1928, 31; Blanck 1963, 158; Blanck 1969, 49-50; Matheson 2000, 77.

off and that the curls on the forehead were changed.⁷⁷ Traces of the woman's coiffure, parted in the centre, still frame the face, and originally formed a ring of curls around the forehead and temples, as we know was common during the early to middle first century AD. The locks were modified by the chiselling off of the ends. The hairstyle of the recut version, which is composed of long, loose, and deeply undercut locks, places it in the period of the emperor Gallienus (compare figs. 48-49).⁷⁸ The drilling of the pupils and incising of the irises also occurred during the reworking, because this fashion was not practiced until Hadrian's reign.⁷⁹

In the case of each preceding recut head, with the exception of the portrait in Brescia, the transformation involved the reworking of the facial features. Another option available to the sculptor was the *complete removal* of the original face and the attachment of a new likeness. Although such a method was very different in terms of technique to that of recarved faces, the end result was very similar: a totally new likeness. A case in point is the portrait of a man in the Musée Municipal in Château-Gontier (**no. 11, figs. 50-52**). The image appears to have been reworked in the mid-third century AD from an earlier head of unknown date.⁸⁰ The original face was removed and a new one, with a section of the hair over the forehead, was attached, as if it were a mask.⁸¹ The hairs of the close-cropped coiffure are etched into the skull in short strokes. Traces of a hairline extending down the sides of the original part of the face suggest the original existence of a full beard. By contrast, on the chin of the newly attached face, there is only a fine growth of hair, which does not correspond to the execution of the hair on the original part of the face. Linfert has suggested that an originally bearded portrait was supplied with a new face which had a lighter beard.⁸²

⁷⁷ F. Poulsen 1928, 31.

⁷⁸ Blanck 1963, 158.

⁷⁹ F. Poulsen 1928, 31.

⁸⁰ Linfert 1992, 25-26, no. 23.

⁸¹ Linfert 1992, 25.

⁸² Linfert 1992, 26.

The portrait in its reworked form dates to the mid-third century AD, in the period of the emperor Trajan Decius (compare fig. 27).⁸³ Both men are depicted with a close-cropped coiffure, a relatively high forehead, thick, undulating eyebrows shading relatively large eyes, and sagging pouches under the eyes. Horizontal creases line the forehead above two vertical creases over the bridge of the nose. Prominent nasolabial lines create an inverted 'V'. In their contorted features, both portraits reflect the concern, anxiety, and introspection which are characteristics of much third-century AD portraiture. The Château-Gontier portrait, however, differs from the images of Decius in two respects: firstly, it depicts a younger subject than the aging Decius; and secondly, it shows a more determined man, compared to the more worried emperor.

Two imperial images, cases of *damnatio memoriae*, were reworked in similar ways to the Château-Gontier portrait, and thus provide useful points of comparison. A bronze equestrian statue of Domitian from Misenum was reused as a likeness of Nerva (figs. 53-54). Domitian's face was cut from the head and removed like a mask, and replaced with a face of Nerva. A clearly visible line runs beneath the chin, along the jaw-line, behind the ears, and over the forehead. The hairstyle behind the line belongs to Domitian's third portrait type, while the facial features and hairstyle in front of the line are Nerva's.⁸⁴ Similarly, the original face of a marble statue of Elagabalus in Naples was replaced by that of his successor, Alexander Severus (figs. 55-56).⁸⁵

What was the motivation behind this way of reworking the Château-Gontier portrait? Three possibilities may be suggested. Firstly, based on the similarity in technique to the transformed portraits of Domitian and Elagabalus, it is possible that the Château-Gontier head was reworked from an image of a condemned emperor into that of a private individual. Secondly, it is conceivable that the facial features of the original

⁸³ Ibid.

⁸⁴ Bergemann 1990, 85. For the statue, see Macchiaroli 1987; Bergemann 1990, 82-86, no. P31.

⁸⁵ Fittschen and Zanker 1970; Pozzi 1989, 154.

subject were damaged to the extent that a complete replacement of the face was deemed necessary to make the portrait a convincing likeness worthy of display. Thirdly, it is also possible that the sculptor simply wanted entirely new facial features for the portrait, which he thought could not be achieved by a recarving of the face.

Whatever the case, the method employed by the sculptor to transform the Château-Gontier head appears to have been much less commonly practiced in antiquity than the recarving of the facial features. To this author, only two further cases of this technique of reworking in the private sphere are known, those of two *togati* in the Chiaramonti Museum in Rome.⁸⁶ Similarly infrequent was this technique in the imperial sphere, with only the two examples mentioned above currently known.

It is evident from the preceding discussion that private portraits were often reworked into new likenesses of unknown subjects during the imperial period. It also appears that on occasion portraits depicting unpopular or unimportant imperial personages were reworked into private likenesses. Five portraits are given here as examples of this type of transformation. We have already seen that a portrait of Antinous was reworked into the likeness of a private Severan woman in the early third century AD, and that the reworking probably occurred because of the unimportance of Antinous' memory to the owner following Hadrian's death (**no. 8, figs. 38-41**). Two portraits of the emperor Nero also appear to have been transformed into representations of private individuals, most likely arising from the *damnatio memoriae* pronounced on this emperor. A portrait of a child in the collection of the Duke of Braunschweig in Hannover seems to have been reworked from an image of Nero belonging to his first portrait type (**no. 12, figs. 57-59**).⁸⁷ This type (AD 51-54) depicts the young prince with a round, fleshy face, high cheekbones, and a coiffure consisting of long,

⁸⁶ These statues will be discussed by Claridge, forthcoming 2003.

⁸⁷ Boehringer 1979, 68, no. 27 (Klaus Fittschen); Bergmann and Zanker 1981, 406, no. 45; Schroder 1993, 190; Varner 1993, 131. On Nero's portrait typology, see most recently, Born and Stemmer 1996, 70-92.

comma-shaped locks brushed over the forehead with a part in the centre (figs. 60-61). Only the coiffure on the Hannover image was recarved. The hair at the front was recarved into long strands brushed onto the forehead in thin, comma-shaped locks in the style that was popular in Julio-Claudian and Trajanic times. However, at the back, a thicker hairstyle, remnants of Nero's type one coiffure, can still be seen.⁸⁸

Klaus Fittschen has remarked that when portraits of emperors were recycled, they were usually turned into representations of other imperial personages.⁸⁹ He thus suggested that the Hannover portrait does not depict a private subject, but rather one of the sons of Vitellius, whose images appear on a number of their father's coins, but whose names remain unknown.⁹⁰ However, given the extreme brevity of the reign of Vitellius, of whom actually only *one* sculpted portrait has confidently been identified, as well as the absence of any sculpted images of his sons, it is reasonable to suggest that Nero's image may have been transformed into that of a private child.⁹¹

Similarly, a portrait of Nero in the Yale University Art Gallery appears to have been transformed from a 'Type Three' image of the emperor into a private individual of the Hadrianic period (**no. 13, figs. 62-63**).⁹² Nero's third portrait type (AD 59-64), represented by one example in the Palatine Museum in Rome (figs. 64-65), is very different from his two earlier types, in that the facial features are much heavier: the face is broad, the neck is thick, and there is a noticeable under-chin. The hairstyle is also more luxuriant: the hair over the top of the head is wavy, and at the back of the head, the hair grows long on the neck. Delicately arranged locks move in parallel curves across the forehead, reversing direction over the outer corner of the right eye.

⁸⁸ Boehringer 1979, 68; Bergmann and Zanker 1981, 406; Schroder 1993, 190; Varner 1993, 131.

⁸⁹ K. Fittschen in Boehringer 1979, 68.

⁹⁰ *Ibid.* Fittschen believed that following Nero's death, only Vitellius had sons who would have been suitable sitters.

⁹¹ Another possibility is that the Hannover image was a private portrait from the time of Nero that was reworked in the Trajanic period.

⁹² Varner 1993, 131-132. The likeness in Yale has long been regarded simply as that of a private portrait from the Hadrianic period, for example, by Stern 1975, 129-130, 175-176.

Although it is possible that the head is a reworked private portrait from the Neronian period, several signs betray its original state as a 'Type Three' image of Nero. Most significant is the discrepancy in proportions between the hair and the face: the volume of the coiffure is much too large in proportion to the face, which suggests that the formerly heavy facial features of Nero were reduced in volume in the areas of the chin and jaw line. Secondly, the arrangement of the hair over the forehead, with a part over the outer corner of the right eye, is almost the same as in the 'Type Three' portrait of Nero (compare figs. 64-65). The slight waves on the top of the head are similar to the waved coiffures of Nero's type three and four images, as are the small, fleshy eyes. Traces of a light beard on parts of the jaw are also found on the portrait of Nero in the Palatine Museum.⁹³ It has been suggested that the reuse of the portrait may have been facilitated by the popularity of the elaborate coiffures of Nero in the Hadrianic period.⁹⁴

A portrait in Corinth from the early first century AD (**no. 14, figs. 66-68**), which may originally have been a provincial portrait of Julius Caesar, was reworked around the middle of the third century AD.⁹⁵ The reworking is evident across the hair at the front. Originally, it was arranged in a series of relatively thick comma-shaped locks, with a large space between each lock. During the reworking, the spaces were filled in, and the hairline was lowered slightly by a series of parallel, vertical incisions.⁹⁶ The rough, crudely stippled beard and moustache added at the same time suggests a date for the reworking around the mid-third century AD (compare fig. 27).⁹⁷

⁹³ Varner 1993, 132.

⁹⁴ Ibid. For an example of a Hadrianic man with a hairstyle similar to that worn by Nero in his 'Type Three' and 'Type Four' images, see Johansen 1995 (a), 166-169, no. 67. The portrait belonging to the statue of Holconius Rufus, a prominent politician from Pompeii, may have been reworked in the Flavian period from a portrait of Nero: see most recently Bonifacio 1997, 34-38, no. 3, with extensive earlier literature; Meyer 2000, 41-45.

⁹⁵ De Grazia 1973, 77; Sturgeon 1989, 116, note 15; Datsouli-Stavridi 1970, 109-110; Johansen 1987, 31.

⁹⁶ De Grazia 1973, 78.

⁹⁷ De Grazia 1973, 78; Datsouli-Stavridi 1970, 110.

The facial features of the Corinth portrait are simple. The forehead is very high and broad, with a slight horizontal crease and two vertical lines above the bridge of the nose. The eyebrows, relatively straight with smooth edges, shade narrow, almond-shaped eyes with heavy lids. The mouth is wide and the lips are thin and tightly closed. There are deep naso-labial lines between the nostrils and the corners of the mouth.

On the basis of the dry classicism of the carving of the portrait, which has smoothed, generalised, and idealised features, as well as the treatment of the eyes, the portrait in its original form can be dated to the Tiberian period (compare fig. 69).⁹⁸ Flemming Johansen accepted the reworking of the head from an older first century AD image, but rejected the identification of the original head as Julius Caesar.⁹⁹ However, the Corinth head is very similar to portraits of Julius Caesar, especially the image in the Vatican, formerly in the Museo Chiaramonti (fig. 70).¹⁰⁰ Similar are the glance of the eyes, the rounded curve of the back of the head, and the shape of the face, with its broad, square forehead, long, slightly hollow cheeks, and square chin. The carefully detailed hair on the Vatican portrait differs from the summarily treated hair on the Corinth head. The deep hollows and lines of the Vatican Caesar have been smoothed over, either because the modelling of the Corinth portrait was not carefully done, or because the intention was to give the subject a more idealised appearance, in accordance with the eastern tradition. Although the iconography of Caesar is not exactly mirrored in the Corinth head, it is similar enough to suggest that it may be a posthumous provincial representation of the dictator.¹⁰¹

A portrait of the short-lived co-emperor Geta in Rome appears to have been reworked in the mid-third century AD, perhaps into the likeness of a private subject (no. 15, figs. 71-73).¹⁰² Geta was the youngest son of the emperor Septimius

⁹⁸ De Grazia 1973, 80; Sturgeon 1989, 116, note 15.

⁹⁹ Johansen 1987, 31.

¹⁰⁰ De Grazia 1973, 79.

¹⁰¹ De Grazia 1973, 80; Datsouli-Stavridi 1970, 110.

¹⁰² Fittschen and Zanker 1985, 105, no. 90; Varner 1993, 391-392.

Severus. Septimius wanted his two sons to rule the empire as co-emperors. However, following Septimius' death in February AD 211, the two brothers were unable to share power amicably, and Geta was murdered at the behest of Caracalla later that year. Geta was declared an official enemy of the Roman people and this *damnatio memoriae* led to the destruction of many of his portraits, coins, and inscriptions. Despite the vehemency with which the damnation of Geta's memory was carried out, a number of his portraits have survived.

The reworked portrait of Geta reproduces the features of his 'Type Two' images, and may be compared to an image of the emperor in the Capitoline Museum (figs. 74-76). In both portraits, the face is triangular-shaped, tapering to a small chin. The eyes, wide and almond-shaped, are surmounted by arching brows. The nose is aquiline, and the mouth is small. The hair over the forehead and temples is fuller and curlier on both images.¹⁰³ The reworking left the facial features and the hair over the forehead and temples intact. However, the short, plastically, modelled hair of Geta's unmodified images on the top, sides, and back of the head was cut down and replaced by short, incised locks which adhere to the contour of the skull. The combination of slightly fuller, plastically rendered hair over the forehead and temples with an incised coiffure is characteristic of portraiture from the middle of the third century AD, such as an image of the emperor Gordian III (figs. 77-78).¹⁰⁴

It has rightly been observed that the commissioning of posthumous portraits of Geta in the mid-third century AD would have been very unlikely, and that as a result, a reworking of the image around this time is the most likely situation.¹⁰⁵ We have already seen that a portrait of Antinous and two heads of Nero appear to have been reworked into private likenesses. Given the fact that the reworked likeness of Geta clearly does not represent any known imperial personage from the mid third-century AD, it is very likely that the portrait was recycled into a private likeness at this time.

¹⁰³ Fittschen and Zanker 1985, 105; Varner 1993, 391.

¹⁰⁴ Ibid.

¹⁰⁵ Fittschen and Zanker 1985, 105.

This reuse would also have been facilitated by the good state of preservation of the image, as well as the similarity of the locks over the forehead to contemporary fashions.¹⁰⁶

Partially Reworked Portraits

A large number of reworked private portraits received only partial modifications. Unlike the previous extensively reworked images, the facial features of partially reworked images were not recarved, and no change in gender was involved. Seven portraits are discussed here as representative cases of this type of transformation. The first of these, that of a portrait of a man in Corinth, was reworked in the mid-third century AD from an earlier, Julio-Claudian, head (**no. 16, figs. 79-81**).¹⁰⁷ The shape of the skull and face finds no parallel in third century AD portraiture. The straight hairline above the broad rectangular forehead and the wide cheekbones, which accentuate the triangular shape of the face, relate the portrait to images of the Julio-Claudian family.¹⁰⁸ The hair over the forehead is brushed forward and appears to have been recut into long curving locks. The hair is parted over the inside corner of the left eye, and brushed in opposite directions. The original hairstyle is still preserved at the back of the head, where very thick, crescent-shaped curls are brushed forward directly behind the ears and reach a significant way down the neck. This hairstyle allows the original portrait to be dated to the Julio-Claudian period (compare, for example, the hair on a head of Germanicus from Tarragona, fig. 82, and the hair on a head of a man from the Tiberian period, fig. 83).

The eyebrows, which would originally have been smooth, were engraved with parallel incisions in the style that was common in the third-century AD. The drilling of the pupils and the incising of the irises were also later additions. The reworking also involved the carving of a beard into the previously smooth cheeks, ranging from

¹⁰⁶ Varner 1993, 392.

¹⁰⁷ Broneer 1935, 68-69; De Grazia 1973, 194-196; Sturgeon 1989, 116, note 15.

¹⁰⁸ Compare, for example, the Corinth head to two images of Caligula: Boschung 1989, 108, no. 6, pl.

lines to stippling (the latter is evident especially on the left side of the face). A portrait of Augustus which was also partially reworked with the provision of a beard in the picked-in '*a penna*' technique¹⁰⁹ (figs. 84-85) provides a useful comparison to the head in Corinth, in that both images were originally produced in the first-century AD and later transformed in the third-century AD through the addition of a stippled beard. The carving of the beard on the Corinth image is similar to that on mid third-century AD imperial portraits,¹¹⁰ like Maximinus Thrax (fig. 86), Balbinus (figs. 87-89), Trajan Decius (fig. 27), and Trebonianus Gallus (fig. 90). A mid third-century AD date for the reworking of the Corinth portrait thus seems reasonable.

Another early first century AD portrait, from Minturno (**no. 17, figs. 91-92**), was also reworked at a much later date.¹¹¹ The portrait depicts a middle-aged man with a high forehead and a broad cranium which tapers to a pointed chin. The ears project from the sides of the head. The eyebrows, which are strongly arched, shade small, almond-shaped eyes, and two horizontal furrows line the forehead. The style of the head is similar to portraits from the beginning of the first century AD, such as an image of the emperor Tiberius in Copenhagen (fig. 93). However, while the original style of the portrait is still clearly recognisable, the head also shows distinct stylistic features from a later period that can only be explained by a reworking. On the back of the head, one can see a portion of the original hairstyle, in the form of fine, dense strands that form a whirl (fig. 92).¹¹² The remaining hair was engraved with short incisions in the style that was employed in many of the portraits of the Soldier Emperors from the mid third century AD.¹¹³ In a similar way to the hair, a moustache and beard were picked into the previously smooth lips and cheeks (compare figs. 27, 79, 81, 84-85, 86, 87-89, 90). The eyes, however, remain in their original form.

6, and 109, no. 10, pl. 10.

¹⁰⁹ For the portrait, see Jucker 1983, 59-60; Boschung 1993, 194, no. 211.

¹¹⁰ De Grazia 1973, 194-196.

¹¹¹ Adriani 1938, 197-198, no. 47; Bergmann 1977, 151, note 604; Fuchs 1987, 36, no. C II 2.

¹¹² Adriani 1938, 197-198; Fuchs 1987, 36.

¹¹³ *Ibid.*

The reworking of the portrait of a man from the Trajanic period in the Vatican Museum (**no. 18, figs. 94-95**) was very moderate and involved only the modification of the hair and eyes. The image was reworked from an earlier head in the second half of the third century AD.¹¹⁴ That the portrait originally belonged to the early second-century AD is clear from the Trajanic hairstyle, which comprises long, straight locks ending in comma-shapes combed forward from the crown very low over the forehead, as seen in portraits of the emperor Trajan (figs. 96-97). The hair of the Vatican head was reworked and roughly engraved in a style that was common in the second half of the third-century AD. The former hair is preserved at the back and on the left side of the portrait.¹¹⁵ It is possible that the portrait was placed with its left side against a wall, which meant that this area did not have to be reworked. The eyes were also reworked, with the drilling of round pupils.

Another portrait of a late third or early fourth-century AD middle-aged man in Corinth displays stylistic elements from two different periods (**no. 19, figs. 98-101**).¹¹⁶ The original hairstyle, comprising long, thick locks, can be seen at the back of the head.¹¹⁷ This hairstyle shows that the head was reworked, because male portraits from the late third or early fourth century AD have coiffures in which the hair is etched into the skull with a chisel. The hairstyle at the front is very different. In the right profile, one can clearly see the transition between the former hairstyle and the new version, which begins just in front of the ear (fig. 100). The original hair at the front was worked off and crudely recarved in tiny rows of vertical scratches across the forehead. A densely packed stippled beard was carved into the cheeks, a moustache was added, and the eyebrows were incised. The irises were also incised and the pupils drilled with a round hole.¹¹⁸ It is difficult to date the original portrait. The hairs growing a long way down the back of the head are similar in size and orientation to those on a portrait of Germanicus (fig. 82), which has been dated to the

¹¹⁴ Von Heintze 1960, 159; Helbig 1963, 789-790, no. 1092; Liverani 1990-1991, 167, note 12.

¹¹⁵ Von Heintze 1960, 159.

¹¹⁶ De Grazia 1973, 207-211.

¹¹⁷ De Grazia 1973, 207.

¹¹⁸ De Grazia 1973, 208-211.

period AD 23-29,¹¹⁹ and a portrait of a man from Seville belonging to the Tiberian period (fig. 83). On this basis, as well as the fact that the beard appears to have been carved into previously smooth cheeks, it can be suggested that the portrait was originally carved during the Julio-Claudian period in the early to middle first century AD.

The Corinth portrait was reworked in the early fourth century AD. Comparable is the head of a man in the National Gallery in Oslo (fig. 102), which has been dated to the beginning of the fourth century AD.¹²⁰ Both portraits are especially similar in the coarse features and the rendering of the short hair and beard. Allowing for the crude workmanship, both the Corinth and Oslo portraits have a relatively straight hairline, carved in small comma-shaped locks, which joins the beard over the temples to frame the face in a smooth line. For similar reasons, Hans-Peter L'Orange compared the Corinth portrait to the head of a soldier on the Arch of Galerius in Thessaloniki, which he dated to AD 300 (fig. 103).¹²¹ A date for the reworking of the Corinth portrait around AD 300 thus seems likely.

The portrait of a man in Perge (**no. 20, figs. 104-105**) was similarly reworked in the late third or early fourth century from a first century AD head.¹²² The portrait is in a fragmentary state: the head is broken off below the nose; the nose, parts of the upper eyelids, the eyebrows, and parts of the forehead are missing, and the hair is damaged in places. Despite its fragmentary nature, it is clear that the portrait was reworked. The subject's hair is combed in short locks towards the face, and forms a fringe above the forehead with a typical Julio-Claudian fork in the centre. The forehead is marked with a horizontal line. The hairstyle and the treatment of the eyes allow a dating for the original carving of the portrait in the Julio-Claudian period, probably in the time of Claudius.¹²³ The reworking of the head involved the covering of the

¹¹⁹ Rose 1997, 134.

¹²⁰ Sande 1991, 96.

¹²¹ L'Orange 1965, 118.

¹²² Bergmann 1990, 384, 386, 388.

¹²³ Inan and Rosenbaum 1966, 191. Compare the Perge head to a portrait of Claudius in West 1941,

hair with stippled indentations. The face was also lightly reworked, so that a slightly raised beard could be created (fig. 105).¹²⁴ The pupils and irises were not drilled or incised. Marianne Bergmann compared the portrait to an image of a tetrarchic emperor from the last decade of the third century AD in Basler (figs. 106-107), based on the rendering of the stippled hair and beard, which is slightly raised from the surface of the face and ends with a cleanly drawn line. It is thus likely that the Perge image was reworked in the late third century AD.¹²⁵

A reworked portrait of a man in the Ostia Museum (**no. 21, figs. 108-110**) preserves traces of thick, curly locks on the back from the original portrait, which were partly removed with a chisel.¹²⁶ It is difficult to determine when the portrait was originally carved. However, on the basis of the thick locks at the back of the head, which are similar to those on heads from the Julio-Claudian period (compare figs. 80, 82, 83), it is possible that the Ostia portrait was reworked from an image from this time. Stylistically, the hair at the front differs markedly from the hair at the back of the head. A short beard and moustache, rendered with small, tightly packed chisel marks, were added by removing a thin layer of marble from the smooth area of the face to create a slight transition between the beard and the flesh areas. A five-centimetre wide zone of the front hair section was also marked with short incisions of the chisel.¹²⁷ If the portrait was reworked from a first-century AD image, the crude incising of the eyeballs must have taken place when the image was transformed.

The portrait can be dated in its reworked form to the early fourth century AD, based upon its similarities to heads from this period, such as an image of Maxentius from

210, pl. 57. The Perge image keeps the basic form of its predecessor so much that Jale Inan and Elisabeth Rosenbaum firstly published it as being Julio-Claudian: Inan and Rosenbaum 1966, 191. It was only after communications with M. Bergmann that they were convinced that the portrait had been reworked: Bergmann 1990, 388, note 8.

¹²⁴ Bergmann 1990, 388.

¹²⁵ Bergmann 1990, 386.

¹²⁶ Blanck 1969, 54; Helbig 1972, 120, no. 3146; Bergmann 1977, 148; Matheson 2000, 71.

¹²⁷ Blanck 1969, 54.

AD 307-312 (figs. 111-112).¹²⁸ Both images are similar in the treatment of the beard and the hair over the forehead, which forms a series of small, comma-shaped locks.¹²⁹ The style of the beard on the head in Ostia is also similar to that worn by a tetrarch from c. AD 300 (fig. 113), and by Licinius on the Arch of Constantine in Rome, which was erected between AD 312 and 315 (fig. 114). Thus, it is likely that the Ostia portrait was reworked at the beginning of the fourth century AD.

The portrait of a man from the early imperial period in the National Museum in Taranto (**no. 22, fig. 115**) also appears to have undergone modifications in the early fourth-century AD.¹³⁰ The head was originally carved in the Tiberian period.¹³¹ Indeed, the image is very similar to portraits from this time. The broad cranium, comprising a wide, relatively high forehead which tapers to a round chin, is similar, for example, to an image of the emperor Tiberius (fig. 93). Further, the relatively straight, ridge-like brows which shade large, almond-shaped eyes and eyelids, and its dry, classicising style, also help to date the original portrait in the early first-century AD. However, the rendering of the beard and hair on the image in Taranto was not a feature of portraits from the early imperial period, and indicates that the head was reworked. The surface of the short beard is the originally smooth chin and cheek area. The bordering of the beard was created by the deepening of the surface here, which created a hardly noticeable transition to the smooth parts of the face. The hair was reworked to a short, cap-like arrangement and incised with short chisel strokes.¹³² The original coiffure would have consisted of a much fuller mass, arranged in comma-shaped locks across the forehead. The hairline across the forehead was made square by the chiselling off of the ends of the locks in a straight line. The previously smooth brows were also engraved. The eyes were not altered, because the pupils and irises have not been drilled and incised. The style of the short

¹²⁸ On Maxentius' portraits, see L'Orange 1984, 34-36, 114-116.

¹²⁹ Bergmann 1977, 148.

¹³⁰ Blanck 1969, 53; Bergmann 1977, 141, note 557; Manderscheid 1981, 51, note 89; Giuliano 1997, 30, note 3.

¹³¹ *Ibid.*

¹³² Blanck 1969, 53.

beard, clearly separated from the smooth skin by a sharp line, with the hairs indicated by a series of densely-packed short incisions, is similar to many portraits from the beginning of the fourth century AD (compare figs. 102, 103, 106-107, 111-112, 113, 114). A date for the reworking of the image in Taranto in the late third or early fourth century AD thus seems probable, as happened with many portraits during this time.¹³³

The discussion of the previous six images has shown that the reworking of private portraits often involved the addition to the image of a stippled beard, coiffure, and eyebrows, as well as the drilling and incising of the pupils and irises. The partial reworking of sculpted private portraits could also involve the raising of the forehead, a technique which is illustrated by images in Boston, Olympia, and Minturno.¹³⁴ The Boston portrait from Marmaris on the south coast of Caria, in Asia Minor, depicts an early first-century AD young man (no. 23, figs. 116-117). The head received alterations to the frontal part of the hair.¹³⁵ It has been suggested that the image originally depicted the emperor Tiberius, and that the reworking was undertaken to accommodate a wreath.¹³⁶ However, as Herrmann has pointed out, the remodelling only involved the front part of the skull, and there is no evidence that a circling object was ever present. Moreover, there are no holes for the pins that were normally used on portraits to fix a wreath in place. Thus, the reworking achieved little more than raising the forehead.¹³⁷ On the other hand, the reworking seems too rough to be the correction of an initial error. Herrmann, although he raised the possibility that an image of Germanicus may have been converted into one of Tiberius, who had a higher forehead, admitted that the fork in Tiberius' hairline was never exactly central

¹³³ For private portraits recarved in the tetrarchic and Constantinian periods, see further a head in Freiburg: Weber 1995, and Stročka 2000, 196-201, no. 17; three heads in Asia Minor: Manderscheid 1981, 12-13, 90, no. 184 (with earlier literature), and Inan and Rosenbaum 1966, 144-145, 199-200, nos. 183, 275; and a head in Seville: León 2001, 140-141, no. 36.

¹³⁴ The portrait of the Trajanic man in Berlin (no. 6, figs. 29-30) recarved from the portrait of a Flavian woman also had the forehead raised.

¹³⁵ Herrmann 1991, 45-46.

¹³⁶ Comstock and Vermeule 1976, 209. Kiss 1975 (a), 84, also identified the portrait as Tiberius, but did not discuss the reworking of the hair across the forehead.

¹³⁷ Herrmann 1991, 45.

as it is on the image in Boston.¹³⁸ Herrmann thus suggested that the reworked portrait may depict a non-imperial personage.¹³⁹ Whatever the case, the idealised features meant that identities could easily have been changed while retaining the same very youthful appearance.¹⁴⁰

The image of a man in Olympia (no. 24, figs. 118-122) was altered to a much greater extent than the portrait in Boston. The image was refashioned in the mid third-century AD from a first-century AD head.¹⁴¹ The portrait was broken into two pieces, which fit together at the centre. The two fragments were found three years apart but were recognised as belonging together.¹⁴² The bigger piece forms the right hand side of the face, while the second fragment forms the left cheek and the base of the neck. Between the two fragments in the lower half of the face, there is a large fissure, which has been filled with plaster. The nose and right side of the mouth are broken away, and the left eye is only partly preserved. The upper left portion of the head is missing.

The original portrait can be dated to the Tiberian period, on the basis of its similarities to images from that period.¹⁴³ The head has many affinities, for example, to a portrait of Tiberius in Copenhagen (fig. 93). Both subjects are depicted with a high forehead and a broad cranium which tapers to a narrow chin, as well as a relatively small mouth, and large almond-shaped eyes surmounted by ridge-like brows. Furthermore, both images share a classicising treatment of the facial features.

The head was reworked in three areas. Firstly, the hair across the top of the forehead was worked off to a two-centimetre width, through which the sculptor achieved a higher forehead. Traces of the former hairline are still clearly visible (fig. 121).¹⁴⁴ As

¹³⁸ Herrmann 1991, 46.

¹³⁹ *Ibid.*

¹⁴⁰ *Ibid.*

¹⁴¹ Goette and Hitzl 1987, 283-288.

¹⁴² Goette and Hitzl 1987, 283.

¹⁴³ Goette and Hitzl 1987, 284-285.

¹⁴⁴ Goette and Hitzl 1987, 284.

a result of the reworking, the ends of the locks over the forehead are decidedly square. The hair across the top of the forehead in the first version of the portrait, however, would have been arranged in comma-shaped locks. Secondly, the plastically rendered coiffure of the original portrait (compare fig. 93) was altered by the incising of lines into the hair at the front of the head. Over the right ear, these lines assume a horizontal direction. Thirdly, the head was provided with a stippled beard, which was carved into the previously smooth cheeks with a chisel.¹⁴⁵ The head, however, received only a partial reworking: the facial features, with the exception of the beard, were retained from the first portrait. The Olympia head was reworked in the mid third-century AD.¹⁴⁶ The rough carving of the hair and the stippled beard can be compared, for example, to the portrait of Trajan Decius in the Capitoline Museum (fig. 27).

A head excavated in Minturno (**no. 25, fig. 123**) was reworked in a similar way to the portrait in Olympia during the late third or early fourth-century AD.¹⁴⁷ The portrait was originally carved in the late republican period.¹⁴⁸ A head of a man in Rieti (fig. 124) from the period of the Second Triumvirate (43 BC),¹⁴⁹ is similar to the portrait in Minturno, and provides an idea of what this image probably looked like prior to its reworking. The reworking of the Minturno portrait is confirmed by the strands of hair over the forehead that were roughly chiselled off, through which the mason achieved a higher forehead.¹⁵⁰ The reworking of the portrait from Minturno is also attested by the presence of the beard worn by the subject, which was not a stylistic feature of late republican portraiture (compare fig. 124). In particular, as we have seen, the rendering of the beard and moustache, clearly separated from the smooth skin by a smooth line with the hairs indicated by short incisions, is similar to those worn in the early fourth century AD, and thus allows a

¹⁴⁵ Ibid.

¹⁴⁶ Goette and Hitzl 1987, 287.

¹⁴⁷ Adriani 1938, 197, no. 46; Bergmann 1977, 151, note 651; Fuchs 1987, 35, no. C II 1.

¹⁴⁸ Adriani 1938, 197; Fuchs 1987, 35, no. C II 1.

¹⁴⁹ Zanker 1976, 602.

¹⁵⁰ Adriani 1938, 197; Fuchs 1987, 35.

dating for the reworking of the head during this time (compare figs. 102, 103, 106-107, 111-112, 113, 114).¹⁵¹ Using the same technique as the beard, the previously smooth eyebrows were engraved, but the eyes were not altered.

The recut portrait of an unknown imperial subject (figs. 125 and 126) provides a useful point of comparison in terms of technique to the previous heads in Olympia and Minturno. The portrait is that of a figure on a relief commonly held by scholars to belong to a structure called the 'Arcus Novus,' ascribed in fourth-century AD sources to the joint reign of Diocletian and Maximian and associated with the emperors' *decennalia* in AD 293-294.¹⁵² The monument made extensive use of material reused from earlier structures, including a number of first- or second-century AD reliefs now installed in the Villa Medici in Rome.¹⁵³ It has been recognised that the portrait of an imperial figure (fig. 126) on a relief from an earlier monument was recut in the late third-century AD for use on a monument from this time.¹⁵⁴ Admittedly, the height of the forehead on the Villa Medici portrait was not raised by the removal of hair across the top of the forehead. However, on each of the three heads, the originally fuller hair was remodelled to produce a very short coiffure, and a stippled beard was engraved into the previously smooth cheeks.¹⁵⁵ The Villa Medici, Olympia, and Minturno heads are also similar in that each image was reworked in the third-century AD from much earlier portraits. These affinities

¹⁵¹ Such a long period of time between the original carving of a portrait and its transformation is not without parallel among reworked images depicting non-private subjects. For example, a fragmentary female portrait from the Palatine from the second half of the third century BC, which depicts either Aphrodite or a nymph, appears to have been reworked in the third century AD. The back of the head was incised in the '*a penna*' technique which was used in the first half of the third century AD. It has been suggested that the reworking served the purpose of restoring the portrait, and that it reflected the owner's taste for classicising sculpture: Cerchiai 1979. See also the portrait of a goddess from Pergamon made originally in the third-quarter of the second century BC, which had the hair reworked and a metal diadem added in the Tiberian or Claudian period: Brize 1990.

¹⁵² Laubscher 1976, 71, 74-77, 103; Koeppel 1983, 79, 102; Kinney 1997, 131.

¹⁵³ Laubscher 1976, 71-77, 79-80, 108; Koeppel 1983, 72-80, 98-116, 119-124; Kleiner 1992, 144-145, 409-413; Alchermes 1994, 170; Kinney 1997, 131; Elsner 2000, 153; Wohl 2001, 107.

¹⁵⁴ For the reworking of the head, see Bonanno 1976, 38-39; Laubscher 1976, 10-11; Koeppel 1983, 102; Kleiner 1992, 413; Kinney 1997, 131.

¹⁵⁵ Moreover, according to Bonanno 1976, 39, the deep wrinkles on the forehead of the Villa Medici portrait were also probably secondary features of the head.

show that the Roman sculptor could adopt similar techniques for the reworking of both imperial and private likenesses.

A further portrait, that of a bust of a man in the Museum of Fine Arts in Boston (no. 26, figs. 127-129), displays fewer signs of reworking than the partially reworked images considered so far. The most significant visual clue indicating that the portrait was reworked lies in the disparity in style between the portrait and the bust. The portrait was reworked in the third-century AD from a second-century AD work. Marianne Bergmann was the first scholar to recognise the reworking, based on the significant difference between the sketchy style of the head and the suavely modelled bust, a conclusion that has been accepted by later scholars.¹⁵⁶ As Bergmann noted, the original bust can be dated to the second-century AD on the basis of the ‘*Blätterkelch*’, a foliate cup formed by acanthus leaves adorning the base which was a feature of second-century AD, mainly Trajanic, busts,¹⁵⁷ such as that of a Roman boy in Copenhagen (fig. 130). The Boston portrait was recarved around the time of Balbinus, as shown by its similarities to images of this emperor. In its original Trajanic state, the subject would have had longer hair, which was reworked to the close cropped coiffure that he wears now. A stippled beard was also secondarily added to the portrait. The sculptor responsible for the reworking was very successful in his task: signs of reworking appear only above the ears, which were not clearly freed from the newly short hairstyle, and at the right cheek, which takes a step down from the stubble beard.¹⁵⁸ The few indications of reworking resulted in a very ‘unified’ style, consistent with portraits from the time of Balbinus.

It is a matter of contention whether the portrait in its reworked state depicts the emperor Balbinus or a private contemporary subject. Balbinus and Pupienus were declared co-emperors in opposition to Maximinus Thrax in April of AD 238. Balbinus ruled for only four months, because he was murdered in July AD 238.

¹⁵⁶ Bergmann 1977, 129; Fittschen and Zanker 1983, 106, note 15; Herrmann 1991, 45; Varner 2000, 206, no. 54.

¹⁵⁷ Jucker 1961.

Despite the brevity of his reign, sculpted portraits were commissioned for Balbinus, and his sarcophagus, now in the catacomb of Praetextatus in Rome, has survived.¹⁵⁹ In his portraits, he is depicted with a full, oval face, and relatively straight brows shading large eyes with a distant glance (figs. 87-89). Beneath the eyes are fleshy pouches. The emperor's nose is broad and his lips are full. The face is marked with naso-labial lines and horizontal furrows in the forehead. Balbinus wears a short military hairstyle and beard, with the individual hairs carved into the skull and face in short strokes.

Cornelius Vermeule identified the portrait in Boston as Balbinus, based on three arguments: firstly, the similarity of the face to images of this emperor; secondly, what he interpreted as being the *paludamentum*, fastened by a brooch on the left shoulder, which he saw as a sign of imperial authority; and thirdly, the griffins flanking the acanthus ornament below the chest, which he interpreted as a symbol of apotheosis, and thus proof that the portrait depicted an emperor.¹⁶⁰ However, each of these arguments can be refuted, and the portrait should rather be seen as that of a private subject contemporary with the emperor Balbinus. As Jucker has shown, although the man depicted in the Boston portrait is about the same age as Balbinus, the face is noticeably fatter than the securely identified images of Balbinus.¹⁶¹ A further obstacle that would seem to discount the identification of the man as Balbinus is evident in the indentations of the hairline above the forehead, which are not as deep in the sculpted portraits of the emperor.¹⁶² The cloak hanging over the left shoulder need not imply an imperial identification either: a similar motif also appears on Trajanic busts of private subjects.¹⁶³ Finally, the symbol of the acanthus plant flanked by griffins does not necessarily imply imperial apotheosis. Jucker has rather interpreted the spray of acanthus leaves, from which the portrait bust is often

¹⁵⁸ Varner 2000, 206.

¹⁵⁹ For the portraits of Balbinus, see Jucker 1966; Wiggers and Wegner 1971, 241-242, 246-249; Wood 1986, 128-129.

¹⁶⁰ Comstock and Vermeule 1976, 239.

¹⁶¹ Jucker 1961, 107; Jucker 1966, 509.

¹⁶² *Ibid.*

¹⁶³ Compare, for example, Jucker 1961, 75, no. St. 14, pl. 25, and 78, no. St. 20, pl. 27.

shown growing as the ancient tree of life with its traditional accompanying monsters, and as a syncretistic symbol of resurrection based on Near Eastern and Egyptian beliefs.¹⁶⁴ Jucker showed that images with this symbol depicted posthumous subjects and that such images were funerary dedications, likely as part of a family tomb. The association with resurrection, with the idea that the person depicted would be regenerated to new life, was particularly appropriate for depictions of ancestors and recently deceased members of the family.¹⁶⁵

The partial reworking of a private image could also be limited to the alteration of just one feature. We have already seen that the reworking of the portrait of a young man in Boston (**no. 23, figs. 116-117**) was limited to the alteration of the hair at the front of the head. In four further cases, the reworking was restricted to the face (the addition of a stippled beard), the hair, or the eyes. The reworking of two portraits, in Copenhagen and the Vatican, simply involved the addition of a stippled beard to each image. The first-century AD head of a man in Copenhagen (**no. 27, figs. 131-134**) was reworked in the late third or early fourth-century AD.¹⁶⁶ The flat surface on the right side of the occiput (fig. 134) suggests that the head was broken off a relief.¹⁶⁷ This flat surface means that the subject probably had a three-quarter turn of the head, with his left cheek turned to the spectator.¹⁶⁸

Marianne Bergmann noted the similarities of the Copenhagen head to certain portraits on a fragmentary historical relief depicting the inauguration of the temple of Fortuna Redux, which Domitian vowed at the time of his return from the Sarmatian war in AD 93.¹⁶⁹ The face is also similar to the young lictors and legionnaires on the Cancelleria reliefs in Rome (fig. 135) and a portrait of Domitian in the Palazzo dei Conservatori (fig. 136), which allows a dating of the original head to the Domitianic

¹⁶⁴ See Jucker 1961, 178-195 for the Egyptian influences, and 164-178 for the Mesopotamian origins.

¹⁶⁵ See Jucker 1961, 133-138, on 'die Blätterkelch büste als Verstorbenen Bildnis.'

¹⁶⁶ V. Poulsen 1974, 55-56, no. 23; Bergmann 1981, 179; Koepfel 1984, 37, no. 11; Cain 1993, 156-157, no. 35; Hannestad 1994, 78, note 99; Johansen 1995 (a), 70, no. 23.

¹⁶⁷ Koepfel 1984, 37; Johansen 1995 (a), 70.

¹⁶⁸ V. Poulsen 1974, 55-56.

¹⁶⁹ Bergmann 1981, 179.

period.¹⁷⁰ The subject is unidentifiable, and probably played a secondary role in the relief to which it belonged. Though the subject is unidentifiable, it is likely that the portrait originally belonged to a historical relief from the time of Domitian. Such a relief may have been removed and stored following the *damnatio memoriae* pronounced on this emperor.¹⁷¹

The portrait was clearly reworked, because while the right cheek is smooth, the left has a short beard rendered in a style which is incompatible with the first-century AD date of the image: it is comprised of a series of densely packed dots, and has a clear division from the smooth part of the cheek, a technique which was common in the late third and early fourth century AD (compare figs. 111-112, 113). Thus, it is likely that the portrait in Copenhagen was reworked in this period. The reworking of the Copenhagen image, however, appears to be incomplete: apart from the beard, which covers only one side of the face, neither the facial features nor the coiffure (which is not at all in the late antique style) were altered, and the pupils and irises were not drilled and incised. For some unknown reason, the reworking of the portrait was not completed, and it was discarded.

A similar treatment affecting only the facial hair was applied to a head in the Vatican Museum (**no. 28, fig. 137**), which also appears to have been broken off a relief.¹⁷² Like the previous portrait in Copenhagen, the original Vatican head has been dated to the Domitianic period (compare figs. 131-134, 135, 136).¹⁷³ Around the mid third-century AD, a densely packed beard was incised with a chisel into the previously smooth cheeks and chin (compare figs. 27, 118-120).¹⁷⁴ Thus, the head was only

¹⁷⁰ Koeppel 1984, 37; Cain 1993, 156-157. On Domitian's portrait typology, see Bergmann and Zanker 1981, 349-370.

¹⁷¹ This argument is supported by the case of the Cancelleria Reliefs in Rome. Following the recarving of one of the portraits, the reliefs were deposited in a sculptor's workshop for possible future reuse: see below, 80.

¹⁷² Koeppel 1984, 35, no. 9; Hannestad 1994, 78, note 99.

¹⁷³ Koeppel 1984, 35. The Vatican head is similar to the image in Copenhagen in terms of the treatment of the eyes and eyebrows, the fat face, and the arrangement of the hair over the temples and forehead.

¹⁷⁴ Koeppel 1984, 35; Hannestad 1994, 78, note 99.

very partially reworked: the face was not recarved, the hair was not altered, and the eyes were not drilled and incised.

In the case of the reworking of a portrait of a woman in the Museo Civico in Bologna (**no. 29, figs. 138-139**), only the eyes were altered. The portrait was reworked in late antiquity from a first-century AD image.¹⁷⁵ Traces of colour remain on the mouth, indicating that the portrait was not cleaned or restored in modern times. Thus, the restored nose, executed in a different marble, is apparently ancient, suggesting that the portrait was repaired in antiquity at the time of the reworking.¹⁷⁶ Based on the hairstyle, which is parted above the forehead and has a cluster of circular curls below the part and above the ear, the original portrait can be dated to the time of Caligula or Claudius (compare fig. 140, a head of Agrippina the Elder from the late 30s or early 40s of the first-century AD).¹⁷⁷ However, the way in which the eyes are rendered is not compatible with the first-century AD date of the portrait. The sickle-shaped, deeply-engraved pupils in a large iris is characteristic of portraits from the late antique period, but it is not possible to be more precise about the exact date of the reworking.¹⁷⁸

The bust of a woman from the middle-Severan period in the Capitoline Museum (**no. 30, figs. 141-144**) received modifications only to the hair. The facial features do not appear to have been reworked. The image was likely reworked from a Hadrianic work.¹⁷⁹ The coiffure was worked separately and attached to the head. The hair is parted down the middle of the head and brushed to the back far down the neck, leaving the ears free. At the back of the head, the hair is gathered into a plait that is laid into a nest in a spiral. This hairstyle is first evident in the portraits of Plautilla, but continued to be worn by women during the period of Elagabalus.¹⁸⁰

¹⁷⁵ F. Poulsen 1928, 24; Blanck 1969, 57-58; Matheson 2000, 72.

¹⁷⁶ Blanck 1969, 58.

¹⁷⁷ F. Poulsen 1928, 24.

¹⁷⁸ Blanck 1969, 58.

¹⁷⁹ Fittschen and Zanker 1983, 104-105, no. 155.

¹⁸⁰ Fittschen and Zanker 1983, 105.

The reworking of the portrait is partly suggested by the alarmingly thin bun of hair in relation to the depth of the rest of the head (fig. 144).¹⁸¹ The reworking of a Hadrianic work is also confirmed by the style of the bust and the bust-support. The bust accords with Hadrianic examples (fig. 145), while the base has close similarities to Trajanic-Hadrianic works (figs. 146 and 147).¹⁸² The leaf-goblet element that links the foot and bust is common on busts from the late first and second centuries AD. Since there are only a few extant examples of this form of bust in the third century AD,¹⁸³ it would seem more probable that the portrait was reworked in the first quarter of the third century AD from an earlier Hadrianic bust.¹⁸⁴

Discussion of the Reworked Portraits

This chapter has discussed the reworking of sculpted portraits of private male and female subjects during the imperial period. It has been shown that such images can be divided into two main groups, based on the extent of reworking: the first group includes portraits that were extensively reworked; the second group comprises images that received a more moderate or partial reworking. The extensively reworked portraits may be divided into four sub-groups: firstly, images whereby a totally new likeness was carved on a different orientation to the previous likeness (**no. 1, figs. 1-3; no. 2, figs. 5-7**); secondly, images that retained the orientation of the previous portrait, but had virtually all the features of the earlier likeness changed through reworking (**no. 3, figs. 8-11; no. 4, figs. 17-21; no. 5, figs. 23-25**); thirdly,

¹⁸¹ Crawford 1917, 115, no. 56; Fittschen and Zanker 1983, 105.

¹⁸² *Ibid.*

¹⁸³ One of these, the so-called 'Balbinus' in Boston (**no. 26, figs. 127-129**), was reworked from a Trajanic bust. For other post-second century AD busts with leaf-goblets, see Jucker 1961, 101, no. St 50, pl. 40: dated end of the second, beginning of third century AD; 102, no. St 52, pl. 42: dated AD 197-211; 110, St Anhang 2, pl. 46: dated AD 210.

¹⁸⁴ Fittschen and Zanker 1983, 105. The reuse of older busts was not without parallel. As we have seen, the portrait of a Severan girl in the Palazzo dei Conservatori was also recut from a Hadrianic image (**no. 3, figs. 8-11**), and the portrait of a man from the time of Balbinus (**no. 26, figs. 127-129**) was recut from an early second century AD work. In addition, four busts from the middle Severan period in Hannover may have been reworked from earlier works: see Mlasowsky 1992, 160-193, nos. 17-20.

portraits whose faces (or, in one case, hair) were extensively reworked, often to depict the opposite gender, while preserving a prominent feature from the original likeness (no. 6, figs. 29-30; no. 7, figs. 33-35; no. 8, figs. 38-41; no. 9, fig. 43; no. 10, figs. 46-47); and fourthly, portraits that had the face removed and replaced (no. 11, figs. 50-52).

The second group of portraits were more moderately reworked (no. 16, figs. 79-81; no. 17, figs. 91-92; no. 18, figs. 94-95; no. 19, figs. 98-101; no. 20, figs. 104-105; no. 21, figs. 108-110; no. 22, fig. 115; no. 23, figs. 116-117; no. 24, figs. 118-122; no. 25, fig. 123; no. 26, figs. 127-129; no. 27, figs. 131-134; no. 28, fig. 137; no. 29, figs. 138-139; no. 30, figs. 141-144). The facial features of these portraits were not completely recarved, and no change in gender was involved. As with some extensively transformed images, partially reworked portraits often retain physiognomical traits from the original likeness, alongside stylistic features from a later period.

Many of the images discussed in Chapter One were not reworked until many years after the carving of the original likeness, and were reworked out of portraits in a good state of preservation. A resulting central conclusion is that throughout the imperial period, many private images enjoyed long lives after their original creation: following their disuse, such images were often stored for long periods of time, reworked, and, as a result, updated or modernised to conform to contemporary tastes. The modernisation of these images through reworking is indicated by several visual clues. One clue is the drilling of the pupils and the incising of the irises (which was not practiced until around AD 130), if this practice was foreign to the period in which the portrait was originally produced. Similarly, the reworking of a portrait is also clearly indicated by the modification of the hair, and (in the case of reworked male images) the addition of a particular style of stippled hair or the carving of a beard into previously smooth cheeks, if these were not stylistic elements from the

time in which the portrait was originally created. Many reworked portraits also retain physiognomical traits from the original image, like the coiffure at the back of the head, which contrast markedly with the rest. Reworking is also clearly confirmed by portraits that preserve other elements, besides hair, from an earlier image at the back of the head, as in the case of the heads in Princeton (**no. 1, figs. 1-3**) and Turin (**no. 2, figs. 5-7**). The preservation of hair or other elements from an earlier image on the back of the head suggests that transformed portraits probably stood in niches or with their backs against walls, a common practice in the Roman world; since the back part of the head would have been less likely to be seen, it could remain untouched. In the cases of busts and statues carved in one piece, the combination of a bust or body with a head in the style of a later period may also indicate that a reworking has occurred (**no. 3, figs. 8-11; no. 4, figs. 17-21; no. 5, figs. 23-25; no. 26, figs. 127-129; no. 30, figs. 141-144**). In several cases, the reworking of a sculpted portrait is indicated by the raising of the height of the forehead through the removal of hair across the forehead (**no. 23, figs. 116-117; no. 24, figs. 118-122; no. 25, fig. 123**). Attempts to *lower* the hairline on a marble portrait would require much more significant intervention: such an alteration would necessitate the recarving of the other facial features, which would in turn result in a reduction in the size of the head. Thus, while one may cite several examples of private portraits that had the foreheads *raised*, there are, to this author's knowledge, no cases of private images that had the foreheads lowered through reworking.

As we have seen, many reworked private portraits combine original elements of hairstyle or physiognomy with stylistic elements from a later period.¹⁸⁵ This partial reworking of many private images, whereby such portraits combine features from two different periods, raises the question of whether these images can in fact be considered to be true 'portraits.' The partial alterations that were made to many portraits suggest that the rendering of an exact likeness was not necessarily regarded

¹⁸⁵ Surprisingly, a number of private portraits datable *prior* to the Hadrianic period that were subsequently reworked *following* this time did not have the pupils drilled or the irises incised: see **no. 14, figs. 66-68; no. 17, figs. 91-92; no. 20, figs. 104-105; no. 22, fig. 115; no. 24, figs. 118-122; no.**

as being important if the identity of the individual being depicted was indicated by other means, such as an inscription or the context in which the portrait was displayed.

This chapter has also examined a number of imperial images that appear to have been reworked into private likenesses (no. 8, figs. 38-41; no. 12, figs. 57-59; no. 13, figs. 62-63; no. 14, figs. 66-68; no. 15, figs. 71-73). Recut imperial portraits were almost always transformed into representations of other emperors, immediate successors or revered predecessors, commonly as a result of *damnatio memoriae*.¹⁸⁶ Portraits of some long dead and thus, unimportant, imperial figures were also reworked.¹⁸⁷ Even portraits of famous and distinguished imperial figures, who had not suffered any form of posthumous sanctions against their memories, were not immune from being recycled into other imperial likenesses at a later date.¹⁸⁸ However, as we have seen, it appears that imperial portraits could very occasionally be reworked into private likenesses. The reworking of the cases discussed in this thesis would have been facilitated by two factors. Firstly, in each case, the depicted person was either unpopular (as in the case of Nero) or unimportant (as in the case of Antinous). Secondly, the reworking occurred at a significantly later date than the time when the portrait was originally carved. Because the memories of such imperial subjects would not have been perpetuated, the reworking of these portraits into private likenesses at a much later, and therefore less politically sensitive, date, would have been possible. The memories of 'good' emperors, such as Augustus, continued to be maintained many years after their deaths. The reworking of portraits of 'good' rulers into private likenesses is highly unlikely, because this would have been an affront to the living memory of the deceased emperor.

25, fig. 123; no. 26, figs. 127-129; no. 27, figs. 131-134; no. 28, fig. 137.

¹⁸⁶ For imperial portraits reworked as a result of the posthumous sanction of *damnatio memoriae*, see above, 3, note 10.

¹⁸⁷ See, for example, Jucker 1981 (a), 281-284, for a portrait of Drusus Minor that was reworked into a likeness of Claudius.

**CHAPTER TWO:
FEMALE PORTRAITS: PIECED OR REWORKED?**

This chapter examines a number of private female portraits in relation to the modern idea of 'updating.' According to this idea, Roman women were such slavish followers of fashion that they insisted upon the 'updating' of the coiffures on their marble portraits in response to changing hair styles. The very limited but clear evidence for the recutting of the hair on female portraits as a way of keeping up-to-date with changing fashions will firstly be discussed. Secondly, it examines a group of female images considered by some scholars to have had the hair updated for the same reason. These portraits can be divided into two groups. The first includes heads that were prepared to receive separately worked, detachable wigs, which supposedly allowed the sitter to easily modify her hairstyle as fashions changed. Related to this group of portraits by the idea of 'fashionable change' are a number of images sometimes held to have been reworked through the chiselling away of all or part of the coiffure, followed by the addition of new portions to bring the hairstyle up-to-date. This chapter critically reevaluates a number of these controversial images. The discussion of these portraits is chronological, and will provide a representative sample of the images that were supposedly modified in this way from the first through to the third centuries AD. It is argued here that the majority of these images can be attributed to the Roman practice of piecing, or that their appearances can be attributed to other technical reasons. Reasons are also suggested for the interpretation of these images as pieced or assembled by other means. Lastly, as a result of this reevaluation, explanations are proposed as to why the coiffures on the marble portraits of Roman women do not appear to have been frequently updated through reworking.

¹⁸⁸ For example, see two portraits of Augustus that were reworked into likenesses of the emperor Constantine in the fourth century AD: Giuliano 1997.

Female Portraits with Updated Coiffures

There is some evidence suggesting that the coiffures on the sculpted portraits of private Roman women could occasionally be reworked as a way of updating the hairstyle in response to changing fashions. Two portraits provide unequivocal evidence for this practice. The marble image of a Roman matron in the Museum of Fine Arts in Boston (**no. 31, figs. 148-151**) is a case in point. The head has been dated to the late Flavian or Trajanic period, but the coiffure was subsequently reworked in the Trajanic or early Hadrianic period.¹⁸⁹ The woman is depicted with a crest of hair above her forehead which is divided into a three-tiered, banded hairstyle. This three-tiered arrangement was not the original hairstyle, which is suggested by the random scattering of drill holes in the lowest tier of curls and along the top of the back-side of the crest.¹⁹⁰ The sponge crest (figs. 152-153) was a development of the Flavian period, with earlier forms composed of a low mass of curls. The crest continued to be worn in the first quarter of the second century AD, when it became taller and more pointed.¹⁹¹ The still massive shape of the three-tiered arrangement on the Boston portrait suggests a date for the first hairstyle in the late-Flavian or early Trajanic period. The Boston woman's first crest may have resembled a portrait of a Trajanic subject in the National Museum in Rome (fig. 154).¹⁹² The handling of the ringlets also secures the late-Flavian or early Trajanic date of the first crest. On the back of the crest, one can see that the effect of a mass of tightly-packed curls was created by a series of drill holes surrounded by rings and separated by another series of smaller drill holes (fig. 151). The same technique was used on a portrait from the Trajanic period in the Capitoline Museum (figs. 152-153).¹⁹³

¹⁸⁹ Herrmann 1991; Liverani 1990-1991, 167, note 15; Bartman 2001, 19-20.

¹⁹⁰ Herrmann 1991, 35, 37.

¹⁹¹ Herrmann 1991, 38.

¹⁹² Herrmann 1991, 39.

¹⁹³ *Ibid.*

Behind the facade of the crest of the Boston portrait, the hair is parted in fine strands across the head and combed forward into the crest, and backward to a ring of braids that circles the back of the head. A separate (but now-missing) piece of marble was added there, secured with an iron spike (now bent to one side) which originally projected about 4cm.¹⁹⁴ It is not clear whether this join was original or part of the emendation, but it is clear that the bun at the back of the head would have projected much further than it does at present.¹⁹⁵

The original crest of curls was replaced during the reworking by a flat, three-tiered arrangement. Flat, banded hairstyles are characteristic of portraits of women from the Trajanic and early Hadrianic periods. Most hairstyles from the time of Trajan employ a single band as the basis for other contrasting masses of curls. However, many portraits dating from the later Trajanic period feature hairstyles that are composed of two-tiered, three-tiered, and even four-tiered arrangements.¹⁹⁶ A portrait in Aquileia (fig. 155) dated around AD 110-125, is especially close to the image in Boston in its reworked form, and suggests a date within this period for the reworking of the head.¹⁹⁷ The mass of loose curls at the centre of the upper tiers used as a crowning element on the Aquileia portrait must also have been fitted into the top of the Boston lady's coiffure, as shown by the surviving socket (fig. 151).¹⁹⁸ The reworking took place within a very short time of the original carving, as is suggested by the two different hairstyles. Together with the lack of reworking on the face, this suggests that the image was indeed modified to update the hairstyle of the subject in response to changing hair fashions.

The portrait of a woman from the third century AD in the Capitoline Museum in Rome (**no. 32, figs. 156-158**) also appears to have had the coiffure updated through

¹⁹⁴ Herrmann 1991, 35.

¹⁹⁵ Herrmann 1991, 38.

¹⁹⁶ Herrmann 1991, 36.

¹⁹⁷ Herrmann 1991, 44.

¹⁹⁸ Herrmann 1991, 36.

reworking.¹⁹⁹ The sitter wears the hairstyle of the empress Otacilia Severa (figs. 159-161), wife of the emperor Philip the Arab. The hair on the image in the Capitoline Museum is parted in the centre and brushed in waves behind the ears. At the neck, the hair is drawn up into a braided skull plait. Underneath the first plait, a second one is clearly visible, reaching towards the front of the head. Because there are no parallels for this unusual doubling of two skull plaits, it is very likely that the portrait was reworked.²⁰⁰ Reworking is also suggested by the fact that the edges of the original skull plait with the rhombic patterning were hammered off, so that the latter would not raise itself visibly above the second, later plait.²⁰¹ The creation of the second skull plait meant that a small amount of marble had to be removed from the hair and the grooves slightly deepened.²⁰² The following process in relation to the life of the image may thus be reconstructed. The portrait was originally provided with a short skull plait in the style that was worn during the post-Severan period by Otacilia Severa. The portrait was then modified through the carving of a second, larger plait of hair which emerged in the Gallienic period, as seen in an image in Antalya (figs. 162-163).²⁰³ The apparent short difference in time between the carving of the portrait and its reworking, and the lack of reworking of the face, make it likely that the reworking of the coiffure was once more motivated by a desire to keep current with changing hair fashions.

¹⁹⁹ Fittschen and Zanker 1983, 113, no. 170; Goette 1986, 738, note 70.

²⁰⁰ Fittschen and Zanker 1983, 113.

²⁰¹ *Ibid.*

²⁰² *Ibid.*

²⁰³ *Ibid.*

Dubious Cases of Female Portraits with Updated Coiffures

The discussion of the reworked images in Boston and Rome showed that Roman women could indeed commission the recutting of the coiffures on their marble portraits as a way of keeping up-to-date with changing hairstyles. However, many other portraits that supposedly received similar modifications are, at the very least, doubtful cases of reworked images.

Bewigged Female Portraits

The first group includes images with heads that were prepared to receive separately worked, detachable coiffures (figs. 164-165). These portraits are predominantly Severan in date and follow the 'bewigged' style introduced by Julia Domna, although several examples come from the Flavian and late Antonine periods.²⁰⁴ Various explanations of this phenomenon have been advanced. Since some of the earliest publications dealing with Roman sculpture, the most common interpretation of these portraits has been that the wigs were made separately so that they could be easily removed and replaced when the sitter wanted to update her coiffure in response to changing fashions in hair.²⁰⁵ This view, however, has been refuted in recent years.²⁰⁶ In particular, Klaus Fittschen has rejected the theory by pointing out that many portraits with separately carved hairpieces were funerary commissions, and therefore depict sitters who could not have had expectations of future portraits.²⁰⁷ It has also been noted that if such portraits were made for the purpose of rapid change in hairstyle, one may ask why the confinement of the practice is almost exclusively to

²⁰⁴ For lists of the currently known examples, see: Crawford 1917, 113-115, nos. 46-57; Strocka 1967, 118-119, note 16; Schauenburg 1967, 46ff, 55ff., figs. 1-7, 18-22; Fittschen and Zanker 1983, 105-106, note 4.

²⁰⁵ Amelung 1903, 744; F. Poulsen 1916, 47-48; Crawford 1917, 116; Helbig 1963, 41, 241, nos. 50, 310; Gazda 1977, 26; Frel 1981, 92, no. 75; Burns 1993; Kleiner and Matheson 1996, 164; Matheson 2000, 76.

²⁰⁶ See, most notably, Fittschen and Zanker 1983, 104-106; Sande 1991, 83; Bartman 2001; Claridge, forthcoming 2003.

²⁰⁷ Fittschen and Zanker 1983, 105.

the Severan period.²⁰⁸ In addition, fitting an existing head with a new hairpiece was not the simple job it is commonly implied to have been. Hair length, relationship of hair to ears, and the shape and size of the bun differed considerably from one coiffure to another and precluded a simple substitution of one wig for another.²⁰⁹ As a result, the theory of wig change advocated by some scholars is unlikely to have motivated the sitters of such images.²¹⁰ These portraits should instead be interpreted differently. The most likely explanation is that the ladies themselves wore wigs in reality, as was fashionable in the Severan period, and that the sculptor was enhancing the realism of his depiction of a wig-wearing woman by carving her coiffure literally as a wig.²¹¹

Female Portraits with Coiffures supposedly Updated through Reworking

An example of a portrait from the first century AD, which supposedly had the coiffure updated through reworking, is provided by an image of a Julio-Claudian woman in the Szépművészeti Museum in Budapest (**no. 33, figs. 166-169**). The image was originally published as a female portrait,²¹² an identification followed recently by Susan Matheson.²¹³ The portrait has also been regarded by Kreikenbom as depicting the emperor Domitian!²¹⁴ Certainly, the broad proportions of the face, slightly hooked nose, long mouth with full, receding lower lip, and firm, square chin, display a certain resemblance to later portraits of Domitian (compare fig. 136). Kreikenbom tentatively suggested, without any further discussion, that the portrait in its second version may have been intended to represent a female deity, but that the reworking of the head was not completed.²¹⁵

²⁰⁸ Sande 1991, 83.

²⁰⁹ Bartman 2001, 19.

²¹⁰ Ibid.

²¹¹ Strocka 1967, 119, note 16; Claridge 1988, 152, note 47; Sande 1991, 81.

²¹² Hekler 1929, 126-127, no. 115 (dated in the Tiberian period).

²¹³ Matheson 2000, 72-73.

²¹⁴ Kreikenbom 1992, 107-109.

²¹⁵ Kreikenbom 1992, 108.

In this author's opinion, however, the portrait most likely depicts an older woman. The original waves of hair close to the part at the centre of the forehead do not correspond to the arrangement of hair on Domitian's portraits, where it was brushed forward from the occiput in long strands and arranged in comma-shaped locks across the forehead (fig. 136). On the head in Budapest, the hair is parted in the centre of the forehead and drawn back above and behind the temples. The central part continues along the back of the head, where the hair was gathered in a loose cluster or ponytail at the nape of the neck. This hairstyle, particularly the hair near the part, is so specifically Julio-Claudian (compare fig. 45) that the portrait very likely dates from that period.²¹⁶ In addition, the austerity and severity of the face, which gives the image its masculine appearance, is similar to the contemporary portrait of a similarly mature and matronly woman in Copenhagen (fig. 170).

According to Matheson, the reworking of the portrait involved the removal of the hair framing the face, except for the hair close to the part at the centre of the forehead, as well as the waves that led to the ponytail at the nape of the neck. The ponytail was also removed and replaced by another one of unknown shape. A hole in the back of the neck was for the attachment of a new bun of hair.²¹⁷ Matheson admitted that the appearance of the new hairstyle is unknown. She suggested, however, that the hair on either side of the part may have been updated from something like that on a portrait from the tomb of the Licinii (figs. 171-173) into a style similar to that worn by Antonia Minor (fig. 45).²¹⁸

Matheson is correct in her claim that the portrait in Budapest was altered: the hair on either side of the part over the forehead and behind the ears to the back of the head definitely appears to have been reworked. However, two points cast doubt on the

²¹⁶ So also Matheson 2000, 72. Eric Varner (personal communication by e-mail, 10 June 2001) suggested that the portrait originally depicted Domitian in the guise of the emperor's patron deity, Minerva. However, he fell back on the identification of the portrait as that of a Julio-Claudian woman because of the style of the remaining hair at the front of the head.

²¹⁷ Matheson 2000, 72.

²¹⁸ Matheson 2000, 73.

possibility that the coiffure was updated. Firstly, if the hair (as Matheson claims) was reworked from a style like that worn by the woman in figs. 171-173, into a style similar to that worn by Antonia Minor in fig. 45, there would have been no need for separate pieces: the former style could simply have been recarved into the latter style. Secondly, based on the similarities of the Budapest image to a portrait of a girl in the Torlonia Museum from the late first century BC (figs. 174-177), it is possible that the Budapest image acquired some sort of decorative addition. Walter Trillmich was the first scholar to give a comprehensive treatment of the Torlonia portrait.²¹⁹ There is a flat, broad strip over the top of the head, a flat, roughly rectangular surface on either side of the head, and a flat circular surface on the occiput. Four holes were drilled in the portrait: two over the left ear, and two in the back of the head. The preserved left ear lobe is drilled, as are the eyes. Based on these holes and flat surfaces, as well as comparisons to other portraits, Trillmich showed that the coiffure on the Torlonia image was elaborately decorated with (now lost) jewellery fitted on the flat surfaces over the top and on each side of the head (see Trillmich's reconstruction in figs. 178-179).²²⁰ These attachments continued around the back of the head, where a metal rosette was placed on the flat round surface of the occiput.²²¹ The pierced ears received earrings, and the irises and pupils were separately added in glass.²²²

Trillmich recognised the similarities between the Torlonia image and the head in Budapest, and concluded that the Budapest portrait also probably acquired some sort of encircling decorative addition.²²³ Admittedly, the Budapest image differs from the portrait in Torlonia in several ways. It does not have flat surfaces over the top of the head or on the occiput for the attachment of separate pieces. Also, the sections of now missing hair on either side of the Budapest head are rough, compared to the flat area on either side of the Torlonia head. However, the images are similar in other

²¹⁹ Trillmich 1976. For a more recent discussion of the Torlonia portrait, see Bol 1989, 322-329, no. 105, with extensive earlier literature; Bartman 1999, 33.

²²⁰ Trillmich 1976, 34-35.

²²¹ Trillmich 1976, 34-35; Bol 1989, 324.

²²² Trillmich 1976, 35.

details: both images have areas on either side of the head for now missing attachments, which did not meet over the middle of the forehead; and on both heads the now missing added pieces went behind the ears where they were gathered at the back of the head. The backs of both ears on each image are missing. Perhaps the rear portion of each ear was removed to allow adequate room for the attachments that were placed near the ears on both images. Based on these similarities, it is possible that rather than having the hair updated, the coiffure on the Budapest image may have been embellished with additions (in metal or stucco) in a similar way to the portrait in Torlonia.

A cluster of images whose coiffures were supposedly modernised through recutting come from the early second century AD. A case in point is a portrait of a woman from the Trajanic period in the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York (**no. 34, figs. 180-181**). The portrait has a deep socket for the now-missing crest of hair, which was attached to the crown by two iron pins. Other areas of the portrait also received separate attachments: the left ear was inserted into a deep socket, and the back and left side of the bust were pieced, again making use of pins. In some areas at the back, the carving is different from that used on the rest of the bust.²²⁴ The separate attachment of the hair at the front has led to the claim that this section of the hair was a later addition, which updated the hairstyle in response to changing fashions.²²⁵ However, the reworking of the portrait for this purpose seems far from certain. There may have been a technical explanation for the attachment, such as the discovery of a flaw in the marble, which would have necessitated the carving of a new piece. Another possibility is that the sculptor may have considered the separate carving and attachment of the projecting hairpiece and ear to have been more convenient than the carving of the image in one piece. This is suggested by several portraits, such as two heads of Alexander Severus (figs. 182-183) and Gordian III

²²³ Trillmich 1976, 31.

²²⁴ Herrmann 1991, 47.

²²⁵ Herrmann 1991, 47; Matheson 2000, 73; Bartman 2001, 20, note 106 (*possibly* reworked). However, none of the scholars discussed what this addition of hair may have looked like.

(figs. 184-185), that had the ears carved separately and attached to the head.²²⁶ Since, however, only the left ear was carved separately, and the left side of the bust was pieced, the most likely explanation is that the portrait was repaired in antiquity following damage. Such an explanation is supported by evidence for the frequent repair and restoration of sculpture in both Greek and Roman times.²²⁷

A second example of a portrait from the Trajanic period which supposedly had the coiffure updated through reworking is that of the statue of Julia Procula in Ostia (no. 35, figs. 186-188).²²⁸ The statue was found in an ornate and large tomb in the Isola Sacra, at the mouth of the Tiber, which belonged to three related families.²²⁹ The woman's hair is wrapped with a cloth (*kekryphalos*) in the Greek fashion. It is widely recognised that the first winding was later roughened to receive some sort of attachment.²³⁰ However, only two scholars have commented on what type of attachment this may have been: Raissa Calza suggested that the roughening of the surface was carried out for the application of an attachment in metal or stucco;²³¹ and John Herrmann suggested that the head was updated with the addition of a fashionably contemporary crest of hair, but did not elaborate on what this addition may have looked like.²³²

To this author, however, it seems unlikely that the portrait received later alterations for the purpose of updating the hairstyle. The nature of the statue, a funerary dedication, precludes the necessity of updating the coiffure in response to changing fashions: the subject was dead and the hairstyle would have been up-to-date at the time of her death. Therefore, there would have been no sense, in most cases, in

²²⁶ See Giuliano 1988, vol. 1.9, part 2, 360-362, no. R 273, and Giuliano 1979, 310-312, no. 186, respectively.

²²⁷ For the restoration and repair of sculpture in the Greek period, see, for example, Richter 1970, 123; Frel 1982; Harrison 1990. For the Roman period, see Frel 1984; Hannestad 1994; Freyer-Schauenburg 1999; Claridge, forthcoming 2003.

²²⁸ Herrmann 1991, 46.

²²⁹ For a discussion of the find-spot of the statue, see Lenaghan 1999, 172-173.

²³⁰ Calza 1964, 65; Kruse 1975, 339; Pfanner 1989, 246; Herrmann 1991, 46; Lenaghan 1999, 171-173, 494.

²³¹ Calza 1964, 65.

changing it later.²³³ Moreover, because the hair is wrapped with a cloth, the later addition of a crest of hair would have created an unnatural effect on the image. It seems more probable that a crown or diadem was added to the portrait. It is possible that the family wanted something more elaborate for their deceased relative, whereby a crowning metal attachment was added to achieve this.

Additional portraits from the second century AD whose hairstyles were supposedly modernised through recutting also come from the time of Faustina the Younger, younger daughter of Faustina the Elder and Antoninus Pius, and wife of Marcus Aurelius. The extant sculpted portraits of Faustina the Younger have been divided into nine main types that were created to commemorate important occasions during her life.²³⁴ Faustina is depicted with a smooth, oval face, almond-shaped eyes with partially closed lids, delicate, relatively straight brows, an aquiline nose, and a small, rounded mouth (figs. 189-191). Faustina's coiffure comprises wavy hair drawn back from a central part and gathered in a bun at the back of the head. The portrait types differ in the form of the waves, the position of the bun, and the extent to which the hair covers the ears.

The portrait of a woman in the Thessaloniki Archaeological Museum (**no. 36, figs. 192-194**) supposedly had the bun and a small part of the hair cut away to accommodate a replacement, as a way of updating the hairstyle.²³⁵ The portrait has been dated to around AD 159, based on its similarity to images of Faustina the Younger from this period.²³⁶ At the back of the head is an undowelled plane butting at an almost vertical angle (figs. 193-194). The joining surface is sharply keyed in the centre for the application of adhesive cement. Rather than having been reworked, it seems likely that the back of the portrait was carved separately and attached to the

²³² Herrmann 1991, 46.

²³³ Since, however, Roman women could sometimes commission funerary portraits for themselves prior to their own death (see McDonnell 2002), an update of their marble coiffures could have been tempting.

²³⁴ For Faustina the Younger's sculpted portraits, see Fittschen 1982, 44-65, pls. 8-43.

²³⁵ Matheson 2000, 74.

²³⁶ Fittschen 1982, 54, note 34 u.

head with glue. An instructive comparison is a portrait of Nerva in the J. Paul Getty Museum (figs. 195-196), which had the crown and the back of the head worked separately and attached to the main part of the portrait. Similarly, the portrait of a woman from the early Augustan period had the back part of the head, which is covered by a veil, worked separately (figs. 197-198). Two further heads, of Claudius (figs. 199-200) and a Hadrianic woman (figs. 201-202), had both the back and top parts carved separately and attached. In all four cases, the sculptor may have carved the images from several pieces of marble because of the lack of an adequately sized block of marble, as a matter of convenience, or even economy.

A portrait of a woman in the Museo Archeologico in Aquileia (**no. 37, figs. 203-206**) has recently been considered to have had the coiffure reworked into a 'later variant' as a way of keeping up-to-date with changing hair fashions.²³⁷ On the basis of its similarities to an image in the Capitoline Museum (fig. 207), which Klaus Fittschen has dated to this period and attributed to one of Lucius Verus' two sisters, the Aquileia portrait has been dated to about AD 160.²³⁸

According to Matheson, the portrait had the bun and a small part of the back of the head cut away to accommodate a replacement. The image has a flattened area at the back of the head where the bun of hair originally was. The sculptor carved a round hole in the centre of this area into which the tenon of the new piece would fit.²³⁹ Three points, however, can be brought against this explanation. Firstly, the separate working of the back of the portrait does not necessarily mean that this part of the head was reworked. As we have seen, the back of a portrait was often carved separately and attached to the head (compare, for example, figs. 192-202). Secondly, another area of the portrait was separately worked. On the top, right side of the image, there is a flat, angled surface with a round hole carved in the centre. The hole is surrounded by a number of smaller round key marks, probably to give the

²³⁷ Matheson 2000, 74. Matheson did not specify, however, what form this 'later variant' took.

²³⁸ Fittschen and Zanker 1983, 26.

²³⁹ Matheson 2000, 74.

attachment of hair a better grip on the marble surface. This technique is identical to that used on the back surface of the portrait. Because of its location and relatively small size, the flat area on the top of the head cannot be the result of a reworking. Rather, this area appears to have been repaired or restored, or was simply carved separately from the beginning. The technique of piecing was not uncommon in Roman sculpture. For example, the portrait of an Antonine man in Princeton (figs. 208-209) had a section of the crown added to the head as a separate piece,²⁴⁰ in a very similar technique and style to the missing section on the top of the head in Aquileia. The similar technique used on both parts of the Aquileia head means that both areas were probably worked on at the same time, either because the image was pieced from the beginning, or because it was damaged and later repaired.²⁴¹ Thirdly, the back of the head in Aquileia is similar in technique to the back of a portrait of Lucilla in the Conservatori Museum in Rome from roughly the same period (figs. 210-211), which has been recognised as having clearly been pieced.²⁴² The image of Lucilla has a roughened, flat surface at the back of the head for the attachment of a separately worked bun of hair.²⁴³ Another portrait of Lucilla in Ostia also had the bun of hair worked separately and attached (fig. 212).²⁴⁴ The bun of hair is here preserved, showing what the now missing bun on the image of Lucilla in the Conservatori Museum (figs. 210-211) probably looked like. The similarity in technique of the backs of the head in Aquileia and the two portraits of Lucilla casts doubt on the claim that the coiffure on the Aquileia image was updated through reworking, and suggests instead that the head was pieced.

²⁴⁰ Padgett 2001, 67. An iron pin is still preserved in the pecked area on top of which the separate piece was added.

²⁴¹ On the repair of sculpture in antiquity, see above, 54, note 227.

²⁴² See Fittschen and Zanker 1983, 24-25, no. 24, with earlier literature.

²⁴³ Fittschen and Zanker 1983, 24.

²⁴⁴ Helbig 1972, 78, no. 3090; Fittschen and Zanker 1983, 25, note 2.

An image in Istanbul (**no. 38, figs. 213-216**) has also been considered to have undergone alterations for the purpose of modernising the hairstyle of the subject.²⁴⁵ The bun at the back would have been removed, leaving a rectangular tenon to anchor a new one; and the tops of the ears would have been altered by the addition of marble patches, which supposedly changed the appearance of the subject, consistent with images from the late second century AD, such as a portrait of a woman in Copenhagen (figs. 217-218).

However, to this author, four points suggest that the head was not reworked but pieced during the mid 150s or early 160s AD. Firstly, in view of the cases discussed above, the replacement of the bun of hair at the back of the portrait with a newer one seems less likely than the possibility that this part of the hair was carved separately. The tenon and socket technique for the attachment of a bun can be compared to that used on a portrait of the empress Crispina in the University of Missouri in Columbia (figs. 219-220). This technique could also be used in male portraits. For example, the top part of the head from a portrait of Antinous in Rome (figs. 221-222) was worked separately and attached to the head,²⁴⁶ as shown by the square hole on the underside made to accommodate a square tenon on the head itself. A portrait of a priest from Aphrodisias (figs. 223-225) exhibits the same technique but in reverse: socket on the head, tenon on the piece. The piecing together of the heads in Columbia, Rome, and Aphrodisias presumably arose from a matter of convenience, a fault in the marble, or a lack of adequate marble from which to carve the entire portrait. The similarity in technique of these heads to the technique on the portrait from Istanbul means that a similar explanation for the appearance of the latter image is likely.

A second point supporting a case of piecing for the Istanbul head is that the crown was also separately carved and attached. This technique cannot have been the result of a reworking of the image, and is typical of many Roman portraits. An instructive

²⁴⁵ Following the first publication of the head (Curtius 1957), it has often been claimed that the image was reworked. See: Brilliant 1975, 136-137; Herrmann 1991, 47; Kleiner and Matheson 1996, 174, no. 130, note 8 (Penelope Davies); Matheson 2000, 74.

parallel is the small portrait bust of a man from Thera (fig. 226), which had the top of the head worked separately and attached. One may also compare the image of Nerva in the Getty Museum (figs. 195-196) and the head of Antinous in Rome (figs. 221-222), which, as we have already seen, also had the crown separately worked and attached. The separate working and attachment of the top part of the Istanbul portrait makes it probable that the entire head was pieced from the beginning.

Thirdly, the relatively small adhesion surface of the knot, and the short tenon, indicate that the portrait cannot have secondarily acquired a large bun of hair like that worn by the empress Crispina (figs. 227-229) and other women (for example, figs. 217-218) from the late second century AD, as has been claimed. Rather, it is more likely that the portrait had a middle-sized knot similar to that worn by Faustina the Younger in the 150s and 160s AD (figs. 189-191). The similarities of the Istanbul head to images of Faustina Minor extend to the rendering of the eyebrows as long, flatly arched crests with the hairs indicated by short incisions, as seen in a portrait of the empress (fig. 230) that has been dated c. AD 162.²⁴⁷ The Istanbul portrait thus can be dated in the mid 150s or early 160s AD.

Fourthly, the marble patches over the ears, which are supposedly later additions, do not make a considerable difference to the appearance of the portrait, as has been claimed. Even with the addition of the patches, which made the hair descend lower over the ears, the appearance of the subject is not greatly changed. It seems more likely that the patches were simply worked separately when the portrait was originally carved, because of the delicate process of carving around this area of the head.²⁴⁸ This possibility is also suggested by the manner in which the patch on the

²⁴⁶ Meyer 1991, 51.

²⁴⁷ Fittschen 1982, 60.

²⁴⁸ Several other heads also had the ears, or sections of hair near the ears, carved separately: two portraits of Alexander Severus and Gordian III: above, 53-54, figs. 182-185; a portrait of a woman in the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York (no. 34, figs. 180-181); a portrait of Julia Mamaea in the Louvre: below, 66, figs. 265-267; and an image of a woman in Neuchâtel (no. 42, figs. 258-261). Two female heads in the Capitoline Museum in Rome also had sections of hair near the ears worked separately: see Fittschen and Zanker 1983, 94-95, nos. 137-138.

right side of the head covers the ear, leaving only a small part of the bottom exposed, which can also be found on numerous portraits of Faustina the Younger from the 150s (for example, figs. 191 and 231). On the basis of this similarity, the piecing of the crown, and the relatively small bun of hair, one can conclude that the head was most likely pieced, not reworked, and that it can be dated to the mid-Antonine period, during the time of Faustina the Younger.

Three portraits, two in Rome and one in Bonn, are representative of images from the early Severan period whose coiffures were supposedly modernised through reworking. The first portrait is that of a woman in the Chiaramonti Museum in Rome (no. 39, figs. 232-235). It has been argued that the original hair, except for the band of waves across the front of the head, was carved away to receive a new coiffure which was attached through the large rectangular hole at the back of the head.²⁴⁹ A more likely explanation, however, is that the woman wore a (now lost) separately carved mantle which was drawn over the back of the head like a veil. Certainly, the angle of the hair over the middle of the forehead, and especially the rough treatment of the neck very low down (fig. 234), are very similar to veiled portraits, both male and female (figs. 236 and 237). Admittedly, the veil or mantle covering the back of the head of Roman portraits were generally carved in one piece with the head. However, this was not always the case, as shown, for example, by a portrait of a woman from the Antonine period in Athens (figs. 238-240). The face and the front of the neck, together with what hair appears from beneath the edge of the mantle, were carved in a separate piece and dowelled into the hollow hood of the mantle behind.²⁵⁰ It is likely that in both cases, the head and mantle were from the beginning carved separately and inserted into a draped statue. Such a technique presumably

²⁴⁹ Matheson 2000, 75. Matheson, however, did not comment on what type of hairstyle the portrait may have secondarily acquired. Liverani 1989, 94, suggested that the head may originally have been furnished with a (now lost) separately carved marble wig. No extant private portraits with detachable wigs, however, have a 'partial' wig, as would have been necessary in this image, because of the band of waves across the front of the head. In every known case, the wig represents the *entire* coiffure (compare figs. 164-165). Aware of this, Liverani himself admitted that the portrait would have been an unusual case among images with wigs.

²⁵⁰ Harrison 1953, 44.

arose from the convenience of carving the two parts by two different people: one sculptor may have specialised in carving the facial features, while another carved the bodies and mantle. However, it may also have been related to other workshop procedures, whereby the veiled bodies were prepared in advance, while the portraits were made to order.

A second head from the Severan period, in Bonn (**no. 40, figs. 241-243**), also supposedly had the coiffure updated through reworking, and modifications made to other parts of the image.²⁵¹ The portrait has been dated to the first quarter of the third century AD, on the basis of its similarities to other female images from this period (compare, for example, figs. 244 and 245).²⁵² According to Goette, the coiffure was significantly altered by reducing the volume of hair that originally covered the ears almost entirely and recarving the now exposed ears. Such a reworking, Goette claimed, explains why the ears do not project from the side of the head.²⁵³ In Goette's reconstruction of the portrait (fig. 246), the solid line slightly above the dotted line on the top of the head represents the original hair mass of the portrait; and the dotted line shows the present state of the portrait, following the reworking, and also the type of (now missing) bun of hair provided secondarily. However, the 'tight', sleek hairstyle of the Bonn portrait, which adheres very closely to the skull and is tightly combed in fine waves to the back of the head, is very similar to that of other portraits (compare figs. 170, 244 and 245), and thus, need not imply a loss of volume as a result of a reworking. Furthermore, the barely projecting ears are also found on other portraits, such as an image of Faustina the Elder (figs. 247-248) and a portrait of a woman from the late Antonine period (fig. 249). Such a feature, therefore, is not evidence in itself that the head was reworked.

The bun of hair at the back of the portrait is missing. Only an oval cavity with a picked surface and a rectangular hole where the bun was originally attached remain.

²⁵¹ Goette 1984, 128-140.

²⁵² Noelke 1982, 251, note 24; Fittschen and Zanker 1983, 89; Goette 1984; Fittschen 1991, 308-309.

²⁵³ Goette 1984, 133.

There is a line on the neck below the attachment surface for the bun of hair. Goette saw the picked surface for the attachment of a separately worked hair bun, and the line underneath this area, as evidence that the bun of hair was changed, and that the portrait secondarily acquired a larger bun, similar to that worn by the empress Crispina (figs. 227-229).²⁵⁴ There are several weaknesses in this reconstruction. Firstly, Goette did not justify, in any way, his claim that the portrait secondarily acquired a bun of hair in the style of Crispina.²⁵⁵ To this author, the angle of the head and the relatively small surface for the attachment of the bun of hair suggest that the head could not have acquired a large Crispina-style bun (compare figs. 228 and 242).²⁵⁶ This is also shown in Goette's problematic reconstruction (fig. 246). Clearly, the attachment of a large Crispina-style bun would have resulted in an awkward space between the top section of the bun and the occiput. There are further difficulties with Goette's reconstruction drawing, which cast doubt on his claim that the portrait was reworked. At the top of the large bun of hair at the back of the head, the dotted line actually goes *above* the solid line, which implies that marble was *added*, not reduced, contrary to Goette's argument. Goette did not address this discrepancy, which highlights the problems with his claim that the portrait secondarily acquired a large Crispina-style bun of hair. Doubts that the Bonn head was reworked can also be raised as a result of the discrepancies between the current state of the head in Goette's reconstruction and what the actual portrait looks like. Goette claimed that the hair was reduced in volume over the forehead. The dotted line over the forehead leads one to believe that the hair is still projecting over this area. However, when one looks at a profile view of the actual portrait (fig. 243), there is no such projection.

²⁵⁴ Goette 1984, 132-133. For the sculpted portraits of Crispina, see Fittschen 1982, 82-88, pls. 49-56. Goette did not discuss what type of hairstyle the Bonn head may originally have had.

²⁵⁵ Goette 1984, 133, simply stated: 'Am Hinterkopf kann tief im Nacken ein kleiner kegelförmiger Knoten gesessen haben. Jedoch scheint mir die Annahme eines großen flachen Knotens, wie ihn die späten Bildnisse der Crispina zeigen, eher wahrscheinlich.'

²⁵⁶ A similar case is the portrait of a woman from Istanbul (no. 38, figs. 213-216). It has been claimed that the Istanbul head was secondarily fitted with a large bun of hair similar to that worn by some women in the late second century AD. However, as is the case with the Bonn portrait, the relatively small adhesion surface at the back of the portrait from Istanbul speaks against such a possibility, making it more likely that it had a smaller bun of hair similar to that worn by Faustina the Younger.

The oval surface for the attachment of a now missing hair bun is not in itself evidence that the portrait was reworked, as Goette claimed. The technique is very similar, for example, to the separately worked and attached crown from a portrait of Antinous, discussed above (figs. 221-222).²⁵⁷ One may also compare the Bonn portrait to a head of Athena in the Museo Chiaramonti in Rome (figs. 250-252), which has a similar picked and roughly circular surface with a hole in the middle for the attachment of a separate piece, in this case a helmet, as can be seen from the remains at the back of the head.²⁵⁸ The similarity in technique implies that the bun of the Bonn head may also have been carved separately, like other portraits examined above.²⁵⁹

Goette also argued that the head in Bonn was reworked because of the appearance of the relatively bulging eyes, above deep bags. As a result of the reduction in the volume of the hair, Goette claimed that the sculptor removed marble from the forehead to create a suitable transition to the surface of the face, but that he left the eyes untouched. This, according to Goette, is why the eyes currently project so far forward.²⁶⁰ However, projecting eyes and a long lower lid are also characteristics of other portraits, such as an image of a woman from the tetrarchic period in the Capitoline Museum (figs. 253-254), and thus, need not imply that these features are the result of a lowering of the plane of the forehead. Goette also argued that the lips on the Bonn portrait were originally much fuller, but that they were made smaller by the reduction of marble in this area (fig. 246). The sculptor, Goette claimed, also removed marble from the chin to create a smooth transition from the mouth to the

²⁵⁷ See above, 58, figs. 221-222.

²⁵⁸ Helbig 1963, 263, no. 345.

²⁵⁹ Compare the images in Thessaloniki (no. 36, figs. 192-194), Aquileia (no. 37, figs. 203-206), and Istanbul (no. 38, figs. 213-216) that each had the bun of hair carved separately and attached. The likelihood that the bun of hair was not secondarily altered means that the line on the neck may have been carved when the sculptor was preparing the attachment surface for the hair bun. There would have been no need to smooth this line, because it would have been obscured by the bun of hair. Moreover, this line would not have been readily visible if the portrait was displayed against a wall or in a niche.

²⁶⁰ Goette 1984, 133-134.

chin, which caused the jawbone to disappear and the chin to be no longer distinguished from the throat.²⁶¹ There is no reason, however, for either the lips or the chin to have been altered. Goette's reconstruction of the face, with the solid line showing the present appearance of the head, is again inaccurate. From the profile view (fig. 243), one can see that the lips actually have considerable volume, and are comparable in both volume and size to the previously mentioned image of Faustina the Elder (figs. 247-248) and the portrait of a tetrarchic woman in Rome (figs. 253-254). It is difficult to imagine that the lips were originally even *fuller* in volume. As a result, it seems likely that the lips were not altered. The area of the chin also need not have been altered. The small chin, which is barely differentiated from the neck, is also a characteristic of portraits from other periods, such as the image of Faustina the Elder (figs. 247-248). It seems more likely, then, that the sculptor of the Bonn head was simply trying to capture the plump physiognomy of the sitter.

A portrait of a woman in Rome (**no. 41, figs. 255-256**) is another Severan example considered to have had its coiffure modernised through reworking. The woman's hair is dressed in the style popularised by the empress Julia Domna. The hair frames the face and extends from the forehead to the neck and ears. The large mass of hair and the deeply-drilled groove separating it from the face indicate that the coiffure is a wig. The removable *peruke* is parted in the middle and pressed into sharp waves on either side of the head down to the beginning of the neck. At the back of the head, the hair is gathered in a large bun. On the basis of the difference in carving style between the hair over the forehead and the separately carved *peruke*, the portrait has been considered by some scholars to have been reworked by the substitution of an older hairstyle for a new one, as a way of keeping up-to-date with changing fashions in hair.²⁶² The area representing the sitter's real hair on the forehead was intentional. The detachable wig was likely a literal translation in stone of actual wigs, rather than a way of allowing the sitter to update her coiffure. Perhaps, as Eve D'Ambra has argued, the wig was a status symbol, whereby the honest treatment of the wig as a

²⁶¹ Goette 1984, 134.

wig, with the natural hairline showing, expressed the refinement and status of the sitter.²⁶³ A comparable relationship between the sitter's natural hairline and wig can be seen in the bust of a deceased woman depicted on an early-third century AD funerary relief in Liebieghaus (fig. 257). This similarity, especially in a funerary context, since the deceased subject could hardly have had expectations of future updated portraits, makes it unlikely that the coiffure of the Rome image was reworked.

A portrait of a woman in the Musée Cantonal d'Archéologie in Neuchâtel (**no. 42, figs. 258-261**) is an example of an image from the period of Julia Mamaea whose hairstyle was supposedly updated and still preserves the pieces that comprised the later coiffure. According to Susan Matheson, 'the new coiffure appears to be constructed from five pieces: one leading back from each temple, one covering the central back, and two comprising the outer corners of the coiffure behind the ears and at the nape of the neck. The only section of the original coiffure remaining is the front portion comprising the first waves on either side of the central part.'²⁶⁴

However, to this author, two points suggest that the coiffure was not reworked. Firstly, the portrait is so similar in terms of physiognomy and hairstyle to other portraits of women from the time of Julia Mamaea, that it is likely that the head was originally carved during this time. The image is especially similar, for example, to a portrait in Cambridge (fig. 262) and another in Copenhagen (fig. 263) from the same period. In all three images, the subject wears a coiffure which is centrally parted and brushed in waves down to the ears, where it falls straight on either side of the head and is then coiled in a bun at the back. Secondly, while it is technically possible that the present coiffure on the Neuchâtel portrait was reworked from the previous broad, projecting hairstyle popularised by Julia Domna (fig. 264), such a reworking would have required intervention so substantial, that one would expect to see at least *some*

²⁶² Crawford 1917, 113; Fittschen and Zanker 1983, 106, note 4; Matheson 2000, 76.

²⁶³ D'Ambra 2000, 103, 110.

traces. The sculptor would have had to recut the rigid, finger-waved style of the previous coiffure into the more loosely waved style of the present hair, and carve the previously covered ears and the bun of hair at the back of the head. Moreover, there would have been no need to carve the new hairstyle from five pieces, as Matheson claimed: a voluminous coiffure similar to that worn by Julia Domna would have provided ample marble for the carving of the new hairstyle.²⁶⁵

If one accepts that the Neuchâtel image was not reworked, one still must satisfactorily explain the separate attachment of the outer corners of the coiffure which can be clearly seen behind each ear. Elizabeth Bartman, in her recent discussion of a portrait of Julia Mamaea in the Louvre (figs. 265-267) with large cavities behind each ear, noted that these cavities were clearly prepared to receive two separate, but identical, attachments of hair.²⁶⁶ She remarked that the zone behind the ears of third-century AD images in this style was vulnerable to damage, because the hair was flipped up and carved away from the neck.²⁶⁷ Bartman implied that the now missing attachments of hair on the Louvre portrait may have been the result of damage, and subsequent repair, to this area and compared the head to another image of this empress in the Capitoline Museum (figs. 268-269) which shows breakage in exactly the same place as the Louvre portrait.²⁶⁸ It seems possible that the separate attachment of hair behind each ear on the Neuchâtel head was also the result of damage and repair,²⁶⁹ or else that these bundles of hair were separately carved and attached because of convenience.²⁷⁰

²⁶⁴ Matheson 2000, 75. Matheson, however, did not comment on what type of hairstyle the present coiffure may have been recarved from.

²⁶⁵ Indeed, in the literature on the head, no mention is made of the coiffure having been carved from five pieces. In Jucker and Willers 1982, 189, the only (vague) comment relating to the coiffure is that the bundle of hair behind each ear was reattached. There is no further discussion, however, on these attachments.

²⁶⁶ Bartman 2001, 21-22.

²⁶⁷ Bartman 2001, 22.

²⁶⁸ *Ibid.*

²⁶⁹ Whether this occurred in ancient or modern times is unclear. For the repair of sculpture in antiquity, see above, 54, note 227.

²⁷⁰ See above, 59-60, and note 248, for images that had the ears, or hair near the ears, carved

This chapter has discussed the modern idea of ‘fashionable change’ in relation to a number of sculpted portraits of private Roman women from the imperial period. According to this idea, Roman women were so concerned with keeping up-to-date with changing fashions, that even the coiffures on their marble portraits were reworked and updated for this purpose. It has been pointed out, however, that very limited definite evidence exists for the reworking of hair on sculpted portraits of women as a way of keeping current with changing fashions. By contrast, many other images that supposedly received similar modifications, when re-evaluated, were shown to be doubtful cases.²⁷¹ Thus, through the reinterpretation of these portraits, Chapter Two has sought to cast doubt on the validity of the modern idea of ‘fashionable change,’ and argue that the appearance of these images may be explained by piecing, or other technical reasons besides reworking.

separately.

²⁷¹ Further dubious examples known to this author include:

1. Anton Ulrich-Museum, Braunschweig, Inv. AS 16: Andreae 1973, 306; Goette 1986, 736-740, no. 14 (reworked).
2. Formerly belonging to Frank Brown, now in a private collection in Rome: Brilliant 1975 (reworked); Calza 1977, 56-57, no. 71; Goette 1984, 137, note 45 (reworked); Goette 1986, 251, note 27 c (reworked); Herrmann 1991, 47 (reworked); Kleiner and Matheson 1996, 174, no. 130, note 8 (Penelope Davies) (reworked).
3. Glyptothek, Munich, Inv. 342: Ohly 1974, 80; Matheson 2000, 73 (reworked).
4. Grabkammer, Köln-Weiden: Noelke 1982, 249-250; Goette 1984, 129, note 30, no. 4, 135-137 (reworked); Salzmann 1990, 141.
5. Louvre, Paris, Inv. MA 1195: Herrmann 1991, 46 (reworked); Kersauson 1996, 112, no. 45, with earlier literature.
6. Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, Inv. 13.229.3: Herrmann 1991, 47, with earlier literature (reworked).
7. Musée d'Art et d'Histoire, Geneva, Inv. 8120: Rilliet-Maillard 1978, 74-76, no. 24, with earlier literature (reworked); Frel, Chamay, and Maier 1982, 288-291 (reworked); Goette 1984, 138 (reworked).
8. Museo Capitolino, Rome, Inv. 2709: Fittschen and Zanker 1983, 111, no. 166 (reworked).
9. Museo Nazionale delle Terme, Rome, Inv. 332: Giuliano 1988, 364-365, no. R275, with earlier literature; Matheson 2000, 75 (reworked).
10. Museo Nazionale delle Terme, Rome, Inv. 128035: Matheson 2000, 74 (reworked).
11. National Museum, Egyptian Collection of Dimitriou, Athens, Inv. 58: Rodenwaldt 1928, 211-213, with earlier literature; West 1941, 47 (reworked); Hausmann 1959, 174; Blanck 1969, 44-45 (reworked).
12. Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek, Copenhagen, Inv. 790: F. Poulsen 1951, no. 710; V. Poulsen 1974, 116, no. 109, with earlier literature; Bergmann 1981, 184 (reworked); Fittschen 1982, 54, note 34 I; Goette 1984, 136, note 45 (reworked); Johansen 1995, 260-261, no. 108 (reworked); Matheson 2000, 74 (reworked).
13. Palazzo dei Conservatori, Rome, Inv. 2689: Fittschen and Zanker 1983, 116, no. 175, with earlier

By the second century AD, there was nothing in the area of joining and piecing that was beyond the capabilities of proficient sculptors.²⁷² Moreover, the production of portraits in the second and early third centuries AD was incredibly prolific, with images produced according to different techniques, depending on the availability of marble and the capabilities of individual workshops. Thus, we should expect many reasons for the piecing of marble images. First, this may have been due to technical reasons. Projecting features (such as ears or buns of hair) may have been regarded as easier or more convenient to carve separately before attaching them to the head using dowels or adhesive. Such attachments may also have been repairs following a mistake during the carving process, or at a later date, following unintentional damage, or an unexpected discovery of a defect in the marble. The argument that a number of the female portraits in this chapter were pieced, rather than reworked, may also have been related to economic factors. Shortages or deficiencies in supply of materials, for example, may have required the practice of making a portrait out of more than one piece of marble, because the sculptor could not obtain a single block of marble of the right size. It is also possible that sculptors, even during a time of economic well-being and plenty, would simply want to economise on the use of marble: by carving individual parts separately, the sculptor could have put to good use scraps of marble left over from large works, from blocks too small, or from shapes unsuitable for other purposes. It can be objected that pieced images would not have been as attractive as portraits that had been carved from one piece of marble. However, this would not necessarily have been the case, because imperfections in joins could be covered by paint²⁷³ or masked with gesso.²⁷⁴

The total number of female images with so-called reworked coiffures represents only a small fraction of the total number of extant female images. If Roman women were *so* concerned with keeping up-to-date with changing hair fashions by commissioning

literature (*possibly* reworked); Matheson 2000, 75-76 (reworked).

²⁷² On the development and technique of piecing and joining in antiquity, see most notably, Claridge 1988 and 1990. See also the references listed below, 69, note 275.

²⁷³ Inan and Alföldi-Rosenbaum 1979, 341-342. On the painting of sculpture in antiquity, see above, 2, note 9.

the updating of the coiffures on their marble images, one might expect a much greater number of portraits with some claim to having been reworked in this way. Furthermore, the Roman technique of making sculpted images out of more than one piece was the continuation of an established tradition. From the Greek Archaic period onwards, sculpture was often pieced together using a variety of glues, adhesives, and dowels.²⁷⁵ In particular, images of deities were sometimes furnished with separately carved hair attachments. A late-fifth century BC head, probably of Demeter (figs. 270-271), had the now missing hair carved separately and attached to the head.²⁷⁶ A head of Aphrodite from Chios from the late fourth century BC (fig. 272) also had the hair on either side of the central part and at the back carved as a separate piece.²⁷⁷ A portrait of Aphrodite in the Chiaramonti Museum had the back part of the head worked separately and attached (figs. 273-275). Another head of Aphrodite in Brescia (figs. 276-277) had part of the hair (on the sides and back of the head) carved in marble, while the rest was completed in stucco.²⁷⁸ In each case, a significant portion of the hair is missing. However, because these images do not represent real people who may have been concerned with changing hair fashions, it is unlikely that their coiffures would have required updating through reworking. At the very least, this casts doubt on the claim that the coiffures on most portraits depicting private Roman women with separately carved portions of hair were modernised through reworking. These coiffures, because of their similarity in technique to the pieced coiffures on the sculpted images of some deities, may also simply represent cases of carving the hair from more than one piece of marble.

The commissioning of most portraits for a very specific context and purpose would have, in most cases, precluded any reason for the updating of the marble coiffures

²⁷⁴ Kleiner and Matheson 1996, 174.

²⁷⁵ Adam 1966, 53, 66, 80-81, 99; Salzmann 1990, 166. For the piecing of Greek Archaic statuary, see Dickins 1912, 37-39. On piecing in Hellenistic statuary, see Merker 1973, 8-9, and Waywell 1978, 63-65.

²⁷⁶ Boardman 1995, 166.

²⁷⁷ Boardman 1995, 72.

²⁷⁸ Strocka 1967, 137. For further examples of marble images of deities with separately carved and attached hair, see Pozzi 1989, 106, no. 54; Finocchi 1997. Even images of deities made from bronze could have the hair worked separately in metal: see Boardman 1995, 165-166.

belonging to the images of private Roman women. Many private Roman portraits come from a private context, chiefly, residences and tombs.²⁷⁹ Images in funerary contexts were set up in honour of the deceased by the family or members of the household, and served to remind viewers of the appearance and deeds of the deceased.²⁸⁰ As we have already seen with the case of the statue of Julia Procula in Ostia (**no. 35, figs. 186-188**) there would have been little reason in such a context to rework the hairstyle of the portrait, because the person was dead and the coiffure would have been up-to-date at the time of the subject's death. Private Roman portraits also served a votive function, in temples and sanctuaries. Such images could depict private individuals set up by permission of the local religious council.²⁸¹ In this context, too, the sanctity of these images and their primary function as votives to the gods would have made the reworking of their coiffures unlikely. Private portraits could also assume an honorary function. Honorary statues of private individuals could be set up in prominent places in the city, such as in fora and basilicas, after the approval of the senate or the local city council.²⁸² The reworking of the coiffures belonging to female images that were displayed in a public context would also have been unlikely, because problems would have arisen regarding the actual carrying out and financing of the reworking, because the honorific statue was not a private commission.

Another reason why the coiffures on the sculpted portraits of private Roman women appear to have been seldom updated through reworking may be related to the considerable difference in female hairstyles from one period of the empire to the next. In many cases, this would have rendered impractical the updating through reworking of a given coiffure into that of the next style, because of the significant technical difficulties that would have faced the sculptor. It would have been a difficult task, for example, to rework a coiffure in the style worn by women from the time of Caligula and Claudius (fig. 140) into the following style worn by Flavian

²⁷⁹ Fejfer 1999, 140.

²⁸⁰ *Ibid.*

²⁸¹ *Ibid.*

women (figs. 152-153).²⁸³ The reworking of a coiffure similar to that worn by Lucilla (figs. 210-211) into the style worn by Crispina (figs. 227-229) would also have been impractical.²⁸⁴ Similar difficulties would be encountered in updating a coiffure worn by women during the mid-third century AD (figs. 162-163), into a style with a much larger skull-braid that became popular in the late third and into the fourth century AD (figs. 278-279).²⁸⁵

This chapter has discussed a number of images depicting private female subjects in relation to the modern idea that Roman women often updated the coiffures on their marble portraits as a way of keeping up-to-date with changing hair fashions. Several conclusions may be made in the light of this discussion. Persuasive evidence for the reworking of the marble coiffures on the sculpted images of private Roman women is very limited. Furthermore, it is doubtful, at the very least, whether many other images that supposedly received similar alterations to the hair were actually reworked, because these portraits do not preserve the elements that were allegedly added to bring the coiffures up-to-date. On the basis of the appearances of these portraits, it seems more likely that these were pieced from the beginning, repaired, or else secondarily provided with additions other than new coiffures. Therefore, the updating of the marble coiffures of female private portraits was probably not widespread, and Roman women may not have been as concerned with keeping up-to-date with changing fashions in hair, as one is sometimes led to believe.

²⁸² Fejfer 1999, 142.

²⁸³ The hair rendered in corkscrew curls over the forehead and temples on female images from the Claudian period was much less projecting and voluminous than the hair over the forehead and temples on female images from the Flavian period. Thus, the reworking of a coiffure in the former style into a coiffure in the latter style would have been unlikely because of an insufficient amount of marble.

²⁸⁴ Portraits in the style of Lucilla have a small bun of hair at the back of the head. Clearly, this style could not have been easily reworked into a coiffure similar to that worn by Crispina, whose images have a much larger bun. See the discussion of the portrait in Bonn (no. 40, figs. 241-243) for the problems inherent in replacing a small bun with a larger one. Also, because of an inadequate volume of marble, the uncovered ears on a Lucilla-style portrait could not have been reworked into ears covered with hair, as one sees on the portraits of Crispina.

²⁸⁵ The mid-third century AD image would not provide enough marble for the transformation of the coiffure into the larger skull-braid style, which has a much more projecting mass of hair on top of the head, and behind each ear.

**CHAPTER THREE:
REWORKED PORTRAITS FROM AN HISTORICAL AND CONTEXTUAL
PERSPECTIVE**

This chapter discusses three issues arising from the examination of the reworked private portraits in chapter one. Firstly, chapter three examines the frequency with which private portraits were reworked during the imperial period. Secondly, in the light of this, the reasons that can be attributed to the frequent reworking of private portraits in the third and fourth centuries AD will be discussed. The contexts that reworked private portraits were taken from will also be examined.

An important issue relating to reworked private portraits is the frequency of such transformations. Evidence for the reworking of private images in the first two centuries of the empire is very limited.²⁸⁶ However, the reworking of private portraits was much more frequent during the late empire, from the beginning of the third until the early fourth century AD. This trend is in direct contrast to that of reworked imperial images. The recarving of imperial portraits was mainly limited to the first century AD, when images of Caligula, Nero, and Domitian were recycled in vast quantities.²⁸⁷ Despite the slight resurgence in this practice at the beginning of the fourth century AD, when images of Maxentius were recycled into likenesses of his rival, Constantine, there is only limited evidence for the recarving of imperial portraits in the third and fourth centuries AD, particularly as a result of *damnatio memoriae*.²⁸⁸ Such a trend has been attributed to the chaotic political conditions during this time. Since the government was lacking in stability, the mechanisms for

²⁸⁶ Specifically, no private portraits appear to have been reworked in the period between the principates of Hadrian and Commodus. Most male subjects from this period were depicted in portraits with beards. Thus, the paucity of reworked male images in this period could be related to the severe technical challenge that would have faced the sculptor in reworking an unbearded image from the first or early second century AD, into a bearded subject from the time of Hadrian onwards in the second century AD.

²⁸⁷ Varner 1993, 6, 530. Most second-century AD emperors were depicted in portraits with beards. Thus, the paucity of evidence for the reworking of imperial images during the second century AD, as in the case of private portraits, is likely related to the impracticality of recarving an unbearded first century AD image of a condemned emperor into a bearded likeness from the second century AD.

the systematic removal and recarving of the images of an emperor into those of his successor may no longer have been effective. Moreover, the very rapid turnover of emperors during this time, often in disparate parts of the empire, meant that recarving may have been impractical.²⁸⁹

By contrast, the frequent reworking of private portraits occurred within the context of the political, economic, and social difficulties of the third and early fourth centuries AD. The first sign of crisis was the instability of the throne itself, reflected in the rapid turnover of emperors. In the fifty years following the death of Alexander Severus, Rome deteriorated from military monarchy into military anarchy. Few emperors succeeded in holding power for more than a couple of years. Closely linked with this rapid turnover of rulers was another symptom of crisis, constant war. It was in this period that the empire was almost continuously marred by a series of civil wars caused by disputed imperial succession.²⁹⁰ Provinces could put forward their own candidate for emperor, and as quickly murder them if they so chose. The Roman empire also faced serious external threats that contributed to this internal instability, as enemies on the fringes of the empire seized the opportunity to invade. The Sasanians, who had succeeded the Parthians as the rulers of Persia in AD 224, presented a serious threat to the eastern frontiers. To the north and west, Germanic tribes that had previously caused much difficulty for Marcus Aurelius also exerted pressure on the borders.²⁹¹ The combination of these threats saw the empire exposed to heavy attacks on the Rhine, the Danube, and in the East.²⁹²

Partly resulting from this political and social instability were the economic and social difficulties experienced at this time. The successive debasements of the Roman coinage throughout the imperial period is often cited as being a reflection of the economic situation. If taxation did not produce enough money, the currency could be

²⁸⁸ Varner 1993, 476-477, 519-521, 531.

²⁸⁹ Varner 1993, 476-477, 531.

²⁹⁰ Grant 1968, 4.

²⁹¹ Cameron 1993, 4-5.

²⁹² Millar 1967, 240.

debased. That is, silver and gold could be mixed with base metal and the weight of the coins reduced, so that a larger number of coins could be produced from the same amount of precious metals.²⁹³ Through taxation, coins of the old weight and purity returned to the mints, where they were melted down with a mixture of cheaper copper, before being brought forth in a new form.²⁹⁴ The first two centuries of the Roman empire was a period of relative economic, political, and social prosperity and stability. This economic well-being was reflected in the coinage that Augustus introduced, which included a gold piece (*aureus*) and the related silver *denarius*. Both of these coins possessed a precious metal content worth as much, or nearly as much, as the official valuations attached to them.²⁹⁵ It is notable that in this prosperous period, we have little evidence for the reworking of sculpted private portraits.

To meet the cost of the long series of wars from the reign of Marcus Aurelius onwards, the silver content of the *denarius* was further and further debased. While under Marcus Aurelius the silver content of the *denarius* was seventy-five percent, amid the stresses of civil war under Septimius Severus it became fifty percent.²⁹⁶ As a result of heavy military expenditure, Caracalla issued silver coinage that was not only debased but also of lighter-weight; this lightness was concealed by the issue of a new and larger denomination, the *antoninianus*.²⁹⁷ After Caracalla, the *antoninianus* was further debased. The emperor Gallienus, needing an immense number of coins to pay the army and being unable to afford the silver to put in them, issued *antoniniani* made almost entirely of base metal with a thin coating of silver wash.²⁹⁸ Despite his efforts to deal with the situation, the emperor Aurelian, too,

²⁹³ Jones 1974, 190.

²⁹⁴ MacMullen 1976, 109. The state had often stretched the quantity of precious metal without causing inflation on the scale that occurred in the third century AD. The silver content of the *denarius*, for example, had already been reduced as early as the reign of Nero, and again under Trajan, who issued *denarii* that were worth eighty-five percent of their face value: Grant 1968, 45; Cameron 1993, 5.

²⁹⁵ Grant 1968, 44.

²⁹⁶ Jones 1974, 194; MacMullen 1976, 241; Hannestad 1986, 257.

²⁹⁷ Grant 1968, 46.

²⁹⁸ Grant 1968, 46; MacMullen 1976, 109; Hannestad 1986, 287; Cameron 1993, 5.

coined a new piece containing no more than five percent silver.²⁹⁹ However, the imperial administration seemed unaware, or was too preoccupied to realise that a multiplication of the quantity of coins without a corresponding increase in the goods on the market would result in an increase in prices and a decline in the general standard of living.³⁰⁰ Actually, before the time of Alexander Severus, the debasing of the coinage seems to have had little noticeable inflationary effect.³⁰¹ It was after this period that prices rose rapidly, causing significant difficulties in the exchange and circulation of goods:³⁰² for example, the price of corn was two hundred times higher in AD 301 than it had been in the first century AD.³⁰³ Moreover, it has been suggested that between the years AD 250 and 275, prices in many parts of the empire are likely to have risen by nearly one thousand percent.³⁰⁴ The severity of this rapid inflation is reflected by Diocletian's attempt to check this process by the prescription of maximum prices for common goods through the *Edictum de maximis pretiis* of AD 301, and by his accompanying measure to reform the coinage.³⁰⁵ However, despite Diocletian's efforts at controlling inflation, prices continued to rise under Constantine.³⁰⁶

It was during this time, roughly between AD 230 and the early fourth century AD, that many private portraits were reworked to depict new subjects. In this period of political and economic difficulty, the recycling of sculpted images was a practical and economically viable alternative to the carving of a new portrait from a fresh block of marble. The frequent reworking of private portraits in this period of diminished supply also underscores the value that marble held as a raw material. Such transformations occurred in part because it was more difficult and expensive to obtain new material, and reflect the disruption to the Roman marble industry and

²⁹⁹ Grant 1968, 47; Crawford 1975, 569.

³⁰⁰ Grant 1968, 45.

³⁰¹ Crawford 1975, 568.

³⁰² Hannestad 1986, 257; Cameron 1993, 6.

³⁰³ MacMullen 1976, 242.

³⁰⁴ Grant 1968, 47.

³⁰⁵ Grant 1968, 48; Cameron 1993, 38.

³⁰⁶ Grant 1968, 48; Crawford 1975, 588-589; Cameron 1993, 6.

trade that must have occurred at this time as the result of economic impoverishment and almost continuous warfare. Thus, the main reason that can be attributed to the reworking of private Roman portraits appears to be an economic one, that is, a shortage of money and materials, because a clear relationship appears to exist between the frequency of reworking and the level of economic prosperity. Conversely, the main reason that can be ascribed to the reworking of sculpted images of emperors and empresses throughout the imperial period was a political one, that of *damnatio memoriae*.

The attribution of the frequent reworking of private portraits in the third and early fourth centuries AD to economic hardship and a diminished supply of suitable raw material is supported by an examination of public commissions in this period. A lack of supply seems to have affected not only private but even the *imperial* commissions during this time. In contrast to the first two centuries of the empire, with its number of large-scale imperial commissions such as fora, altars, temples, and commemorative arches and columns, the third century AD saw a decline in the number and quality of imperial commissions of monumental architecture and sculpture at Rome and abroad.³⁰⁷ Thus, in a similar way to the frequent reworking of older private portraits in this period, many imperial monuments were no longer newly erected but rather recycled from earlier structures.³⁰⁸

³⁰⁷ Kleiner 1992, 360, 394.

³⁰⁸ See, most notably:

1. The Arch of Constantine in Rome: see most recently, Elsner 2000, with extensive earlier literature.
2. The so-called 'Arco di Portogallo' in Rome: Kleiner 1992, 253-254; Kinney 1997, 132-134, 144.
3. The Arch of Gallienus in Rome: La Follette 1987; Richardson 1992, 25-26; Claridge 1998, 299-300.
4. The Arcus Novus in Rome, ascribed to the *decennalia* of Diocletian and Maximian in AD 293-294: see above, 35.
5. The so-called 'Temple of Romulus' erected on the Via Sacra by Maxentius around AD 307: Alchermes 1994, 170; Elsner 2000, 153; Wohl 2001, 107.
6. The Aurelian Walls from the 270s in Rome: Ward-Perkins 1970, 415-416; Coates-Stephens 2001, 232-235.

It is important to note that despite the political and economic difficulties during the third century AD a few new monuments of significance *were* commissioned in this period. Chief among these were the Temple of Sol, built by Aurelian in AD 273 in the Campus Martius, and a great portico built by Gordian III at the foot of the Quirinal. The marble decoration from these monuments shows that the pieces were carved *ex novo*, thus, following the early and mid imperial tradition: see Lazzarini,

The widespread practice of recycling private images in the third and early fourth centuries AD was not only the result of the economic difficulties experienced during this time. The recycling of such portraits would also have been facilitated by the simple process of accumulation. Portraiture was a pervasive and commonplace element of the daily Roman visual landscape. Images of members of the imperial family and of private individuals populated every kind of environment, from civic spaces to domestic interiors and religious precincts. By the third century AD, there would have been a great abundance of surplus portraits available for reuse, many of which would have depicted old or forgotten subjects. Private portraits in honorific and votive contexts would have been viewed in antiquity by two different audiences. The first audience would have been the contemporaries of the subject (including their friends and family, and immediate descendants) while the second would have been the people who lived long after the time of the subject. The reaction of later viewers to portraits depicting subjects who were unknown or forgotten, having been long-deceased, was presumably one of disinterest, because the portrait had ceased to create meaningful associations. Such portraits were no longer considered to be of any importance except as a valuable source of marble from which to fashion a new likeness, especially in the troubled economic times of the third and early fourth centuries AD.

The reworking of private portraits, in part because the identities of the sitters were no longer known or had been forgotten, is suggested as early as the first century AD by Dio Chrysostom's oration delivered to the people of the city of Rhodes.³⁰⁹ Dio's

Mariottini, Pecoraro, and Pensabene 1988, 404-405.

While the extensive reuse of material from earlier structures in many third-century AD monuments reflected, to a large extent, the economic difficulties of this period, it must be noted that such reuse was, at the same time, deliberately chosen to promulgate deliberate ideological agendas. The reuse of sculpture belonging to monuments from the halcyon days of the empire's past on the Arch of Constantine, for example, evoked the memory of a Golden Age and the assertion of the idea of its renewal under the rule of Constantine. For a discussion of the motives of economic necessity as opposed to ideology in relation to reused monuments in late antiquity, see Brenk 1987, who evaluates the aesthetic and ideological, as well as the economic, potential of *spolia*.

³⁰⁹ Or. 31. For the date of the oration, c. AD 70-75, see Jones 1978, 133.

criticism of the people of Rhodes was related to a question of public conduct. The island city had many visitors, and felt obliged to honour a large number of them, especially if they were Roman.³¹⁰ Because Rhodes still had many statues commemorating ancient benefactors, it had resorted to the practice of reusing them in order to save the expense of new ones. The chief executive magistrate would be instructed to select a statue, erase the name of the previous honorand, and replace it with that of the new one.³¹¹ Dio reports that ‘this practice began with the statues that were broken and not even standing on their pedestals; it was these that the chief magistrates used after repairing them and in a way making them altogether different.’ He adds that ‘the next step was that those which were well preserved but bore no inscriptions were inscribed; and at last came the taking of some statues which did have inscriptions on them, provided they were very old.’³¹² The passage is important because it shows that the Rhodians’ practice began with the modification of the actual portraits, not just the reworking of the inscriptions. A similar justification for the reworking of private portraits may have been offered, that is, because they depicted forgotten or unknown sitters, or because they were damaged.

It is reasonable to assume that there would have been different responses from the ancient viewer to the reworking of private portraits. Dio's oration is the closest ancient reference to the reworking of private images. His criticism of the people of Rhodes regarding the rededication of honorific statues may imply that some Romans regarded the reworking of private images as a subversion of the commemorative function of portraiture, in effect a form of injustice and a denial of the social existence for the subject originally depicted. Dio condemned the practice of the rededication of statues as a theft and a form of impiety.³¹³ His main objection was that it was deceitful, and somehow degrading, to pass off the image of one individual as that of another.³¹⁴ In Dio's view, the rededication of a statue dishonored the

³¹⁰ *Or.* 31.26, 33, 43, 75, 93, 105, 155.

³¹¹ *Or.* 31.9.

³¹² *Or.* 31.141.

³¹³ *Or.* 31.11, 81-82, 87, 136.

³¹⁴ *Or.* 31.155-156.

original sitter, robbing them of the honour with which the statue was bestowed, as well as the second honoree,³¹⁵ because Cicero made a similar complaint. He did not want to be honoured in Athens, because the Athenians were so well known for the practice of rededicating statues: 'I hate false inscriptions on other people's statues,' he wrote.³¹⁶

On the other hand, the Rhodian practice implies that rededication of statues was acceptable. It is possible that the ubiquity of sculpture in antiquity meant that such a response was acceptable. Two ancient literary passages demonstrate the prevalence of sculpture in Roman society and the attempts made to reduce the overcrowding of public areas with this sculpture. Pliny the Elder relates how the setting up of commemorative portrait statues in public places may have got out of control in the second century BC.³¹⁷ He discusses the senate's attempt to curb the practice through the removal of many of the statues around the Roman Forum except for those authorised by a decree of the people or the senate.³¹⁸ Similar clearings of the Forum, and indeed other public places, may have taken place on other occasions when the amount of statuary was considered to be excessive. Similarly, in the mid-fourth century AD, public dedications of statuary in Rome became so prevalent that a special office was established in the Roman municipal administration, headed by a functionary known as the *curator statuarum*, who was specifically appointed to keep such dedications under control.³¹⁹ The omnipresence of sculpture in everyday life and the willingness of the senate to remove this, along with the archaeological evidence for the frequent reworking of private images, suggest that most Romans were probably unconcerned with the moral issues raised by Dio and Cicero about the recutting of private portraits.

³¹⁵ *Or.* 31.41-2, 108, 150-156.

³¹⁶ *Att.* 6.1.

³¹⁷ *NH*, 34, 30-31; Pollitt 1983, 55.

³¹⁸ *Ibid.*

³¹⁹ Alchermes 1994, 171, note 18.

Another reason for the reworking of private portraits could be of a technical nature. The transformation of a block of marble into a portrait in antiquity was a very laborious and time-consuming process.³²⁰ The sculptor firstly used punches and heavy points to create an approximation of the desired form. He then modelled the portrait, by removing smaller amounts of material to the point where the shape was more or less complete. Thus, although the frequent reworking of private images in the third and fourth centuries AD was primarily a response to economic hardship, the reworking of an existing portrait may also have been attractive under certain circumstances because it would have been much quicker than the carving of an entirely new image from a fresh block of marble. The reworking of a sculpted image would have been attractive in times when a portrait was suddenly needed, following, for example, an unexpected death, for the purpose of display in a funerary context.

Chapter One showed that transformed private images were often reworked many years following the carving of the original portrait and that these reworked portraits were fashioned out of images in good condition. These two facts suggest that portraits could be stored in safe, but accessible places for many years before being reworked. This assumption is supported by actual evidence for the storage of sculpted images in antiquity. The Cancelleria Reliefs, which depict Domitian's departure for the Sarmatian campaign in AD 92-93, and Vespasian's entry into Rome after his declaration as emperor in AD 69, are a case in point.³²¹ The reliefs were discovered in 1937 leaning against a wall of the tomb of Aulus Hirtius together with other sculptural fragments. It has been suggested that this was a storage area in antiquity for a sculptor's workshop, where the reliefs were deposited and stored with a view to possible future reuse.³²² Indeed, several scholars have suggested that

³²⁰ Rockwell 1993, 123. On the carving of marble portraits, see further Rhomiopoulou 1995, 32; Ling 2000, 36, with bibliography.

³²¹ For the Cancelleria Reliefs, see most recently, Meyer 2000, 124-136, with earlier literature.

³²² Magi 1945, 37-54, and figs. 37-38, 40, 137-141, for details relating to the discovery of the reliefs. Claridge 1998, 180, has also described the area of Rome where the Cancelleria Reliefs were found as a 'marble workers' quarter.'

marble repositories and stockpiles consisting of sculpture and architectural elements for reuse existed in major Roman centres.³²³

The assumption that sculpture could be stored in antiquity is also supported by other finds. The forty-four sculptures found in the Villa of Poppaea at Oplontis in Torre Annunziata, near Naples, rank the complex as one of the richest in sculptural furnishings in the Roman world, second only in Campania to the Villa of the Papyri.³²⁴ The sculptures in several cases were not found in their original display position, suggesting their displacement and storage.³²⁵ For example, a statue of Aphrodite preparing to bathe was found in room thirty-five, a storeroom in the service sector, stored with a statuette of a seated Fortuna and broken fragments of other sculptures.³²⁶ Their find-spot clearly shows that the pieces were moved from their original contexts. It has been suggested that the statue of Aphrodite may originally have been displayed in an apse in one of the larger rooms of the villa.³²⁷ The small size and the roughness of the back of the seated Fortuna suggest that this may originally have been a lararium statuette.³²⁸

A sculptural cache discovered in a room of a late-fourth century AD Roman house at Antioch³²⁹ included a bust of Pertinax, one of Gordian III (or that of a general) and a porphyry head of Constantius Chlorus. The time-span thus covered extended from the late second to the early fourth century AD.³³⁰ The sculptural collection contained three times as many mythological figures as portraits. These comprised fragmentary

³²³ Bergmann and Zanker 1981, 320, describe what they term as 'Steingärten.' Jucker 1981 (a), 248, 295, 301, followed by Salzmann 1990, 186, suggested that portraits of overthrown emperors were stored in marble-carving workshops for the purpose of reuse, and that there may have been specialised 'Umarbeitungsateliers' (sculpture recycling centers).

³²⁴ De Caro 1987, 87. For the villa of Poppaea, see De Caro 1987, 77-133, with earlier literature; Neudecker 1988, 241-242, no. 71.

³²⁵ De Caro 1987, 87. Bartman 1991, 72 suggested that the statues were in storage pending a renovation of the villa.

³²⁶ For the Aphrodite and the seated Fortuna, see De Caro 1987, 114, no. 20, fig. 24, and 116-118, no. 25, fig. 29, respectively.

³²⁷ De Caro 1987, 114.

³²⁸ De Caro 1987, 118.

³²⁹ For the cache, see Brinkerhoff 1970.

³³⁰ Brinkerhoff 1970, 3.

statuettes of Meleager, Dionysus, Ares, Apollo, a Satyr, crouching and sandal-binding Aphrodites, a sleeping Silenus, and Satyr and Nymph heads from an 'Invitation to the Dance Group.' A grouse, a cock, and a relief medallion of a sphinx completed the contents of the cache.³³¹ The number and broad range of sculpture in both date and subject matter, all found together in one room, point to the storage of the material over a long period of time.

Another cache, this time of bronze portraits, was discovered in 1880 in an underground room of a first-century AD house underneath the Anglican Church on the Via Babuino in Rome.³³² The cache consisted of five portraits: two of Augustus, and one each of Germanicus, Gaius Caesar, and Nero. The portraits range in date from the very end of the first century BC or the beginning of the first century AD to no later than AD 59.³³³ It is possible that the images were put in the underground room by the owner of the villa for protection during the riots that followed Nero's death in AD 68.³³⁴

The storage of portraits in antiquity is finally attested by the find-spot of the well-known portrait of Commodus as Hercules in the Palazzo dei Conservatori. The image was found in 1879 in a cryptoporticus in the imperial gardens on the Esquiline, along with similarly well-preserved first or second century AD sculptures of Bacchus, Aphrodite, two Muses, two tritons, and other sculptural fragments.³³⁵ The cryptoporticus appears to have fallen into disuse and was probably used for the storage of sculpture that was no longer being displayed in the imperial complex. The portrait of Commodus was likely placed in this area following the *damnatio memoriae* pronounced on the emperor.³³⁶

³³¹ Brinkerhoff 1970, 45.

³³² For the cache, see Hill 1939, 401-409; von Bothmer 1976; Rose 1997, 115-116, no. 43.

³³³ Rose 1997, 115.

³³⁴ Hill 1939, 409. It is also possible that the images were being temporarily stored because of renovations to the house, but for some reason were never re-erected.

³³⁵ Häuber 1986, 173; Donderer 1991-1992, 269.

³³⁶ On the sculptural cache and the circumstances of its discovery, see Lanciani 1897, 407; Lanciani 1901, 220; Stuart Jones 1926, 142; Fittschen and Zanker 1985, 85-90, no. 78; Häuber 1986, 173, 176-177.

Because sculpted images appear to have been stored in antiquity, it is worth discussing the contexts from which reworked private portraits may have come. We have seen in Dio's oration that portraits from public contexts could be reused. Images from such contexts that were subsequently reworked may have been placed in workshops or other storage areas for future reuse. Many private portraits were also displayed in *private* contexts. As a result, most reworked private images would probably have originated from the essentially private contexts of cemeteries, houses, and villas. Cemeteries, especially, would have been likely sources for these portraits, because many sculptures were displayed there. This argument is supported by the fact that many types of funerary art in both the Greek and Roman worlds were subject to reuse. Greek gravestones from the fifth and fourth centuries BC, for instance, were often given new inscriptions and rededicated in the Roman period.³³⁷ Sculpted figures on these reliefs were sometimes removed or altered to make the scene conform to the identity and roles of the new dedicants. A case in point is a fifth-century BC funerary *stèle* from Thespiiai in the National Museum in Athens, which was reused in the Roman period.³³⁸ The name of the new subject, Diadora, was carved on the epistyle, and the figure of a little boy who originally stood in front of the seated woman was chiselled away, together with a bird that she was holding out to him. Evidently, Diadora had no son, so the relief was recut to conform to the situation of the new honoree.³³⁹

Inscriptions on Roman ossuaries were sometimes recut to commemorate the newly dead.³⁴⁰ Inscribed slabs set in the walls of Roman tombs were also removed and recarved on the other side. One such example with two epitaphs (an *opisthograph*) in the Kelsey Art Museum in Ann Arbor has a first- or second-century AD epitaph honouring a child on one side, and a second- or third-century AD epitaph on the

³³⁷ Harrison 1990, 173. For the reuse of grave slabs in the Roman period, see also Keppie 2001, 30-33.

³³⁸ Harrison 1990, 174.

³³⁹ *Ibid.*

³⁴⁰ For example, an ossuary in the Seattle Art Museum has a second-century AD inscription carved

other.³⁴¹ The funerary marker of a child of one family was evidently appropriated by another family, who used its previously uncarved side to commemorate their own deceased child.³⁴²

Portraits on sarcophagi were also recut to conform to the identities of later subjects. A sarcophagus in the British Museum, for example, depicts two female figures holding a portrait in a *clipeus*.³⁴³ The portrait originally depicted a mature woman, but was recut to represent a late third- or early-fourth century AD boy who died at the age of one year and thirty days, as we know from the inscription.³⁴⁴ Another sarcophagus had the female figure of Ariadne recut into the likeness of a youth in the second half of the third century AD. The breasts were recut and an unusual cutting was made, into which a (now lost) penis was set.³⁴⁵ Even architectural fragments from funerary contexts were reused for portraits. The likeness of a Flavian man in Princeton University, for example, was recycled from a Corinthian *anta* capital.³⁴⁶ Carla Antonaccio, pointing out the similarity in the scale and decoration of the *anta* to Alexandrian architectural fragments from tombs, suggested that the original context of the *anta* was funerary and therefore a funerary function for the portrait itself was likely.³⁴⁷

The appropriation of portraits from funerary contexts for reworking is not the only situation that may have been possible. Private portraits were also displayed in *domi*

over an erased first century AD inscription: Kinney 1997, 118, note 6.

³⁴¹ Kleiner and Matheson 1996, 205-206, no. 160.

³⁴² See also an epitaph in Harvard University with the portrait of a mid-first-century AD woman on one side. The epitaph was turned over and reused with an inscription commemorating an unrelated family in the second half of the second century AD: Bodel 1992, 97-100, no. 13; Brauer and Vermeule 1990, 116, no. 104.

³⁴³ Goette 1989, 461; Walker 1990, 33-34, no. 36; Huskinson 1998, 130, 144. For an extensive survey of recut portraits on Roman sarcophagi, see recently, Reinsberg 1999.

³⁴⁴ *Ibid.*

³⁴⁵ Goette 1989, 461; Walker 1990, 38, no. 43.

³⁴⁶ Vermeule 1964, 112; Antonaccio 1992; Kinney 1997, 188; Padgett 2001, 22-26, no. 6.

³⁴⁷ Antonaccio 1992, 445-6, 451-2. Antonaccio 1992, 446, fig. 8, cites another reworked portrait from a funerary context, that of a portrait of a man from the necropolis in Alexandria. The portrait was carved from a fragment of a colossal statue which originally comprised the sole of the foot.

and villas.³⁴⁸ The custom of keeping portraits of oneself and one's ancestors in these places was common among the aristocratic classes of the Roman empire. This tradition had its origins in the ancient religious custom of preserving masks of deceased members of the family.³⁴⁹ By the first century BC, the perishable masks had largely been replaced by sculpted portraits in permanent materials.³⁵⁰ It is possible that some private images of this kind became disused, perhaps after the ownership of the property changed hands, and were put into storage.³⁵¹ By the third and fourth centuries AD, the period to which most reworked private portraits belong, the identities of many of these stored images would have been either unknown or forgotten. In addition, many of these images would have been attractive for recycling because of their good state of preservation as a result of this storage. Such portraits would not have served any other worthwhile purpose except as a valuable source of marble, especially in the light of the economic conditions during this time.

³⁴⁸ On the literary and archaeological evidence for the display of private portraits in Roman villas, see recently, Neudecker 1988, 75-84. On the collection and display of portraits and other sculpture in Roman houses, see Bartman 1991, 71-88, and Fejfer 1999, 141.

³⁴⁹ Kleiner 1992, 36, 54.

³⁵⁰ For the origins and development of the Roman portrait, see Kleiner 1992, 31-40.

³⁵¹ Indeed, the Roman historian Pliny, *NH* 35, 6-7, claimed that the portraits of a given family remained in the house, even after that family had moved house.

CONCLUSION

This thesis has explored the nature, extent, and reasons for the reworking of sculpted portraits depicting private male and female subjects during the imperial period. Many of these portraits were stored in safe but accessible locations for long periods of time, which allowed their reuse at a later date, arising from their value as a source of marble. Thus, it is clear that some private portraits could enjoy long lives after their initial production. Images that were originally displayed in public contexts, and no longer needed, may have been stored in stockrooms or workshops for reuse at a later date. However, because private portraits were mainly displayed in private contexts, it seems likely that most images that were subsequently reworked came from cemeteries, houses, and villas. Following their storage for prolonged periods of time, such images were modernised through reworking to conform to the tastes of later Roman patrons.

Several approaches could be taken by the sculptor in the recycling of a sculpted private portrait. Portraits could be extensively reworked in one of the following ways: by carving a completely new face on a different orientation to the former likeness; by retaining the orientation of the original likeness, but reworking all (or virtually all) traces of the former likeness; by completely reworking the face, often to depict the opposite gender, while retaining a significant element from the former portrait; or, lastly, by replacing the face with a new one. However, the most common approach was a more moderate one, whereby much of the style of the earlier portrait was retained, alongside stylistic features from a later period. Such images did not have the face completely reworked, and no change in gender was involved. The combination of stylistic features from two different periods in many extensive and moderately reworked private portraits suggests that the achievement of an exact likeness of the secondary subject was not necessarily regarded as important, if the identity of the individual was made clear by other means, such as an inscription or the context in which the portrait was displayed.

This thesis has also sought to re-examine the idea of 'fashionable change' advocated by some modern scholars, whereby Roman women often commissioned the updating of the coiffures on their marble images in response to changing hair fashions. This idea has been refuted in recent years in relation to a group of mainly Severan images whose detachable wigs supposedly allowed the subject to easily replace the hair on her portrait when fashions changed. It has been shown instead that these wigs were made separately from the beginning. The re-evaluation of these bewigged images has prompted the re-examination by this author of a second group of portraits sometimes taken to have been updated by the chiselling away of all or part of the hair, followed by the addition of new portions. Very limited indisputable evidence exists for this type of reworking. In those cases, the preservation of some parts of the original *and* the secondary hairstyle, the short period of time between the original carving of the portrait and its reworking, as well as the lack of reworking in the face to depict a new subject, imply that the subject remained the same in both phases and that the reworking was indeed motivated by a desire to keep up-to-date with changing hair fashions. Many other images, however, that supposedly received similar alterations, must have been pieced, repaired, or have received later additions. The piecing together of a number of these portraits could have been due to many reasons: ease of carving; repairs following a mistake during carving, or as a result of later damage, or because of the discovery of a defect in the marble; shortages in the supply of marble; or simply because the sculptor chose to economise on the use of marble by using up pieces of stone left over from other work.

This thesis has suggested two reasons for the infrequent reworking of the coiffures on the marble images of private women. Firstly, such an updating would have been impractical or otherwise unnecessary on portraits from funerary, votive, or honorary contexts. Secondly, the often great disparity in female hairstyles in different periods would have created major technical difficulties. If Roman women were so concerned with modernising the coiffures on their sculpted images as a result of changing hair

fashions, one would expect a much larger group of images with some claim to having been reworked in this way. Thus, the reworking of marble coiffures seems not to have been widely practised, because Roman women do not appear to have been as concerned with changing fashions in hair as some modern scholars have assumed. It would seem more likely, in this author's opinion, that women who wanted to update the coiffures on their marble portraits and who were wealthy enough to commission a portrait in the first place were more likely to have ordered a new image, rather than the reworking of an existing one.

A clear relationship appears to exist between the frequency of reworking of private male and female portraits and the level of economic prosperity. We have very little evidence for the reworking of private images during the first two centuries of the empire, which was a period of relative political, social, and economic stability and prosperity. Conversely, during the politically and financially troubled times of the third and early fourth centuries AD, many private images were reworked. It appears, therefore, that the recycling of private marble images during this time of difficulty was a result of economic impoverishment, arising from a diminished supply of money and materials, and indirectly of political crisis, since the wars ravaging the empire would have contributed to this economic hardship. The recycling of a marble image during this time was a practical alternative to the commissioning of a portrait from a fresh block of marble; it was not only economically viable, but also much quicker than the carving of an image *ex novo*. This is not to say that marble likenesses were not newly created in the third century AD: rather, in the third and early fourth centuries AD, there were more reworked private images in relation to newly-fashioned portraits than in the first two centuries of the empire.

This work has also contrasted the frequency rates and reasons for the reworking of imperial and private portraits. While the recutting of private images was essentially a practical response to a lack of funds and materials, imperial portraits were transformed mainly as a result of political causes, as a way of cancelling individuals

from the visual record. In terms of frequency, the reworking of both imperial and private images seems to have come to a halt in the second century AD. Although evidence for the reworking of private images in the first century AD is limited, this practice was much more prevalent during the troubled times of the third and early fourth centuries AD. By contrast, the reworking of imperial likenesses was mainly limited to the first century AD, when many sculpted images of Caligula, Nero, and Domitian were recycled into portraits of their successors or revered predecessors. Although there was a slight resurgence in the reworking of imperial portraits in the early fourth century AD, limited evidence exists for this practice during the third century AD, probably as a result of the brevity of many emperors' reigns during this time.

The prevalence of the reworking of private images in the third and early fourth centuries AD may also be partly attributed to a process of accumulation. Unlike in the early empire, a large number of old and outdated portraits must have been accessible for reuse in late antiquity. Many of these images would have depicted unknown, long-deceased subjects. It is possible that some ancients objected on moral grounds to the reworking of the image of one individual into that of another. Because of the mainly commemorative function of portraiture, some Romans may have seen this to be a form of theft and a dishonour to the original subject. However, the majority seem not to have been concerned about this, because the transformation of private portraits must be viewed in the context of the Roman penchant for the reuse of a multifarious array of artifacts. It is this practice that provides a strong link between past and present, presaging our own growing modern-day interest in the recycling of renewable and non-renewable resources.

CATALOGUE OF PORTRAITS*

No. 1

Head of a woman, reworked from an earlier head (figs. 1-3).

Date of Original: unknown. *Reworked:* AD 14-37.

Location: The Art Museum, Princeton University (inv. no. 1989.55).

Literature: Varner 2000, 220-223, no. 58; Padgett 2001, 11-14, no. 3 (with earlier literature).

No. 2

Reworked head of a man (figs. 5-7).

Date of Original: c. AD 138-192. *Reworked:* c. AD 253-268.

Location: Museo di Antichità, Turin (inv. no. 138).

Literature: Wataghin 1988, 232-235; Liverani 1990-1991, 167; Boschung 1993, 78, note 370.

No. 3

Reworked bust of a girl (figs. 8-11).

Date of Original: AD 117-138. *Reworked:* AD 200-210.

Location: Palazzo dei Conservatori, Rome (inv. no. 2746).

Literature: Fittschen and Zanker 1983, 103-104, no. 152; Goette 1989, 461; Goette 1990, 66, 82, 149.

No. 4

Statue of a woman with a reworked portrait (figs. 17-21).

Date of Original: c. AD 98-138. *Reworked:* early to mid fourth century AD.

Location: Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek, Copenhagen (inv. no. 710).

Literature: F. Poulsen 1951, 386-387, no. 552; Richter 1955, 39; V. Poulsen 1974, 204-205, no. 211; Kruse 1975, 241-242, no. A 15 (with earlier literature); Wrede

* Catalogue numbers 1 to 30 refer to the reworked portraits discussed in Chapter One. Catalogue

1981, 218-219, no. 75; Fittschen and Zanker 1983, 65, note 5; Johansen 1995 (b), 196-199, no. 87; Kinney 1997, 139; Lenaghan 1999, 530-531, no. 270.

No. 5

Statue of a man with a reworked portrait (figs. 23-25).

Date of Original: early third century AD (?). *Reworked:* mid third century AD.

Location: Musée du Bardo, Tunis (inv. no. 3407).

Literature: von Heintze 1990, 12, 147, 154, 166; Bol 1999 (with extensive earlier literature).

No. 6

Reworked head of a man (figs. 29-30).

Date of Original: AD 69-96. *Reworked:* c. AD 96-98.

Location: Staatliche Museen, Berlin (inv. no. SK 1862 R36).

Literature: West 1941, 46, no. 2; Hausmann 1959, 170, note 9; Bianchi Bandinelli 1971, 253, 434; Pandermalis 1972, 116-118; Kiss 1975 (b), 267-270; Trillmich 1982, 297-300; Heres et al. 1990, 136-137, no. 49; Kunze 1992, 207, no. 97; Cain 1993, 126-127, no. 8.

No. 7

Reworked head of an elderly man (figs. 33-35).

Date of Original: c. AD 98-117. *Reworked:* last quarter of the third century AD.

Location: Formerly on the Roman Art Market, but now lost.

Literature: Blanck 1963, 156-158; Blanck 1969, 53-54; Kiss 1975 (b), 268; Rilliet-Maillard 1978, 76, note 3; Kinney 1997, 118; Freyer-Schauenburg 1999, 169, note 12; Matheson 2000, 77.

No. 8

Head of a woman, reworked from a head of Antinous (figs. 38-41).

Date of Original: AD 130-138. *Reworked:* c. AD 200.

Location: Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek, Copenhagen (inv. no. 3286).

Literature: Strocka 1967, 136, no. 10; V. Poulsen 1974, 205-207, no. 212 (with earlier literature); Rilliet-Maillard 1978, 76, note 6; Bergmann 1981, 189; Fittschen and Zanker 1985, 60, note 11; Meyer 1991, 49-50, no. I 27; Fittschen 1992, 238-239; Johansen 1995 (b), 200-201, no. 88.

No. 9

Reworked head of a woman (fig. 43).

Date of Original: late republic or early first century AD. *Reworked* at an unknown time.

Location: Museo Archeologico, Aquileia (inv. no. 688).

Literature: Scrinari 1972, 89, no. 265; Claridge, forthcoming 2003.

No. 10

Reworked head of a young man (figs. 46-47).

Date of Original: c. AD 14-54. *Reworked:* c. AD 253-268.

Location: Museo Civico, Brescia (inv. no. MR 231).

Literature: Poulsen 1928, 31 (with earlier literature); Blanck 1963, 158; Blanck 1969, 49-50; Matheson 2000, 77.

No. 11

Reworked bust of a man (figs. 50-52).

Date of Original: unknown. *Reworked:* mid third century AD.

Location: Musée Municipal, Château-Gontier (inv. no. 848.20).

Literature: Linfert 1992, 25-26, no. 23.

No. 12

Head of a boy, possibly reworked from a head of Nero (figs. 57-59).

Date of Original: AD 51-54. *Reworked:* c. AD 100.

Location: The Collection of the Duke of Braunschweig, Hannover.

Literature: Boehringer 1979, 68, no. 27; Bergmann and Zanker 1981, 406, no. 45; Schroder 1993, 190; Varner 1993, 131.

No. 13

Head of a man, reworked from a head of Nero (figs. 62-63).

Date of Original: AD 59-64. *Reworked:* AD 117-138.

Location: The Art Gallery, Yale University (inv. no. 1961.30).

Literature: Stern 1975, 129-130, 175-176; Varner 1993, 131-132; Varner 2000, 150-153, no. 31.

No. 14

Head of a man, possibly reworked from a head of Julius Caesar (figs. 66-68).

Date of Original: AD 14-37. *Reworked:* mid third century AD.

Location: Archaeological Museum, Corinth (inv. no. S2771).

Literature: Datsouli-Stavridi 1970, 109-110; de Grazia 1973, 77-80, no. 7; Ridgway 1981, 430; Johansen 1987, 31; Sturgeon 1989, 116, note 15.

No. 15

Head of a man, reworked from a head of Geta (figs. 71-73).

Date of Original: AD 205-208. *Reworked:* c. AD 250.

Location: Museo Capitolino, Rome (inv. no. 675).

Literature: Stuart Jones 1912, 303, no. 53; Fittschen and Zanker 1985, 105, no. 90; Varner 1993, 391-392.

No. 16

Reworked head of a man (figs. 79-81).

Date of Original: Julio-Claudian period. *Reworked:* mid third century AD.

Location: Archaeological Museum, Corinth (inv. no. S1802).

Literature: Broneer 1935, 68-69; de Grazia 1973, 194-196, no. 45; Sturgeon 1989, 116, note 15.

No. 17

Reworked head of a man (figs. 91-92).

Date of Original: early first century AD. *Reworked:* mid third century AD.

Location: Museo Nazionale, Naples (inv. no. II, 303).

Literature: Adriani 1938, 197-198, no. 47; Bergmann 1977, 151, note 604; Fuchs 1987, 36, no. C II 2.

No. 18

Reworked head of a man (figs. 94-95).

Date of Original: AD 98-117. *Reworked:* mid to late third century AD.

Location: Vatican Museum, Rome (inv. no. 575, Sala X).

Literature: Giuliano 1957, 72, no. 87; von Heintze 1960, 159; Helbig 1963, 789-790, no. 1092; Liverani 1990-1991, 167, note 12.

No. 19

Reworked head of a man (figs. 98-101).

Date of Original: Julio-Claudian (?). *Reworked:* c. AD 300.

Location: Archaeological Museum, Corinth (inv. no. S1202).

Literature: L'Orange 1965, 32-33, 118, no. 35; Sydow 1969, 107; de Grazia 1973, 207-211, no. 50.

No. 20

Reworked head of a man (figs. 104-105).

Date of Original: AD 41-54. *Reworked:* late third century AD.

Location: Perge, Depot (inv. no. 57).

Literature: Inan 1965, 60, no. 3; Inan and Rosenbaum 1966, 191, no. 260; Jucker and Willers 1982, 217; Bergmann 1990, 384, 386, 388.

No. 21

Reworked head of a man (figs. 108-110).

Date of Original: Julio-Claudian (?). *Reworked:* early fourth century AD.

Location: Museo Ostiense, Ostia (inv. no. 70).

Literature: L'Orange 1965, 119, no. 40; Blanck 1969, 54; Helbig 1972, 120, no. 3146; Bergmann 1977, 148; Matheson 2000, 71.

No. 22

Reworked head of a man (fig. 115).

Date of Original: AD 14-37. *Reworked:* late third or early fourth century AD.

Location: Museo Nazionale, Taranto.

Literature: Blanck 1969, 53; Bergmann 1977, 141, note 557; Manderscheid 1981, 51, note 89; Giuliano 1997, 30, note 3.

No. 23

Reworked head of a man (figs. 116-117).

Date of Original: early first century AD. *Reworked:* shortly thereafter.

Location: Museum of Fine Arts, Boston (inv. no. 1971.393).

Literature: Kiss 1975 (a), 84; Comstock and Vermeule 1976, 209-210, no. 331 (with earlier literature); Herrmann 1991, 45-46; Varner 2000, 212-215, no. 56.

No. 24

Reworked head of a man (figs. 118-122).

Date of Original: AD 14-37. *Reworked:* mid third century AD.

Location: Archaeological Museum, Olympia (inv. no. 134).

Literature: Goette and Hitzl 1987, 283-288 (with earlier literature).

No. 25

Reworked head of a man (fig. 123).

Date of Original: late first century BC. *Reworked:* early fourth century AD.

Location: Museo Nazionale, Naples (inv. no. II, 180).

Literature: Adriani 1938, 197, no. 46; Bergmann 1977, 151, note 651; Fuchs 1987, 35, no. C II 1.

No. 26

Reworked bust of a man (figs. 127-129).

Date of Original: early second century AD. *Reworked:* c. AD 238.

Location: Museum of Fine Arts, Boston (inv. no. 88.347).

Literature: Jucker 1961, 106-107, no. St 55 (with earlier literature); Comstock and Vermeule 1976, 239, no. 375; Bergmann 1977, 129; Fittschen and Zanker 1983, 106, note 15; Herrmann 1991, 45; Varner 2000, 206-209, no. 54.

No. 27

Reworked head of a man (figs. 131-134).

Date of Original: AD 81-96. *Reworked:* early fourth century AD.

Location: Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek, Copenhagen (inv. no. 1952).

Literature: V. Poulsen 1974, 55-56, no. 23 (with earlier literature); Bergmann 1981, 179; Koepfel 1984, 37, no. 10; Cain 1993, 156-157, no. 35; Hannestad 1994, 78, note 99; Johansen 1995 (a), 70, no. 23.

No. 28

Reworked head of a man (fig. 137).

Date of Original: AD 81-96. *Reworked:* mid third century AD.

Location: Vatican Museum, Rome (inv. no. 3728, Magazin).

Literature: Koeppel 1984, 35 (with earlier literature); Hannestad 1994, 78, note 99.

No. 29

Reworked head of a woman (figs. 138-139).

Date of Original: AD 30-50. *Reworked* at an unknown time in late antiquity.

Location: Museo Civico, Bologna (inv. no. Rom 1923).

Literature: F. Poulsen 1928, 24 (with earlier literature); Blanck 1969, 57-58;

Matheson 2000, 72.

No. 30

Reworked bust of a woman (figs. 141-144).

Date of Original: AD 117-138. *Reworked:* c. AD 220.

Location: Museo Capitolino, Rome (inv. no. 488).

Literature: Stuart Jones 1912, 212, no. 77; Crawford 1917, 115, no. 56; Wegner 1939, 289; Jucker 1961, 105-106, no. St 54; Meischner 1964, 147, no. 57; Strocka 1967, 118, note 16; Wiggers and Wegner 1971, 126; Wegner, Bracker, and Real 1979, 132; Fittschen and Zanker 1983, 104-106, no. 155 (with earlier literature); Smith 1985, 215.

No. 31

Reworked head of a woman (figs. 148-151).

Date of Original: c. AD 96-117. *Reworked:* hair recut c. AD 98-125.

Location: Museum of Fine Arts, Boston (inv. no. 1988.327).

Literature: Liverani 1990-1991, 167, note 15; Herrmann 1991, 35-45, 48; Vermeule 1991; Varner 2000, 216-219, no. 57; Bartman 2001, 19-20.

No. 32

Reworked head of a woman (figs. 156-158).

Date of Original: c. AD 244-249. *Reworked:* hair recut c. AD 253.

Location: Museo Capitolino, Rome (inv. no. 339).

Literature: Bergmann 1977, 96, note 402; Fittschen and Zanker 1983, 113, no. 170; Goette 1986, 738, note 70.

No. 33

Head of a woman (figs. 166-169). Reworked to provide some kind of decorative addition?

Date: Julio-Claudian.

Location: Szépművészeti Múzeum, Budapest (inv. no. 4134).

Literature: Hekler 1929, 126-127, no. 115 (with earlier literature); Trillmich 1976, 31-32; Kreikenbom 1992, 107-109; Matheson 2000, 72-73.

No. 34

Bust of a woman (figs. 180-181).

Date: c. AD 98-117.

Location: Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York (inv. no. 14.130.7).

Literature: Richter 1948, no. 63 (with earlier literature); Fittschen and Zanker 1983, 56, note 1 (under no. 72); Herrmann 1991, 47; Freyer-Schauenberg 1999, 171, note 30; Matheson 2000, 73; Bartman 2001, 20, note 106.

No. 35

Statue of Julia Procula (figs. 186-188).

Date: c. AD 115.

Location: Museo Ostiense, Ostia (inv. no. 61, Sala VIII 14).

Literature: Calza 1964, 65-66, no. 100; Helbig 1972, 101-102, no. 3122; Kruse 1975, 339-340, no. D 28 (with earlier literature); Wrede 1981, 255, no. 162;

Fittschen and Zanker 1983, 56, note 7 (under no. 74); Pfanner 1989, 246; Herrmann 1991, 46; Lenaghan 1999, 171-173, 494, no. 221.

No. 36

Head of a woman (figs. 192-194).

Date: c. AD 159.

Location: Archaeological Museum, Thessaloniki (inv. no. 1054).

Literature: Rüschi 1969, 130, no. P 34; Fittschen 1982, 54, note 34 u; Fittschen and Zanker 1983, 81, note 1f (under no. 109); Claridge 1990, 148, 150; Matheson 2000, 74.

No. 37

Head of a woman (figs. 203-206).

Date: c. AD 160.

Location: Museo Archeologico, Aquileia (inv. no. 401).

Literature: Poulsen 1928, 20, no. 19; Scrinari 1972, 82, no. 248; Fittschen 1982, 80, note 44 a 3; Fittschen and Zanker 1983, 26 (under no. 26, with earlier literature); Matheson 2000, 73.

No. 38

Head of a woman (figs. 213-216).

Date: mid 150s or early 160s AD.

Location: Formerly part of the Bertelé Collection in Rome. Now in the Lewis Dubroff Collection in New York (inv. no. L1994.87). Currently on loan to the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York.

Literature: Curtius 1957, 1-7; Brilliant 1975, 136-137; Inan and Alföldi-Rosenbaum 1979, 341-343, no. 342; Meischner 1981, 151; Fittschen 1982, 53, note 32 g; Fittschen and Zanker 1983, 81, note 1 b (under no. 109); Goette 1984, 128, note 26; Claridge 1990, 161, note 71; Herrmann 1991, 47; Kleiner and Matheson 1996, 174,

note 8 (under no. 130); Matheson 2000, 74; Strocka 2000, 127; Bartman 2001, 20-21.

No. 39

Head of a woman (figs. 232-235).

Date: early Severan.

Location: Museo Chiaramonti, Rome (inv. no. 1887).

Literature: Amelung 1903, 375, no. 104; Meischner 1964, 156, no. 88; Wiggers and Wegner 1971, 128; Liverani 1989, 94, no. 63.5; Andreae 1994, 98; Matheson 2000, 75.

No. 40

Head of a woman (figs. 241-243).

Date: first quarter of the third century AD.

Location: Rheinisches Landesmuseum, Bonn (inv. no. 20335).

Literature: Wiggers and Wegner 1971, 122 (with earlier literature); Noelke 1982, 251, note 24; Fittschen and Zanker 1983, 81, note 1d (under no. 109), 88, note 2c (under no. 121), 90, note 19 (under no. 125); Goette 1984, 128-140; Fittschen 1991, 308-309.

No. 41

Head of a woman (figs. 255-256).

Date: c. AD 200.

Location: Museo Nazionale Romano, Rome (inv. no. 564).

Literature: Crawford 1917, 113; Felletti Maj 1953, 132, no. 260; Schauenburg 1967, 47; Strocka 1967, 119, note 16; Fittschen and Zanker 1983, 106, note 4; Giuliano 1988 (part 2), 342-344, no. R 260; Matheson 2000, 76; Bartman 2001, 14-15.

No. 42

Bust of a woman (figs. 258-261).

Date: c. AD 220-230.

Location: Musée Cantonal d'Archéologie, Neuchâtel.

Literature: Wiggers and Wegner 1971, 174; Jucker and Willers 1982, 188-189, no. 79 (with earlier literature); Meischner 1984, 328; Matheson 2000, 75.

**APPENDIX ONE:
LIST OF HISTORICAL PERIODS AND IMPERIAL NAMES***

The Roman Republic (200-27 BC)

Julius Caesar: died (hereafter, d.) 44 BC.
Mark Antony: d. 30 BC.

The Augustan Period (27 BC-AD 14)

Octavia: d. 11 BC.
Augustus: ruled (hereafter, r.) 27 BC-AD 14.
Livia: d. AD 29.
Gaius Caesar: d. AD 4.
Julia: d. AD 14.

The Julio-Claudians (AD 14-68)

Tiberius: r. AD 14-37.
Germanicus: d. AD 19.
Drusus Minor: d. AD 23.
Agrippina the Elder: d. AD 33.
Antonia Minor: d. AD 37.
Caligula: r. AD 37-41.
Claudius: r. AD 41-54.
Nero: r. AD 54-68.
Poppaea: d. AD 65.

The Flavians (AD 69-96)

Vitellius: d. AD 69.
Vespasian: r. AD 69-79.
Domitian: r. AD 81-96.
Domitia Longina: d. AD 150.

Nerva: r. AD 96-98.

Trajan: r. AD 98-117.
Marciana: d. AD 112.
Matidia: d. c.AD 119.

The Hadrianic Period (AD 117-138)

Hadrian: r. AD 117-138.
Antinous: d. AD 130.
Sabina: d. AD 136-137.

The Antonines (AD 138-193)

Antoninus Pius: r. AD 138-161.
Marcus Aurelius: r. AD 161-180.
Lucius Verus: r. AD 161-169.
Commodus: r. AD 180-192.
Faustina the Elder: d. AD 141.
Faustina the Younger: d. AD 175.
Lucilla: d. c.AD. 182.
Crispina: d. c.AD 187.

The Severans (AD 193-235)

Septimius Severus: r. AD 193-211.
Pertinax: d. AD 193.
Caracalla: r. AD 211-217.
Geta: d. AD 211.
Plautilla: d. AD 211-212.
Julia Domna: d. AD 215 or 217.
Elagabalus: r. AD 218-222.
Alexander Severus: r. AD 222-235.
Julia Mamaea: d. AD 235.

The Soldier Emperors (AD 235-284)

Maximinus Thrax: r. AD 235-238.
Balbinus and Pupienus: r. AD 238.
Gordian III: r. AD 238-244.
Philip the Arab: r. AD 244-249.
Otacilia Severa: d. ?
Trajan Decius: r. AD 249-251.
Trebonianus Gallus: r. AD 251-253.
Gallienus: r. AD 253-268.
Aurelian: r. AD 270-275.

The Tetrarchs (AD 284-312)

Diocletian: r. AD 284-305.
Maximian: r. AD 286-305.
Constantius Chlorus: r. AD 305-306.
Galerius: r. AD 305-311.
Maxentius: r. AD 306-312.
Licinius: r. AD 307-324.

*The Age of Constantine the Great
(AD 307-337)*

Constantine the Great: r. AD 307-337.
Helena: d. c.AD. 329-337.

* The names of members of the imperial family in this list include only those that are mentioned in this thesis.

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* Abbreviations of periodicals are as given in *American Journal of Archaeology* 104 (2000) 10-24.

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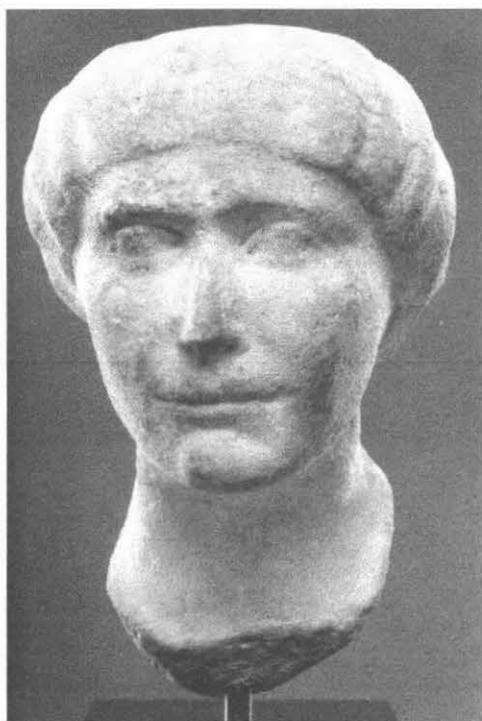


Fig. 1



Fig. 2

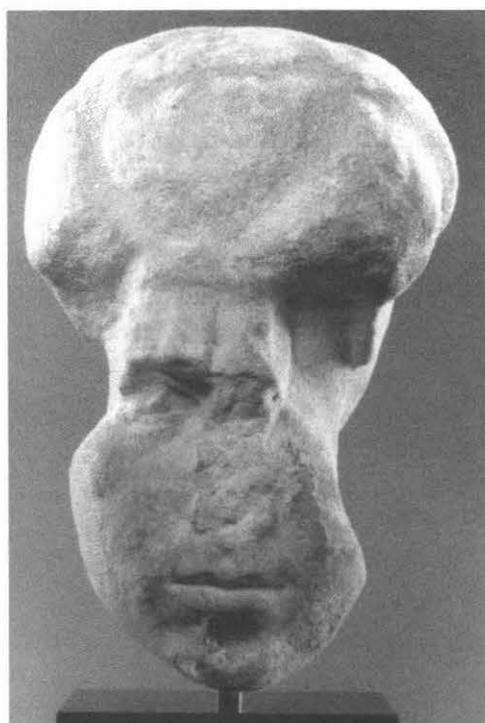


Fig. 3

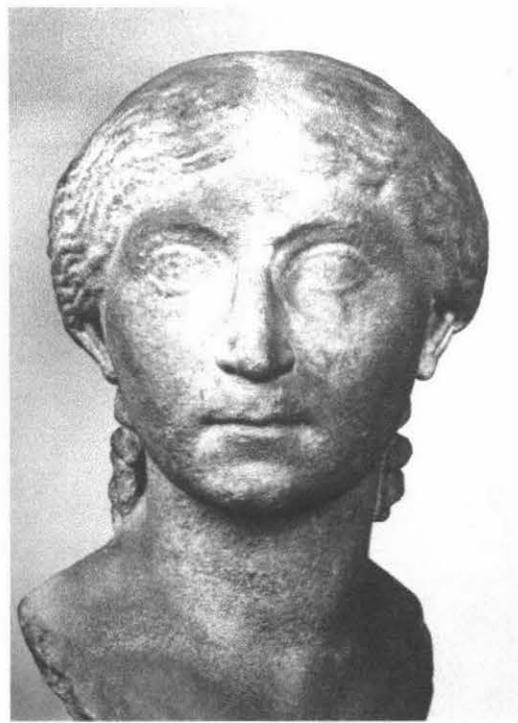


Fig. 4



Fig. 5



Fig. 6

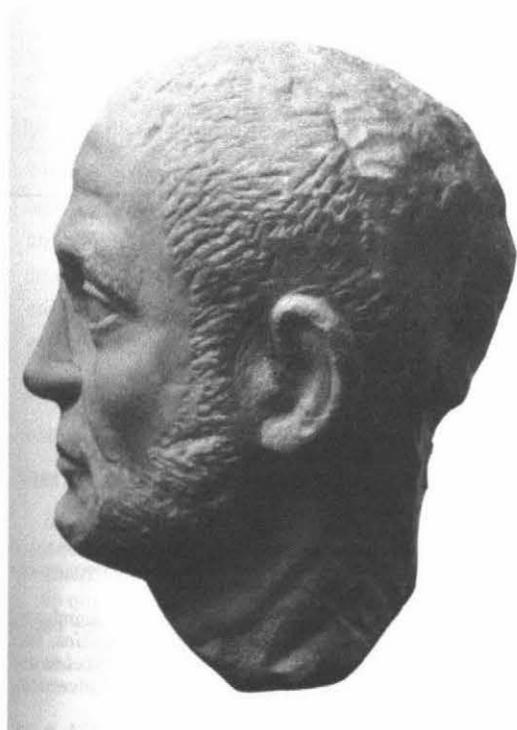


Fig. 7



Fig. 8



Fig. 9



Fig. 10



Fig. 11

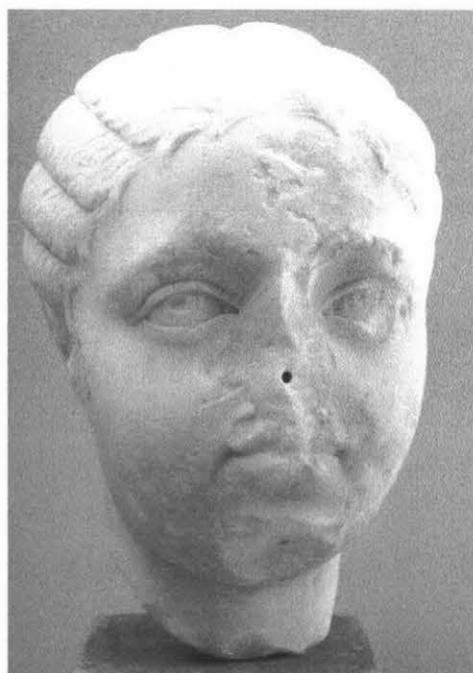


Fig. 12



Fig. 17



Fig. 18



Fig. 19



Fig. 20



Fig. 21



Fig. 22



Fig. 23

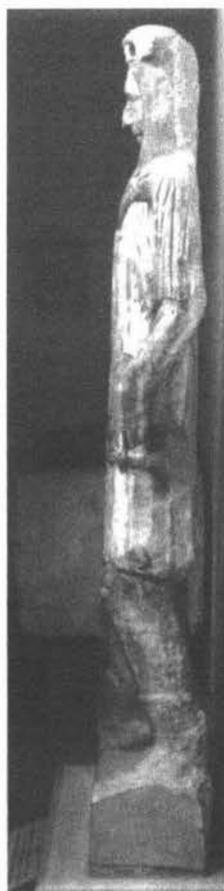


Fig. 24



Fig. 25



Fig. 26

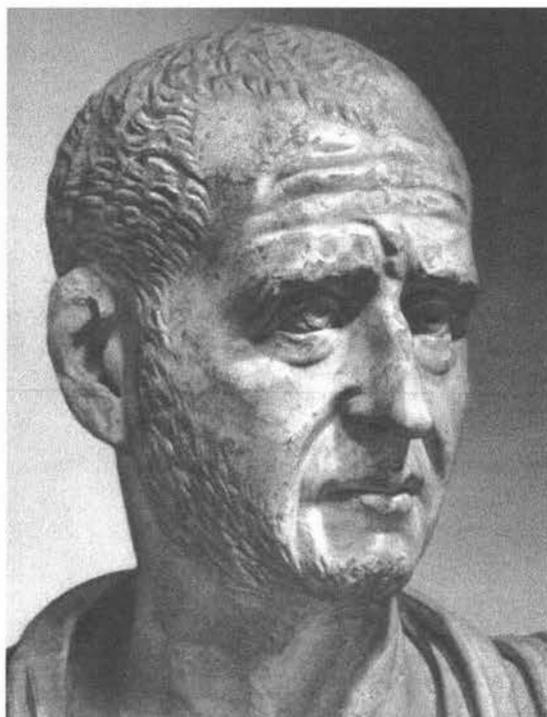


Fig. 27



Fig. 28



Fig. 29



Fig. 30



Fig. 31

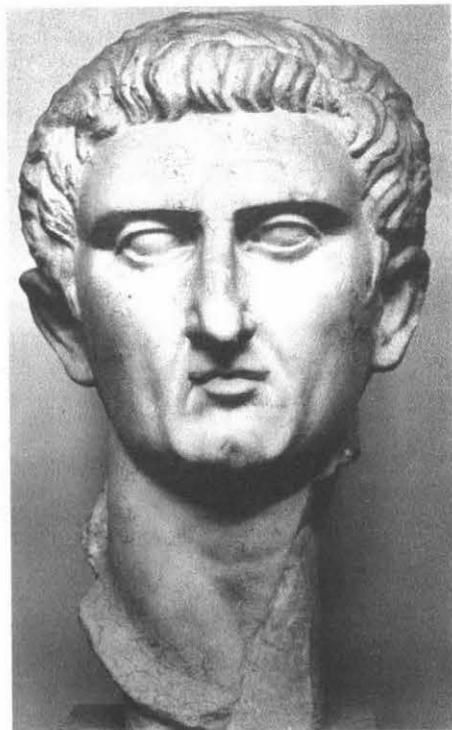


Fig. 32



Fig. 33



Fig. 34



Fig. 35

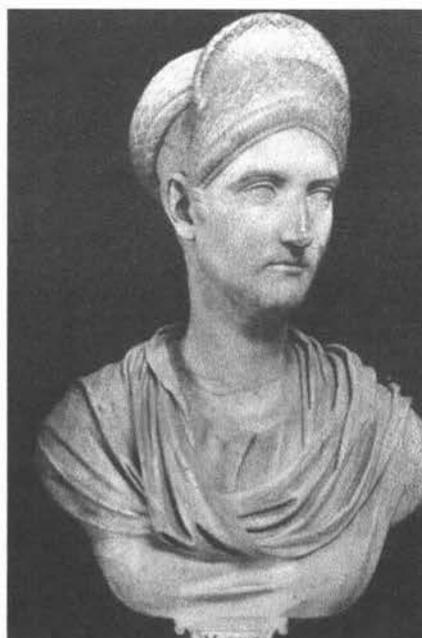


Fig. 36



Fig. 37



Fig. 38



Fig. 39



Fig. 40



Fig. 41



Fig. 42



Fig. 43



Fig. 44

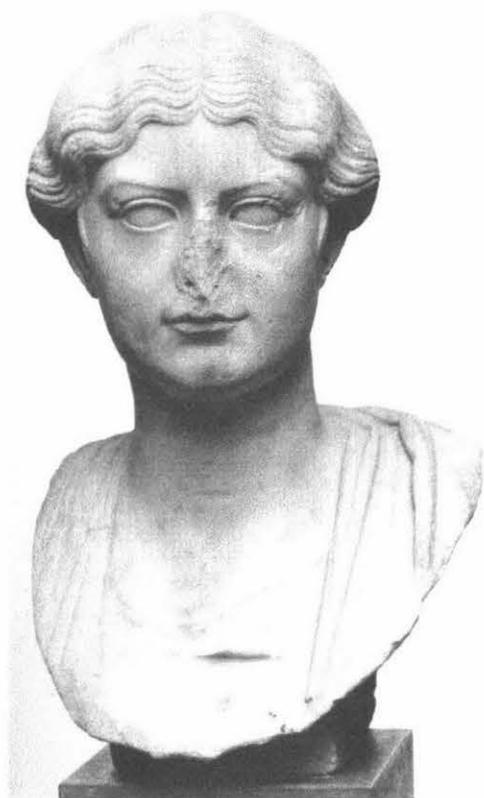


Fig. 45



Fig. 46



Fig. 47



Fig. 48



Fig. 49



Fig. 50



Fig. 51

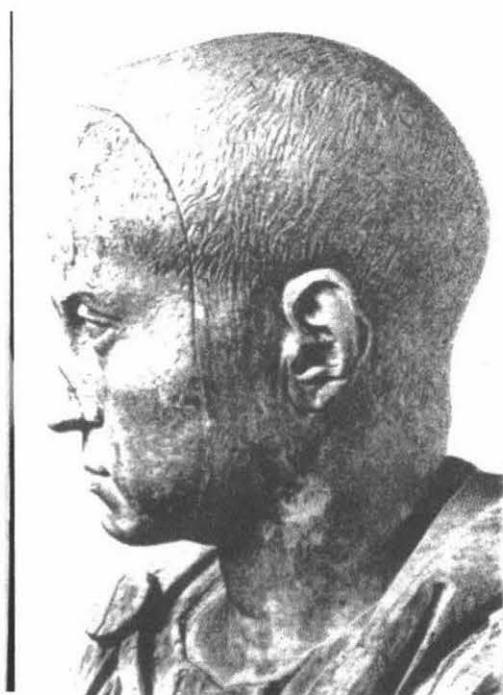


Fig. 52

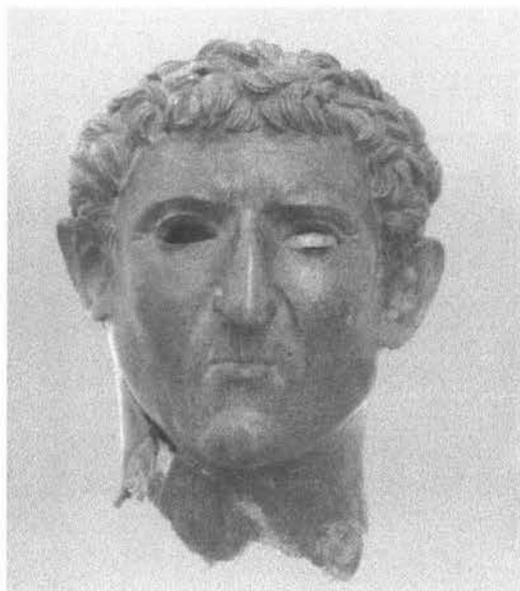


Fig. 53



Fig. 54



Fig. 55



Fig. 56



Fig. 57



Fig. 58



Fig. 59



Fig. 60

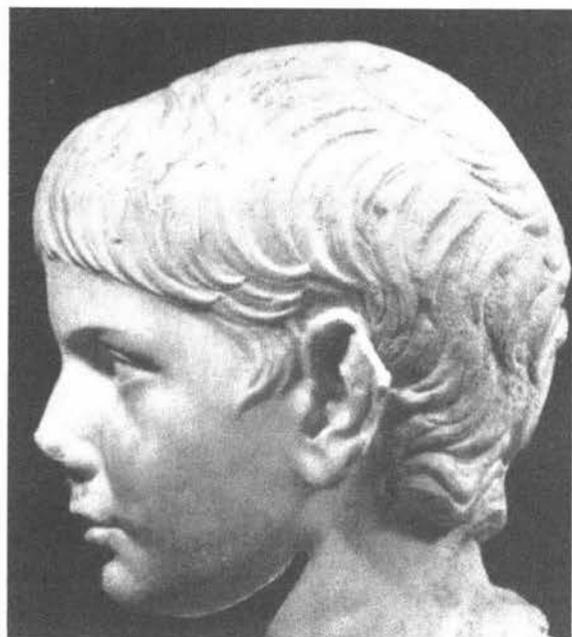


Fig. 61

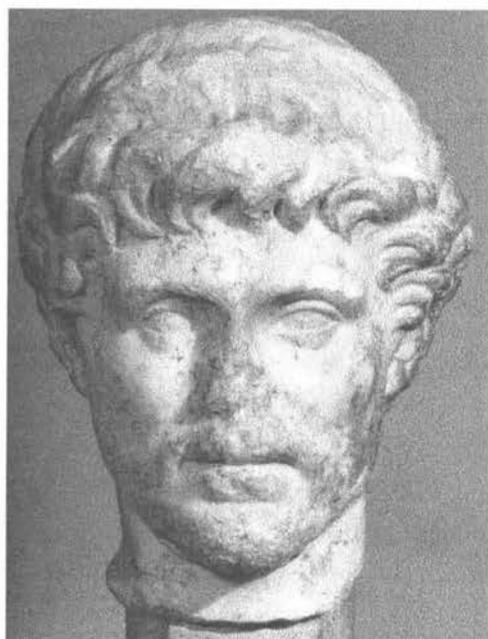


Fig. 62



Fig. 63

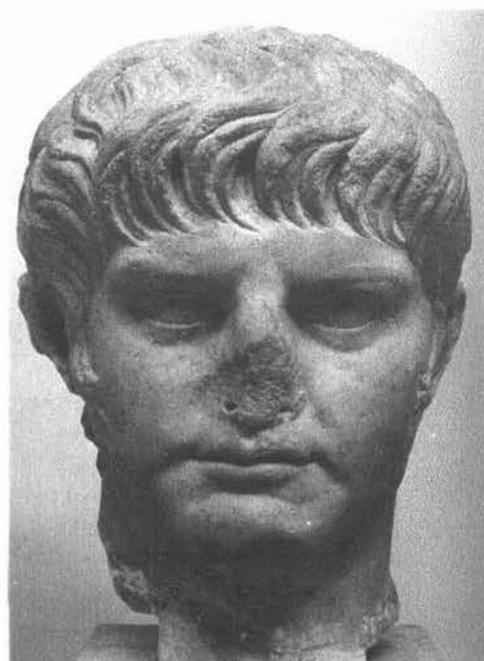


Fig. 64



Fig. 65

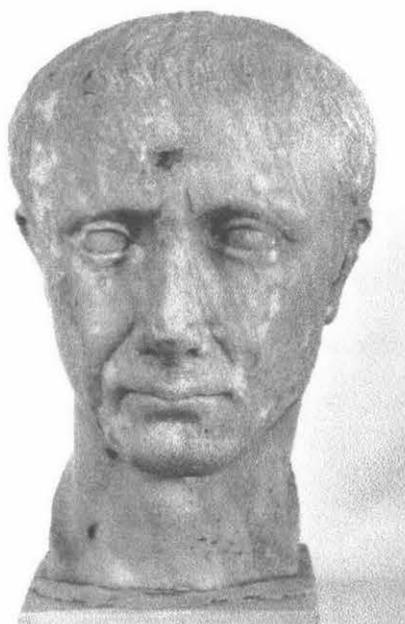


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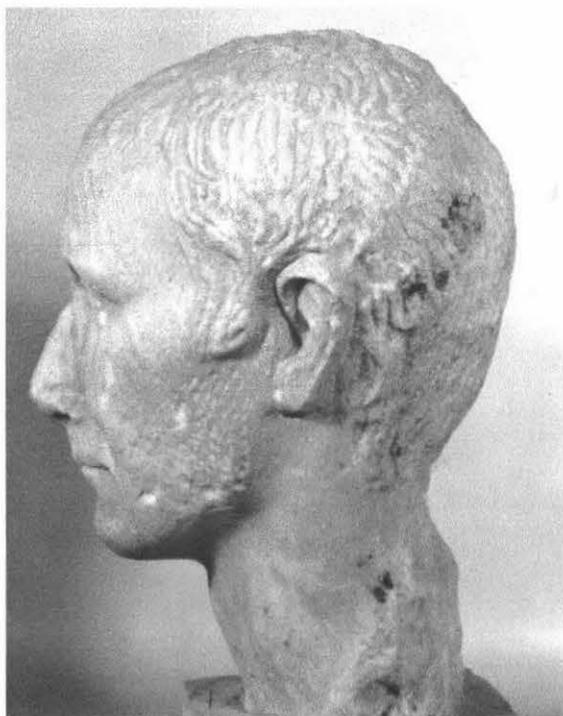


Fig. 67



Fig. 68



Fig. 69

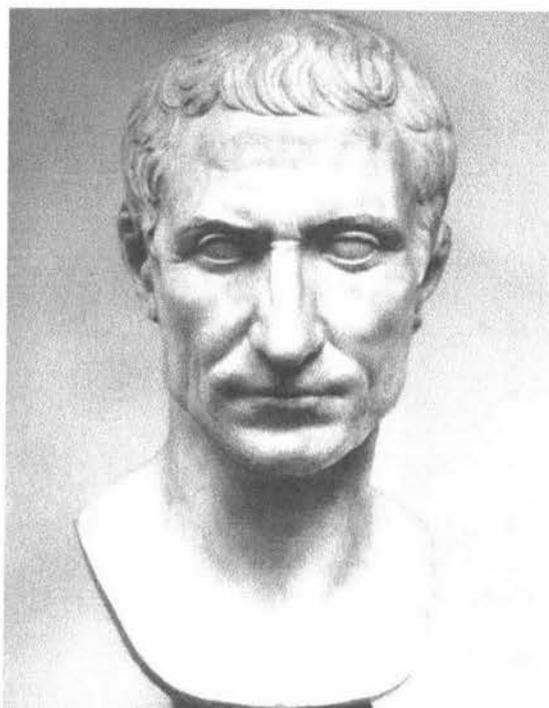


Fig. 70



Fig. 71

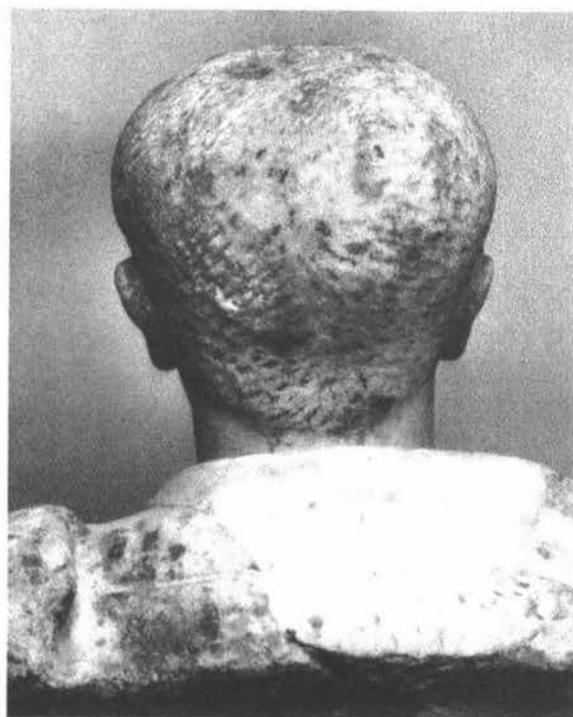


Fig. 72



Fig. 73

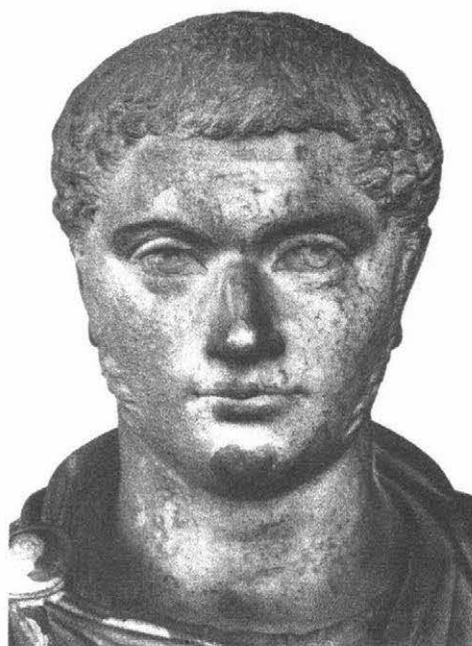


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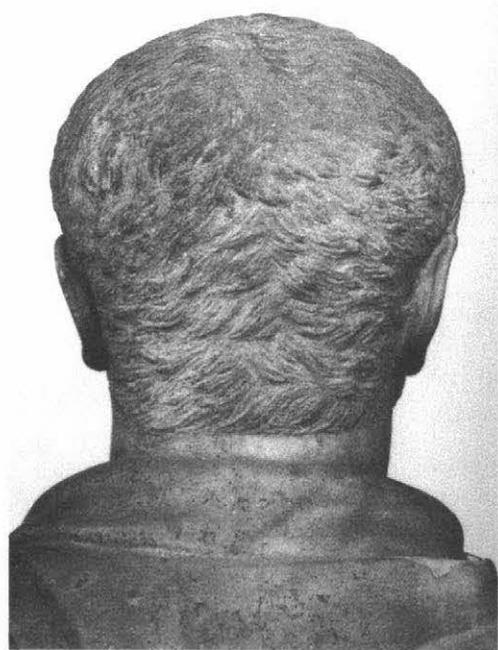


Fig. 75



Fig. 76



Fig. 77



Fig. 78

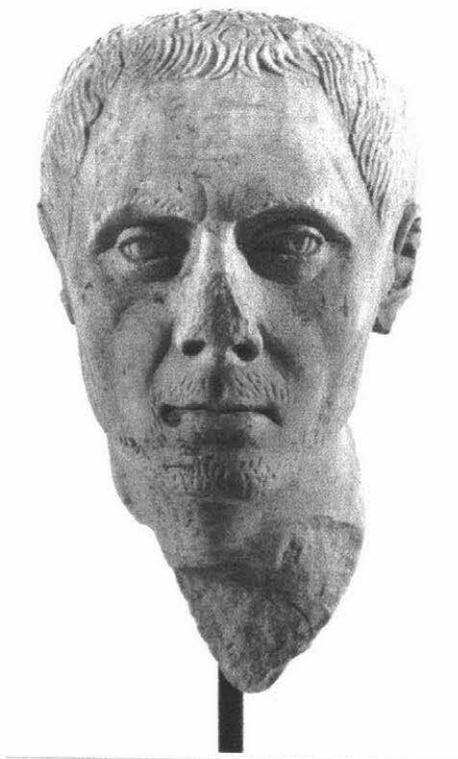


Fig. 79

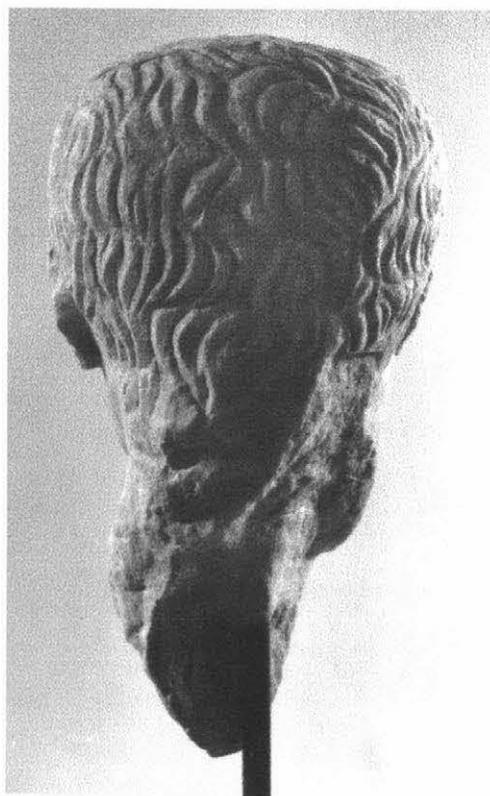


Fig. 80



Fig. 81



Fig. 82

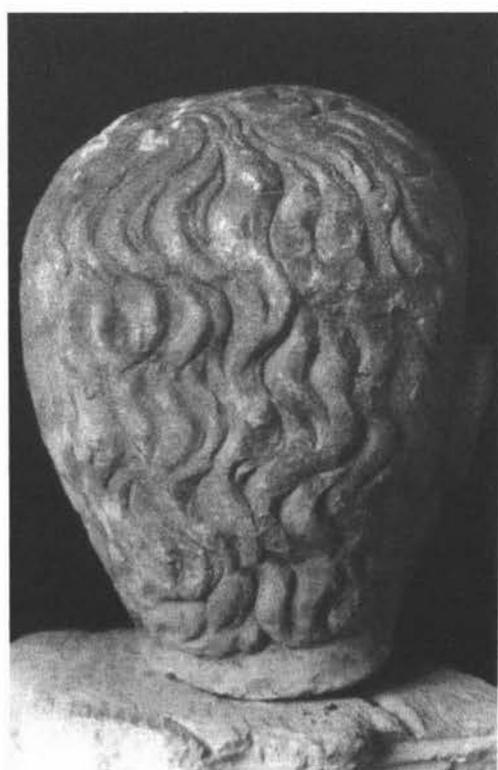


Fig. 83

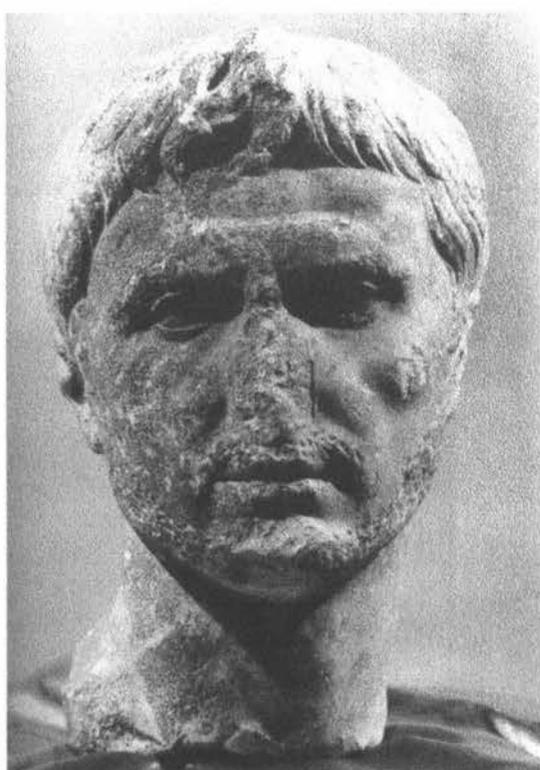


Fig. 84



Fig. 85

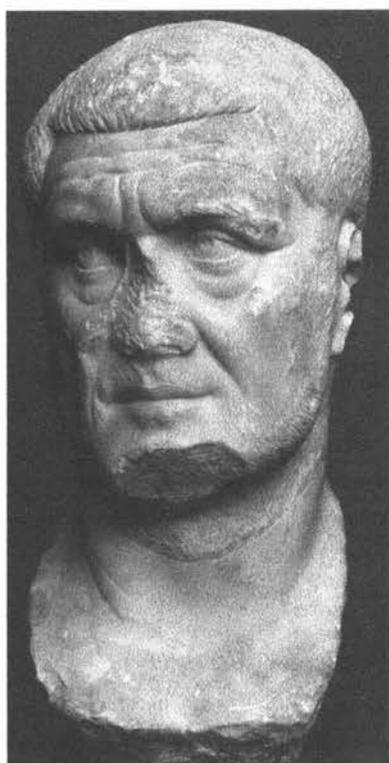


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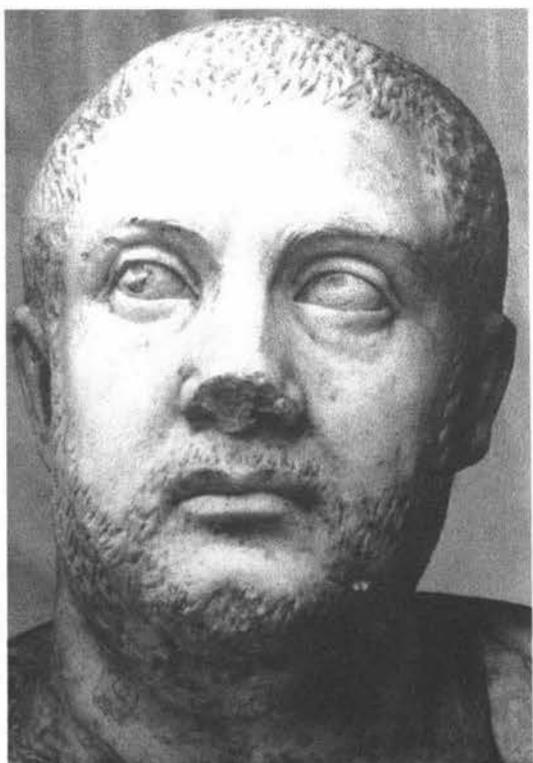


Fig. 87



Fig. 88



Fig. 89

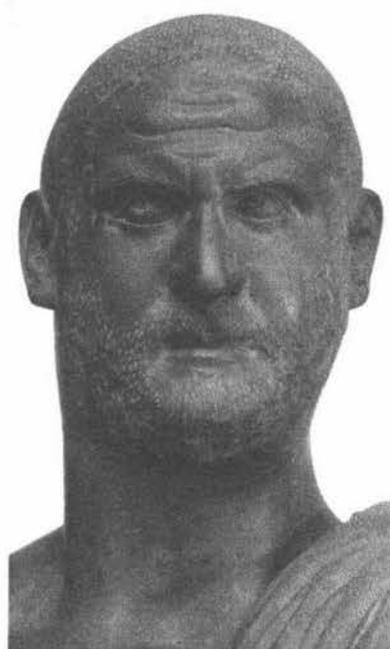


Fig. 90

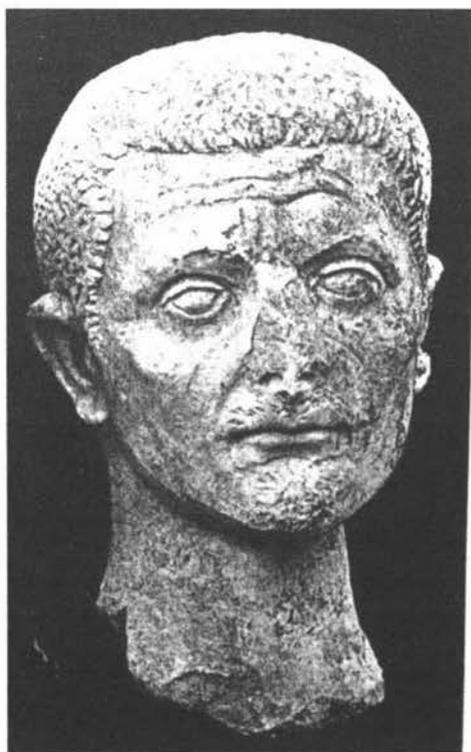


Fig. 91



Fig. 92



Fig. 93

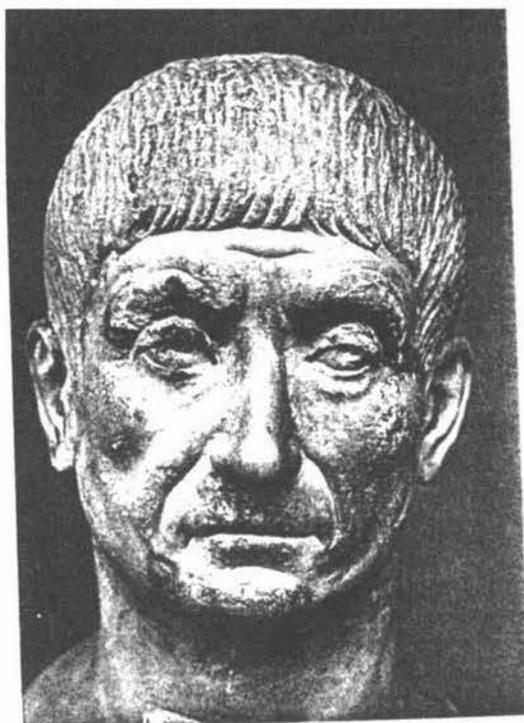


Fig. 94



Fig. 95



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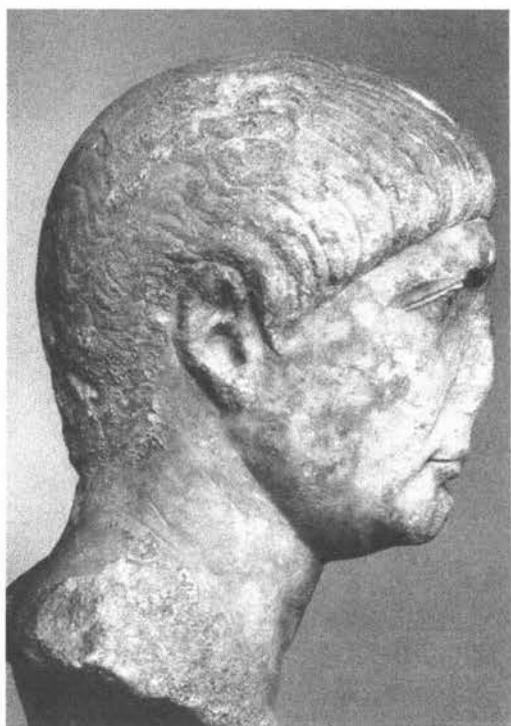


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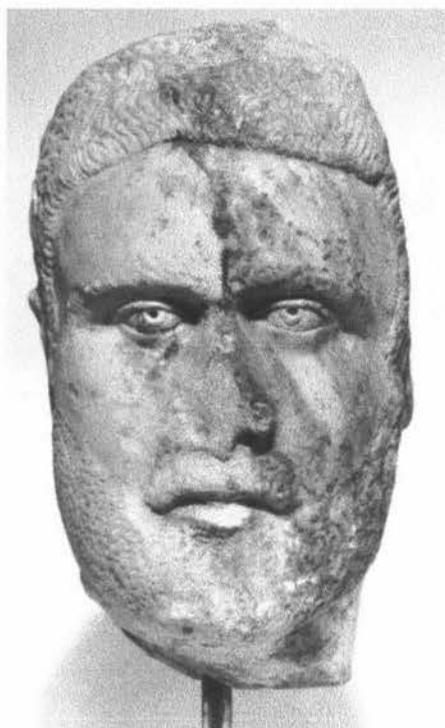


Fig. 98



Fig. 99



Fig. 100



Fig. 101



Fig. 102



Fig. 103



Fig. 104



Fig. 105

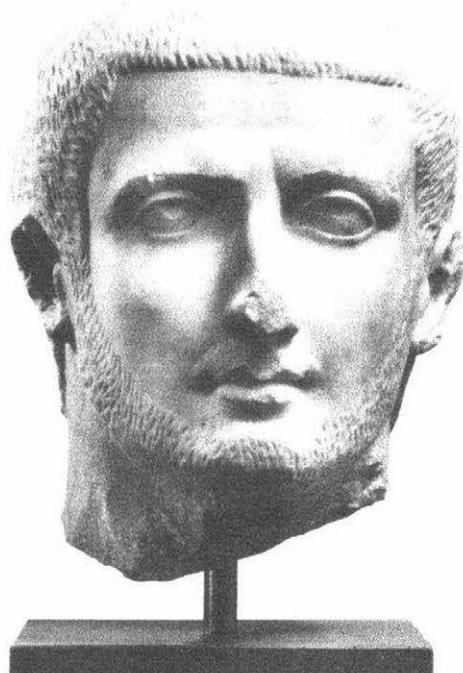


Fig. 106



Fig. 107

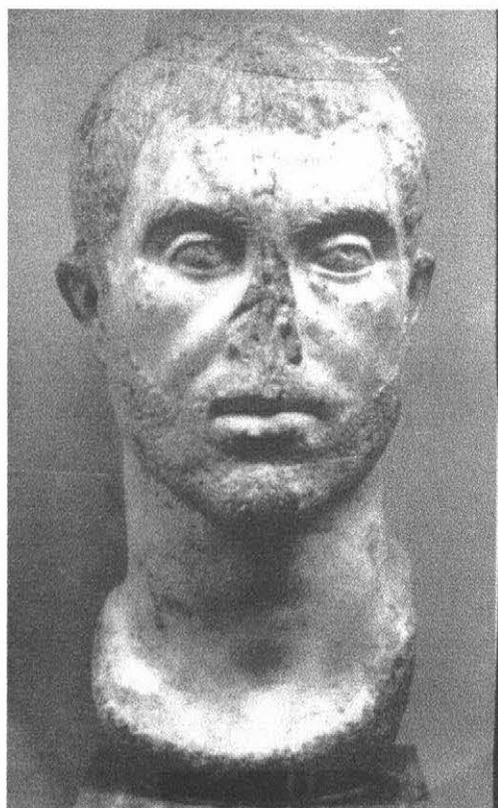


Fig. 108



Fig. 109



Fig. 110

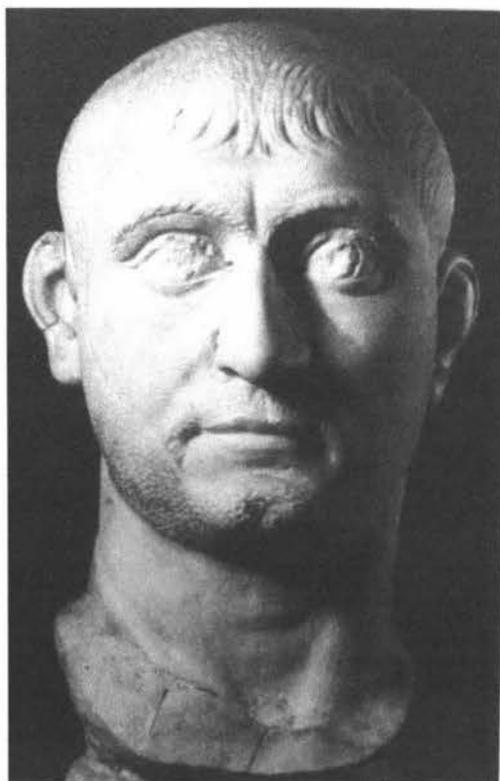


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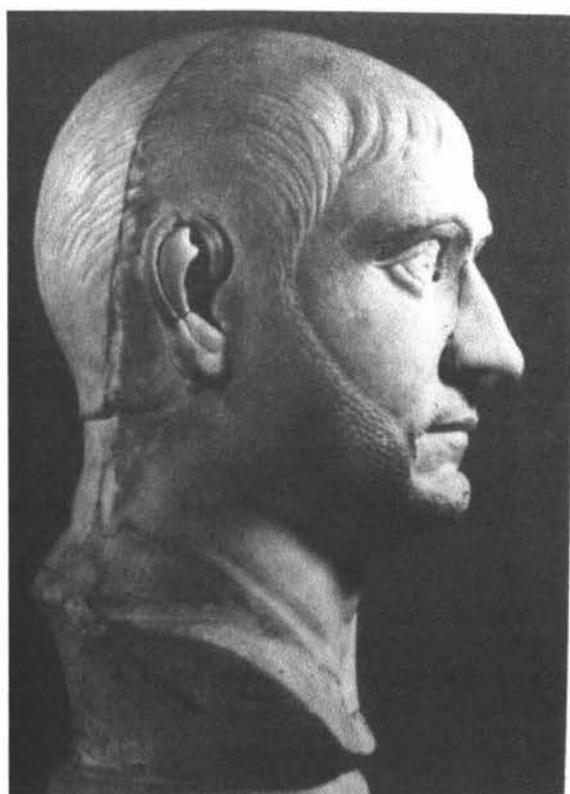


Fig. 112



Fig. 113

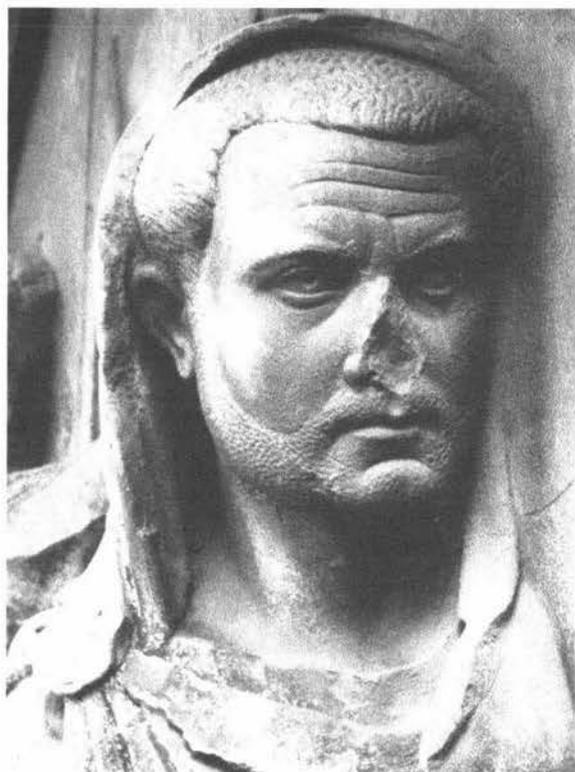


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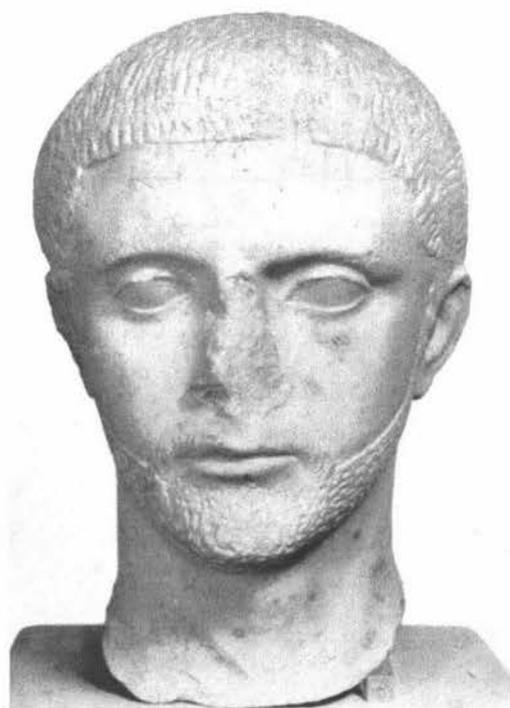


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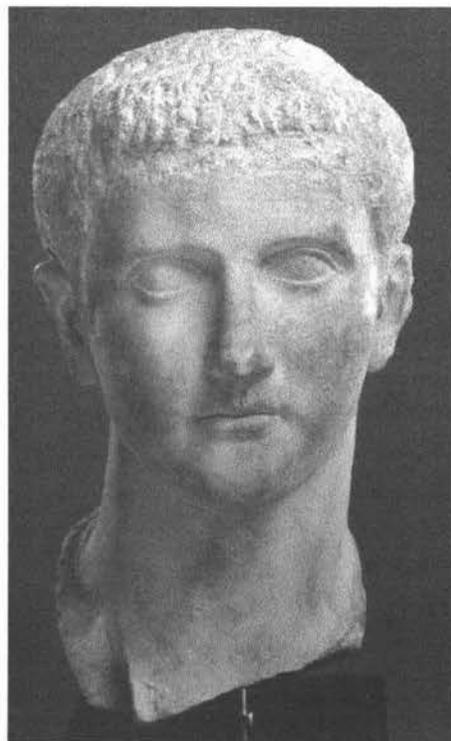


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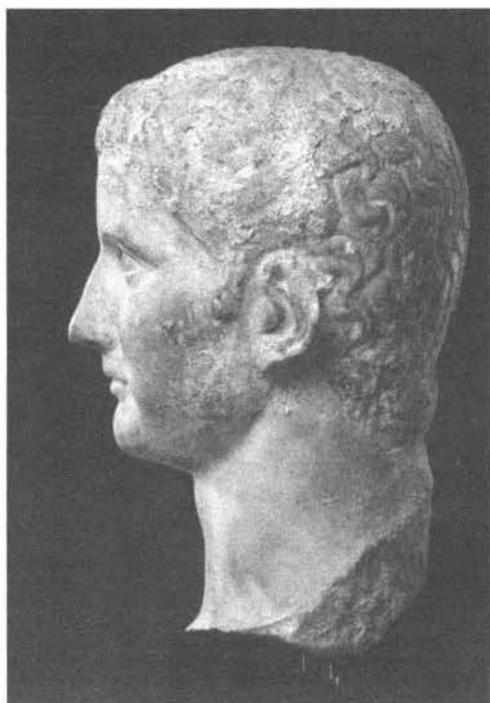


Fig. 117



Fig. 118

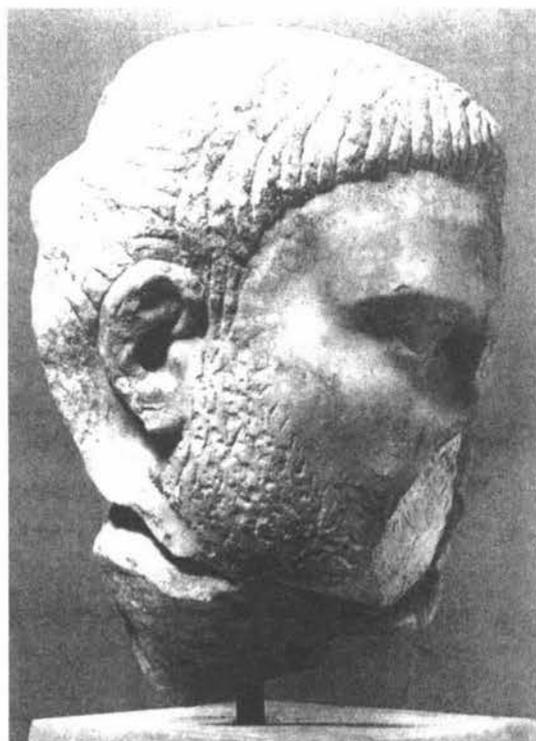


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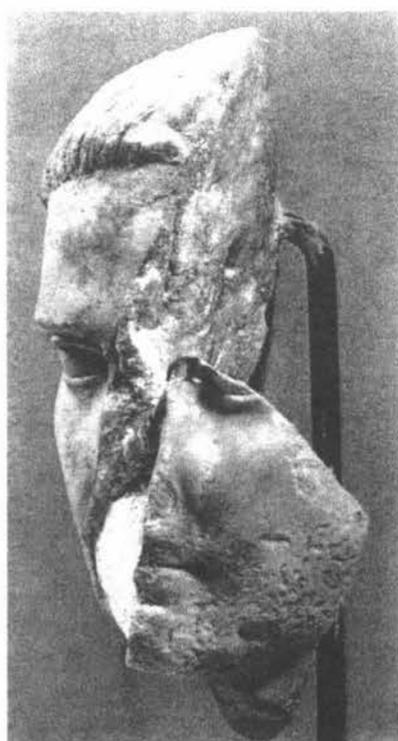


Fig. 120



Fig. 121



Fig. 122



Fig. 123

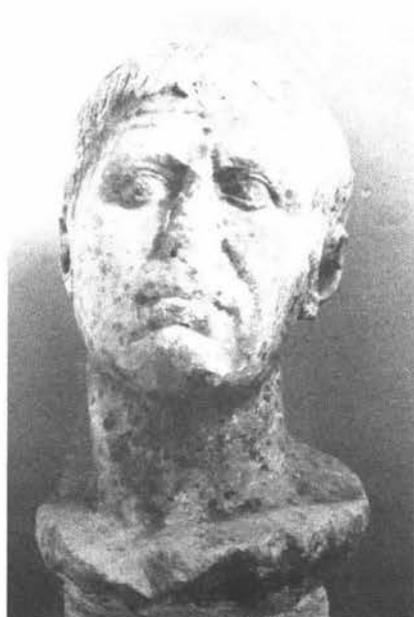


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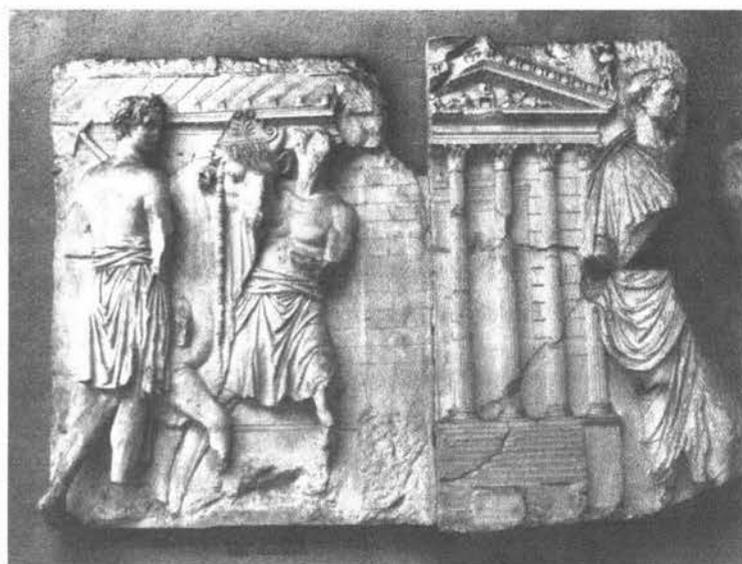


Fig. 125



Fig. 126



Fig. 127



Fig. 128

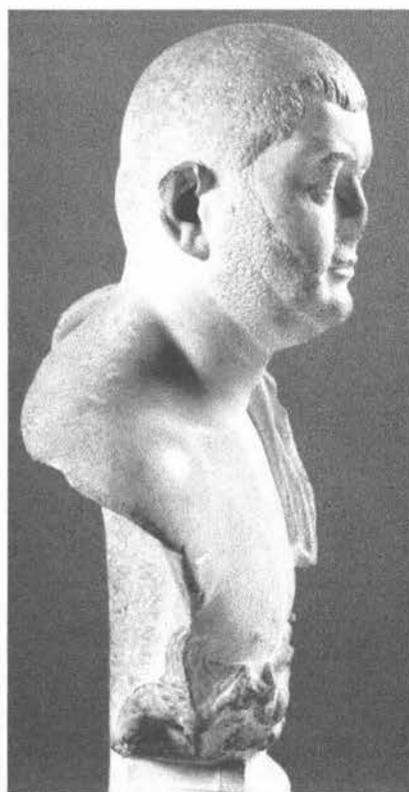


Fig. 129



Fig. 130

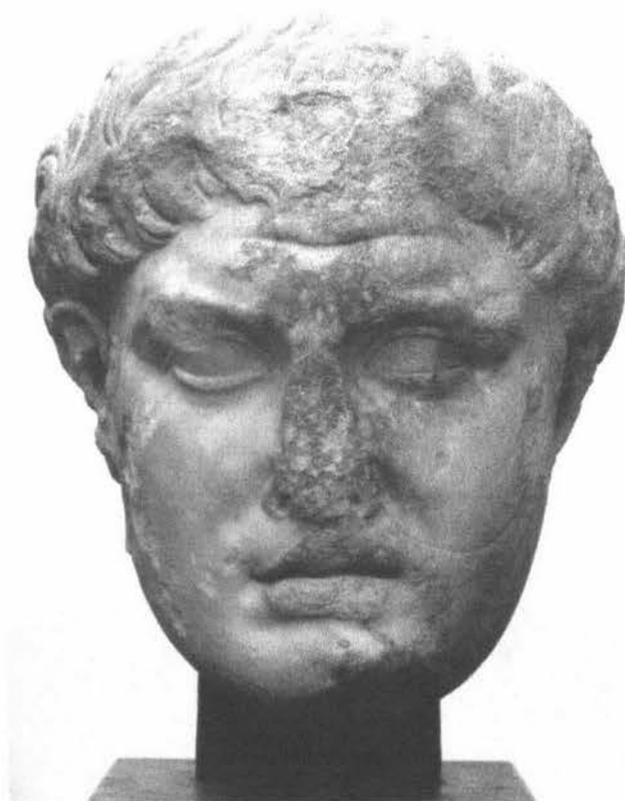


Fig. 131



Fig. 132



Fig. 133



Fig. 134

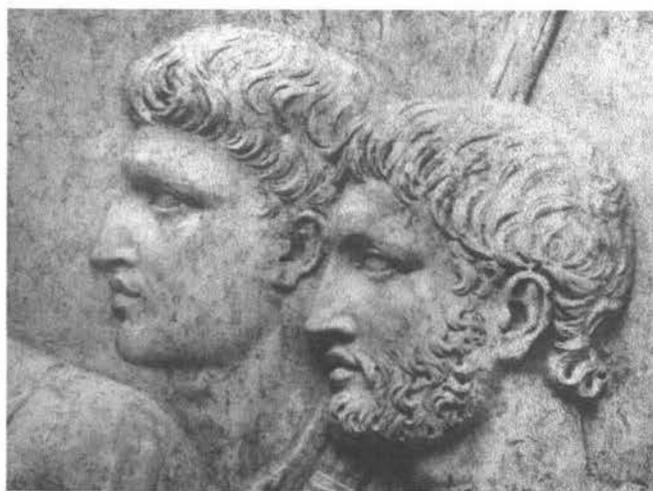


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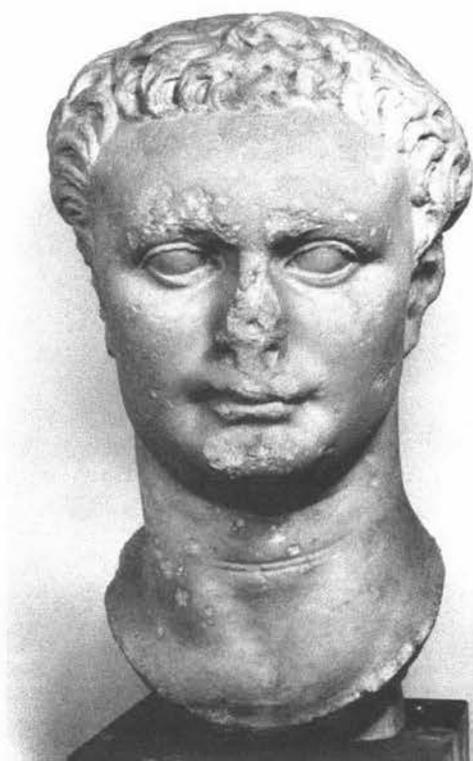


Fig. 136



Fig. 137



Fig. 138



Fig. 139

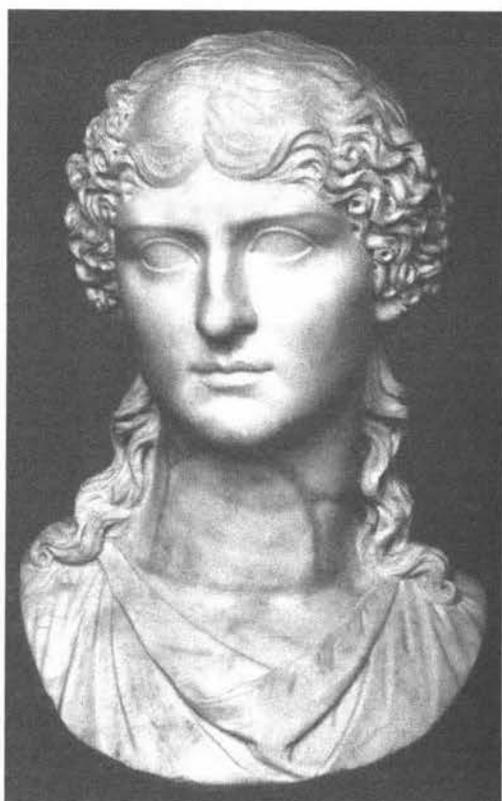


Fig. 140



Fig. 141



Fig. 142



Fig. 143



Fig. 144



Fig. 145



Fig. 146



Fig. 147



Fig. 148



Fig. 149



Fig. 150



Fig. 151



Fig. 152



Fig. 153

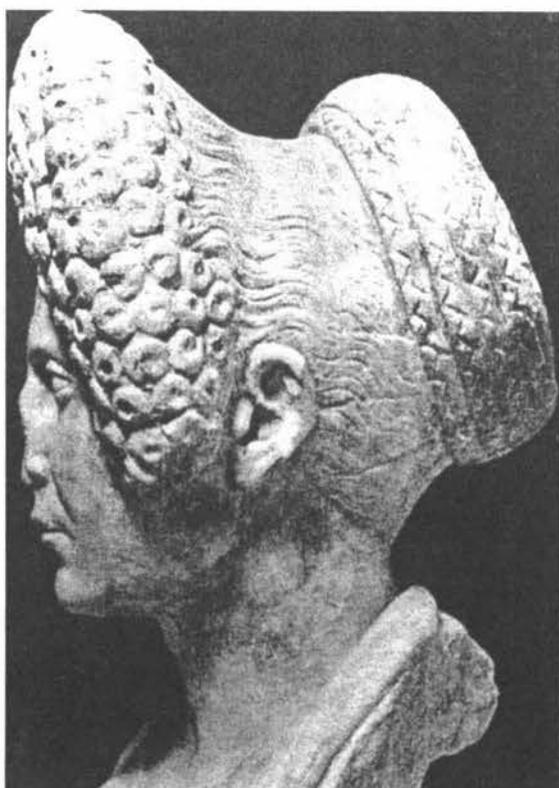


Fig. 154



Fig. 155



Fig. 156



Fig. 157



Fig. 158



Fig. 159

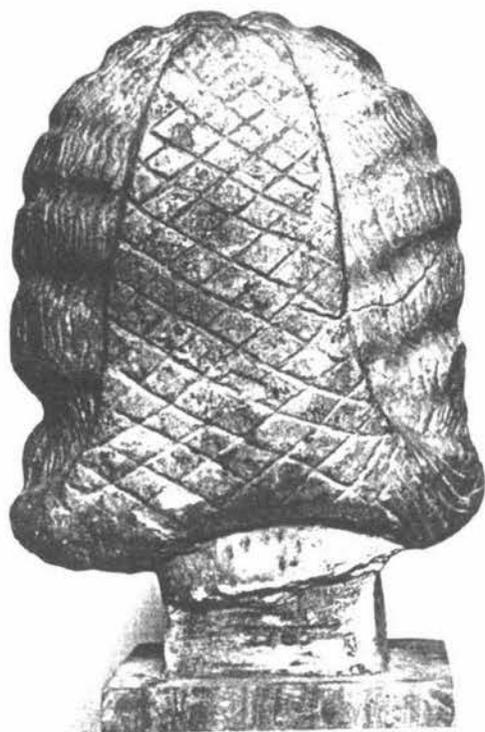


Fig. 160



Fig. 161



Fig. 162



Fig. 163



Fig. 164



Fig. 165



Fig. 166



Fig. 167



Fig. 168



Fig. 169

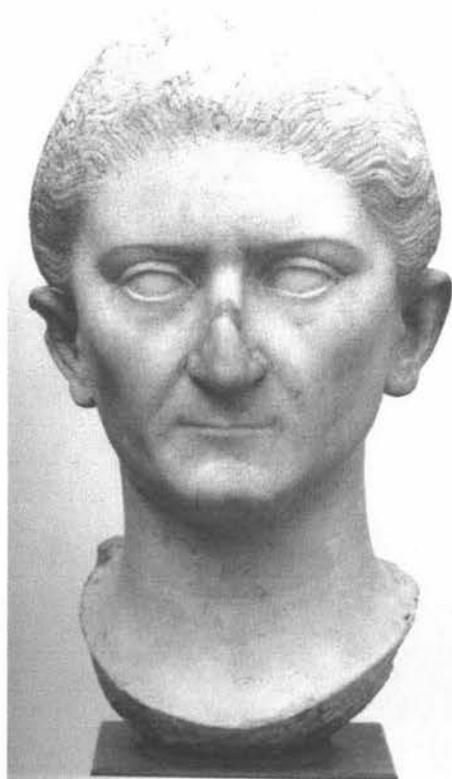


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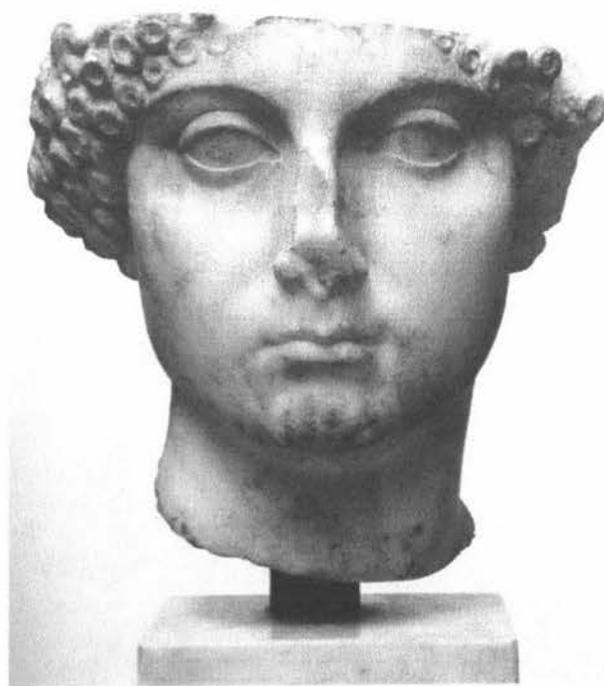


Fig. 171



Fig. 172



Fig. 173

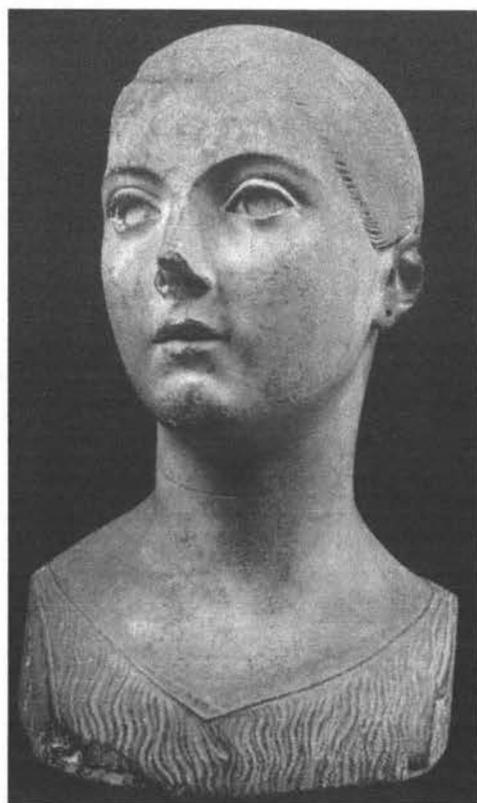


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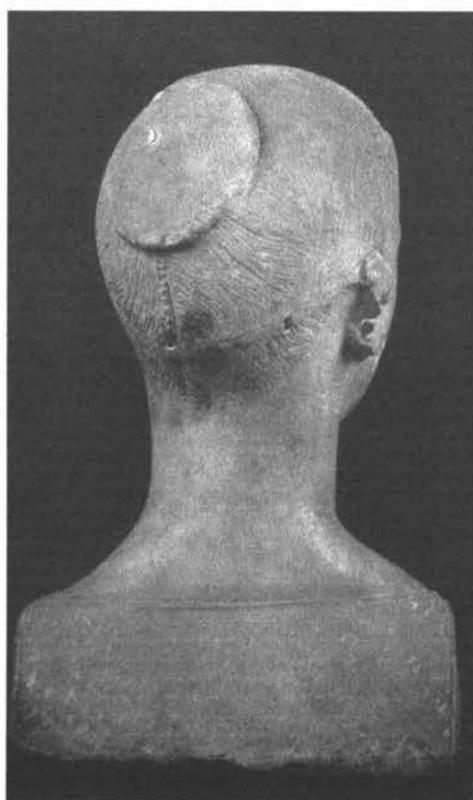


Fig. 175



Fig. 176



Fig. 177



Fig. 178



Fig. 179



Fig. 180



Fig. 181



Fig. 182

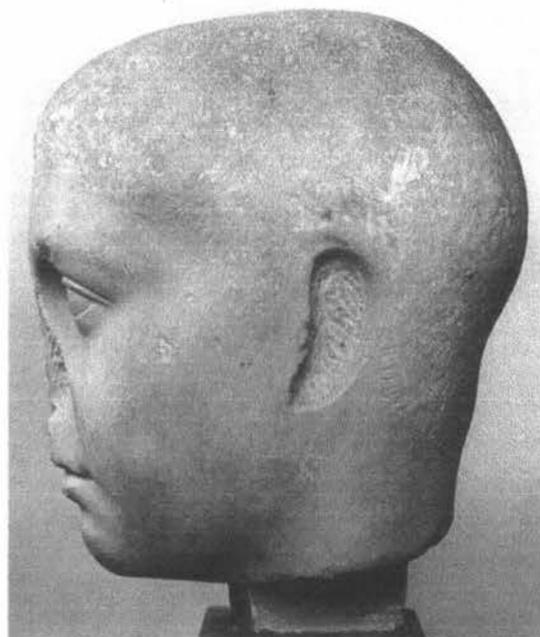


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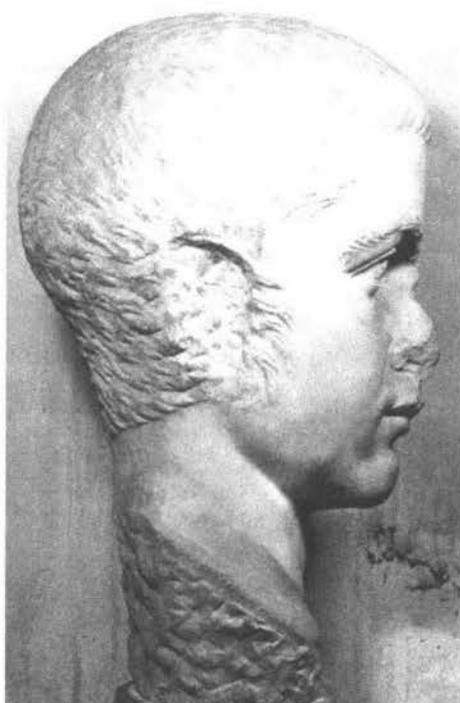


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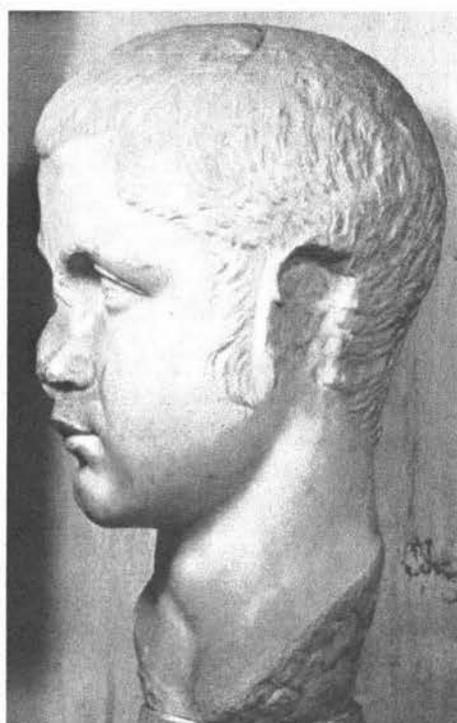


Fig. 185



Fig. 186



Fig. 187



Fig. 188

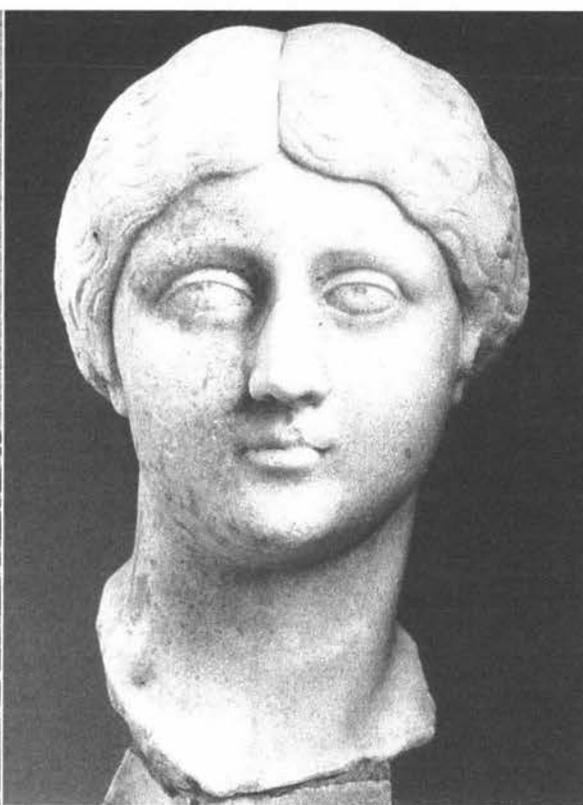


Fig. 189



Fig. 190



Fig. 191



Fig. 192



Fig. 193



Fig. 194

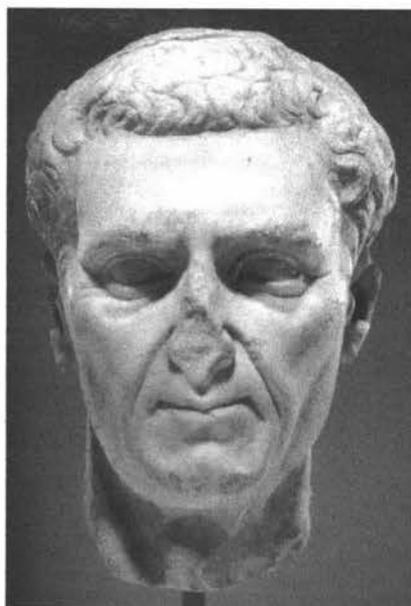


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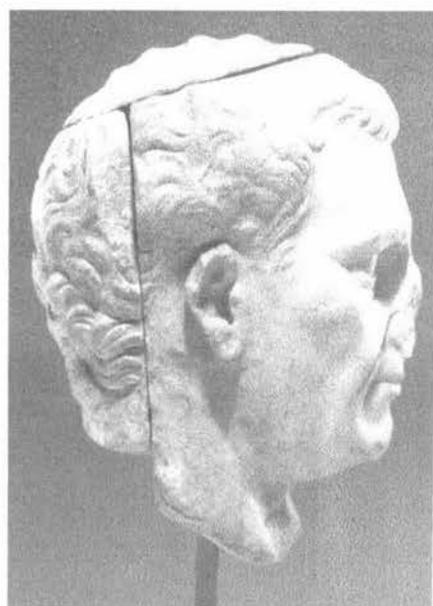


Fig. 196



Fig. 197



Fig. 198



Fig. 199



Fig. 200



Fig. 201



Fig. 202



Fig. 203



Fig. 204



Fig. 205



Fig. 206

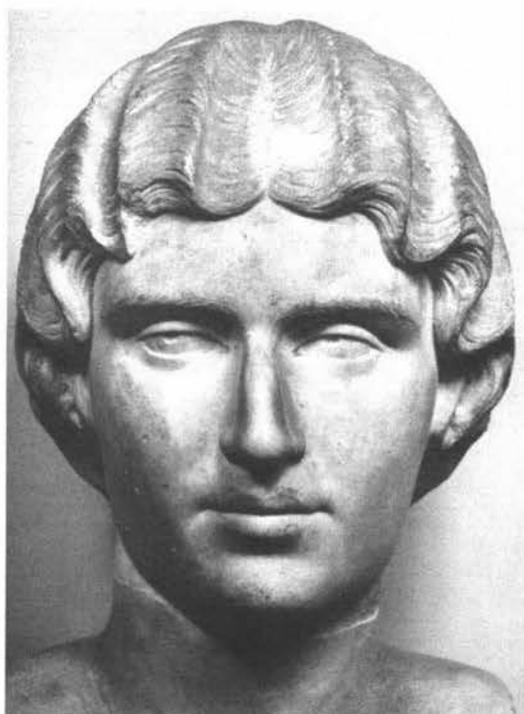


Fig. 207



Fig. 208

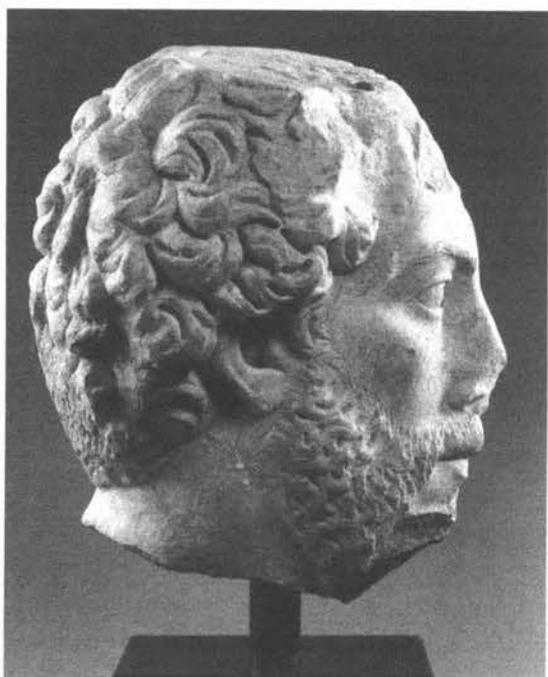


Fig. 209



Fig. 210



Fig. 211



Fig. 212



Fig. 213



Fig. 214



Fig. 215



Fig. 216

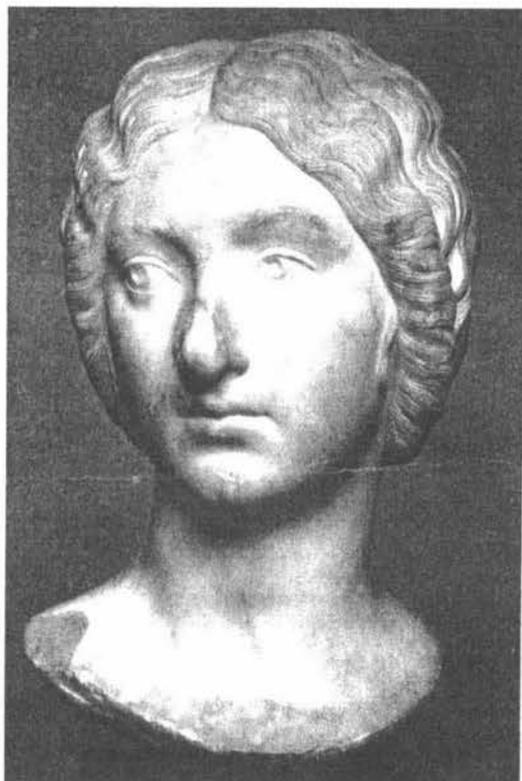


Fig. 217



Fig. 218



Fig. 219



Fig. 220



Fig. 221



Fig. 222

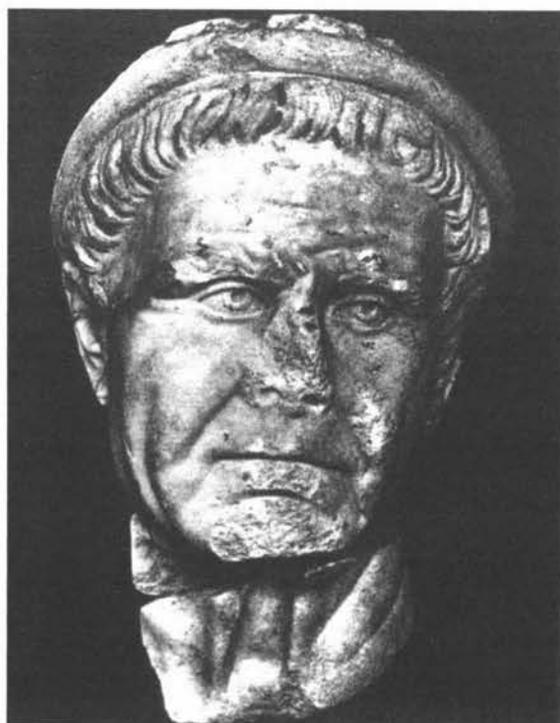


Fig. 223



Fig. 224

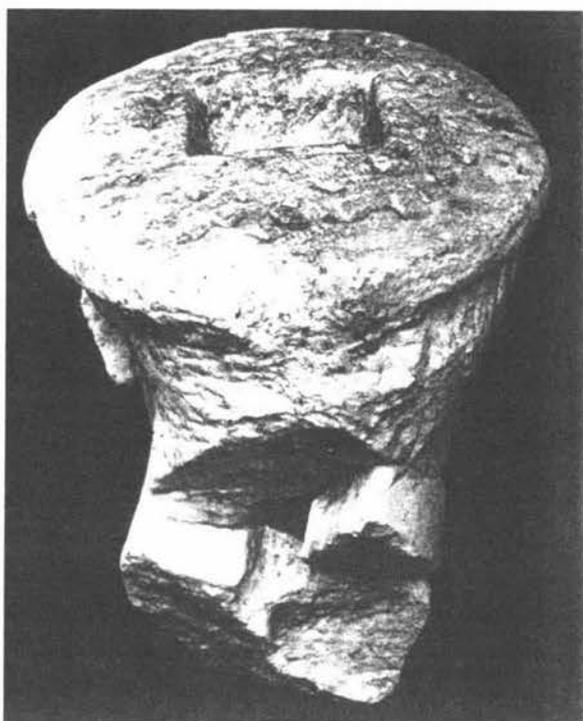


Fig. 225



Fig. 226

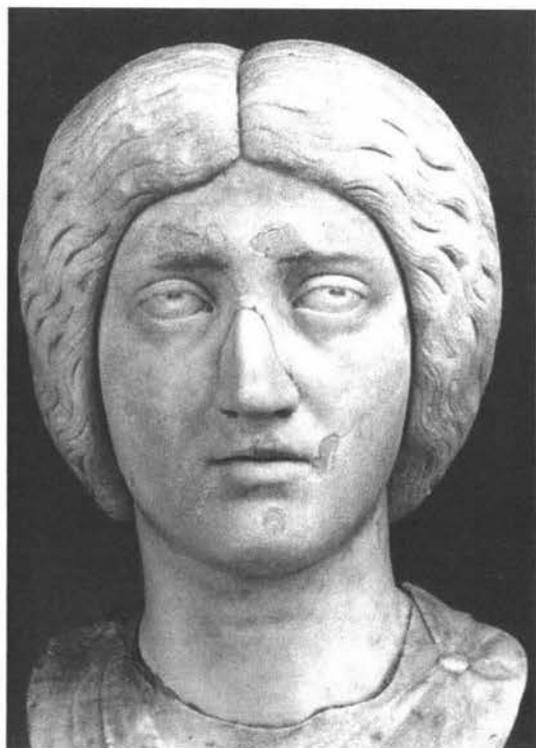


Fig. 227

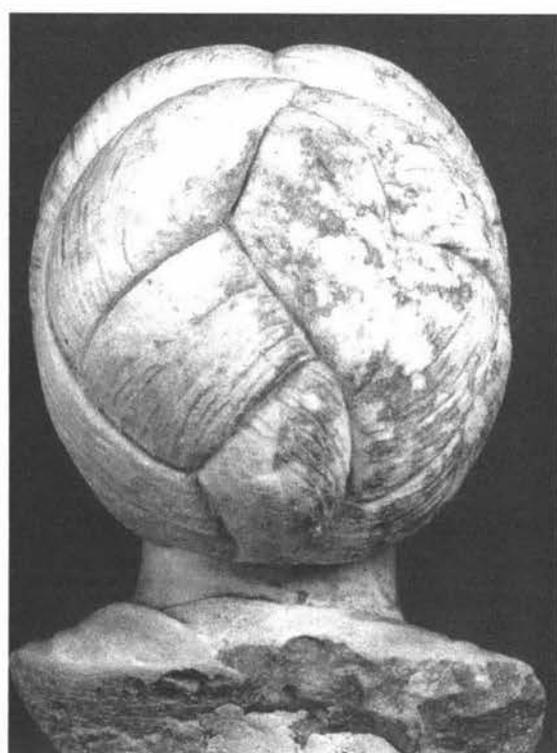


Fig. 228



Fig. 229



Fig. 230



Fig. 231

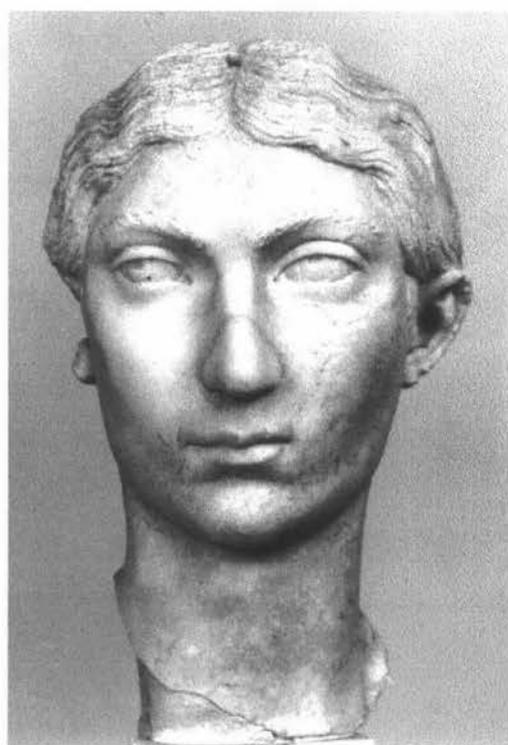


Fig. 232



Fig. 233



Fig. 234



Fig. 235

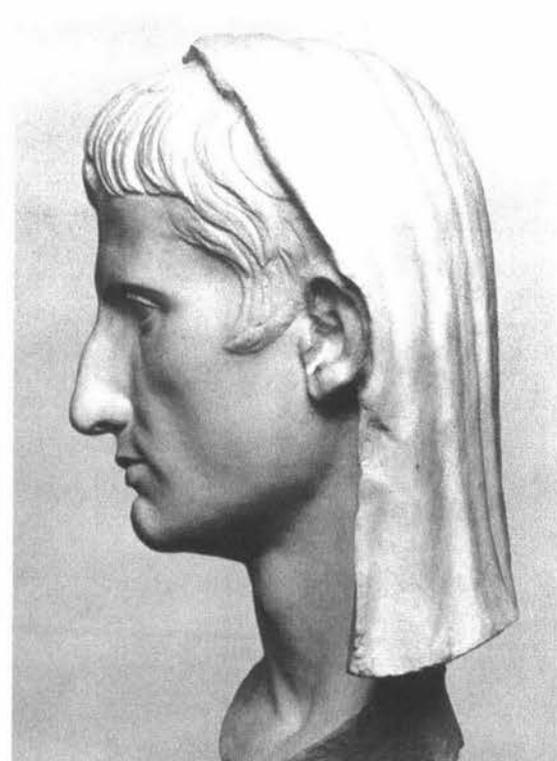


Fig. 236



Fig. 237



Fig. 238



Fig. 239



Fig. 240



Fig. 241

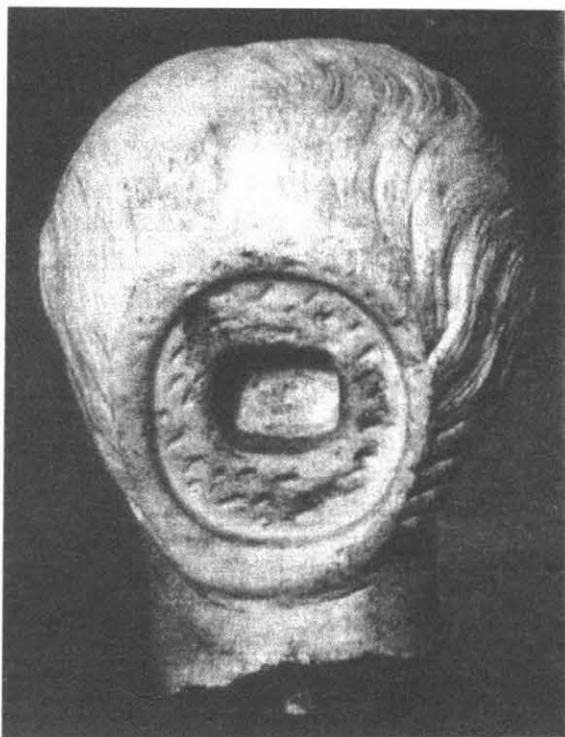


Fig. 242



Fig. 243

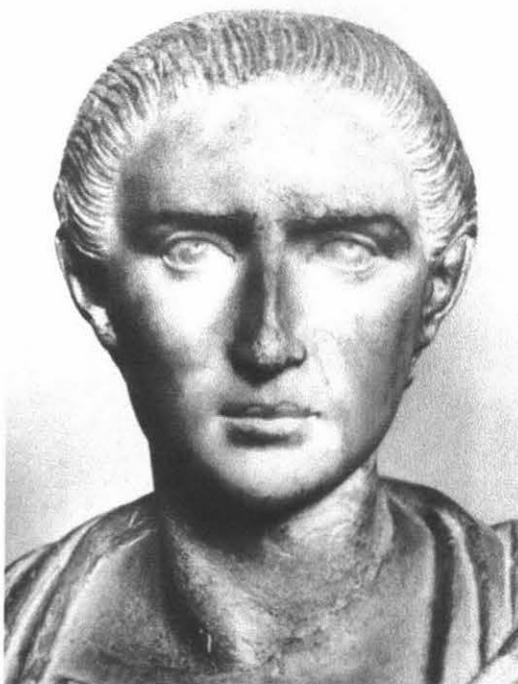


Fig. 244



Fig. 245

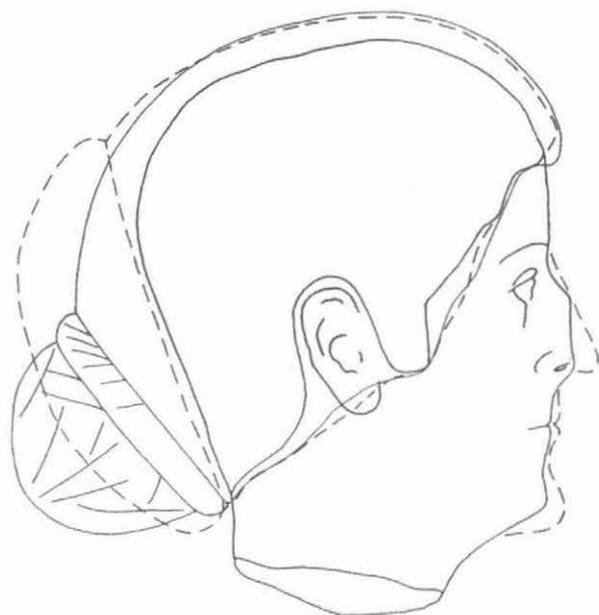


Fig. 246

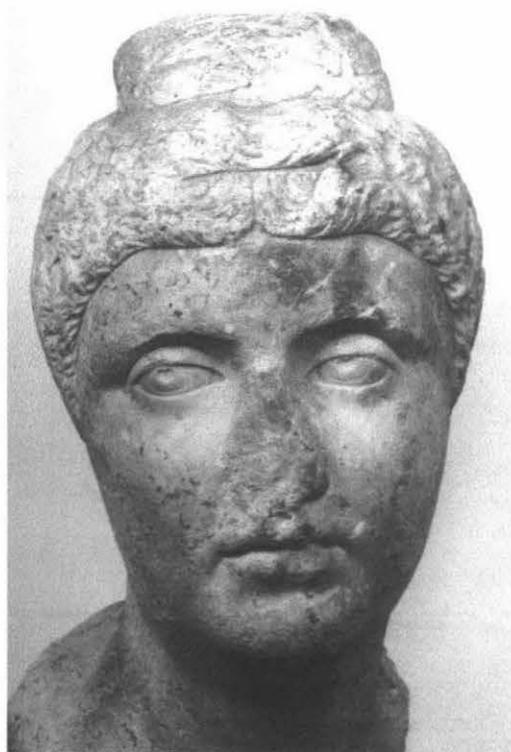


Fig. 247



Fig. 248



Fig. 249



Fig. 250



Fig. 251



Fig. 252

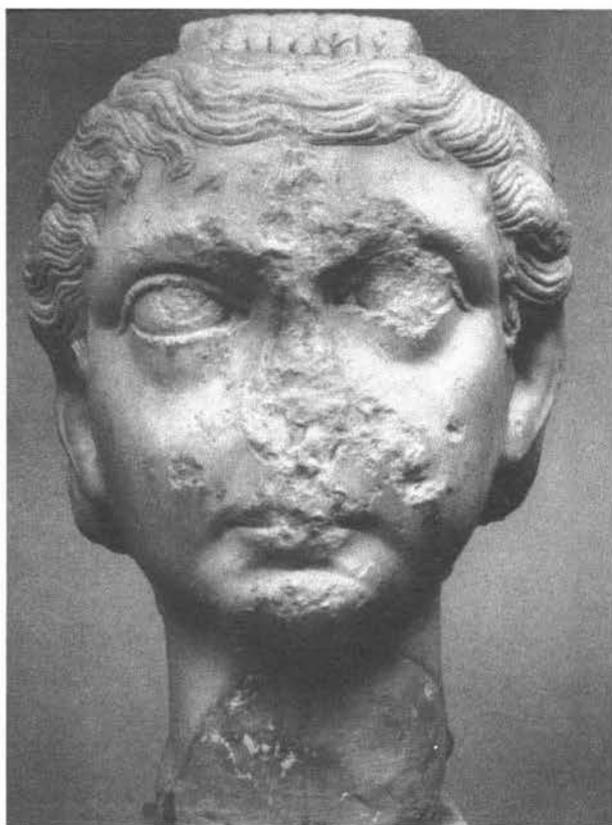


Fig. 253

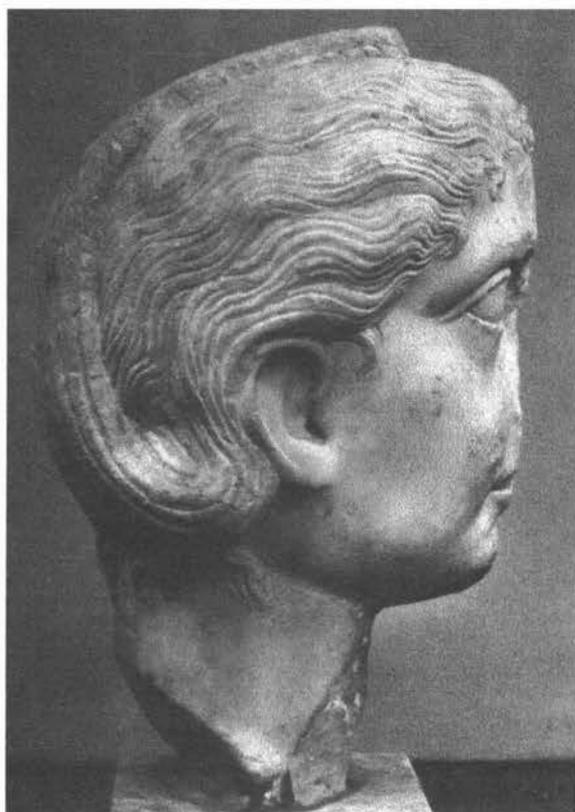


Fig. 254



Fig. 255



Fig. 256



Fig. 257



Fig. 258

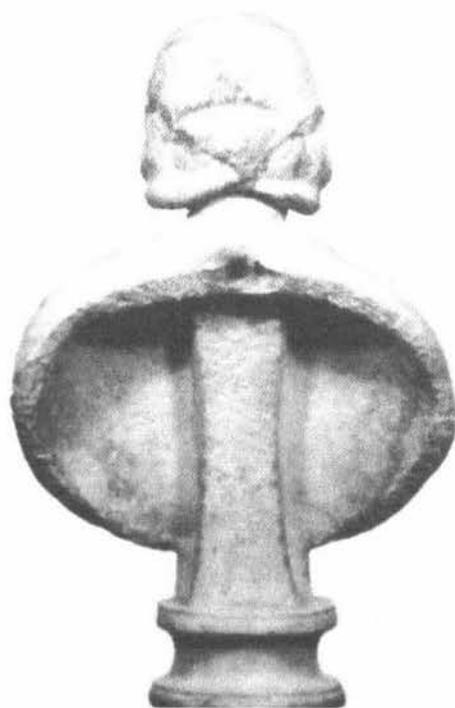


Fig. 259

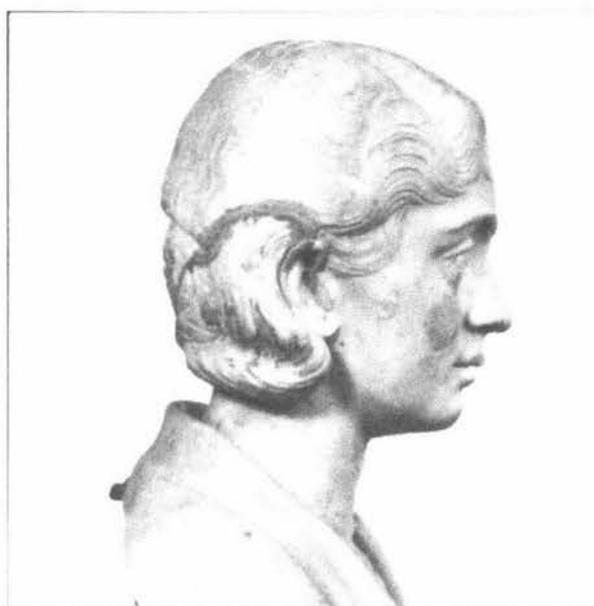


Fig. 260



Fig. 261



Fig. 262



Fig. 263



Fig. 264



Fig. 265



Fig. 266



Fig. 267

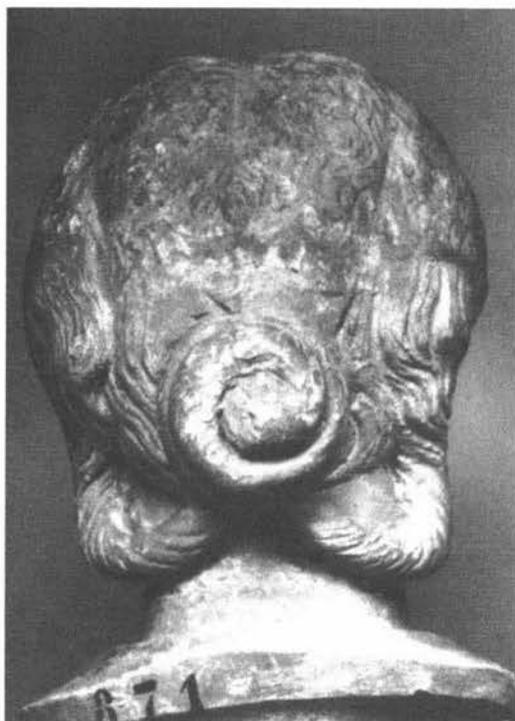


Fig. 268



Fig. 269



Fig. 270

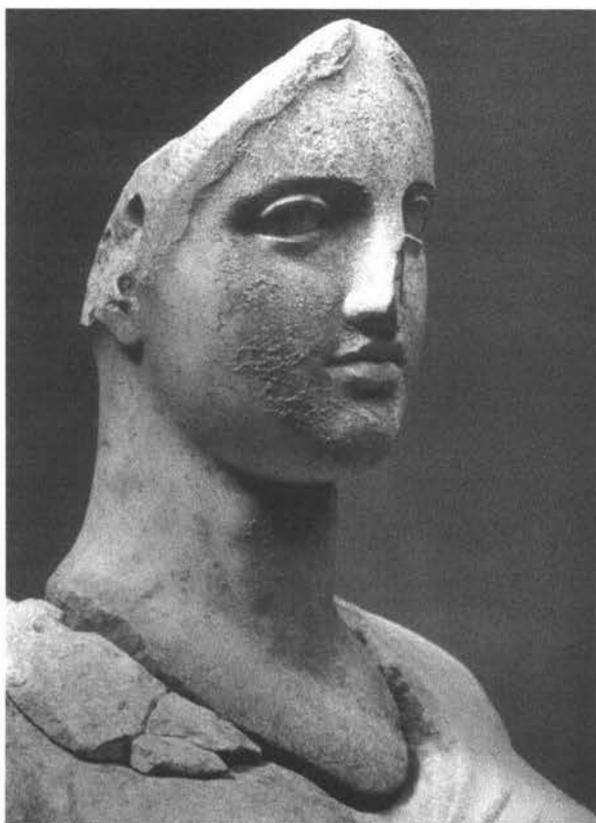


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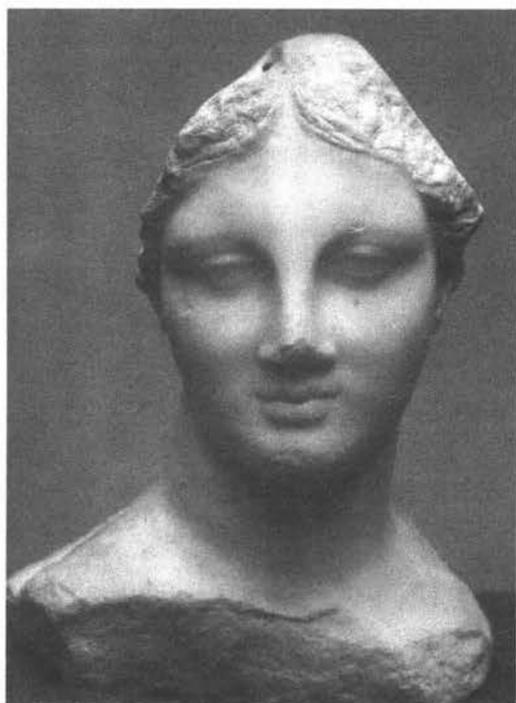


Fig. 272



Fig. 273



Fig. 274



Fig. 275



Fig. 276

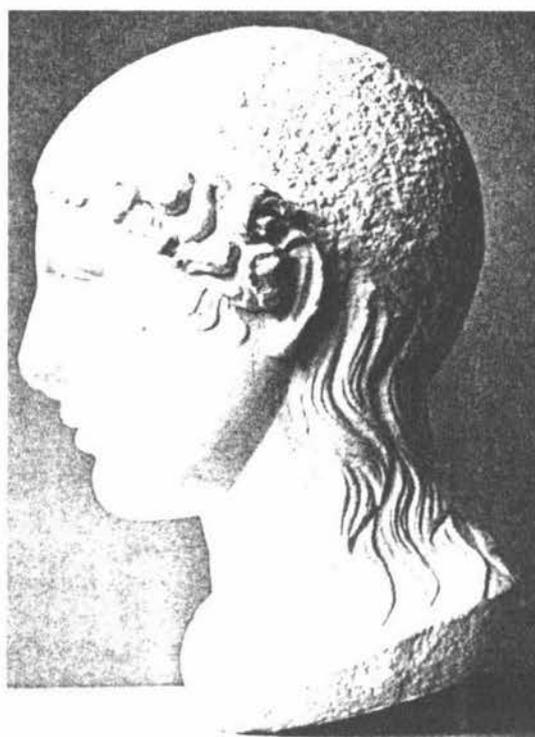


Fig. 277



Fig. 278



Fig. 279