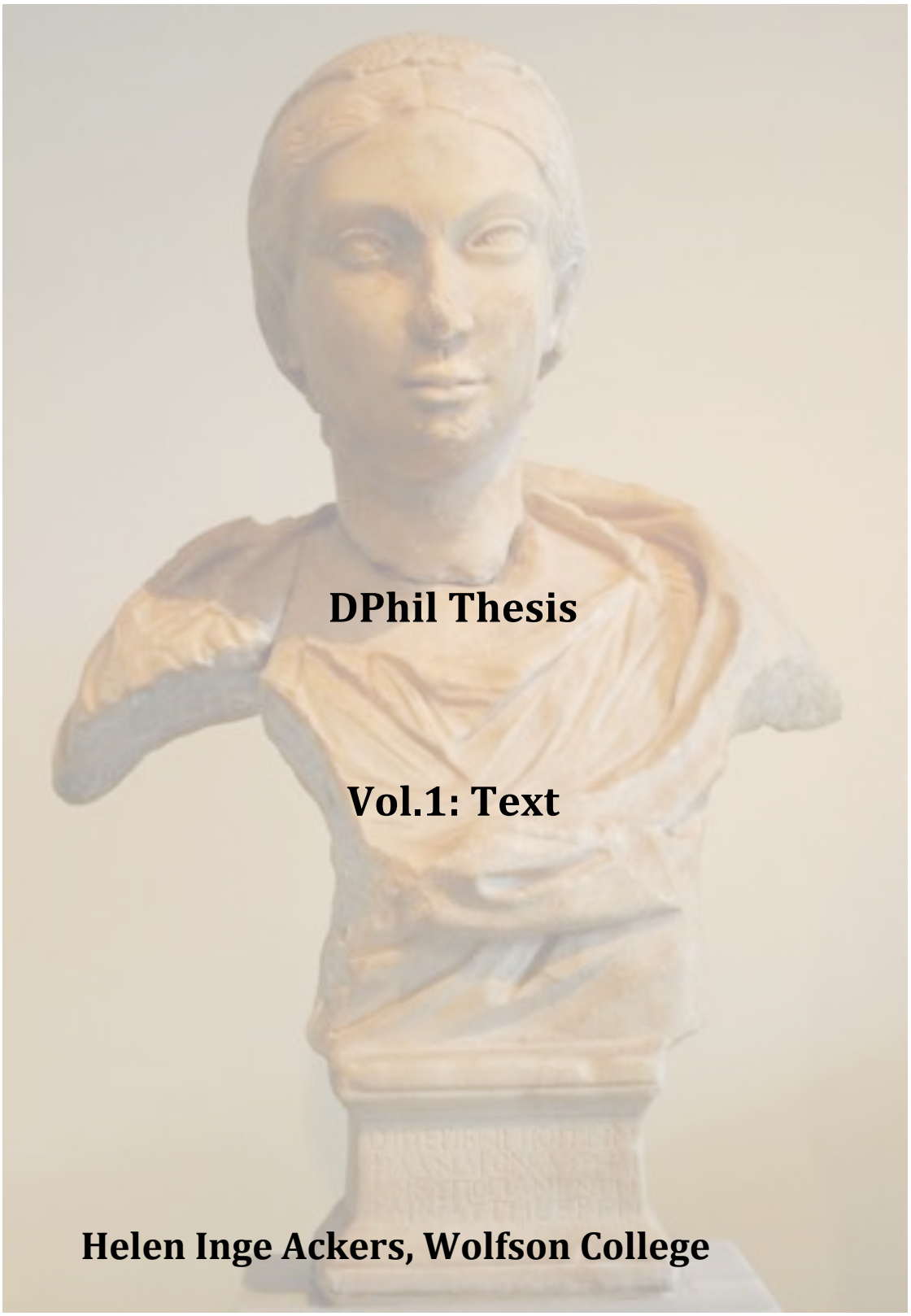
Portrait Busts of Roman Women

in the Third Century AD



DPhil Thesis

Vol.1: Text

Helen Inge Ackers, Wolfson College

ABSTRACT

The purpose of this dissertation is to conduct a comprehensive study of Roman women's portrait busts of the third century AD. The free-standing portrait bust forms a discrete historical category through which to trace developments in third-century women's portraiture. The high-status, commemorative tradition of the bust and the durability of this format, which could be displayed and utilised in a large range of different contexts, made this an important portrait genre for women in the third century. These busts consequently offer powerful insight into the ideological function and status of Roman women in the third century.

By placing third-century women's busts in the context of their form, history and provenance, I hope to create a methodology that allows me to ascertain the ancient intention of these portraits. My hypothesis is that, while elements of self-styling and bust-format reveal innovation, the moral vocabulary of Empire as presented in women's portrait busts did not change dramatically in the third century. I will argue that these portraits reflect the heightened ideological status of certain forms of Roman femininity in this period. Rather than being expressive of spiritual escapism or emotional turmoil women's portrait busts functioned as a means of re-confirming the Roman rhetoric of feminine virtue in the third century.

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ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Many people have helped and guided me during the completion of this thesis, too many for me to list in full here. I am greatly indebted to a large number of scholars, who have assisted me extensively during the course of my research, whether through sharing forthcoming work, assisting with bibliographical references or discussing my material. Foremost, my supervisor Prof. Smith's direction has proved invaluable in shaping the thesis and developing many of the ideas within it. The formative development of my project was greatly assisted by discussions with my MSt Roman Sculpture tutor Dr Russell who has also provided subsequent support. Dr Audley-Miller and Dr DeLaine have both read drafts of substantive chapters and offered detailed and insightful comments. Discussion with Dr Lenaghan of the objects in the catalogue has been of great assistance. I have been privileged by the general support and encouragement I have received from Dr Walker. I am also grateful to colleagues in the graduate community for their kind interest and discussion of my material. Particular thanks to Amanda Sharp for her assistance in the practicalities of handing in the final thesis while I was away in Rome.

My research would not have been possible without the help of the curators and museum staff at the collections I visited and correspondence from those I could not. These people not only provided vital access to my material but also shared museum records and photographs. Particular mention must be made of Dr Laubenberger, Dr Mlasowsky and Dr Motz.

I have been lucky in the wonderful support I have received from my close friends and family. A great debt is owed to Jacquie Rawes who has gone far beyond the remit of her original role as tutor or even friend in her enduring care, advice and detailed reading of the thesis. My parents' continued interest and help should also not go unmentioned. Finally, perhaps the person to suffer the most at the hands of my thesis, sacrificing many weekends, evenings and holidays to the cause, I am extremely grateful to my partner Ewout.

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TIMELINE: 193 – 337 AD[1]

EMPEROR	REIGN	ASSOCIATED IMPERIAL WOMEN
SEPTIMIUS SEVERUS[2]	193-211	JULIA DOMNA (WIFE) FULVIA PLAUTILLA (CARACALLA'S WIFE)
ANTONINUS SEVERUS ('CARACALLA') & GETA	211	JULIA DOMNA (MOTHER)
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[1] This is designed merely as a convenient summary of the Emperors and imperial women of the 3rd c in order to prevent excessive repetition of dates and relations in the main text. For detailed discussions of the history and exact chronology Potter 2004, chs. 3-7: 85-299. Also DIR (online): gives useful bibliographical references. For 3rd c. imperial women's epigraphic and numismatic presence Ricciardi's dissertation 2007.

[2] Rival claimants: Pescennius Niger (193-194 AD) & Clodius Albinus (193-197).

[3] No material for Nonia Celsa, reference in *HA* Diadumenianus, 4.

[4] uprisings: L. Seius Sallustius & Taurinus (227-225 AD)

[5] Uprisings: Magnus & Quartinus (235-238 AD).

[6] 238 AD 6 emperors (Maximinus Thrax, Gordian I & II, Balbinus and Pupienus, Gordian III). See Herod 7.9.11; 7.5.2; discussion: Potter 2004, 169-171 & Ricciardi 2007, 91.

[7] Rival claimants: Tiberius Pacatianus (248 AD), Iotapianus (248), Silbannacus & Sponsianus (248-249).

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TREBONIANUS GALLUS & VOLUSIANUS[9]	251-253	AFINIA GEMINA BAEBIANA (TREBONIANUS GALLUS' WIFE & MOTHER TO GAIUS VOLUSIANUS) VIBIA GALLA (SISTER/DAUGHTER)[10]
AEMILIUS AEMILIANUS (AEMILIAN)	253	CORNELIA SUPERA (WIFE)
VALERIANUS (VALERIAN)	253-260[11]	EGNATIA MARINIANA (WIFE, DECEASED PRIOR TO REIGN)
VALERIANUS (Valerian) & GALLIENUS[12]	253-268	CORNELIA SALONINA (WIFE OF GALLIENUS)
GALLIENUS (WITH SON SALONINUS 260)	260-268	CORNELIA SALONINA (WIFE/MOTHER)
CLAUDIUS II GOTHICUS[13]	268-270	
LUCIUS AURELIANUS[14] (AURELIAN)	270-275	ULPIA SEVERINA (WIFE) [15]
TACITUS	275-276	
FLORIANUS	276	
PROBUS[16]	276	
CARUS	282-283	
CARUS WITH SONS CARINUS & NUMERIANUS	283-285[17]	MAGNIA URBICA (WIFE OF CARINUS)

[8] Rival claimants Priscus & Licinianus (250 AD).
[9] Rival claimant: Uranius Antoninus (253 AD).
[10] No material evidence for either Afinia Gemina Baebiana or her daughter Viba Galla, just reference in lit. sources.
[11] In 260 AD Postumous' successful revolt resulted in the creation of the 'Gallic Empire' (*imperium Galliarum*), encompassed provinces of the Rhineland, inland provinces of Gaul (exc. Narbonensis) and Britain. 268 Postumous assassinated, rulers to follow: Marius (268), Victorinus (268-70), Tetricus I (270-274); usurper: Faustinus (273-4). Reclaimed by Aurelian in 274. (for discussion Potter 2004, 251-257; 268-272).
[12] Rival claimants: Ingenuus (c. 260 AD); Regalianus (c.260) (minted coins in Carnuntum in his name and that of his wife Sulpicia Dryantilla). Usurpers, **East:** Macrianus senior & sons Quietus Macrianus junior (c. 260-261 AD) & Ballista; **Achaea:** Valens & Piso (261); **Egypt:** Aemilianus & Memor (261); Aureolus (262, 268).
[13] Revolt sometime between 260-270 AD Censorinus (*HA.* 30, list of 33 tyrants; 34.3). Marcus Quintillus brother of Claudius Gothicus, short reign succeeding his brother, exact duration debated, probably a matter of only days (*HA* Claudius 12: 17 days).
[14] Usurpers during the reign of Aurelian: Domitianus (270/1 AD), Felicissimus (271), Septimius (271/2), Urbanus (?) (271/2), Firmus (273).
[15] Coins minted after her husbands death may have reigned shortly before Tacitus elected.
[16] Rival claimants: Proculus (c. 280 AD), Bonosus (c. 280 AD) & Saturninus (c. 281 AD).
[17] Numerianus died in 284; was apparently married to the daughter (no name given) of the Praetorian Prefect Aper (Aur. Vict. de Caes. 38.6; Ep. de Caes. 38. 4 - 5; Eutr. 9. 18).

NUMERIANUS	283-284	
CARINUS	283-285	
DIOCLETIAN CREATES TETRARCHY 284		
DIOCLETIAN[18] (EAST)	284-305	PRISCA (WIFE) GALERIA VALERIA (DAUGHTER)
MAXIMIANUS HERCULIUS (WEST)[19]	285-c.310	EUTROPIA (WIFE) THEODORA (DAUGHTER)
CONSTANTIUS I CHLORUS (WEST)	293[20]-306	WIVES: 1. HELENA 2. THEODORA DAUGHTERS: 1.CONSTANTIA 2. ANASTASIA 3. EUTROPIA
GALERIUS (EAST)	305-311	GALERIA VALERIA (WIFE) VALERIA MAXIMILLA (DAUGHTER)
MAXIMINUS DAIA (EAST)	305-313	FAUSTA (DAUGHTER)
SEVERUS II (WEST)	306-307	
MAXENTIUS (USURPER)	306-312	EUTROPIA (MOTHER) VALERIA MAXIMILLA (WIFE)
LICINIUS[21] (EAST)	308-324	CONSTANTIA (WIFE)
CONSTANTINE I[22] (WEST)	306-324	HELENA (MOTHER) CONSTANTIA (SISTER) WIVES: MINERVINA FAUSTA
CONSTANTINE I SOLE RULER 324-337		

[18] Rival claimants/usurpers: L. Domitius Domitianus/Aurelius Achilleus (c. 297-298 AD), Eugenius (c.303).
[19] Rival claimants/usurpers: Amandus (c. 285 AD), Aelianus (c. 285) & Iulianus (286-293).
[20] British rebellions: usurpers Carausius (286/7-293 AD) & Allectus (293-296/7 AD.
[21] Licinius appointed two respective co-emperors during his combats with Constantine: Valens (316 AD) & Martinianus (324 AD).
[22] Usurper Calocaerus (333-334 AD) Cyprus.

CHAPTER ONE. INTRODUCTION

The purpose of this thesis is to conduct a comprehensive study of Roman women's portrait busts of the third century AD, which will consider their form, history and provenance and discuss their importance as powerful expressions of the social status of Roman women. I hope to understand what visual options were on offer for the portrayal of women in the third century and what this can tell us about the Roman rhetoric of feminine virtue in this period.

The bust forms a discrete historical category through which to trace developments in third-century women's portraiture. By the bust I mean the Roman free-standing portrait bust carved in the round. This is not to be confused with other types of bust-format in relief, in shields or on herm shafts. The most defining feature of the bust is its back, which consists of a spine and a recessed area. The bust-format may be traced back to the first century BC and whatever its early origins, it is clear that this portrait format was refined and made popular under the Roman Empire and gained particular metropolitan 'Roman' associations.[23] As a well-defined genre of Roman portrait sculpture the free-standing portrait bust allows identification and analysis of stylistic shifts of form and is the perfect medium for examination of how these alterations affected the function and impact of the woman's portrait. This format was never limited to one context but transcended public/private divides and was appropriate for a wide range of honorific, votive and commemorative dedications. This versatility may explain the perseverance of the bust-format through the Imperial period

[23] See here ch. 2 for origin of the bust-format: Fejfer 2008, 236-239; Motz 1993, ch. 2, 19-49.

and into Late Antiquity. Furthermore the iconic status this format achieved is demonstrated by the prolific use of busts in a multiplicity of media. They can be seen in architectural sculpture in the form of figured capitals and on funerary monuments and sarcophagi. In the minor arts they are found everywhere: on hair-pins, on fulcrum attachments, on jewellery and on coins. By selecting this traditional Roman portrait format it is possible to draw upon a wide range of contextual evidence regarding function and display.

Before any conclusions can be drawn it is vital that the main interpretive limitations of the material under study are recognised. It is only through setting parameters that analysis of these busts becomes possible. In this introduction I will briefly outline the real historical, historiographical and methodological challenges involved in the study of third-century AD women's portraits busts.

HISTORICAL CONTEXT

The traditional definition of the third century as a period of 'crisis' is justified in the sphere of imperial power.[24] Military conflicts were frequent in this period and, for the first time, many of these were fought on multiple fronts simultaneously and within the confines of Empire.[25] This tumultuous militaristic climate made it difficult for emperors to retain imperial power and despite clear

[24] Mennen 2011, 2: discussion of the term 'crisis in relation to the 3rd c. Duncan-Jones 2006, 20: 'the catalogue of disaster after 235 cannot be banished by revisionist preferences nor are these supported by the fact that the Empire still managed to survive.'
[25] Duncan-Jones 2006, 21. Potter 2004, chs.6-7.

attempts to establish dynasties, after the Severans, none succeeded.[26] As is frequently cited, between 235 and 284 there were over sixty emperors, whose average reign lasted less than a year, and all but one of whom died in violent circumstances, most frequently at the hands of their own soldiers.[27] Imperial power consequently faced serious challenges in this period, however the impact of these challenges on wider levels of Roman society is much less clear. The characterisation of this as a period of 'crisis' has consequently resulted in an overly uniform and simplistic understanding of this time. Moreover, the lack of reliable literary sources has problematised attempts to establish a sound chronology and heightened the impression of the third century as an era of decline.[28]

Periodisation: defining the chronological parameters of the third-century

One of the results of this characterisation has been an inherent historiographical bias reflected and compounded by the periodisation of this era. The 'third-century' is most commonly used to refer to a period of just over fifty years between 235, the end of the Late Severan dynasty, and 284, the establishment of the Tetrarchy. This is defined in contrast to its framing eras, the earlier Antonine 'golden age' and the later re-organisation and revitalisation of Empire under the Tetrarchy.[29] The periodisation consequently has a polarising effect, casting 235 to 284 as a 'dark tunnel' demarcated by heightened instability and 'anxiety': at best a catalytic period from the ashes of which would rise a new Roman Empire

[26] Smith 1997, 180 n.48: many 'soldier' emperors attempted to circulate portraits of the sons in order to establish a dynasty.
[27] Watson 1999, 3.
[28] Duncan-Jones 2006, 23: absence of good historical sources makes an exact military history of the 3rd c. impossible.
[29] Rodenwaldt 1944/5, 81: period of Late Antiquity began with the Tetrarchy. Schade 2003, 1.

in the guise of Late Antiquity and at worst a period of chronic decline and collapse.[30] This periodisation has in turn informed the treatment of material culture. Borg, in her study of third-century funerary contexts, observes a tendency to date according to this bias, hence new architectural structures are frequently pushed to either side of the third-century abyss, reflecting an assumption that the 'crisis' of this era would have halted building projects even at a private level.[31] The circularity of this approach is evident.[32] It is in order to escape the prejudice of this periodisation that I take a fuller definition of the third century, encompassing the Severan period, which began in AD 193 and ended in the early fourth century with the reign of Constantine.[33] I hope in this way to escape assumptions of crisis and change and to gain a fuller appreciation of the continuity presented by the material culture in this period.[34]

The importance of context: 'third-century experience'?

Another consequence of the third-century 'crisis' label is the assumption of a geographically uniform 'third-century experience'. To avoid a homogenising approach my study includes busts from extremely diverse contexts and while Rome is dominant, case studies from Asia Minor, North Africa and the North Western provinces act as important reminders of regional balances.

[30] Watson 1999, 2.
[31] Borg 2013, 3-5.
[32] Borg 2013,3; Ackers 2014, 65-67.
[33] Schade 2003, 1 discussion of 3rd c. women's portraiture also takes a longer definition, excluding the Severan era but including the Tetrarchic periods, in this aspect deviating from Rodenwaldt's periodisation which she otherwise follows.
[34] Newby 2007, 201.

These important qualifications aside, the particular historical circumstances of the mid-third century had a serious effect on the material culture of this period. At an imperial level the impact of frequently changing emperors and the financial demands of paying for continual wars inevitably resulted in a suspension of large imperial led building projects. More complex and difficult an issue is the reduction of elite *euergetism* in the form of building projects and the decline in the production and dedication of statues, especially honorific ones, from the Severan period on. As is stressed above no one straightforward cause and effect can explain these developments. Bauer and Witschel's volume on the topic is pivotal in offering a broad range of different geographical contexts and explanations for the decline in portrait dedications in the third century.[35] It is against the context of these studies that I place my dataset of women's busts. The number of extant busts in my study is insufficient to confirm any one theory. However, patterns in women's busts' dedications provide another insight into elite attitudes to sculptural dedication across this pivotal period. The free-standing bust did not decline or disappear in the third century. Instead, the continued interest in this portrait format is reflected by the development of two new variations: the larger half-figure-bust type, which includes all the body from the waist up and at least part of the arms, and a much smaller bust-format, which comprises only the shoulders and a little of the chest area.[36] These format variations indicate new display solutions and reiterate the status and continued importance of the bust-format, a major theme of this thesis.

[35] Bauer and Witschel (eds.) 2007, esp. Borg, 43-77.
[36] Fejfer 2008, 244-245.

PREVIOUS SCHOLARSHIP

In recent years important strides have been made in the field of third-century material culture. A number of these studies have been mentioned above.[37] This research is changing the way we view and define this period, problematising and nuancing the old third-century 'crisis' thesis. More specifically, in relation to women's portraiture there is considerable room for further study, even though a number of important studies already exist. Here I will discuss those works which are most pivotal to the definition of this field to date. This is not intended as an exhaustive review so much as a brief introduction to historiography of this period and some of the key works on third-century women's portraiture against which I will situate my own study.

The tyranny of style

'The sour face of the hierophant is hardly more attractive than the lady's expression of obstinate bigotry; combined they are sure evidence of the psychological atmosphere of the third century, and differ strikingly from the air of blasé refinement which is dominant among the Antonines.'[38]

Beyond the real historical challenges presented by the study of women's portrait busts in the third century a preoccupation with 'style' has biased the historiography of this period. Here I address this bias and attempt to establish my methodology in antithesis to this.

[37] Borg 2013; Fejfer 2008; Bauer & Witschel (eds.) 2007; Swain, Harrison & Elsner (eds.) 2007.
[38] Crowfoot's comments on the bust of Aurelia Euposia (no.69) and other 3rd c. portraits from the 'Hall of the Mystae' at Melos, published in Bosanquet 1898, 78. See here ch. 9, 269-272 for further discussion of this bust.

This short extract reveals the traditional understanding of the third century as a period of artistic decline and reiterates the once common idea that third-century portraiture reveals an emotional response to the troubled and unsettled militaristic climate. This manifest psychological disturbance is understood as a product of the troubled age. The restraint and balance of the classical ideal has been abandoned and the cultivated control of the golden age of the Antonines is lost symptomatic of the artistic and fundamentally moral decline of this period.

This third-century artistic decline thesis has largely been reassessed and rejected by modern scholarship. However, the view of the third century as an era defined by uniquely emotional portraiture expressive of the difficult times is still pervasive. Witness the current exhibition in the Museo Capitolino Museum titled 'L'età dell'angoscia'.[39] L'Orange argued that portraiture of this period reflected a preoccupation, which began in the Hellenistic era and which was carried through Roman portraiture, with creating 'life-like' portraits and expressing 'personal individuality.'[40] L'Orange did not see the third-century portraiture as distinct from earlier Roman portraiture in this respect. However, he created much of the terminology used to define this era as unusual and psychologically charged. In his analysis of the so-called 'Soldier Emperor' portraits L'Orange claimed that they captured the psychology of the subject in a 'transitory movement', reflecting the inner turmoil and unsettled emotions of the ruler at a time of great political and military crisis.[41] For example one portrait is described thus: "Fear and

[39] January 28th to October 4, 2015: an exhibition of portraiture concerned with illuminating the 'I grandi cambiamenti' that marked the age between Commodus and Diocletian. http://www.museicapitolini.org/mostre_ed_eventi/mostre .
[40] L'Orange 1965, 105.
[41] L'Orange 1973, 92.

horror seem to vibrate in the folds of the forehead and to tear the muscles around the mouth. The entire crisis of the old world, its immense fear and excitement seem to live in this uncannily torn and split form."[42]

The legacy of scholars such as L'Orange is felt in Wood's work, which not only uses this terminology but also creates artistic trends based on this.[43] Wood identifies two major stylistic trends in the third century: the 'impressionistic' style, as defined by L'Orange, and a movement towards 'abstraction', a trend similarly identified by L'Orange but in relation to fourth-century portraiture. Wood sees the art of this era as 'inner directed' and reflective of the difficult historical times. The 'impressionistic' style reflects an intensified desire to express the personality and real emotional experience of the subject. She finds this style more noticeable in the male portraits. The move towards abstraction, according to Wood, was to adapt itself well to women's portraits, which, due to less pronounced physiognomic features, lend themselves to this style. However, despite the apparently 'mask-like' nature of these portraits, Wood argues, again following L'Orange's lead, that this style reflects a new focus on conveying emotional or spiritual qualities rather than following reality accurately.[44] These portraits indicative of 'the psychological impact on individuals of the social and political chaos of the third century.'[45]

[42] L'Orange 1973, 95.
[43] Wood 1981 & 1986.
[44] L'Orange 1965; 1973.
[45] Wood 1986, 43, 78. Also see Bianchi Bandinelli 1971, 1-21; influence of Caracalla: Wood 1981, 66; Wood 1986, 27-48.

The categories 'abstract' and 'impressionistic' expose a desire to enforce an ordered and coherent stylistic development in the third century. This stylistic flow, however, did not exist, at least not in such simplistic terms. Instead, the third century reveals a greater variation and adaption of different portrait types to suit the physical and social context of the portrait.

This scholarship is important in that it attempts to grasp the emotional symbolism of these portraits and considers them in their historical context. However, in truth, this work is more important in understanding modern responses than revealing ancient attitudes. These interpretations reflect the idea that emotion, its expression and symbolism, are timeless and constant and may consequently always be understood through empathetic responses to art. These empathetic interpretations are implements to generate art historical trends. The application of anachronistic terminology such as 'abstract' and the circularity of this interpretation (the third century was a period of crisis, therefore portraits must express the anxiety caused by this crisis, which thus confirms that this was a period of crisis) cannot be ignored and has rightly been criticised.[46] This reading begs the question of why an emperor or private individual would commission a portrait of him- or herself, which expressed fundamentally negative emotions, such as anxiety.[47] A more nuanced, self-reflective criticism, which takes into account the historical position of the critic, is required in order to reach a less present and more time-sensitive interpretation.

[46] Smith 1988, 257-258.
[47] Smith 1997, 202.

'Style', in the realm of Roman portraiture, should not be understood as an abstract concept, separate to and imposed upon society through the hands of the 'artist.'[48] Instead, the style of a portrait was the result of a wide variety of agencies and factors, including but not exclusive to: material, display context, technical execution, artist, fashion, appearance of the subject and, most important of all, the patron.[49] Further, as Stewart argues 'many of the really obvious visual changes' in Late Antiquity 'are iconographical rather than stylistic.'[50] In this study I will consequently avoid the application of loaded stylistic terminology and categorisation. Instead, my methodology will focus on discussing and interpreting the iconography of women's portrait busts in context.

Iconographic studies

The majority of studies on third-century women's portraiture are exclusively iconographic, concerned in most instances with identifying, dating and ordering material. Wigger and Wegner's respective volumes *Caracalla, Geta, Plautilla* and *Gordianus III bis Carinus* in the *Das römische Herrscherbild* series are important examples of such typological works.[51] Valuable for their analysis of imperial hairstyles, as represented in the numismatic record, these volumes are important reference works, although they do lean towards archaeological positivism. A work in the same vein is Buchholz's dissertation, which deals

[48] Wood 1981: these two stylistic types ran throughout the 3rd c the type selected the result of the artist's choice. Wood goes as far as naming a 'Gordian-' and a 'Philip-' master.
[49] Smith 1985, 215.
[50] Stewart 2007, 28.
[51] Wegner & Wiggers 1971; Wegner (et. al.) 1979.

exclusively with the imperial hairstyles of the Severan period.[52] Minor studies of Severan portraiture, concerned with identifying and ordering portrait types, are also provided by Saletti and Nodelman.[53]

In terms of material studied Wegner's is the only work which deals exclusively with third-century portraits in bust-format.[54] His article seeks to date and list all third-century imperial and private, male and female busts of the third century. Wegner's list is by no means exhaustive and at times he includes busts which on closer examination are not true examples but pastiches resulting from modern restoration. Nevertheless, this study marks a useful starting point for investigation and consideration of the development of the bust-format in this era.

Essential resources for the study of third-century women's portraiture are the major collection catalogues. These offer the most valuable starting point for identifying third-century portrait busts as they contain museum records detailing provenance and restoration and benefit from their respective curators' close analysis.[55] The third volume of Fittschen and Zanker's publication of the Museo Capitolino collections is of specific import to this study.[56] This catalogue includes the largest percentage of third-century women's busts, with excellent plates. This catalogue's usefulness, however, goes beyond interpretation of those

[52] Buchholz, 1963.
[53] Saletti 1967; Nodelman1965 & 1982: portraits of Plautilla.
[54] Wegner, 1976.
[55] For example Knoll & Vorster (eds.) (2013) excellent publication of the Dresden Portraits. Also online resources such as the object database of the DAI and Arch. Inst. Univ. Cologne: *Arachne*. Oxford's LSA.
[56] Fittschen & Zanker 1983.

busts in this collection. The entries for many of the third-century women's portraits offer useful comparative examples and, in the case of imperial portraits, replica lists. These catalogues consequently provide the groundwork for any study of women's portraiture.

Meischner's approach is broadly traditional; her main focus describing, ordering and dating portraits of primarily private women's portraiture from the post-Severan through to the Late Antique period. The culmination of her studies is a monograph drawing together this research and focused on the private portraits between 193 to 500 AD.[57] Her focus on the private portraits of the third century has brought a large number of previously unpublished or overlooked examples to our attention. However, the absence of a clearly outlined dating methodology results in an apparent reliance on the scholar's intuition and at times it is difficult to justify the precision of dating.[58] A typological study of this type suffers from the exclusion of imperial portraits, which are the backbone of any chronology, and as result we find Meischner falling back on the imperial material.[59] While it is important to give equal weight to private portraits, to discuss them in isolation from the imperial material is to deny the important relationship between the two and the influence of one upon the other.

The success of the above typological studies is dependent on their ability to fulfil their main objective of identifying and ordering women's portraits. This goal is achieved more successfully for the early Severan women than when dealing with

[57] Meischner articles: 1982, 1984, 1986, 1990, 1991, 1992, 1995a; monograph: 2001.
[58] Ibid. 2001.
[59] Stitchel 2005 (review), 67.

some of the Late Severans such as the wives of Elagabalus.[60] Even in instances when identification is incontrovertible, as in the case of Julia Mamaea, there is a tendency for over-classification. This tyranny of types at times leads to dating portraits with an improbable degree of accuracy.[61] Nevertheless, some impressive scholarship has been done on the portraits of Julia Domna, which alone have inspired as large a bibliography as that of all other third-century imperial and private women's portraits combined.[62] A number of key iconographical studies move beyond this typological approach to answer questions other than those of chronology and it is to these I now turn.

Ziegler's monograph encompasses private and imperial women's hairstyles from Bruttia Crispina to Magnia Urbica.[63] Ziegler, however, takes an innovative approach combining a traditional iconographic study of hairstyles with an anthropological initiative to understand the cultural purpose of these hairstyles.[64]

Ricciardi's thesis, is concerned purely with imperial women's portraits of the mid-third-century to Tetrarchic period.[65] Ricciardi takes a holistic approach drawing upon portraiture, epigraphy and literature. This reflects her wider historical aim, which is to flesh out our knowledge of the role and position of the 'soldier empresses'. Ricciardi professes a feminist objective to return status to a

[60] Wiggers & Wegner 1971, 167-176 – lists possible sculpted portraits of the wives of Elagabalus (Cornilia Paula, Aquilia Severa & Annia Fausta). None of these are convincing and there is not enough evidence to sustain the identification of sculpted portraits of these imperial women.
[61] For example Nodelman 1965.
[62] To name but a few of the publications dealing with JD's portraits: Hanfmann 1955-56; Hiesinger 1969, 39-44; Fittschen 1978; Fejfer 1985; Kampen 1991; Ehrenheim 1995.
[63] Buchholz 1963; Ziegler 1995.
[64] Ziegler 1995, 21-24.
[65] Ricciardi, 2007.

group of powerful but frequently overlooked women.[66] Ricciardi provides useful biographies, summaries of the literary sources and epigraphic evidence relating to imperial women in this period. However, this study suffers from its breadth: too much time is spent introducing and outlining earlier trends in imperial portraiture. [67] This broad approach results in overly generalised and decontextualised discussion of material and a focus on 'artistic trends.' [68] Analysis of the portraits is consequently often rushed and Ricciardi repeats many old and out-of-date stereotypes concerning the portraiture of this period.[69]

Of significance specifically to the study of Late Antique women's portraiture is Schade's 2003 monograph. Schade's work is concerned with portraits of imperial women between the reigns of Constantine and Justinian (305-565 AD). However, she also includes an introductory chapter on third-century women's portraiture spanning the Severan to the Tetrarchic era. The inclusion of this material reflects Schade's belief that this was a vital period in tracing developments in Late Antique women's portraits.[70] Obviously, Schade's study is much larger and necessarily provides only a cursory introduction to some of the better-known third-century examples. Schade's main objective is to locate the social definition of the woman as expressed by women's portraits in this period and thus consider how and if their position changed over this period.[71] She understands this definition as consisting of a variety of forms of status (age, marriage,

[66] Ricciardi 2007, 10-11.
[67] e.g. ch. 3: 'artistic trends of imperial women: the Julio-Claudian to Severan Empresses.'
[68] Ricciardi 2007, 71.
[69] Very comfortable with the term 'soldier' emperor (for problem with this see Smith 1997, 179-180); heavily reliant on Wood's (1986) analysis and terminology.
[70] Ibid. 2003, 1.
[71] Schade 2003, 2.

motherhood, family and being a member of the social elite). These status positions were in turn associated with a set of roles, which carried important moral associations or virtues.[72] The objectives laid out by Schade are sound and encourage an analysis of the third century beyond studies concerned exclusively with identifying and chronologically ordering portraits.[73]

Schade marries her important 'new' objectives with a traditional iconographic methodology, which divides and discusses material according to a number of iconographic themes (hairstyles, dress, ornaments, jewellery, allusions to Venus, representations of marriage and family, physiognomic stylisation and the portrayal of the female body). This iconographic approach is well executed and produces good results, even if at times she verges on archaeological positivism when dating.[74] The success of Schade's objectives and methodology make this an important influence for this study.

Indubitably, the most important work to the study of third-century women's portraiture is still Bergmann's monograph.[75] Bergmann's study deals with both imperial and private portraits and provides a comprehensive discussion of the developing trends in women and men's portraiture between the end of the Severan period and through to the earlier Constantinian era.[76] This work is consequently broad in its scope, encompassing a large corpus of sculpture and a range of different portrait genres. Bergmann's work is important in providing a

[72] Schade 2003, 2.
[73] Borg 2005, 3.
[74] Ibid. 2005 (review), 3.
[75] Bergmann 1977.
[76] Ibid. 1977.

thorough iconographic study of portraiture in this period. It not only succeeds in identifying and describing imperial portraits but also discusses and dates developments in private portraiture. At the centre of this study is a debate concerning development of portrait style in the third century. Bergmann argues against earlier scholarship, which presents the third century as a period of complete stylistic degeneration and change. In particular, she argues that the female 'idealised' type continued into the third century in many ways.[77] She correctly re-evaluates the Gallienic renaissance, noting that many of the female portraits from the mid-third century reveal a reference to classical types of the Severan period rather than a dramatic look back to the portraiture of the second century.[78] In terms of understanding observable stylistic trends in the third century Bergmann's work is pivotal. Her study, while taking a chronological approach, which suits her overriding iconographic method, also divides some material according to region. However, the extensive scope of this study necessarily limits the discussion of context and portrait function without which a full comprehension of the ideological content of third-century women's portraits cannot be reached.

The above corpus of iconographic studies provides an important basis for this thesis. My hope is that by focusing on one portrait format, the bust, and by discussing a discrete catalogue of material (just over 70 portrait busts) I will be able to combine an iconographic study with a contextual approach.

[77] Bergmann 1977, 200.
[78] Ibid. 1977, 180-200. For Gallienic renaissance argument see Bovini 1943; Mathew 1943.

METHODS

Developing a context methodology

This decision is validated by the recent, important trend in classical archaeology towards a more contextual approach.[79] As cited above, the volume by Bauer and Witschel and the collective works of Smith and Borg are testament to the success of this method.[80] In relation to women's portraiture Fejfer's volume, aptly titled 'Roman Portraits in Context', is an impressively broad work which champions this methodology and contains within its scope a wide range of women's portraits, including a number of important third-century women's busts.[81] As Fejfer outlines in her study, she is less interested in 'style, typology and chronology, than in reconstructing the socio-historical and physical context of portraiture'.[82] This methodology allows Fejfer to tackle important broader social-historical questions such as the purpose of portraiture and why this became such an important channel for 'expressing political ideology, social and intellectual identity'.[83] I share many of these aims, if on a more intimate scale, reflective of the focus of my study.

When I talk about context I mean the busts' actual physical display contexts, where this is retrievable, but also at a broader level their social and historical contexts. In order to access these contexts we must define them and utilise a variety of approaches. 'Physical' context may be reconstructed, in rare instances,

[79] Gazda & Haeckl 1993 (review).
[80] See bibliography.
[81] Fejfer 2008.
[82] Ibid. 2008, 3.
[83] Ibid. 2008, 3.

through examination of excavation records and find-spots. Representations of busts in other media and case studies of busts beyond the confines of this study, but with good provenance, can also be utilized to reconstruct display and function. 'Social' context refers to the societal context of the portraits. This may be defined broadly in terms of gender, class and geographical framework. These contexts can be reconstructed and informed through consideration of other material culture. For example, sarcophagi iconography and numismatic evidence is of great importance in this study. Finally, 'Historical' context is self-explanatory, if fraught with difficulty, as it refers to the historical climate of the time and a naïve application of this, as the discussion above reveals, can result in gross oversimplification. The utilization of all these forms of evidence and consideration of these diverse contexts should allow us to weave a rich tapestry of contexts through which an informed interpretation of third-century women's portrait busts is possible.

In terms of social context, gender and class are vital threads when interpreting women's portrait busts. However, interpreting busts through these lenses raises important methodological issues, which I will now address.

Social context and gender

Intuitively, the study of women's portrait busts must in part be a study of Roman women. However, we should not expect these busts to tell us about the 'real' lives of Roman women in the third century, any more than men's portraits can. As Harlow asserts: 'While we cannot access the lived experiences of women in

the past, we can evaluate the ideological framework in which they lived.'[84] An important question then must be: what can women's portrait busts tell us about the third-century 'ideological framework' and the definition of feminine status this permitted?

As discussed above, the third century has been subject to a very specific historical interpretation based on the military crisis of the period and therefore privileging the portraits of the 'soldier' emperors. In order to compensate for this bias a focus on women's portraits is required. However, traditional scholarship has at times been sceptical of the import and interpretive possibilities provided by women's portraiture. This is expressed by the 1931 publication of a newly acquired third-century woman's bust at the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York, which was pronounced a work of exceptional import as 'Roman portraits of women are in general less likely to be interesting than those of men…'[85] The modern scholar would shy away from such an overtly subjective appraisal of Roman portraiture but this extract nonetheless provides an insight into the instinctive response of many when considering Roman women's portraits. In comparison to their male counterparts, women's portraits of the imperial era often appear idealised and at times even stereotyped or generic.[86] This is reflected by Zanker's remark that 'in male portraits, there is more emphasis on individualized facial features than for women.'[87] In the third century this factor may at times explain difficulties in identifying imperial women's portrait types.[88]

[84] Harlow 2007, 196.
[85] Alexander 1931, 62.
[86] Bartman 1998, 25.
[87] Zanker1988, 293.
[88] Smith 1985, 215.

The iconographic practice of integrating elements of the male physiognomy into the portraits of female relatives, most explicitly evidenced by imperial spouse portraits, may seem to support the view that women's portraits were not primarily concerned with expressing female identity but were vessels for perpetuating exclusively male ideals.[89]

However, as Smith asserts, there is more to Roman women's portraits than this. They are not just mirrors to their male counterparts.[90] The fact that third-century women's portrait busts present particularised and distinctive portraits supports this. As Schade observed, while the male outlook may have primarily determined the social role of women, women's portraits reveal elements of individuality, which indicated the personal, feminine identity of the subject.[91] As will be discussed in more detail in later chapters, Roman women's portraits are a testament to the Roman conception that inner virtue and character could be expressed through physical appearance.[92] Consequently, to deconstruct and understand the virtues, ideals and roles these portraits present is not only to better understand the position of women in Roman society but to reveal many of the normative values of the time.

Finally, it is important when discussing women's portraits not to present too polarized and conflict-ridden a view of Roman gender. Evidence concerning patrons and viewers is often lacking and we should be careful not to assume an

[89] Smith 1985, 214.
[90] Smith 1985, 215.
[91] Schade 2003, 2.
[92] On importance of 'likeness' in Roman portraits: Stewart 2006, 243-258; Stewart 2007, 27-43.

aggressively patriarchal, male patron and viewer.[93] These busts were expensive, carefully constructed objects, which were intended to present societally positive portrayals of women. The consequent values and ideals expressed through these portraits may be termed 'conservative', according to modern western standards, but were in line with equally 'conservative' gender ideals expressed through the male portraits. Male and female portraits were consequently designed to complement and fulfil one another. The very decision to dedicate a female portrait in propinquity must reflect a desire to encompass more than could be provided by a male portrait alone. The frequent display of busts as pendants or as part of groups, underlines the importance of the values associated with the institution of the family – a central theme in third-century iconography.

Social context and class

The majority of extant third-century women's portrait busts depict as yet unidentified women. The status of these women is consequently very difficult to discern. In two instances inscriptions are informative, allowing us to identifying one woman as the daughter of an imperial freedman and woman and the other as the wife of an elite public figure (nos.65 & 69). This evidence indicates that a wide range of social classes from the children of freed-people to the elites of Empire and the imperial family could be and were represented in bust-format. The only selective factor was economic: portrait busts were high status and presumably expensive commissions. Only the economically elite could afford them.

[93] Elsner 2007, 212- 220: 'Genders of Viewing'.

For this reason it is often difficult to distinguish between imperial and private portraits. This reflects the fact that imperial women in the third century, as in earlier periods, had no exclusive imperial portrait format, dress or attributes.[94] Moreover, the rapid succession of rulers means that many imperial women's portrait types have not been identified in the round. This ambiguity is iconographically indicative of the close relationship between imperial and private women's portraits in this period. Third-century imperial women's portraits were neither interested in creating a distancing effect nor were they assertions of the superior status of imperial women. Instead, in their desire to present imperial women as the best examples of traditional Roman womanhood, they drew upon a moral vocabulary, one that private women would also select from when creating their portraits.[95] Nevertheless, it is important to test and nuance this hegemonic accord by locating and discussing case studies of busts where more specific class identity and regional context are known. In this respect we should be able to avoid generalisations while recognising widespread fashions in representation.

For the sake of convenience I will continue to use the terms imperial and private, the former referring to all identified portraits from the Imperial family, the latter for all unidentified portraits plus identified women of non-imperial status. However, I will always recognize that no straightforward distinction between imperial and private exists and it is completely possible that certain 'private' busts actually depict unidentified imperial figures.

[94] Fejfer 2008, 332-333.
[95] Kampen 1991, 219: imperial women as important symbols of the private world. D'Ambra 2000, 111.

QUESTIONS AND OUTLINE

This thesis is divided into nine parts, an introduction and conclusion and seven main chapters. The second chapter has two components: a discussion of the origin, form and development of the free-standing portrait bust and an outline of the format categories presented by third-century women's portrait busts. The purpose of this chapter will be to understand and identify developments in third-century women's bust-formats and their relationship to earlier bust-formats and other artistic representations of women in the third century, such as full-figure sculpture, mummy portraits and depictions in the minor arts.

Chapter three provides a dating methodology. This is self-explanatory and involves a thorough consideration primarily – but not exclusively – of hairstyles, in order to date stylistically. The result of this chapter is a chronological overview of women's portrait busts and an understanding of developing fashions within these.

The focus of chapter four is on how women's portrait busts were made and I will attempt to reconstruct this process from start to finish and consider the evidence for workshop production and the impact this had on the finished product. This section is essential to understand the influence of the sculptors and how these shaped the actuality of third-century women's portrait busts. Chapter five will focus on recarved busts, which make up a significant percentage (24%) of the catalogue. The processes and motives involved in reuse provide vivid insight into how elements of style, dress and fashion developed over time and consequently

allow the classical archaeologist to begin to untangle and appreciate the complex web of tradition and innovation inherent in such works.

Chapters six and seven are concerned with interpreting the iconography of third-century women's portrait busts. The former discusses extrinsic elements of iconography such as wigs, hairstyles, dress, jewellery and adornment. These aspects of self-styling were of central importance in the third century when they stood as symbols for the *cultus* of the elite private sphere and its inherent virtues. This is developed in chapter seven, which considers how elements of physiognomy, expression and gesture were utilised in combination with attributes, self-styling, drapery and bust-format. It is argued that women's portraits in this period extol, through a combination of iconographic devices, an emphasis on the same canon of traditional feminine virtues as was characteristic of women's portraits in earlier eras. It is argued that in the third century these feminine virtues, so symbolic of the private cultivated sphere, seem to have gained enhanced importance. The purpose of this chapter is to place women's busts within their social context and wider trends in third-century iconography. Central to this is a consideration of their iconographic and conceptual relationship to third-century male portraits. To aid my interpretation, I will draw upon information provided by coins, inscriptions and sarcophagi, thus attempting to create a broad social context for these portrait busts.

The final two chapters aim to reconstruct the physical display context of third century women's busts. This chapter will necessarily focus upon those busts with good context and will seek to discover where and how people were using

portrait busts in the third century. To reflect this aim the material is divided and discussed according to context: tombs, villa/*domus* and public. The crude division of contexts into 'public' and 'private' is necessary but problematic in relation to Roman society. For instance certain parts of an elite villa might be described as 'public' since they were designed purely for entertaining rather than for 'private' familial function. Similarly 'public' contexts frequently had temporal and class qualifications. Nevertheless as long as these caveats are noted these terms are relevant and reflect an important distinction between traditional, publically controlled spaces, such as the *forum* and tomb/*domus* contexts where private interests could be more freely expressed.

Many of the provincial examples are dealt with in these chapters, resulting in case studies from Syria to Northwest Gaul, allowing us to build a broader picture of the role of women's portrait busts in the third century than material from Rome alone would allow. This discussion will also draw on the contextual information from busts with good context outside my study (from other periods/men's portrait busts), in order to illuminate how busts were displayed and how this affected their audience and reception. I also utilize examples from the large corpus of representations of the bust-format in other media. This material encompasses a wide variety of objects which make reference to the bust-format, from sarcophagi and funerary reliefs to wall painting, mosaics, gaming counters, coins, hairpins and other items of adornment. This material reveals the high status of the portrait bust in Roman society, especially in the third century where the sarcophagi evidence alone presents hundreds of portrait examples, purposely depicted in bust-format. This evidence aids our

understanding of the physical display context of the bust and the social significance of this portrait format.

One of the main themes of these chapters, as noted above, will be the paradox of the restrictive nature of the bust-format, which demands a frontal, preferably eye-level, gaze but which seems flexible in terms of wider context: busts were set up in both grand public and intimate private contexts. Moreover, in the Late Antique period we may note the relative ease with which busts were recycled and moved from their original display contexts to new settings. It is this versatility that made the bust-format a relatively popular portrait in the third century when honorific statues were already in decline.

The catalogue, which accompanies this study, is intended to provide a comprehensive portfolio of published third-century women's portrait busts. Visiting and examining as many of these busts in person as possible I have only included pertinent examples, which can be securely dated to the third century. This kind of personal inspection is essential due to the legacy of the collecting and restoration many busts have undergone. There is a preference for 'good' examples. This means that a large number of busts without heads are excluded, as they are consequently difficult to date and could sit as comfortably in a second- as well as a third-century context. The only exceptions to this rule are four busts with distinctive third-century bust formats. Finally, although my definition of the bust here is not limited to marble examples, the majority of busts in my sample are marble, the exceptions being one limestone and one miniature bronze example (nos.23, 33). This partly reflects the natural bias of

what has survived but also the focus of this study on the true 'free-standing bust-format'. That is why bust-format portraits, which were used as ornament or attachments, such as those on weighing scales or as fulcrums, have been excluded from the catalogue. These examples are useful when discussing the status of the bust-format in the third century but their specific and different functions demand that they be studied separately.

My hypothesis is that, while elements of self-styling and bust-format reveal innovation, the moral vocabulary of Empire, as presented in women's portrait busts, did not change dramatically in the third century. By placing third-century women's portraits in the context of their form, history and provenance, I hope to create a methodology that allows me to ascertain the ancient intention of these portraits. I will argue that third-century women's portrait busts reflect the heightened ideological status of certain forms of Roman femininity in the late second to third century, in line with a renewed elite focus on celebrating and promoting the virtues of the elite private sphere.

CHAPTER TWO. THE BUST-FORMAT (100 BC – AD 300)

FORM

'Visually the classical work is a self-contained, abstract form, conceived only from the front and set apart by a base from its support…..the classical work is purely an artefact.[96]' This evaluation of the Roman-bust format recognises its distinctiveness: hollowed out at the back and often set on an ornamental base the bust refuses to be viewed from behind. This was not a pragmatic decision as might be the case for statues left with unfinished backs or the undecorated backs of many South Italian and Hellenistic shoulder busts. The back of the Roman bust is not so much incomplete as amputated, leaving a roughed out space - a notable absence of form.

We may for instance compare the experience of viewing the bust with the famous reception of Praxiteles' Aphrodite of Knidos. Viewed in the round this sculpture was celebrated for its absolute beauty of form and understood as a work of art.[97] So exquisite and complete was this work that certain of its viewers made the mistake of believing it a real but perfectly formed being.[98] Why does the Roman bust deprive the viewer of such complete interaction? If space was an issue a half-figure bust of the type found all over the Hellenistic and Italic world would allow the allusion to a complete form. The free-standing bust instead

[96] Lavin 1970, 208; Schuyler 1976, 34: 'the shapes of portrait busts are not copied from nature; busts are representations of segmented people invented by the mind of men.' Toynbee 1953.
[97] Lucian *Amores,* 13-14.
[98] Lucian *Amores,* 15: a man broke into the temple at night and tried to copulate with the statue.

insists on making a virtue of its reduced form. Unlike many other abbreviated figure formats the Roman free-standing portrait bust does not present the face and upper body as part of a whole, referencing a complete figure: but in its divorce of head from body, within a strikingly artificial and ornate format, it demands interaction with portrait alone and signals its own calculated construction.[99] For these reasons this form of the bust became one of the ideal formats for the portrait in the Roman era.[100]

The purpose of this chapter will be to further explore this 'form', its legacy, and the development of the free-standing portrait bust in the third-century. This discussion will be structured into five main parts: (i) a terminology for the free-standing bust and a detailed definition of its key parts; (ii) a discussion of the bust's origins; (iii) an outline of key developments in the bust-format through the imperial period and finally, (iv) a categorisation of third-century women's portrait busts according to format and the discussion of these by type.

TERMINOLOGY

It is important to provide a clear definition of this bust-format and outline a terminology of its constituent parts. I will use this terminology in both the catalogue and chapter discussions.

[99] Collignon 1911, 307: half-figure busts found in the Hellenistic world were just shortened statues.
[100] Fittschen 1982, 119-124: importance of the back of the bust to establishing authentication and to accurate dating of busts.

The bust is defined by a number of key features: a recessed back with supporting SPINE, and in most cases a protruding BUST-LIP (fig.1). The bust is then usually mounted on a FOOT. The formulation of this may vary but it is often articulated by UPPER TORUS, SCOTIA, LOWER TORUS which may be further defined by GROOVE details (fig.2). In rare instances, for example much larger half-figure busts, this element is omitted and instead the bust would have been placed directly onto a statue BASE (no.11; fig.3).

Between the bust and foot was the TABULA or nameplate. On early imperial busts there was no *tabula* and busts would rest directly on the bust-foot and might even omit this.[101] Early examples of the *tabula* originate in the Trajanic period and consisted of a profiled panel. An alternative to the *tabula,* and particularly fashionable in the second century, was a CALYX or ACANTHUS LEAVES SUPPORT (fig.3).

ORIGIN

To appreciate the purpose and function of the free-standing portrait bust we must contextualize it within the tradition of other abbreviated portrait formats and consider its relation to and, vitally, divergence from these. This can only be done if we outline two basic but essential characteristics of this format: first, as defined above, its distinctive form, with hollowed out back; second, and of specific importance to this study, the utilisation of this format in combination with a portrait.

[101] Fejfer 2008, 245.

The scanty work done on the origin of the bust has been concerned with attempting to trace a line of development from earlier bust-formats to the Roman free-standing bust (fig.4). However, this is complicated as we lack a definitive *terminus post quem.* Richter identifies bust portraits in Hellenistic coins and Motz notes such bust portraits even earlier, beginning in the third-century BC.[102] However, these profile, obverse portraits do not explicitly reference the free-standing bust-format; as Fejfer argues the first securely dated numismatic evidence for the existence of the free-standing bust is the Octavia minor coin type, struck shortly after 40BC (fig.5).[103] Depictions of free-standing busts on funerary reliefs and early examples of busts, dated stylistically, can only sustain a broad first century BC *terminus post quem*. Moreover, no conclusive chain of development from the earlier bust-formats in the direction of the free-standing format can be identified. While the bust's origins cannot be definitively traced the following brief discussion is important in understanding how the bust diverged from earlier formats and what was innovative and specific, as well as what is shared and borrowed from these.

The bust has variously been associated with the *clipeus, tondo* and shield portrait traditions of the Hellenistic and Italic worlds. Richter, in one of the few articles to deal exclusively with the origin of the bust, proposes that the bust portrait

[102] Richter 1965, fig.2-4. Motz (1995, 30-1) gives the example of coins Ptolemy III Euergetes, date C. 246-221 BC, apparently depict bust portraits. Not until the 1st c. BC that direct reference is made to the free-standing bust-format on Hellenistic coins. Richter/Smith 1984, 232-237, figs. 207, 209-212, 216, 218-129.
[103] Fejfer 2008, 237; coin in Kent, Overbeck & Stylow 1973, colour pl. 3 no.109: gold aureus, Obv: Marcus Antonius, Rev: Octavia, 40BC.

developed from the *tondo* busts found in the Hellenistic world.[104] However these early instances are generalized heroic representations rather than true portraits.[105] An alternative association is with the Italic *imagines clipeatae*. Pliny documents the republican tradition of dedicating these shield portraits, which was associated with Roman ancestor worship.[106] However, there is no evidence of these *clipeatae imagines* in the material record and the first portrait *tondi* from the Roman world, such as the portrait of a man in toga from Cumae, date to the early imperial period.[107] In fact the earliest securely dated portrait *tondi,* in the material record, come from Delos and date to 102/1 BC: the monumental shields with portrait busts of contemporaries at the heroon of Mithridates Eupator (fig.6).[108]

Tondo, clipeus and shield portraits

The material evidence consequently does not support the establishment of a *tondo* or *clipeus* portrait format prior to the development of the free-standing portrait bust. Furthermore *tondi* portraits, whether of Greek or Roman derivation, represent a completely different genre specific and separate format and demanded very different display contexts.[109] Richter is correct to place emphasis on the carved out back of the free-standing bust format and to compare this to the similarly hollowed out backs of the Hellenistic terracotta

[104] for example those hung on the wall in the Heroon at Kalydon. Dugge, Poulsen, F. & Rhomaios, 1934 *Das Heroon von Kalydon*. Richter, 60-61, fig.5.
[105] For Hellenistic decorative busts: Barr-Sharrar, 1987.
[106] Plin. *Nat.* 35.3: tradition begun by Appius Claudius, a consul of 259 BC and one of the first to dedicate shields with representations of his ancestors, displaying them at the Temple of Bellona, so 'that they might be erected in an elevated spot, so as to be seen, and the inscriptions reciting their honour read'.
[107] Fejfer 2008, fig.39, 234-235; Motz 1995, Ch. 1, plate 75: earliest in his sample dates to around 30 BC, from Palestrina, now in Rome, Museo Nazionale, inv. 124500.
[108] Fejfer 2008, 233-234, fig.153.
[109] Smith 1995, discussion of a pair of Late Classical *tondi.*

medallion busts. However, the Hellenistic medallion bust has much more in common with the relief genre than with the free-standing bust, specifically in the way that it emerges out of its circular frame while the bust is generally raised up from its resting surface (fig.7-8).[110] Further the *tondo* portrait demanded very different display contexts as it had to be hung or supported against a wall, so it is hard to see a close relationship with the free-standing portrait bust.[111]

Imagines and busts

The association of bust portraits with the Roman practice of ancestor commemoration is one supported by representations on funerary reliefs of busts displayed in cupboards with open doors, presumably recalling the *armaria* within which the *imagines* (ancestor masks) are described as being kept (fig.9).[112] The famous example of the 'Barberini' statue of a man clutching busts, presumed to be those of his ancestors, has encouraged suggestions that busts developed out of *imagines*.[113] Zadoks has consequently argued that the free-standing bust form was developed out of ancestral masks (which were apparently made out of a soft malleable material) and consequently reveals the Roman tendency to mimic a form but in a very different material.[114] Zadoks'

[110] Motz 1995, 28. 19-47: a survey of abbreviated portrait format traditions in the respective Italic and Greek worlds.
[111] Examples of third-century women's *tondi* portraits: **Marble *tondo* of a Late Severan woman**. Part of the Silahtarağa sanctuary group, Istanbul Arch. Mus., inv. 5062, H: 57 cm. Face restored. Chaisemartin-Örgen 1984, *Les documents sculptés de Silahtarağa*, 66-67, no.190; ibid. 94. Bergmann 1999, 18-19, n.67, pl.24; **Marble *tondo* of a Severan woman**, found at Izmit during construction of a paper factory. Istanbul, Arch. Mus. inv. 4875. H: 45 cm. Dörner 1941, 47-48, no.6, pl.12; Inan & Rosenbaum 1966 96, no.83, pl.51.1-2.
[112] Pliny *HN.* 35.2. For example: Marble, altar early first century AD: portrait bust of a boy in a cupboard. H: 36 cm. Inscription: put up by Hermes for his son and descendants. S. Paulo Fuori le Mura. Kleiner 1987, 192, no.66, pl.39.1. Marble grave relief for freedman Aemilius Aristomachus and Aemilia Hilara. Copenhagen, National Museum, depicts busts in cupboards.
[113] Marble statue, late 1st c. BC – 1st c. AD, head does not belong, H: 165 cm. Rome, Musei Capitolini, Centrale Montemartini, inv. MC2392. Fittschen & Zanker 2010, 48-51, pl.40-1.
[114] Zadoks 1932, 79, 81.

argument lacks a full explanation of how the ancestral mask developed into the free-standing bust. Flower's examination of the sources reveals that *imagines* are consistently referred to as wax masks.[115] Therefore representations of busts displayed in a manner resonant of *imagines* should not be taken too literally; this was probably an iconographic tool designed to elevate the portrait busts and assert the appropriateness of this format for ancestor commemoration.

Half-figure and shoulder portraits

Another possible origin for the free-standing portrait bust are the numerous shoulder busts and half-figure statues found all over Western Greece and Italy.[116] In her study of these busts Kilmer identifies two traditions: the first is located in Etruria and began in the late Orientalising period; this group includes both shoulder busts and half-figure statues. The second appears to have begun on Rhodes with terracotta *protomes*, which originally showed only the head and neck before gradually expanding to include more of the figure.[117] These terracotta *protomes* with their open backs are the closest in format to the free-standing bust.[118] However, despite continuing into the Hellenistic period, their numbers dwindle and they are rare by the late Republic, especially in Italy. Moreover, none of these *protomes* present portraits but rather appear to have had a specific religious function.[119]

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[115] Polyb. 6.53-4; Pliny *HN*. 35.4-14; Flower 1996, 5; 281-325. For discussion see Audley-Miller 2010, 16-17.
[116] Pensabene 1977, 425-435: shoulder bust as origin to the free-standing portrait bust; Sturgeon 1975, 232, 235: examples of the shoulder bust-format, in Greek funerary context, can be dated as early as the 8th c. BC; Motz 1995, 29-30 (Greece); 34-35 (Italy).
[117] Kilmer 1977, 1.
[118] On terracotta *protomes*: Kilmer 1977, ch. 5.
[119] Kilmer 1977, 66-67: majority, dating to the Archaic/Classical periods, depict women - led to suggestions that they represent Demeter or Kore and served a specific religious function.

The Etruscans, according to Kilmer's study, abandoned busts and half-figures towards the mid-fifth century only for them to reappear in the Hellenistic period as a result of their reintroduction from the Greek world via Southern Italy.[120] Most of the shoulder busts were dedicated in funerary contexts or set up as votives at religious sites. Kilmer notes the tendency in the terracotta shoulder busts of Hellenistic date (generally late second-century BC) from Etruria to display particularised facial features and in a couple of cases portrait features (fig.10).[121] Two large half-figure statues from the *Maison des Sceaux* on Delos, which date to the first century BC, appear to have much in common stylistically with early examples of the free-standing bust (fig.11). However, their format is not at all similar. The former are traditional shoulder busts, the latter are essentially truncated from full figure statues; neither possesses the ornamental form of the free-standing bust.[122]

Herm portraits

The closest relatives to the free-standing portrait bust and its most likely predecessors are bronze and marble herm portraits which were mounted on herm shafts (fig.12).[123] The curved, hollow back of the free-standing bust resembles that of the herm; all that was necessary to transform a herm portrait into a free-standing bust was a foot, as is demonstrated by examples of herm

[120] Kilmer 1977, 3, 67: Blinckenberg, Lindos, col. 588-89. earliest Rhodian protomes are simply shorthand forms of the full figure terracottas which were offered before the invention of the protome - it is natural for the shorthand form to develop from the full figure.
[121] Kilmer 1977, 224. Terracotta Etruscan bust from Cerveteri, H: 34 cm., Rome, Musei Vaticani, Gregoriano Etrusco, inv. 14107. Kilmer 1977, 228-229, no.112.
[122] Delos Museum, inv. A 7258 & inv. A 7259. Fejfer 2008, 238, n. 44: Delian busts closer to Italian, late Republican terracotta and limestone busts from Capua and Ancona. Marcadé (et.al.) 1996, 218; Marcadé 1969, 143-144: funerary shoulder busts on Delos may be the result of Hellenistic workshop practices of joining parts of statues worked from different blocks.
[123] Bienkowski 1895, 293-297 & Fejfer 2008, 236-239 opt for this as the most likely origin of the free-standing bust.

busts which have undergone this transformation (fig.139).[124] Motz argues that many so called early free-standing portrait busts are actually herm portraits which have been separated from their herm shafts.[125] However, as Fejfer notes, in most cases the extremely rough completion of the back of the herm bust which was intended to be slotted into a herm shaft is in contrast with the mostly smoothly finished backs of first century BC-AD portrait busts.

The herm is a very ancient sculptural format, however there is some debate as to the beginning of the portrait herm as opposed to herms depicting mythical/idealised representations. There is no definitive evidence for portrait herms prior to the first century BC.[126] However, as Motz's study reveals, the portrait herm was clearly far more popular, especially in domestic contexts, by the first century AD than had previously been realised.[127] This suggests that the portrait herm was the more established and therefore probably preceded the free-standing bust. Although the herm is the most likely origin of the free-standing bust the dramatic differences between the two formats must be acknowledged. The herm portrait is often viewed in modern collections without the herm shaft into which the carved out back was slotted.[128] This back was not intended to be visible but was simply a practical element of the herm portrait's

[124] Marble portrait bust, Julio-Claudian to Flavian, found in the Vigna Condini, Columbarium 2, H: 41 cm., Rome, Museo Nazionale, inv. 370933. Motz, 1995, no.C3, pl. 77; Anderson & Nista, 1988, 78-81, no.17; Pensabene 1983, 58-73. See here 227, fig.139.
[125] Motz 1995 50-54; 61-64 (distinction between Herm and free-standing bust).
[126] Wrede 1985, 72-74: portrait introduced to Herms in the Greek world as a result of Roman influence = later in date than Italic examples. No surviving portrait herms in Italy earlier than the 1st c. BC. Motz 1995 27-28.
[127] Motz 1995, 62, table 1: Herm busts outnumbered free-standing busts more than 3:1 in the early Imperial period.
[128] For example see fig.12b– back of herm of Staia Quinta, from the 'room of Fundilia' in the sanctuary of Diana, in Nemi. H. herm shaft: 1.36m,; H. bust: 44cm. Ny Carlsberg Glypoteck, inv. 1435. Fejfer 2008, pl.33-35.

mounting. The free-standing bust, in contrast, displays this element proudly in order to deny the allusion other abbreviated formats make to the whole and thus focus the attention of the viewer on the more intimate portrait.

Whatever its exact origins the bust format resonated with Roman dedicants and fulfilled their desires to commission works which placed emphasis on the face as the locus through which to express inner virtue, an idea reflected by contemporary fashions for so called *veristic* portraits. This is reflected by the extensive use of busts in funerary contexts and traditions of ancestor worship, which involved venerating depictions of the deceased. As Richter argued, the bust format suited Roman desires to display portraits not only in grand public settings but also in more intimate private contexts[129]

DEVELOPMENT

Now, having discussed the origins of the bust, it is important to understand the development of this format. Bienkowski created a chronological development of the free-standing bust from its early herm form to its later larger, fully formed free-standing bust type (fig.13).[130] He noted not only the gradual increase in size of the bust but also the increasing definition of anatomy and the general elaboration of the bust-format. The bust developed from its early short form, which included little more than the collarbones, to the substantial half-figure busts of the third-century.[131] Hekler's later work on the bust built upon the

[129] Richter 1965, 59.
[130] Bienkowski 1895, 293-297.
[131] Bienkowski 1895, 293-297.

observations made by Bienkowski concerning general developments in the format (fig.14). Hekler's analysis largely agrees with Bienkowski's findings and he notes a gradual extension of the bust-format. The format moves from the Julio-Claudian type, which appears little more than a herm-shaft including just the collarbones and small section of the chest, in a highly stylised triangular format, to the gradual inclusion of the shoulders and a larger section of the chest by the end of the first-century. The bust-format expands through the second-century, reaching an apex in width in the busts of Antinous during the reign of Hadrian, and in an increasingly statue like and monumental aspect going into the third-century (fig.15).[132] Hekler and Bienkowski both focus on the male bust and in particular describe the increasing definition of muscle and naturalism of representation observable over time.

However, having elaborated and given credence to the general developments in bust type as first documented by Bienkowski, Hekler crucially notes that such a picture of chronological progression in bust-format is too simplistic. He asserts style, bust-form, hairstyle and technique did not always keep pace in their changes, especially in regional areas of empire (for example: nos.11-12 - respectively no *tabula* & relief decorated *tabula*; no.23 acanthus-leaves support).[133] Roman selection of bust-format was often eclectic and older forms of bust-format continued to be used in later periods. Motz is understandably critical of the way that scholars have used Bienkowski's work to date busts.[134] In

[132] Hekler 1922-24, 187-192. For example a bust of Antinous from Patras, Athens, Nat. Mus., inv. 417 H: 69 cm. Meyer, 1991, 29-30, no.I 7, pl. 5; Rhomiopoulou 1995, 57, no.79, 62: colour pl.
[133] Hekler 1922-24, 186.
[134] Motz 1995, 10-12 lists examples of incorrect dating of portraits on the basis of Bienkowski's bust-format criteria.

his study he proves that in the Augustan and Julio-Claudian period size of the bust alone is not an accurate method of dating and that the bust did not develop in the linear and restrictive manner many believe.[135]

Hekler notes the importance of regional preference as one of many factors which has led to variety in bust-format selection.[136] This is supported by work done by Fittschen, who identified a bust-format defined by a palm-leaf spine which he believes reflects not only regional preference but, at an even more micro level, the production of one workshop in Athens.[137] I will discuss the viability of such workshop identification further in relation to the production of the bust-format, however here this example simply helps articulate how a single chronological narrative for bust-format cannot be accepted. Similarly Fejfer observes that the profiled cylindrical foot which appeared in the second-century AD and was the preferred choice in Rome appears far less commonly in provincial areas.[138] In the East a low cylindrical plain foot or a square one is more common. The Empire did not follow a single trend. Busts often reflected local and specific influences: regional preference, workshop/sculptor skill, and the desires of the patrons which may have been influenced by a multitude of factors from economic considerations to the intended physical and social context of the commissioned bust.

[135] Motz 1995
[136] Hekler 1922-24, 192-193, fig.65: example of bust of a youth in Athens, Nat. Mus., (inv. 2350): Trajanic bust type but whose portrait dates to 3rd c. = Greek busts do not always 'keep-up' with chronological trends in bust-format established in the Rome and its environs.
[137] Fittschen 2001, 71-77, pls. 11-16.
[138] Fejfer 2008, 242, n. 49.

Bienkowski's work, however, is far from redundant. He proposes a general trend and presents some of the more typical developments of the bust type for each period - his conclusions are helpful as long as they are not applied in too rigorous a manner. In particular the basic but important point that over time the bust format generally increased in size, not only in length but also in depth, and that more elaborate drapery became popular is incontestable.[139] This development seems to be matched by an increasing popularity of the free-standing bust format.[140]

APPURTENANCES OF THE BUST

Here I will focus on those subsidiary, but nevertheless essential, elements of the bust: the back and mount. Analysis of these parts can help inform our understanding of developing display priorities for the third-century bust – an important theme throughout this study.

The recessed back with spine and some form of display mount (bust-foot/base and/or *tabula*/support/inscription plate) are essential features of all busts (figs. 1-3). Ancient bust feet, along with *tabulae*, are rarely completely preserved; these elements of a bust are, for obvious reasons, particularly vulnerable to damage and were frequently cut away and replaced by modern, separately carved, bust-feet and *tabulae* in the eighteenth- to nineteenth-centuries. As a result, only twenty busts (28%) survive with their original supports and bust

[139] Bienkowski 1895, fig.1 & 2.
[140] Motz 1995, 62 table 1.

feet intact. Not surprisingly, in a number of cases, such as the bust in the Hermitage (no.62), the *tabula* has survived but the ancient foot is lost. In total twenty-three (32%) of third-century women's busts survive with a *tabula*. These examples of completely preserved third-century women's busts indicate that the *tabula* remained a vital component for these busts.

The majority of the completely intact busts (15 busts) include a *tabula*. Most often this is a simple rectangular formulation with scrolled decoration and horizontal groove detail. In two busts the tabula has been reduced to a simple oblong intersection, defined by horizontal grooved details but otherwise unadorned (nos.9 & 48). By the third century the fashion for ornamental *tabulae* or bust supports had declined.[141] This is reflected by the fact that only three busts present relief-decorated *tabula*e and in two instances the busts were recarved in the third century and this feature actually dates to the busts' respective first- and second-century conceptions. The bust from Cyrene (no.12) is the only 'new' third-century bust to include a relief decorated *tabula* and this may partly reflect its production in a regional workshop and local fashions in this area.[142] Three of the six complete busts which exclude the *tabula* present calyx/acanthus leave supports. Again, however, two of these have been recarved (nos.10 & 44) and the third comes from Syria and was produced in a regional workshop (no.23). Freyer-Schauenburg's study, based on the catalogue created by Jucker, confirms that relief-decorated *tabulae,* along with the acanthus leaves

[141] Fittschen & Zanker 1983, 103, no.152, pl. 180.
[142] Cyrenaica quite a lot of variation in bust mounts and decorative *tabula* still fashionable see here nos.11-12 also bust of MA from the House of Jason Magnus, with cylindrical foot decorated with calyx leaves (London, BM, 1861,1127.15. H: 74 cm. Rosenbaum 1960 58, no.49, pl.35.1-2).

support, were rare in third-century busts but did occasionally occur until as late as 260AD.[143]

This move away from ornamentation of the bust-format is reflected in two cases where the *tabula* is completely omitted and the bust sits directly on the foot (nos.11 & 69). Examination of the backs of busts on modern *tabulae* and feet often reveal where the ancient *tabula*, carved out of the same block of marble as the bust, has been cut away by the modern restorer (for example nos.28-32). In the case of certain of the larger waist busts, such as the two in the Metropolitan Museum (nos.15 & 56) there is no indication that the busts would have had a *tabula*. This may, in certain instances, reveal the practical realities of these larger bust-formats, which could sit directly on a large display base and did not necessitate an ornamental *tabula* and foot. Nevertheless, the largest woman's half-figure bust, from Chiragan, does include the *tabula*, indicating that this element was still practical – if desired by the patron (no.50).

The above overview reveals that, while the simple scrolled *tabula* was the most standard option, a variety of choices were open to the third-century patron when commissioning their bust. While more ornamental forms did exist we can note a simplification of subsidiary elements, in contrast to the elaboration of the bust-format in the early and mid-second century. This interesting phenomenon is in contrast with representations of busts on sarcophagi, which frequently present

[143] Jucker 1961; Freyer-Schauenburg 1980, 120.

acanthus leave supports or sphere decoration (leaves: fig.83; sphere: figs.25 & 181).[144]

Only two of the busts in my sample survive with inscriptions incorporated into the actual bust support formulation. These are the bust of Aurelia Euposia from Melos (no.69), which presents a large inscriptional moulded square base, and the bust of Aurelia Monnina (no.65), with its cramped *tabula* inscription.

In other portrait formats the inscription is, and into the third century continues to be, a central element of a portrait's articulation. In fact, in the third century we find examples of portraits' identities being changed merely by the addition of a new inscription.[145] It is interesting then that in third-century women's busts the space, initially intended for a small identifying inscription, the *tabula*, often remains but its inscriptional purpose is lost. Perhaps we may postulate, in certain cases, separate name plaques, identifying the depicted and dedicant, such as were found beneath the niches of the first-century columbarium in Rome.[146] The case of the bust of Crepereia Innula, which was displayed on a large separate display base (1.35 x 0.65 m) with honorific style inscription, provides a grander alternative, which would have suited some of the larger bust formats of this era

[144] **foliage-supports** : Sarcophagus with arm-sling bust of woman in foliage, from Rome, art market (now lost). Kranz 1984, 229, no.179, pl. 74.1; **spheres:** fragment of a marble sarcophagus from the Catacombe di San Callisto. Depicts a woman in arm-sling bust, cap-hairstyle, gripping a scroll and on a pedestal with sphere decoration. Kranz 1984, 211, no.101, pl.63.8.

[145] Dio Chrysostom's Rhodian oration, famously complains about the Rhodian habit of rededicating statues by merely changing the name on the inscription (*Or.* 31). For discussion: Stewart 2007, 34. Also Bauer (2007) on 'virtual statue collections' and the power of the statue base and inscription to evoke a statue with or without the necessary portrait.

[146] Columbarium II Vigna Codini.

well (no.16).[147] Conversely, the position of many of these busts in intimate, private contexts, intended mainly for close friends and family, may have rendered identifying inscriptions superfluous.

Other than the bust of Aurelia Euposia all the intact busts have cylindrical bust feet (no.69). The three busts from Rome/Italy with their original third-century bust-feet all present tall cylindrical busts defined by clearly formulated *torus, middle torus and scotia*. The bust carved from *pavonazzetto* marble in the Museo Capitolino (no.27) presents a particular fine example. These are in contrast to the proportionally wider but more compact cylindrical feet of the two intact recarved women's busts, which retain their respective late first and early second-century feet (nos.10 & 44).

As evidenced by the busts from Ephesos and Izmir, cylindrical feet of the type found in Rome were fashionable all over Empire (nos.46 & 70). The Cleveland busts (nos.66-68) from Asia Minor present a rather less elegant formulation of heavy *torus* and *scotia* of the same size with an only slightly recessed middle *torus*. These simplified mounts can be explained by the miniature size of these busts. A bust from the Northern Balkans presents a large, tall cylindrical bust-foot, defined by *torus, middle torus* and *scotia*, not dissimilar to those busts from Rome/Italy (no.71). An alternative, large, cylindrical foot with simple grooved detail is found in Greece, Asia and North Africa (see here nos.9-11).

[147] Fejfer 2008, 284-285 figs. 216-217, n. 29.

In the second century the appurtenances of the bust were to reach an apex in terms of ornament and finish – as best exemplified by the bust of Trajan in Copenhagen (fig.16).[148] It has a hollowed back and spine with acanthus leaves decoration carved into it. The late second- to third-century busts instead present a far greater focus on the front of the bust and the portrait, often opting for larger formats at the expense of the finish of the bust's back. A half-figure bust in the BM offers a good example, with huge, inelegant spine and roughly worked interior (no.26). This was a tendency across bust-formats in the third century and was clearly not just a result of the challenges presented by larger formats. A bust in the Louvre (no.42), of smaller, encircling mantle format, displays the large tooth-marks of the roundel, which was used to hollow out the back and define the spine. The hair on the back of the bust has, in both cases, also been summarily completed. The finish of the busts' back provides another useful criterion when attempting to date busts. For instance, the bust in the Museo Capitolino (no.25) was originally a second-century *toga*-clad portrait bust before its radical reworking into a third-century girl's bust, but it reveals a smoothly finished bust back, which is a distinctive feature of Trajanic/Hadrianic busts (figs. 68-69).

The spines of third-century women's busts, with a few notable exceptions, display a similar lack of concern for the aesthetics of the back of the bust.[149] They are generally thick rectangular struts, which widen either towards the top/bottom or at both ends. The rough treatment of the back of the bust in the

[148] Copenhagen, Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek, Inv. 1723, H: 61 cm. Johansen 1995, vol 2, 102-3: purported provenance Italy, Formiaea (?), however, museum label 'baths of Caracalla'.
[149] Exception: the palm-leaf spine of bust no.9 (Fittschen 2001, 74, no.12, 76-77, fig.12,2).

third century indicates an increased awareness and acceptance of the display limitations of this format, which was not intended to be viewed in the round. However, despite the third-century tendency to treat the back of the bust roughly, it is important to note that the essential format of the bust, defined by hollowed-out back and spine, was loyally preserved.

FORMATS FOR THIRD-CENTURY WOMEN'S BUSTS

In this section third-century women's busts will be defined in terms of bust size and categorised by bust-format. The purpose of this is to gain a broader picture of fashions in bust-format in the third century and thus to understand options available to patrons when commissioning women's portrait busts.

Bust size

As Bienkowski and Hekler's work indicates, the bust-format could vary considerably in terms of size and amount of anatomy included (figs.13-14). In fig.17 I present examples of the different bust sizes represented by third-century women's busts. The smallest, earliest bust-format, the CLAVICAL-BUST, which includes only the head and a small portion of neck and upper-chest area, was out of fashion by the third century (figs.138-139, 163). The next size up is the CHEST-BUST (i), which includes the upper chest area down to the breasts and in width encompasses the top of the shoulders. There are five examples in the catalogue of this bust-format, however, four of these have been recarved and the busts preserve their first- to second-century format (nos.4, 25, 49, 59). The miniature bust from Darmstadt (no.60) may also have been recarved, perhaps

from a sarcophagus figure, or may be an unusual budget production, as evidenced by its knotted mantle *tabula* and unfinished back. In male busts of the third century we do find the re-introduction of a smaller chest-bust format, an alternative to the generally more monumental and statuesque busts of the time. This bust type is identified by Fejfer and typified by a frequently reproduced bust of Caracalla (fig.106).[150]

For third-century women's busts the most popular size is the SHOULDER-BUST (ii) 69 % (49 busts), which includes the breasts and entire upper torso to just above the waist and in width spans the shoulders. In some cases (ii.b) this format also includes the upper arms.

There are a number of even larger bust-formats. Bienkowski terms this larger format the "bustes ombilicaux" type.[151] These larger formats, however, can be more accurately divided into two size groups: the WAIST-BUST (iii), which extends to the waist or below and usually includes the arms, although in most cases the left arm is not fully articulated beneath the drapery, and the complete HALF-FIGURE-BUST (iv), which includes both arms and reaches down to the hips. The former category accounts for 10 % (7 busts), while the full half-figure bust remains a rare commission with only three examples (4%) (table 1; graph 1).

[150] Fejfer 2008, 244-247, fig.165: example Caracalla marble bust, Naples, Museo Archaeologico Nazionale, H: 60 cm.
[151] Bienkowski 1895, 295.

These large format busts present an interesting negotiation between traditional abbreviated bust-format and full figure statue. The inclusion of full arms and hands and the way the busts are generally not rounded off at the bottom, in the artificial manner of most bust-formats, creates a more statuesque impression. Further, the extension of the bust and inclusion of arms allowed for and encouraged greater body language, optimising the expressive nature of the monument. In this way these larger busts allowed the patron to draw upon the language of the honorific public statue. Fejfer consequently argues that these busts reflect a growing move away from dedicating public honorific statues to more private and intimate forms of elite commemoration.[152]

While an observable preference for large bust-formats can be identified in my sample, the true half-figure bust, which is the most statuesque due to the inclusion of both arms and the possibility of more elaborate gestures or even attributes, remains exceptional (table & graph 1). In contrast, depictions of busts on sarcophagi often represent these larger formats (fig.25, 118, 128-129). These aspirational representations are not matched by reality, probably due to the added expense and specific nature of such commissions. Instead, the preference remains for the shoulder bust, a size which had been fashionable since the Hadrianic period but which offered a desirable compromise between grand, honorific style bust and practical considerations of display, production and economy.

[152] Fejfer 2008, 260-261.

While bust size is an important factor, creating groupings on the basis of these criteria alone is not informative. For example, the shoulder bust does not form an iconographically cohesive group but includes the vast majority of busts and encompasses a huge variety of postures and costume styles. Instead, the most effective way of categorising third-century women's busts is on the basis of drapery formulation.

Bust categories and clothes

The creation of a number of bust-format groups allows us to identify important fashions and developments. In the case of third-century women's busts this methodology is particularly effective. While size and extent of anatomy vary, as do finer details of self-styling, certain repetitive drapery formulations can be observed and the majority of busts naturally fall into three major and two minor groups.

These bust groups are defined below and geographical and chronological variances within them will be discussed. Where possible, comparative examples from other iconographical contexts will be utilised to discuss the relationship of these bust-formats to other representations of third-century women and to consider how these relate to 'real' habits of dress and posture. First, however, a brief costume terminology is required.

In the majority of cases third-century women's busts present the same basic costume of TUNIC and MANTLE. The tunic could vary greatly in terms of length of sleeves and in how, if and where it was secured around the body and arms. In

most cases, where there is enough of the tunic displayed to tell, the busts are draped in GAP-SLEEVED TUNICS, which are gathered at regular intervals along the sleeves either by pins or loops of cord which create pockets of fabric (good example nos.6, 20 & 26-27). The mantle was essentially a large rectangular shawl of fabric, which could be draped in a number of distinct ways as the categories below reveal.

Beyond this simple vocabulary a few instances of regionally specific elements of dress can be identified. For example, a bust with good Syrian context wears a local headdress (no.23). More difficult to define are the costumes of those busts with Greek or Greek Eastern contexts. In these instances we may expect that they wear the Greek equivalent CHITON and HIMATION. However, there is no clear distinction in terms of how the garments are worn and the limited format makes more nuanced identifications impossible. For this reason and for sake of clarity, unless a strong case can be made for doing otherwise, I will limit myself to the Roman tunic and mantle when describing these portraits.

Below I present an example of each of the main categories of bust-format (fig.18). The table and graph express in numerical form the quantities of busts belonging to each category (table & graph 2).

Encircling Mantle Bust

In the third century the largest number of busts belong in what I term the ENCIRCLING MANTLE bust-format: twenty-two (31%) busts of this type are identified here (fig.18.1; graph & table 2). This format is oval in shape and

reaches to just beneath the breasts. The most distinctive feature of this bust-format is its rolled mantle, which frames the bust and determines its oval shape. Beneath this mantle the women are normally depicted wearing gap-sleeved tunics. The thickness of the folds of the mantle, extent of tunic displayed and degree of anatomical emphasis created by the drapery varies from bust to bust. In general the heavy drapery acts to mask any indication of the arms beneath and the breasts are either completely invisible (for example nos.39 & 42) or framed by the thick folds of the mantle and tunic in such a way as to create a voluptuous figure (for example nos.1-2). The backs of the busts in this category are defined by a deep recessed oval with a rectangular strut and, in the majority of cases, an overlapping bust-lip.

This encircling mantle bust-format has second-century origins and peaked in popularity in the Antonine and Severan periods.[153] It is for this reason that busts of this type without surviving portrait heads can be difficult to date precisely and it is necessary to fall back on general trends in drapery sculpting.[154] The popularity of this format in the Severan period is reflected by the fact that Julia Domna's busts, bar the one carved from an earlier Hadrianic bust in Stuttgart (no.4), present her in variations on this format (nos.1-3 & 5-6). It is also extremely common to find portraits of women in this bust-format on third-century sarcophagi. For example, on the famous sarcophagus of Achilles holding

[153] Fittschen 1978, 35, figs. 2, 14-16 compares JD (here no.2) with a bust of Faustina in Musei Capitolini (Inv. 250, Fittschen & Zanker 1983 no.20, pl. 27).
[154] Fittschen 1978, 35-37.

the slain body of Penthesilea, in the Musei Vaticani, the deceased woman is depicted on the top relief panel in this bust-format (fig.19). [155]

In the Late Severan period this style was declining in fashion as the enveloping mantle and arm-sling bust formats gained in popularity. This pattern continued and by the mid-third century few new examples of this bust-format exist, although re-use of busts in this format and depictions on sarcophagi continue far longer (bust of Aurelia Euposia no.69 (recarving)).

In terms of geographical dispersal this format was used all over Empire as indicated by a number of provincial busts of this type. An example is the Severan bust of Crepereia Innula, which comes from a site outside Haïdra in Tunisia (no.16). In this instance the bust is large and reaches to just below the breast. It is defined by a deeply textured encircling mantle and thick, drilled folds of drapery. A bust of Julia Domna from Carnuntum (no.6) presents a variation on this format. The oval shape of the encircling mantle is lopsided: the tunic draped right arm and breast are consequently completely exposed while a thick fold of drapery covers the left.[156]

The drapery formulation of the encircling mantle is uniquely suited to the bust-format. The twisted mantle reflects and defines the parameter of the bust in a manner, which suggests that this presentation of drapery was an artistic formulation devised specifically for the bust-format. This manner of drapery is

[155] Rome, Musei Vaticani, Cortile del Belvedere, inv. 933. Discussed by Zanker & Ewald 2012, 47-48, fig.36; 291-294, no.3.
[156] Compared with drapery of a woman in a portrait *tondo* on a sarcophagus, now missing, 270-280 AD (Stroszeck 1998, 131, no.199, pl. 126.2).

not found in life-size statues. However, an Egyptian shroud from the late second to early third century depicts a woman with a mantle wrapped across the front of her arms (fig.20).[157] Similarly, a mummy portrait from er-Rubayat, dating to the early third century, presents a woman wearing a tunic with a mantle draped around her upper arms (fig.21).[158] These examples reveal that this manner of wearing the mantle was not a completely artificial and artistically contrived formulation created to suit the bust-format alone but was related to 'real' third century women's methods of wearing clothes.

Mantle Enveloped Bust

This bust-format is a development of the encircling mantle bust-format and from the Late Severan period surpassed the latter bust type in popularity and continued in use until the end of the period. In total seventeen busts (24%) from belong to this category (fig.18.2; table & graph 2). This bust-format is once again defined by its distinctive drapery: the mantle is worn almost like a cloak and is pulled across from one side of the bust to the other before being gathered over the shoulder in a thick fold. Less of the tunic is generally displayed than in the encircling mantle format. This format, with its thicker and flatter folds of drapery, was well suited to developments in drapery style from the Late Severan period on. In its most canonical form the flat, heavy drapery creates a more oblong oval bust shape. The best examples of this bust-format are the busts of Julia Mamaea: six of nine surviving busts are in this bust-format (nos.28-33).

[157] Tempera on linen. From Middle Egypt, el-Sheikh Abada, W:106.1 x L: 221 cm. The Met. inv. 09.181.8.
[158] tempera & encaustic on wood, from er-Rubayat, H: 42.5, W. 23 cm. Edinburg, National Museum, inv. 1902.70. Walker & Bierbrier (eds.),1997, 100-101, no.93.

These busts are defined by their rectangular shape and the thick flat folds of mantle, which act to envelop any suggestion of the physical anatomy beneath.

A less distinct version of this bust type is presented by other third-century women's busts and indicates the reliance of this bust on the encircling mantle format. For instance, a bust from Farnborough Hall (no.55) is defined by a thick mantle, which follows from the left shoulder to the right encompassing much of the bust. However, the drapery is much more agitated than we find on the Julia Mamaea busts and the bust maintains the oval shape and encircling bust-format. A bust in the Uffizi offers another variation (no.13). This bust does share the simple, thick folds of drapery found on the Mamaea busts but is exceptionally wide in relation to its height and maintains the oval shape of the Antonine style bust-formats.[159]

As evidenced by the bust in the Uffizi (no.13), this format originated in the Severan period. However, it was a fully developed and defined format in the Late Severan period, as exemplified by the busts of Julia Mamaea (nos.28-33). Busts from the mid-third century through to the Tetrarchic period indicate its continued popularity. For example, a bust of Otacilia in the Uffizi (no.51) presents a very uniform version of this bust-format, as does a bust of a private individual in Munich of a similar date (no.53). Even later, the bust of Aurelia Monnina (no.65: C.260-280 AD), from Rome and now in Berlin, shares this format, although the drapery in this instance acts to model and reveal the breasts and shape of the right arm. Finally two of the Cleveland busts (nos.66-68), dated

[159] H: 58.5 x W:53 cm.

to the Tetrarchic period and probably from Asia Minor, present a simplified version of this bust-format. In both cases the mantle cloaks the entire bust and is only defined by a thick fold in drapery around the neck. The tunic is completely subsumed and the busts share the oblong shape of their male counterparts.

This drapery style does not seem to be replicated widely in other media, excluding representations on sarcophagi. For example, a sarcophagus from Aphrodisias depicts a Severan woman in this bust-format (fig.22).[160] Mummy portraits tend to favour draping the mantle in such a way as to leave a large part of the tunic on display, either in a low encircling band as discussed above or draped in a large fold over one shoulder. This formulation allows for the prestigious *clavi*, worn on the tunic, to be clearly presented. However, on one Antonine mummy portrait from Hawara and a late third-fourth century AD painted glass medallion, probably from Alexandria (figs.23-24),[161] we may find parallels to this bust-format drapery style. In these the mantle is worn almost like a cloak, pulled up very high, allowing only a small portion of tunic to be revealed. The folds of drapery are not gathered in such a way as to suggest a thick twisted band of encircling mantle but fall in the flatter folds, more familiar in this bust-format drapery style.

Arm-sling Bust

Ten (14%) of the busts in my sample are defined by the presentation of an arm and hand, usually the right, wrapped in diagonal sling of mantle (fig.18.3; table &

[160] Marble, garland sarcophagus, no.inv.
[161] Walker & Bierbrier (eds.) 1997: 74-75, no.52 & 99-100, no.91; **mummy portrait:** encaustic & tempera on wood, H. 36 cm. BM, Inv. EA 74710. Walker & Bierbrier (eds.) 1997, 73-74, no.51; **glass medallion:** New York, The Met. inv. 17.190.109a, H: 4.8 cm.

graph 2). The degree of articulation varies considerably, from the bust in the Uffizi (no.40) which only subtly indicates the presence of the right hand gripping the mantle from beneath a thick fold of drapery, to the privately owned busts in Freiburg (nos.17-18), where the whole outline of the right arm which grips the top of the mantle is defined beneath the drapery and is brought diagonally up to the neck. In the cases of the bust from Chiragan (no.49-50) and the bust in New York (no.56), the right arm is enveloped but the hand is revealed, gripping the end of the mantle. Similarly, in a Capitoline bust (no.64), just the thumb of the right hand gripping the mantle can be seen.

Five of the busts in this group present a similar drapery style to the enveloping mantle bust-format discussed above, except that the fabric forms into a thick sling as a result of the hand gripping the drapery (nos.7-8, 40, 43, 64). The other busts in this category, however, are waist busts and incorporate this piece of body language into their larger, more expressive bust-formats (nos.15, 17-18, 50, 56). The busts depicted in this group present a wide selection of dates from the early third century (nos.7-8 & 15) through to the latter half of the third century (no.64). They include busts with Roman/Italian and provincial provenance. This gesture was not associated with one exclusive bust-format and appears to have been popular throughout the third century.

We find a number of representations of women's portrait busts in this format on sarcophagi from the third century. For example, two lion sarcophagi, one now in Brussels and one in Rome, depict busts mounted on pedestal and base (figs.25 &

128).[162] They present the right arm in a similar arm-sling format. However, interestingly, the right arm, which is usually omitted on the busts in my sample, is included and holds a scroll. Of this format type only the bust from Chiragan (no.50) would have included both arms and in this case the missing left arm would have held onto the mantle at the left shoulder.

On the bust in New York, dated to the mid third century, the right arm almost emerges from the sling of mantle, which it clings to (no.56).[163] In portrait *tondi* on third-century sarcophagi this was the most common drapery type for women. Usually, the right arm is depicted in a sling of mantle and the left arm is either omitted or grasps a scroll. Interestingly, this portrait formula is iconographically nearly identical to the male *himation* portrait type also found on third-century sarcophagi *tondi*.[164] In certain cases, where the face is roughed out, it is very difficult to tell if the subject was intended to be a man or a woman (fig.25).[165] This suggests that this was one of a small selection of portrait types that a sarcophagi sculptor became accustomed to using and which, with only minor adjustment, was acceptable for male and female portraits.

[162] **Brussels sarcophagus:** Musée Royaux d'Art et d'Historie, inv. A 3286, L. 165 X H. 54 cm probably from Rome, 260-270 AD. Stroszeck 1998, 132-133, no.209, pl. 35.1-3. **Rome sarcophagus:** Rome, Museo Nazionale, inv. 124 745, L. 170 x H. 63 cm, found in 1946 in Rome on the Via Prenestina between Acqua Bullicante and Tor de'Schiavi, 260-270 AD. In Stroszeck 1998, 145, no.298, pl. 37.3, 114.1-2.

[163] Further discussion of this type see here ch. 7, 214 ff.

[164] For example: lion Sarcophagus with representation of a man in arm-sling *himation* and holding a scroll bust-format, 250-260 AD. Florence, Palazzo Pitti. Stroszeck 1998, 128, no.174, pl.114.

[165] For example: portrait *tondo* on a lion sarcophagus, Rome, Palatino, at the entrance to the Via di. S. Gregorio. Used as a fountain. 270-280 AD. Stroszeck 1998, 147, no.307, pl.55.3.

It is often remarked that busts present women in 'real' clothes and manner.[166] This is supported in many of the instances above and below where comparisons can be made with portraits in the minor arts and mummy portraits, all of which tend to depict women in a 'real' rather than mythological manner. In the case of arm-sling busts, however, three busts make reference to statue formats with strong symbolic mythological origins. The fact that in most cases only one arm is depicted makes it difficult to draw exact comparisons. However, references are clearly being made to these familiar drapery types. All of these types have ancient Greek origins but continued well into the Roman era. Two busts of mother and daughter, from a private collection now in Freiburg, make reference to the Large Herculaneum woman type (nos.17-18).[167] The bust of a Severan woman in the Metropolitan Museum appears to make reference to the *Pudicitia* type (no.15, compare with statue of Sabina in *Pudicitia* type of that of a Severan woman in the Museo Capitolino (fig.123).[168] In the case of the Metropolitan Museum bust, the shape of the left nipple indicates that the intention was not to present the woman in her 'real' dress.[169] These incidences of bust-formats emulating statue types indicate that third-century elites were increasingly drawing upon the language of the public honorific statue but utilising this within a private context.

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[166] Fejfer 2008, 255, n. 96.

[167] Compare to two Large Herculaneum woman portrait statues: **1.** Tulcea Museum of History & Archaeology, Inv.42971 , H: 1.90m. C.190-220AD, discovered in fill of tumulus 30 at Noviodunum Trimble, 2011, 262-263, 420-42, no.124, fig.6.2. **2.** Deva, Romania, inv. 2190. Fond in Sarmizegetusa in Dacia, H: 1.54m. Trimble 2011, 288-292, fig.6.12, 413-414, no.105. Trimble 2011, 358-359: approx. 15 statues of this type date to between 193-211.

[168] **Severan woman:** Museo Capitolino, inv. 636. H. (without plinth): 1.81m. Fittschen & Zanker 1983, 97-98, no.141, pl.168. Face heavily cleaned and worked over as reflected by the loss of surface detail. Head and statue are unbroken.

[169] Mlasowsky 1992, 176-182 and 186-189 no.19, no.20: see here nos.54-55. On Herculaneum women: Daehner 2007 & Trimble 2011.

Having addressed the three largest bust-format categories, two further formats should be considered: the KNOTTED MANTLE and the BANDED MANTLE bust-formats. Only a small number of busts exist of each type (5 & 3 respectively; fig.18.4-5; table & graph 2). However, representations of busts in other media frequently present these formats. Further, in both instances a strong case can be made for relating the drapery styles presented in these busts with 'real' fashions of third-century dress.

Knotted Mantle Bust

The knotted mantle bust-format is a variation on the above encircling mantle type. The bust in this case shares the same oval shape and the mantle is similarly twisted round the bust, however, the mantle is also knotted in a thick bundle at the front. This format seems to have been particularly fashionable in Asia Minor, as reflected by the provenance of two busts, one from 'Hanghaus 1' in Ephesos, dated to the Late Severan period and another, without head, in the collection at Izmir, which dates to the late third to fourth century (46 & 70). Furthermore, representations of busts in this format on grave stele from Stratonikeia, which date to the mid-third century, and on sarcophagi in Aphrodisias indicate the fashion for this format in this region (figs.26-27).[170]

This format, however, was not exclusive to Asia Minor. Two busts with Roman provenance also represent this bust-format. A bust from Dresden, with associated fragment of mid-third-century woman's head, presents a shoulder

[170] Grave stele: Late Severan, H. 1.15 m, Inv. 250. Özgan 1999, 166-171, no.21, 22, 23 pl. 55 b-d; Sarcophagus: Aphrodisias, inv.S-548.

bust variation of this format. In this instance, the bust is proportionally broad and the mantle is drawn across the lower half of the breast and tied in a small central knot (no.54). Second, a waist bust in the *Braccio Nuovo* (no.47), with unrelated portrait head, is of this format. The way the mantle is knotted in front reveals a large amount of the tunic beneath. In particular the knotted waistband of the tunic and the top of the gap-sleeved-tunic are both discernible. Cavaceppi presents an engraving of another bust with similar drapery formulation and bust-format (fig.28).[171] The whereabouts of this bust are currently unknown, but Cavaceppi informs us that both the head and bust are ancient. The Severan woman's head confirms the date of the bust.

Finally, a miniature mid-third-century bust in Darmstadt, without provenance, presents an interesting variation on this drapery formulation (no.60). In this instance we see how this format was adapted to the much smaller chest bust-format. The knotted mantle is tied high over the chest and the ends of the mantle form a *tabula* of sorts.

This style of drapery was not specific to the bust-format and seems to have been drawn from 'real' fashions in women's dress, as evidenced by portraits of women in the minor arts. For example, on a painted glass medallion in Brescia, dating to the Severan period, a young woman is depicted wearing a knotted mantle over a tunic (fig.29).[172] Similarly on the painted glass bottom of a plate, now in the Musei Vaticani collection and originally from the catacombs of Saint Panfilo, we

[171] With thanks to Dr Lenaghan for passing this bust on to me.
[172] Brescia, Museo Cristiano.Original context unknown, set in the bottom arm of gemmed cross. D: 6.1cm. Morey 1955, inv. 237, pl. 25.

see the portrait of a woman also wearing her mantle tied in a large knot at the front (fig.30).[173] This method of tying the mantle, which allowed the wearer to keep both arms free, appears a practical option in contrast to the more constrictive drapery formulations presented by the traditional statue formats. This type was based on observations of how 'real' women wore their mantles rather than an artistic construction to suit the bust-format.

Banded Mantle Bust

In the last quarter of the third century to early fourth century three busts evidence the introduction of a new costume type and consequent bust-format (nos.68, 71 & 72). In all the other bust-formats discussed above the basic formula of mantle and tunic remain constant and it is only the manner of drapery that differs. In this format, however, bands of fabric, not dissimilar to the folded sections of the *toga contabulata*, are presented. These bands are often defined by decorative scroll detail either carved (nos.68, 71) or painted on (no.72).

The three examples of this format are: a miniature bust, one of the three pairs of busts in the Cleveland assemblage from Asia Minor (no.68); a bust from the Balkans without head, now in Bucharest (no.71); and a bust with an ancient but probably not original head from Alexandria, current whereabouts unknown (no.72). Another miniature bust of this format is recorded by Wixom in the museum in Antalya, however, I have not been able to see this bust or track down

[173] Musei Vaticani, Morey 1955, no.1, inv. 0340, pl. 1.

a publication of it.[174] These busts, though, should not be studied alone but placed in the context of numerous representations of this fashion on statues, numismatic portraits, sarcophagi, grave stele and objects in the minor arts.

Alföldi-Rosenbaum lists a number of examples of this format in a short article and seeks to order them into three main types depending on the style of the bands and how they are decorated.[175] The Cleveland and Bucharest busts are both listed in her first category (A: 'Toga-like mantle'). In both instances, the bands consist of one running vertically down and another diagonally across the bust, closely resembling the *toga contabulata* (no.68 & 71). The bust in Alexandria is not known by Alföldi-Rosenbaum, but should also be grouped here (no.72). The bands sit directly on top of the tunic, and were presumably secured in position – a substitute for the traditional mantle. Also belonging to this group is a small bone/ivory object (possibly a rattle), which depicts a woman in this bust-format with a third-century hairstyle and a *tondo* bust-format portrait of Liguria Procilla on the *acroterion* of a sarcophagus lid from Salona.[176]

As reflected by Alföldi-Rosenbaum's second two categories, the manner in which the bands were draped could vary. For example, a headless statue in Carnuntum presents the decorative band intersecting to form a V, the two diagonal bands draped so as to recall the *balteus* and *umbo* of the toga (fig.31).[177] In this instance, the bands seem to have been attached to a mantle, which is draped over

[174] Wixom 1967, 74.
[175] Alföldi-Rosenbaum 1996, 105-116.
[176] For full list of examples included in type and details see Alföldi-Rosenbaum 1996 107-109, figs.1-7. **Rattle:** BM inv. 3067-3068, H: 17 cm; **sarcophagus tondo portrait**: inv. 300.
[177] Marble, H: 1.61 m. Carnuntum, Archaeological Park, inv. 3780. Jobst, W. (ed.) 1992, *'Carnuntum: das Erbe Roms an der Donau..'*61, no.41: JM; LSA-1273 (Gehn, U.).

a tunic. Alföldi-Rosenbaum's third category draws our attention to a corpus of Pannonian grave reliefs presenting variations on this fashion.[178] The diverse geographical provenance of these examples, from Anatolia to Pannonia to Alexandria, reflects the widespread nature of this fashion.

The origin and date of this drapery style are the subject of some debate. The visual link between this banded drapery and the male *toga contabulata* is obvious.[179] Borg has proposed that the *toga contabulata* was a development of an Egyptian form of priestly attire.[180] This may explain why we find a woman draped in a costume that is very similar to that which is traditionally considered an exclusively male form of civic dress. Whatever this fashion's origins, it is certainly not depicted in women's portraits until the third century and is only represented in bust and statue format, in the late third to fourth century. This is reflected by the numerous depictions of women draped in a similar manner on gold-glass from the fourth century.[181] The portraits of imperial women as presented on coinage, as outlined by Alföldi-Rosenbaum, similarly suggest that this drapery type was to become popular in more public representation of women from the late third century.[182] This drapery style is found on the coins of Magnia Urbica, Galeria Valeria, Helena (the mother of Constantine I) and Fausta (Constantine's wife) (fig.96).

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[178] Alföldi-Rosenbaum 1996 112-115, figs. 8-12: list of type C 'Pannonian Variants on tombstones'.
[179] Fejfer 2008, 251; Borg 2003, 197, fig.9, n. 37.
[180] Borg 2003/04, 191-200.
[181] 4th c. gold-glass examples BM, inv. 1863,0727.3 (D.105mm.) man and woman with small figure of Hercules between. Woman draped in simple banded mantle; BM, inv. 1898,0719.1, D: 56mm. Bottom of vessel, bride and groom, small figure of Christ in-between. Woman draped in mantle with decorative bands.
[182] Alföldi 1970, 145; LSA-1273 (Gehn, U.): dates between late 2nd-4th c. AD.

The banded mantle busts reflect the continued vitality of the bust into the late third century and beyond. Even if numbers of busts in the round were declining in this period, the development of new formats closely based on current fashions suggests the relevance and status of this format. Further, the numerous instances of representations of this fashion on bust-portraits indicate that even if actual busts were produced in fewer numbers, the bust remained an important symbolic format, a high status reciprocal for the latest modish fashions.

Exceptions

Two (9%) of the third-century women's portrait busts do not belong to any of the categories outlined above (nos.24 & 62).[183] However, in both instances representations of busts on sarcophagi provide evidence for the wider use of these formats. The portrait in the Hermitage has a *'forma deorum'* bust-format, which depicts its subject in the guise of Venus (no.62). As Fejfer observes, the majority of busts preferred to depict their subjects in a 'real' manner.[184] However, *'forma deorum'* busts were possible, as the Museo Capitolino's bust of Commodus in the guise of Hercules [185] reveals (fig.32). Furthermore, representations on sarcophagi commonly depict women in this 'Venus' bust-format (figs. 117-120).

A final and unusual example, the waist bust of a Severan imperial woman (perhaps Plautilla), from Ocriculum, wears a tunic with mantle drawn over the

[183] There are also 8 fragmentary busts where it is not possible to identify bust-format type (nos.14, 19, 34, 36, 52, 57, 58).
[184] Fejfer 2008, 257.
[185] Musei Capitolini, Palazzo dei Conservatori, H:1.33m. which includes a globe/sphere decorated with the symbols of the Zodiac, next to a kneeling barbarian (inv. 1120. Fittschen & Zanker 1994, 85-90, no.78 pl.91-92).

left shoulder and tied about the waist (no.24). This format is replicated on a strigilated sarcophagus, which depicts a woman with a mid- to late third-century parting-braid (fig.33).[186] The fact that this example is at least half a century later in date and comes from Sardinia, suggests that this must have been a well-known bust format – at least in Italy and its surrounding provinces. It probably drew upon 'real' ways of wearing the tunic and mantle in the third century. The more statuesque aspect of this bust may have limited the number of busts, in the round, of this type produced.

CONCLUSIONS

It is remarkable that, excluding instances of re-use, the bust-format was mostly selected from a limited number of fashionable formats available at the time and was produced to a fairly standardised formula. This is particularly striking when one considers the regional variety represented within many of these categories, indicating how fashionable types were disseminated and emulated over Empire. This bust loyalty, however, did not result in stagnation, as new bust-formats were introduced in the third century in order to keep up with fashions in 'real' women's dress. In this way the bust-format was not merely a generic stand for a specific portrait head but a device through which conformity to fashionable ideas could be expressed.

Having established fashions in bust format it is now necessary to define a more precise chronology. This is the purpose of the following chapter.

[186] Cagliari, Museo Archeologico Nazionale, no inv. *Pesce 1957, 52-54, no.20, pl. 31.*

CHAPTER THREE. CHRONOLOGY

DATING METHODOLOGY

Twenty-one third century women's portrait busts can be identified with externally datable women. Two of these, the busts of Aurelia Euposia and Aurelia Monnina, can be externally dated on the basis of the names given on their inscriptions and other epigraphic evidence (no.69 & 65). The rest are imperial. Whatever the origin or direction of influence, the identification of a particular fashion within an externally datable portrait type provides the basic skeleton of chronology upon which we may comparatively date other portraits. It is always possible that portraits displaying the same fashion may either be forerunners of a trend or reveal a loyalty to an 'out-of-date' fashion.[187] However, if this caveat is acknowledged and a sensible conceptual buffer-zone is allowed we may feel reasonably secure in our chronology.

This process, nonetheless, is not straightforward when dealing with third-century women's portraits. In this period we are faced by increased challenges to dating, despite the extensive efforts of scholars, as only four imperial women's portraits have been solidly identified in the sculptural record for this period: Julia Domna, Julia Mamaea, Sabinia Tranquillina and Otacilia Severa. Good cases may also be made for the identification of sculpted portraits of Fulvia Plautilla and Herennia Etruscilla. In particular, between the end of Severus Alexander'

[187] Smith 1985, 212; Smith 2008b, 351, also for useful summary of 3rd c. hairstyle fashions and dating: 350-3, figs. 5-7.

reign and the establishment of Constantine as sole ruler of the Roman Empire in 325 AD the majority of imperial women are without identified portrait types in the material record, resulting in large hiatuses between the externally dated women's portrait types.

Numismatic evidence is fundamental in filling many of these gaps as a much larger number of third-century imperial women appear on coins (see table 4 for a selection). This evidence is useful in that it can be accurately dated and provides clear identifying inscriptions to go with portraits. Like all sources coins have their limitations. Problems of dissemination in periods of rapid imperial turnover, especially in the mid to late third century, mean that provincial mints are often unreliable - hairstyles are basically correct but other features are generic and subject to huge variation.[188] Furthermore, even in cases when official portrait types are known, the rapid production of coins and the small scale and poor quality of the lower denominations can cause confused interpretations.[189] It is for this reason that here, wherever possible I focus on higher denominations from the mint of Rome.[190] This evidence makes it possible to gain a clearer picture of imperial women's portrait types and thus date fashions in this period (see table 4).[191] Numismatic evidence is most reliable when it comes to presenting certain details of representation - in the case of imperial women:

[188] Salonina's portrait is mainly known from provincial coins and portrait type varies greatly due to this, for example a selection of her coins represent her with an exceptionally long neck, perhaps the work of a specific die-cutter or a specific mint style (Salonina, c. 254-257, Aureus, Viminacium mint, RIC 10j).
[189] For example the so called moustachioed portraits of Severina (table 4, no.21).
[190] see table 4: in certain instances to find a good quality depiction of some of the rarer imperial types, from a reputable collection, it has been necessary to use lesser denomination coins: i.e. brass Sestertii of Julia Maesa, Aquilia Severa, HE & dupondius of Annia Faustina all still from the mint of Rome (nos.6, 11,12,15). Only coin not from mint of Rome that of Galeria Valeria (no.23) mint of Siscia.
[191] Hill (1964) in his study of Severan coins focuses on the mint of Rome.

hairstyles. It is consequently on the basis of imperial women's hairstyles on coins that the chronology of women's portraiture of this period has been established.

The most useful chronological outline for developments in third-century women's hairstyles is still Wessel's small piece on Roman women's hairstyles of the Severan to Constantine period.[192] Wessel, utilising numismatic portraits of imperial women, identifies six categories of hairstyle for the era, which he orders roughly chronologically (fig.34). Wessel's categories are still relevant and have been confirmed and utilised by subsequent studies of third-century women's portraiture. This work provides an instructive starting point for dating women's portrait busts. Nevertheless, the terminology canonised by Wessel is in need of revision, categories such as 'nestfrisur' seem archaic and inappropriate (one may wonder if any woman ever wished her hair to look like a nest), and while 'scheitelzopf-frisur' makes good sense in German the literal English translation of this as crown-braid can result in discordant meanings. Crown refers to both the entire head or more specifically, in anatomy, just the top-back of the head – this is problematic as this hairstyle may consist of a braid(s) which is indeed drawn up to the crown of the head or in variations which reach the apex of the head or even the forehead. It is for this reason then that I will provide a simplified English terminology which I will use in this thesis (see table 3).[193]

[192] Wessel 1946-7, 62-76.
[193] For many of the hairdressing terms used I am indebted to Janet Stephens's YouTube demonstrations, which explain possible techniques.

As mentioned a large amount of work has been done on identifying and ordering third century imperial women's hairstyles.[194] To avoid unnecessary repetition of previous scholarship and as a necessary reference in table 4 I provide a summary of third century imperial women's main hairstyles as represented in numismatic portraits and organised according to hairstyle category. This framework permits me to now focus on the busts in the catalogue and discussion of their comparative date.

The orb-hairstyle

Wessel identifies the first category as 'Die Nestfrisur mit bedeckten Ohren (Helmfrisur)' (fig.34a).[195] This forms a large group with significant variance. I have consequently renamed this the orb-hairstyle, with one significant variant as the framing augmented-braids hairstyle (see table 4.4-7). The main distinction between the hairstyles within these two categories is how far the hair falls before being gathered up at the back of the head into a bun. In the 'orb-hairstyle', as the name indicates, the hair is parted in the middle and frames the face, covering the ears, before being drawn and plaited into a bun at the back of the head. In the 'framing, augmented-braids hairstyle' the hair is divided into large framing sections of hair which fall right down to the shoulders and which are bordered by augmented-braids before being gathered into a plaited bun at the back of the head. Within these two groups regularity and definition of crimped waves of hair around the face and the size and type of the bun vary.

[194] See here ch. 1: 10-14.
[195] Wessel 1946-47, 62, table I.

Fifteen busts depict women wearing the orb-hairstyle, five busts depict women wearing the framing augmented-braids variation. Of this number a significant minority of six are busts of Julia Domna (three orb-hairstyle (nos.1-2 & 4); two orb with augmented, braids hairstyle (nos.5-6); one has a modern hairpiece so may have worn either style (nos.3). This reflects the fact that these two categories correspond to the two most dominant hairstyles of the Severan period and to Julia Domna's main portrait types: the 'Gabii' and 'Lepcis'. Dating of the Orb and framing augmented-braids hairstyles is consequently dependent on the externally datable portraits and coins of Julia Domna.

The numismatic evidence provides a useful chronological framework - the earliest of Julia Domna's portrait types dates between 194/195.[196] Fejfer's study of the epigraphic evidence supports this: the first dedications to Julia Domna date to 195 AD.[197] Julia Domna died in 217 AD, however, a posthumous DIVA IVLIA AVGVSTA type was minted in the reign of either Elagabalus or Severus Alexander.[198] Julia Domna's portraits thus span a wide period of time. This extensive dissemination of her portraits not only makes them easy to identify but also explains, at least in part, why we find so many private women wearing close variations of her hairstyle. This factor is very useful for dating.

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[196] Lusnia 1995, 120, 122: JD does not appear on imperial coins from the mint of Rome until 194, the year of SS' proclamation. JD poorly represented in material evidence of the early years of SS' reign. Despite attempts, it is very difficult to identify an early portrait type for her. Nodelman (1965, 116) identifies an early 'type 1'. He attributes to this type a **marble head of JD** from the Villa of Chiragan, in South West Gaul (Toulouse, Mus. Sant Raymond, inv. MSR-30132 excavated at Chiragan 1826-1830. Esperandieu II, 77, no.979, pl.43) and a **bronze-head** (New York collection Mr and Mrs John Dusenbery, D. Von Bothmer 1961, 43, no.162, pl.39.) I am not persuaded by his chronology.

[197] Fejfer 1985, 131.

[198] For example Oxford, Ashmolean Museum, Denarius. RIC 715. Ehrenheim 1999, 31, n.15, Fejfer, 1985, 208: posthumous portraits rare, only two inscriptions known referring to JD after her death.

The sheer quantity of evidence for Julia Domna has resulted in a large amount of scholarship interested in ordering and identifying her portrait types.[199] Hill's study of the Severan coinage, from the mint of Rome, leads him to identify five main types with several variations. These types are largely distinguished by small developments in hairstyle.[200] The number of portrait types identified for Julia Domna in the sculptural record varies considerably from scholar to scholar. Of importance here, however, are only the main, well-documented 'Gabii' and 'Lepcis' types, the hairstyles of which are worn by all of Domna's busts and the majority of contemporary private women's portraits.

Julia Domna's version of the orb-hairstyle, her 'Gabii' type, is usually defined by nine or ten waves or rolls of hair framing the face and gathered into a huge bun, which covers most of the back of the head, and is roughly divided into simply articulated, presumably loosely plaited sections of hair (nos.1-2 & 4). In Domna's variation of the framing augmented-braids hairstyle, her Lepcis type, the bun is usually smaller, lower on the head and formed of thinner, more carefully plaited braids of hair (nos.5-6). The sections of hair framing the face are also defined by softer, more natural waves. The Lepcis type is normally adorned with the detail of twisted or braided sections of hair framing the face.

[199] Kleiner 1992, 326; Fejfer 1985, 129-138.
[200] Hill 1964, 8, appendix 4, fig.1-9. Meischner proposes an alternative dating of hairstyles for JD and includes 4 more types (1b, 2, 3 and 5). Meischner also uses the evidence provided from provincial coinage, specifically that from Asia. Schlùter, (1971, 117, n.36-37) has criticised Meischner's additions and points out the problems of using provincial coinage which is more difficult to date and which can vary greatly from imperial coins. Ehrenheim 1999, n.12.

The Gabii and Lepcis types are found on the reliefs of the Tetrapylon Arch at Lepcis Magna (205-208), and indeed the latter take their name from this arch. Julia Domna appears in five scenes on the arch.[201] The numismatic evidence indicates that the Gabii type came first and was the main choice of portrait type for her early reign: 194-209 AD.[202] It is this earlier portrait type which is also found on the gate of Argentarii (AD204) in Rome. This allows us to deduce that the Gabii type must have been in use by AD204. According to the numismatic evidence it was probably in use as early as 194/195, and, depending on the date of the Lepcis Arch, was still in use between AD205-208.[203] The Lepcis Arch indicates that, at least for a short time, the later 'Lepcis' type was in use contemporarily to the 'Gabii' type.[204]

Domna's 'Lepcis' type has been divided by some scholars into A and B categories, the main distinction being the number of waves of hair framing the face: the former is defined by ten on each side, the latter by eight. However, the differences between the 'Lepcis' A and B types are small and it is difficult to distinguish between the two on the coinage. This suggests to me that this was not a completely separate portrait type but rather a variation. Julia Domna's Lepcis hairstyles should consequently be broadly dated from the time of the Lepcis Arch (aprox. 205-8) and 217, the end of Caracalla's reign.

Three busts depict Julia Domna's 'Gabii' variation of the orb-hairstyle (nos.1-2 & 4) and may be dated accordingly. Two busts depict Domna with framing

[201] Ehrenheim 1999, 32.
[202] Ehrenheim 1999, 34; Hill 1964, 8, app. iv, fig.1.
[203] Date of the Lepcis Arch: Ehrenheim 1999, 32, n.17: 206-209, stress on the year 207.
[204] Fittschen 1978, 37.

augmented-braids, her 'Lepcis' type (nos.5-7). Bordering augmented-braids, expressed as twisted coils of hair, reach from the temples and are incorporated into the bun at the back of the head. The hair is gathered at the back of the head into a flat oblong shaped bun. All three buns would have been formed of a coiled plait. All three busts come from regional contexts and were probably produced in regional workshops. Nevertheless the hairstyle is precisely replicated and indicates that these busts are contemporary versions of Domna's Lepcis portrait type necessitating a date sometime between 206/7 and 217 AD (table 4.7).

The portraits of Domna allow us to not only accurately date her portraits but also evidence the popularity of the orb and framing augmented-braids hairstyle within broad chronological parameters. There were, however, many subtle variations on these types, as evidenced by the portraits of other imperial women in this period, which may encourage us to nuance our dating on a case-by-case basis.[205]

A variation of the orb-hairstyle is presented by two busts: one from Rome and the other probably from a workshop in Athens, which represent the same woman wearing a distinctive variation of Julia Domna's orb-hairstyle with a loosely twisted band of hair framing the face (nos.8-9). This woman's portrait with the same distinctive hairstyle is also replicated in a series of heads.[206] The number of replicas and the existence of busts from such different locations suggests that this is probably either a Severan imperial woman or someone from

[205] For example Plautilla, see discussion below: 82-83.
[206] see Fittschen & Zanker 1983, 96, no.140 replica list.

within the imperial circle. Comparison of this hairstyle with Domna's 'Gabii' hairstyle gives us a date of between 190-210 AD for this portrait. However, this example expresses how a woman might develop her own fashionable but distinct hairstyle.

In contrast, a bust in the Uffizi, although heavily reworked and restored, clearly represents a woman with a loosely waved variation of the orb-hairstyle with large segmented bun (no.13). Similarly, the bust of Crepereia Innula in Tunisia has an orb-hairstyle with loose natural framing waves and escaping strands of hair on the checks and on the forehead (no.16). In both these instances this hairstyle, in combination with the bust-format, style and texture of drapery indicates a Severan date.

The coins of Julia Maesa and Julia Soaemias minted in the reign of Elagabalus present loosely combed variations of the orb-hairstyle (table 4.6) and indicate that this style continued into the Late Severan period. In these instances the bun at the back of the head varies and often forms a smaller plaited and coiled bun. This 'retrospective' style suited the Late Severan women who wished to associate themselves as closely as possible with their dynastic link to Julia Domna. Some unidentified women's portraits present a similar variation on the orb-hairstyle. The bust from Syria (no.23) seems to present a similar hairstyle: parted in the middle, loosely gathered and un-pressed. The aged features in combination with this naturalistic hairstyle have led to the identification of this bust as Julia Maesa; it is more likely that this is of a private woman, however, the hairstyle, physiognomically accurate manner of representation and bust-format

indicate a contemporary date: c. 215-230 AD.[207] Similarly two busts from a private collection, now on display in Freiburg, depict the pair with a loosely waved variation of the orb-hairstyle with a bun formed of coiled braids, covering the entire back of the head. In this instance (nos.17-18). The bun recalls that on the coins of Julia Maesa's suggesting a contemporary Late Severan date.

The evidence provided by Julia Domna's portraits provides a useful indicator for the relative dating of other portraits wearing these styles. However, as demonstrated by a number of imperial and non-imperial women's portraits which are adorned with variations of these hair-styles, this style did not belong to Domna alone and dates may be nuanced depending on variation. These examples frustrate overly linear dating narratives and reflect the need for detailed examination and comparison, on a case-by-case basis, in order to date portraits accurately.

Cap-hairstyle

All the portraits of the Late Severan period wear Wessel's 'Nestfrisur mit ganz oder teilweise freien Ohren' (fig.34b; table 4.8-17). The term 'nest' does not correctly convey this style which, in contrast to the voluptuous orb-hairstyles which dominated the Severan periods, is defined by a tight and neatly modelled cap of hair, parted in the middle and tucked behind the ears, before being gathered into a neat coiled oblong bun at the back of the head. It is for this reason that I have renamed this the cap-hairstyle. As with the example discussed above this style was undoubtedly popularized by an imperial figure, in this

[207] For further discussion see here no.23.

instance Julia Mamaea, who wears the same variation of this style in all her portraits (table 4.14). Mamaea is the only imperial woman of her son, Severus Alexander's, reign whose portraits in the round can be identified with certainty.[208] In total we have nine portrait busts of Mamaea, who all wear this hairstyle (nos.28-36). Her particular variation is defined by crimped waves of hair framing the face, the hair is tucked behind the ears and is formed into a tidy roll at the nape of the neck before being plaited and coiled into a bun. The regularity of presentation makes discussion of different examples pointless. Even the miniature bronze portrait precisely replicates this style (no.33). For this reason a discussion of types and attempts to chronologically order Mamaea's portraits has largely been based on variances in her facial features and graduations of 'aged' features rather than hairstyle.[209]

Five of Mamaea's portraits, as I have argued above, closely replicate the portrait and bust-format and must consequently be variations of a single type (nos.28-32).[210] The miniature bronze bust also belongs to this group (no.33). The rest of Mamaea's portraits clearly represent her but reflect greater variation (nos.34-36). This group includes a cut down bust in the Museo Capitolino, with incomplete chiselled hair (no.36), a broken bust, which has the marks of *damnatio memoriae* scarring its face, in the Louvre (no.35) and a cut down bust

[208] Felletti Maj 1958, 105, pls. 6.7; Wiggers & Wegner 1971, 200- 218, pls. 58-62; Bergmann 1977, 29; Fittschen & Zanker 1983, 30-32, no.33.
[209] Wood 1986, 59-60: divides AS and JM's portraits into an earlier group, defined by 'oval forms and quiet mood' (JM: in BM (no.34) & AS: Louvre, Inv. MA.105) and later types which adopt more angular form (JM: in Museo Capitolino, Stanza degli Imperatori, inv. 457; Louvre, inv. MA.1053 & AS: Sala dei Busti, inv. 632). Wood 1986, 59-60: dates this change to the 230s, a result of the official artist's desire to strive for greater 'spiritual intensity'. Meischner 1964, 105 -117: attempts a more precise chronology, 4 types between AD222-227 alone. Kerauson 1996, identifies Louvre inv. MA.3552 as JM in a later type.
[210] Bergmann 1977, 30, no.90, pl.7.1; Wiggers & Wegner 1971, 217.

of Mamaea with diadem in the BM (no.34). Bergmann consequently identifies two types for Mamaea: the first group belongs to an earlier type, while there is a lack of plastic detail and development of lines around the corner of the eyes, brow and sides of mouth in the latter group – indicative of a later type.[211] The first group of portraits form a cohesive group and are clearly based on the same prototype.[212] The 'latter group' are not as unified and it is difficult to know if these portraits simply reflect the kind of variation which comes from being produced in different workshops or if they are based on later portrait types of Mamaea.[213] Furthermore, the stylistic changes noted are not dramatic enough to assert a separate type, nor is there any external evidence to support an attempt to order Mamaea's portraits chronologically; her coin portraits remain remarkably consistent. For this reason Mamaea's portraits must be broadly dated to her son's reign: 222-235 AD. It is possible that a few portraits of her pre-date this as she was a member of the Late Severan imperial house prior to Severus Alexander' reign. However, as her numismatic portraits only begin with Severus' reign, 222 AD forms a sensible *terminus post quem*. 235 AD is an absolute *terminus ante quem* as Mamaea along with her son experienced *damnatio memoriae* and posthumous portraits are consequently unlikely.

Julia Mamaea's distinctive hairstyle does not originate with her. Plautilla's coins present a similar style (table 4.8). Moreover, the wives of Elagabalus, Cornelia Paula, Aquilia Severa and Annia Faustina are all represented on their coin portraits wearing this style (table 4.11-13). However, of this group Julia Mamaea

[211] Bergmann 1977, 29-30.
[212] see ch.4: 102-105.
[213] Fittschen & Zanker 1983, no.33, 30-32: one type only for JM.

was the most influential in imperial iconography for the longest period of time. We should then expect a boom in portrait busts of women wearing this style dating to her period of dominance. This argument is sustained not only by subtle stylistic comparison in terms of fashions of modelling skin, face shape and the manner of etching hairs around the ears but by the fact that some of the women wearing this style also adopt the enveloping mantle bust-format which was certainly central to one of Mamaea's portrait types (nos.28-33).

In total twelve portraits of non-imperial women wear variations of the cap-hairstyle. Of these, ten follow type closely with only small variations on Mamaea's cap-hairstyle, the main distinction being between those which opt for crimped waves framing the face and those without (compare nos.26-27 & 37 with nos.38-41). Other than this we may note small variances in bun size and formulation. For example, a bust in Naples presents the same neat cap of hair parted in the middle with small crimped waves (no.37). However, the hair, once drawn behind the ears, falls right down to the shoulders and the coiled-bun, formed of twisted braids, covers the entire back of the head and neck. This larger bun option is also reflected in the separately carved cap-hairstyle of a recarved bust in the Museo Capitolino (no.40 (without); 37 (with)).

Two busts, however, represent a more opulent variation (nos.25-26) on the cap-hairstyle. In these instances the neat cap of hair with rigidly crimped waves and oblong bun is combined with large sections of escaping drilled curls around the parting and behind the ears. For comparison we may consider the coins of Elagabalus's wife Cornelia Paula which present a combination of neat cap-

hairstyle with small, framing curls of hair around the face (table 4.11). A head in Copenhagen illustrates this elaboration of the cap-hairstyle fashion in the round. In this instance the woman has the physiognomy of Elagabalus and must represent one of his relatives or more probably one of his wives (fig.35).[214] The two women's busts do not replicate the neat decorative forehead curls but probably reflect a contemporary fashion.

Although the cap-hairstyle was most popular in the Late Severan period, one portrait type of Etruscilla indicates an imperial return to this style. Etruscilla's variation of the cap-hairstyle differs in several subtle respects to that of Julia Mamaea: the coin portraits reveal the bun to be larger and sit slightly higher on the head (table 4.16). The one example of this portrait type in the round, the over life-size head with *stephane* in the BM, has been re-worked from an earlier portrait and the bun at the back of the head is a twisted knot, quite different to the hairstyle of Etruscilla on her coins (fig.36).[215] The bust fragment in Rome, although wearing a parting-braid (no.57), and the head in the BM both represent the same soft natural sections of hair framing the face rather than the crimped waves of Mamaea's variation.

All the unidentified busts with cap-hairstyle in my sample relate most closely to Mamaea's portraits or, as in the two cases just mentioned, earlier variations of the cap-hairstyle, indicating Late Severan dates. Nevertheless, the existence of

[214] Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek, inv. 825, H: 45, tip of nose restored. F. Poulsen 1951, no.755; V. Poulsen 1974, no.145; Wood 1986, 52-53 fig.16; Johansen 1995, vol. 3, 60-61, no.20. Compare this portrait to head of Elagabalus in Rome, Museo Capitolino, Stanza degli Imperatori, inv. 470, H: 32cm. Fittschen & Zanker 1994, 115-117, no.98, pl.120-121.
[215] H: 39 cm. inv. 1873,0820.734 Nose restored, may have been cut from an earlier portrait of a woman wearing a vail. Bergmann 1977, 43-44.

Etruscilla's retrospective style is important as once again it reveals the continuation of 'out-of-date' styles right into the mid-third century and probably beyond.

The Parting-braid

As mentioned above, the chronology for the post-Severan era presents significant challenges, largely due to a lack of externally dated portraits in this period. This deficit may in part be filled by information provided in the numismatic record. However, in the last quarter of the third century even our numismatic evidence is limited (see table 4). Ulpia Severina and Magnia Urbica both held the title of Augusta for two years and thus technically had the right to public images. Both are well represented in the numismatic evidence (table 4.22-23). Galeria Valeria held the title in 308, but due to the political situation, coins were only struck for her in the east (table 4.24 (mint of Siscia)). After this another hiatus exists until around 325 and the sole rule of Constantine.[216] The portraits of Helena, mother of Constantine, are the first identified sculpted portraits of an imperial woman in over seventy years.

During this difficult period the predominant hairstyle was Wessel's Scheitelzopf-Frisur or, as I have entitled it here, the 'parting-braid'. The position and style of this braid has consequently been used to provide a useful guide for dating women's portraits in this period. Twenty-two (31%) of third-century women's portrait busts are depicted wearing a variation of the parting-braid. In several

[216] Bergmann 1977, 180.

cases this was worn in conjunction with the orb- and cap- hairstyles of the Severan and Late Severan periods.

A multiplicity of different variations exist under the umbrella of parting-braid. To summarise the main variants: the height of the braid (i.e. crown, apex, forehead), the shape of the braid (i.e. oval, trapezoid, rectangle) and the technique through which it is formed (i.e. twisted, folded) (table 3). Inspection and discussion of these details may allow us to more precisely place and date portraits wearing this hairstyle.

The numismatic portraits present a general trend through the century for the braid to reach higher up the head before finally arriving at the forehead around mid-third century (Wessel fig.34c; table 4. 2-3 & 18-24).[217] However, even this trend knows significant exceptions. Most notably, the portraits of Tranquillina present a higher variation of the parting-braid, which reaches the apex of the head, than the portraits of Otacilia Severa, which are later in date but present a parting-braid only extending up to the crown (compare nos.49 with nos.51-2). It is consequently necessary to discuss the main variations of this type alongside, where possible, externally dated portrait types and numismatic evidence, in order to create a more precise chronology.

The early parting-braid

The earliest externally dated variation of the parting-braid is evidenced by some of the numismatic portrait types of Plautilla (table 4.1-2). Hill's types one and

[217] Bergmann 1977, 180-1.

two, which he dates to around 202 AD.[218] In these two variations Plautilla is depicted with the 'melonfrisur' or twisted-rows, in respective horizontal and vertical variations (table 4.1-2).[219] The actual parting-braid generally consists of a small basket shaped oval on the back of the head, defined by two rows of plaited hair (table 4.1). This variation may be compared to that worn by the recarved bust of a girl in the Museo Capitolino, which presents vertical twisted-rows of hair gathered into a small teardrop bun at the back of the head (no.25). This early variation may have had its origins in Antonine styles. The bust of an imperial woman, perhaps the sister of Lucius Verus, presents a rectangular shaped bun at the back of the head.[220] In this instance, however, the braid is formed of one thick, loose plait and it is not until the portraits of Plautilla that we find the first true parting-braids (table 4.2-3): the hair is plaited and probably stitched together into a large braided section before being pinned up the back of the head.[221]

In the sculptural record, one portrait bust of Plautilla can be identified with a reasonable degree of certainty (no.24). A number of attempts have been made to identify Plautilla's types as represented in the numismatic evidence and then identify her portraits in the sculptural record.[222] The problem lies in the fact that

[218] Hill 1964, 8, app. 4, figs. 17-21.
[219] Nodelman 1982, 112: dates Plautilla's melon-coiffure portraits types to start of her period, the use of the dative with this portrait type indicates that the coins are being minted as an honour for or on behalf of Plautilla.
[220] Rome, Capitolino, Sala delle Colombe 62, inv. 336, H. ancient head, chin-parting: 26.5cm, restored: nose, bust and foot. Sinter marks on face and hair. Fittschen & Zanker 1983, 26-27, no.26, pl. 36.
[221] For Roman hairdressing techniques and the use of stitching to construct styles see Stephens, 2008.
[222] most recently Nodelman 1982.

we lack convincing replicas.[223] Further, Plautilla's coins present such an extensive range of different hairstyles that it is difficult to identify portraits of her on this basis. This explains the large number of so-called 'Plautilla' portraits in museum collections.[224] Nevertheless, the bust comes from a public building in Ocriculum and was probably produced in a central Roman workshop like the bust of Julia Mamaea with which it was displayed.[225] This context means that the bust in question must depict an imperial woman. Moreover, the attribute of the *stephane,* not exclusively imperial regalia but certainly a popular choice for imperial portraits, and the large size of the bust (just over life-size) support this surmise. Both the youth of the portrait and the hairstyle indicate that this is probably Plautilla (table 4.2). Alternatively this may be Orbiana, who is very poorly represented in the material record but whose coin portraits depict her wearing a similar combination of twisted rows and parting-braid. Either way this is certainly an imperial woman of Severan or Late Severan date.

The post-Severan parting-braid

Between the end of the Late Severan period and the mid-third century the portrait types of two imperial women, Otacilia Severa and Sabinia Tranquillina, have been identified in the sculptural record – four and thirteen portraits respectively.[226] Of this number Tranquillina has one portrait bust from the Villa

[223] Nodelman proposes several (ibid.) but I do not find any of his proposals persuasive.
[224] for example: Naples, Museo Archaeologico Nazionale inv. 6189, Uffizi, Florence, inv. 1914 both identified by Sestieri (1940) as Plautilla and subsequently labelled so. Nodelman (1982) also identifies 6 prospective candidates, including the Ocriculum bust (no.24) despite a lack of replicas.
[225] See below, 104-107.
[226] TS replica list see Fittschen & Zanker 1983, 33-34 no.36, pl. 44. OS replica list see Fittschen & Zanker 1983, 34-35 no.37, pls. 45-46, three examples: the head in Rome, Musei Vaticani, Braccio Nuovo (inv. 2765, H: 26), the colossal head at Petworth and the bust in the Uffizi (no.51) not

at Chiragan (no.49) and Otacilia two busts, one from Rome (now in the Uffizi) and, a recent discovery, a bust found in a shipwreck off the coast of Corsica (nos.51-52).[227]

For some time the identification of Otacilia and Tranquillina's respective portrait types has suffered due to the frequent confusion of one with the other.[228] This misunderstanding has largely been the result of the similar hairstyle and portrait types in their numismatic record. They both wear their hair in pressed, horizontal waves which frame the face, in a similar style to that worn by Julia Mamaea, but in combination with a parting-braid. In recent scholarship, however, Fittschen has demonstrated how the height of the parting-braid may provide conclusive evidence as to the identification of the relevant portraits.[229] In the case of Otacilia's portraits, the braid only goes up to the crown of the head as opposed to Tranquillina's where it reaches the apex of the head (table 4.18-19). Further, In the case of Tranquillina the crimped waves which frame the face sit fairly flat on the head while Otacilia's hair forms much deeper wedges.

Otacilia Severa's trapezoid variation of the parting-braid with thick wedges of hair falling below the ears is replicated in three private women's portrait busts (nos.53, 55-6). A bust in Farnborough Hall presents a woman with the same variation of the parting-braid and voluptuous crimped waves of hair framing the

included in this list is the recent discovery of the bust, probably of OS, discovered in a shipwreck off the coast of Corsica (no.52).
[227] see here no.52.
[228] Bergmann 1977, 39-41: Bernoulli first to re-identify 6 portraits originally believed to be OS as TS. V.Poulsen, Bergmann and Wegner agree with his identification; F. Poulsen and Felletti-Maj, however, insist upon OS identifications.
[229] Fittschen & Zanker 1983, no.37, pl.45-46, 34-35.

face and behind the ears (no.55). More so, this portrait presents her with a corpulent, rectangular shaped face with wrinkled brow. In this instance then the woman is clearly imitating fashions dictated by the portraits of Otacilia, allowing us to date the bust accurately between 244-249 AD. Similarly, the bust in Munich presents a less corpulent, more smoothly modelled variation but still closely indebted portrait (no.53). Both Otacilia's busts depict her wearing a mantle enveloping format, similar to that worn by Mamaea. In these two private women's portraits variations on the enveloping mantle bust-format are also selected. These examples reveal how closely private women's portraits might model themselves on imperially led fashions, not only in coiffure but in terms of physiognomy, style and bust-format.

In contrast a bust in New York presents a very different arm-sling bust-format and portrait of a young woman with oval, largely unlined face (no.56). In this instance, only the hair, which is styled in a fashion similar to Otacilia Severa's, allows us to date this bust. This reflects the fact that the patron need not follow every aspect of an imperial style but could draw upon a whole variety of fashions of representation, which could be selected and manipulated to suit their desires.

The next imperial woman to be identified in the material record is Herennia Etruscilla. Two portraits have been identified for her: one is an over life-size head in the BM (discussed above), the other a head, probably broken from a bust from Rome (no.57). In the former instance she is depicted wearing her variation of the cap-hairstyle (with recarved twisted bun). However, in the bust fragment she wears a parting-braid style – both hairstyles are depicted in Etruscilla's

numismatic portraits. Bergmann has identified both these portraits as Etruscilla through comparison with numismatic evidence.[230] A lack of replicas means that we cannot be completely certain that these portraits depict Etruscilla and not women of a similar period. However, both portraits are adorned with *stephanes*, not a guarantee of imperial status but a frequent attribute of imperial women and the head in the BM is over life-size (fig.36).

Even if the bust in Rome is not that of Etruscilla the variation of the parting-braid hairstyle matches that depicted on her coins, suggesting a similar date some time in the second quarter of the third century. In Etruscilla's variation the braid reaches just above the crown of the head. The braid forms a neat, plaited rectangle, which sits close to the head, in a style similar to that of Tranquillina. The main distinguishing factor in this bust is that the hair around the face is simply combed and left un-crimped – a variation reflected in some of Etruscilla's coin portrait types.

The late parting-braid

In the mid to late third century precise dating becomes even more difficult. The coinage in this period reflects a general trend: the parting-braid gradually develops from a flat collection of braids, probably stitched together, and is gradually shaped into the fat-coil of Salonina. By the Tetrarchic era this braid has transformed into a voluminous section, which can be rolled under, as in the case of Magnia Urbica (table 4). However, this development is not straightforwardly linear with numismatic portraits often presenting a number of different parting-

[230] Bergmann 1977, 43-44, pl.8.3-4.

braid hairstyles for one imperial woman, further evidence from private portraits indicates a large variety of options. Of aid to our chronology, the inscriptions of two busts, those of Aurelia Euposia and Aurelia Monnina, provide externally datable evidence. These busts may consequently guide our dating of the other portraits in this period.

The first portrait in our sequence is the *'forma deorum'* bust in the Hermitage (no.62). This portrait is without external evidence but may be dated stylistically to the mid third century and more specifically the Gallienic era.[231] Bergmann observes the lustrously textured hair, which forms soft, if regular, waves, consequently leading her to compare it to the fuller, more richly depicted hair of the male portraits in this period.[232] It is difficult to sustain a date on the basis of this stylistic comparison alone. Dating is consequently dependent on the variation of the parting-braid: the hair is gathered at the nape of the neck into a twisted coil which is drawn up the parting, just short of the forehead, before being twisted back on itself and secured at the nape of the neck. The effect is a long, thin parting-braid of the type we commonly find on the coins of Salonina, thus explaining previous attempts to identify this as her. A heavily damaged head from the villa of Chiragan presents a very similar hairstyle.[233] Although there is not enough evidence to support an identification, the bust can be accordingly dated, as Bergmann proposes, to the mid-third century, probably between 250-270.

[231] Bergmann 1977 93-96.
[232] Bergmann 1977, 94: compares it to a portrait with an Early Gallienic man's head in Oslo, Nat. Gallery , inv. Sk. 1406, H: 25 cm (pl. 15, 2).
[233] Bergmann 1999, 29-30, n. 148, figs. 7-10 Espérandieu vol. 2, 87, no.994.

The problems inherent in dating purely on the basis of style are expressed by consideration of the next two busts, that of Aurelia Monnina and a bust in the Museo Capitolino.In the case of Aurelia Monnina external information provides a broad *terminus post quem*: the inscription identifies her father as a freedman of Severus Alexander. The hairstyle and style of the portrait, however, make a Late Severan date for the portrait unlikely. This bust presents a looped apex, plaited parting-braid and the hair is severely drawn back from the forehead. The height of the braid and the manner in which it is looped round on the top of the head recall a hairstyle worn by Severina on some of her numismatic portraits (table.4). As Aurelia was 18 at her death it is improbable that the portrait is so late in date. Instead, as Bergmann and Alexandridis suggest, a good stylistic fit for the portrait is the mid third century.[234] This would allow for Aurelia's father to have been an imperial freedman of Severus Alexander, probably around the birth of Monnina, and some years later to have dedicated this funerary bust to his then deceased daughter. Ulpia Severina's later hairstyle, as must have often been the case, was drawing upon established fashions in private women's hairstyles.

The bust in the Museo Capitolino wears a similar height parting-braid and stylistically compares to the bust of Aurelia Monnina (no.65). In both instances the portraits have cubic dimensions, a feature common to many mid to late third-century portraits (in the case of Aurelia Monnina this may partly reflect the limitations of recarving the portrait from an earlier bust). The hair of both portraits is severely etched, creating wiry un-naturalistic waves. This is

[234] Bergmann 1977, 96-97, n. 397; Alexandridis http://arachne.uni-koeln.de entry 2275.

extenuated in the Museo Capitolino bust by the pressed waves of hair framing the face.

The height of the parting-braids and certain elements of hairstyle, for example the clusters of drilled curls behind the ears of the Museo Capitolino bust are in common with those of a bust in the Hermitage (no.62).[235] Stylistically, however, the Hermitage bust appears far more naturalistic. Bergmann associates this variance with later trends in portraiture and more specifically draws comparison with Salonina's later coin types.[236] This may support a slightly later date for the bust in the Museo Capitolino, perhaps towards the end of the Gallienic period. However, logically that of Aurelia cannot date too much later due to her father's identification as an imperial freedman of Severus Alexander – unless we are to suppose that he lived well into old age. The differences between the portraits may also be explained as a result of differences in sculptor and quality. Either way these three examples indicate the variety of hairstyles and stylistic nuances possible at any one time and the challenges this presents to relative dating.

The bust of Aurelia Euposia, which comes from Melos and has an identifying inscription, provides our latest externally datable bust (C. 280s). Aurelia Euposia, who is named in the inscription, is also mentioned alongside her husband in another inscription, which may be dated to 284 (no.69). A conservative estimate then would suggest a date for Aurelia's bust any time 20 years on either side of this date, between 260-300 AD. Interestingly, despite this late date, Aurelia's

[235] The pieced clusters of curls behind the ears of the Hermitage bust are not seen in my picture although recorded in earlier images (Bergmann 1977, pl.28.1-2) and must have been removed/lost in recent years.
[236] Bergmann 1977, 95.

features do not follow certain stylistic trends associated with mid to late third-century portraiture. Most notably, the face is not square and neither are the features overly geometric. This may partly reflect the fact that the bust seems to have been recarved from an earlier, probably Antonine, woman's portrait as indicated by the roughed-out bun at the back of the head. In terms of hairstyle, Aurelia wears her hair in a parting-braid. However, interestingly, in this variation the braid forms a broad, flat section which encompasses most of the back of the head before tapering towards a narrower point which finishes just short of the forehead. In this instance then we see an alternative style to the high, twisted formulations of the previous busts.

The final selection of busts, which may be discussed and dated primarily according to hairstyle, are the Cleveland portrait busts (nos.66-68). In this instance we see the late third-century variation of the parting-braid: the hair is plaited to form a large section, like that of Aurelia Euposia, however, this section reaches the forehead and is then turned in under on itself, creating a roll just in front of or over the forehead. In the Cleveland examples the braid at the back of the head is particularly broad and forms a thinner rectangle higher up on the head creating a trapezoid shape. Magnia Urbica wears a similar style in her coin portraits supporting a late third-century date (table 4.23; fig.96). In the instance of the Cleveland busts this is also supported by the decorative, banded mantle costume of one of the busts.[237]

[237] For further discussion see below: 191-192.

Beyond hairstyles: other dating criteria

Hairstyles are informative when dating women's portrait busts. However, in four instances I have included busts in my sample which no longer have their original heads, making this method of dating impossible (nos.38, 54, 71-72). These examples then are mainly dated on bust-format and costume fashions. As in the case of the Cleveland bust just mentioned, two of these examples must sit right at the end of our period as they are draped in the banded-mantle costume. As I have discussed previously, these decorative banded sections on women's garments may be found in portraits of the private realm, such as gold glass, from the Severan era, but they only appear on imperial women's numismatic portraits in the Tetrarchic to Constantine era and thus also indicate a probable late third to fourth-century date (nos.68, 71-72). Further, in one instance, the bust in Bucharest, we find the combination of this costume with a large beaded necklace worn around the throat – a fashion we know to have come in around the end of the third century (no.71).[238] This evidence suggests a late third to fourth-century date for this bust. The large half-figure bust with knotted mantle bust-format in the Musei Vaticani is of a bust-format and size which suggest a late second to first half of the third-century date. In these instances then bust-format and details of costume allow us to date portrait busts within this period. This, however, is not a precise art and many busts without belonging heads present bust-formats, which could easily be dated to the second or third century.[239]

[238] See below: 192.
[239] Many of these busts have been excluded, for discussion of omitted busts see appendix 1.

The above discussion, I hope, exemplifies how hairstyles alongside factors such as bust-format, costume and even fashions in face-shape and manner of representation can be used to relatively date women's portrait busts in this period. This explanation is designed to provide a general overview of my dating methodology. The catalogue provides further discussion and explanation for dating on a case-by-case basis.

CHRONOLOGICAL DISTRIBUTION

As a result of this dating methodology it is possible to plot busts by period. This is vital to later discussions of developments in women's portrait busts in the third century (table 5 & graph 4). The graph presented here provides an overview of these results, divided by broad periods as is logical when using material which has been stylistically dated. This gives a slightly distorted perspective, as these periods are not equal in span. In particular at forty-nine years the mid-third-century 'soldier emperors' period is almost twice the size of the other periods. To adjust for this discrepancy, I provide an alternative graph here, which presents average busts by year (graph. 5). The size of this sample is too small to sustain serious data analysis. However, this graph provides a useful illustration of patterns of women's bust dedications in this period. The obvious point is that there was a gradual decline in numbers of busts being dedicated after the Severan and Late Severan period, matching wider third-century trends.[240] Despite this decline, busts still continued to be produced in reasonable

[240] Özgan 2014118-119, fig.5: production of sarcophagi in Aphrodisias: a boom in the early third-century (193-220 AD) and then a gradual decline, with a dramatic drop between 250-300 AD. Borg 2013, 3: dramatic decline in number of inscriptions after the Severan era. Smith 1985, also

numbers throughout the period and into the early fourth century, after which point we see a further decline.[241]

In the next chapter I will consider the actual process behind producing the bust and consider how workshop structures and aspects of production may have influenced patron choice and facilitated dissemination of fashionable types.

provides graph demonstrating the eventual end of imperial portrait statues 364-610 AD (218, fig.1). Coates-Stephens 2007: end of the statue habit in Rome.

[241] Only know of 7 female busts of mid 4th to 5th c. date: **1.** Marble, 380-430 AD, The Met., inv. 66.25, H: 53 cm., from Constantinople (?). LSA-8 (J. Lenaghan), Weitzmann 1977 292-5, no.272. **2.** Marble, 400-425 AD, Thessaloniki, Archaeological Museum, inv. 1060. H: 76 cm. From modern village of Naoussa (Macedonia). LSA-91 (U. Gehn), Rüsch 1969, 59-196, 130-1, fig.44-5. **3.** Marble, inscribed Isbardia, 375-450 AD. Athens, Byzantine & Christian Museum, inv. 19. H: 72. From Asia Minor. LSA-427 (J. Lenaghan) Schade 2003, 194-6, pl. 46, 1-4; 47-1 (late 4th c.). **4.** Marble, 400-450 AD, Bodrum Archaeological Museum, inv. 3.4.78. H: 67. From Stratonicea, found in a rubble layer, at the city gate. LSA-446 (J. Lenaghan), Özgan 1999, 135-6, no.K 51, pl. 47a-d. **5.** Marble, 2nd c. bust reworked c.310-330 AD. Ostia, Museo Ostiense, inv. 40. H: 44. Found in Rome behind temple of Hercules in 1938. LSA-1557 (J. Lenaghan), Calza 1977 26-7, no.29, pls. 21-2. **6.** Marble, 300-350 AD, Rome, Palazzo Santa Croce, Courtyard. LSA-1297 (J. Lenaghan),, Bergmann 1985, 52-4, figs. 13-15. **7.** Phrygian Marble, 360-400 AD, Rome, Musei Capitolini, Palazzo dei Conservatori, H:66. Formerly in the Villa Albani. LSA-592 (J. Lenaghan), Fittschen & Zanker 1983, 118-19, no.180, pls. 209-10.

CHAPTER FOUR. MAKING THE ROMAN PORTRAIT BUST

WORKSHOPS AND WORKSHOP ORGANISATION

In this section I will discuss the identity and status of the sculptors who made portrait busts, the structure, division of labour and mechanisms of the workshops in which these were produced and the role of the patron in this process. No third-century women's busts have makers' marks. Furthermore, in the vast majority of cases these are complete works which tell little of the formative stages of their creation. However, in recent years much good work has been done on production of Roman sculptures, most notably Russell's extensive work on this topic.[242] The validity of this work enables me to focus closely on evidence for portrait bust production and, where possible, to draw upon evidence provided by the third-century busts in my sample, which forms an interesting case study within this wider debate.

The absence of the maker's marks on third-century women's portrait busts is not atypical. Only a small minority of Roman sculptures have maker's marks and in the majority of cases it is the workshop/workshop owner/chief craftsman whose name is recorded, rather than that of an individual sculptor.[243] This fact in itself is revealing as to the status of the sculptor. These were not artists in the Renaissance sense of the word and a sculpture was generally not bought for the

[242] Russell 2013a.
[243] Russell 2013a, 312, 332-333; catalogue of *officinae*: Limentani 1958, 159-66; 1961b, 873-5.

artist's name.[244] Rather, it was bought on the quality of the workshop, which was occasionally reflected in a maker's mark. The fact that the workshop seems to have taken precedence over the individual artist implies neither that sculptors held a lowly status nor that all sculptors within a workshop formed a uniform group with equal standing. Instead, most of the evidence indicates a hierarchy of different roles at the top of which were the skilled master craftsmen of the best workshops in Rome and other sculptural hubs, such as Aphrodisias and Alexandria.

Two reliefs, one from Aphrodisias and one from Ephesos, provide evidence for portrait bust production (figs.37-38). Smith notes how on the Ephesos example, which is a frieze originally from a sarcophagus, we see a range of workshop activities (fig.38). The various costumes of the workmen allow us to understand something of the workshop hierarchy.[245] For instance, we may contrast the loincloth of the lower status worker, perhaps even a slave, polishing a lion-headed table-leg with the knee-length tunics of the master-sculptors working on a *himation* statue and a bust.[246] The Aphrodisias relief confirms the higher status of the bust carver who is similarly depicted in a knee-length tunic (fig.37).[247] It is likely that the Aphrodisias fragment came from the sarcophagus of a sculptor.

[244] Wood 1981, 59-68: identifies, on the basis of stylistic analysis, a 'Gordian Master' and 'Philip Master'– an anachronistic understanding of the role and status of the sculptor in the Roman era.
[245] Sarcophagus frieze from Ephesos, Istanbul, Arch. Mus. Smith 2011, 66-67 fig.4.7; Fejfer 2008, 308, fig.226.
[246] Smith 2011, 67, fig.4.7. See also example in Smith 2011, 66-67 fig.4.6: sarcophagus of workshop owner M. Aurelius Aquilinus which presents metal working scene with workers identified as slaves by their costume of loincloths while on either side the workshop owner and his wife stand respectably draped in *himation* and *chiton* and *mantle* thus asserting the social difference of the depicted.
[247] Excavation Inv. 62-2, H. 55, W. 55, D. 11.5 cm, found along boundary wall of field north of the Temple of Aphrodite. Smith & Lenaghan 2008, 300-301, no.36: ' The sculptor wears the short tunic of an artisan, not the loin cloth of a slave. He is a master craftsman putting the finishing touches to a portrait bust, the highest level of sculpture commission.'

The decision to advertise his occupation as a sculptor on his sarcophagus reflects the status associated with this position. Moreover, by presenting him not only as a sculptor but also as the kind of expert sculptor who worked on busts the commemorator asserts his status as at the apex of his craft.

These examples indicate a degree of specialisation, at least within larger workshops, and a hierarchy at the top of which were portrait and bust carvers. This is not surprising if we consider the quality of the better busts in my sample, such as the bust in the Hermitage or the Bloomington busts (no.2 & 62). Busts would have generally been displayed at eye level and consequently were subject to much closer scrutiny than full figure statues. Good quality busts present some of the finest examples of portrait carving and must have demanded the best sculptors' attention. In particular the head of the bust required the most specialised and expert sculptors. This is supported by the fact that on the relief from Ephesos the head remains roughed out while the sculptor first completes the bust (fig.38). The more specialised task is left till last. In certain cases we may hypothesize a more skilled craftsman, specialising in portrait sculpting, stepping in at this stage. That even within the finishing stages of one bust a variety of hands may be recognised is confirmed by Pfanner and Boschung's analysis of the two third-century portrait busts of the same private man in Munich (fig.39).[248] The provenance of these busts is not known, but it is thought that they were discovered together. This is supported by the fact that the busts represent the same portrait type. However the bust, which depicts the man in a *toga*, reveals a

[248] Munich Glyptothek, Invs. 382 (*paludamentum* bust) & 383(*toga-contabulatio* bust): Boschung & Pfanner 1988, 20-28, fig.12-15.

much greater use of the drill both in the hair and the drapery, creating a more three-dimensional effect. The other bust depicts the same man but this time wearing a *paludamentum*. The fringes of the *paludamentum* reveal drill work but the head of the bust is much flatter and the sculptor of this piece was clearly more comfortable with the chisel. Boschung and Pfanner consequently identify not only different sculptors for the two busts, based on the stylistic difference represented in the two heads, but suggest that the *paludamentum* bust's head was carved by a separate sculptor.[249]

Pfanner and Boschung, using this and other examples, go on to create a persuasive argument for the existence of complex and diverse organisational systems and specialisation in the large workshops of Rome. They even suggest that workshops might share sculptors, thus explaining the difficulty of identifying 'workshop styles' in metropolitan works. Boschung and Pfanner direct us to the often cited example of the Merida statue series: these statues all share the same workshop signature but reveal such a variety of different drapery types that without the workshop mark it is unlikely they would have been identified as products of the same workshop.[250]

This suggests that identification of workshops on the basis of style may prove an elusive and even impossible task. Even in cases where find spot, date and technical execution all indicate a common workshop, huge stylistic variation may be noted. Cases in point are the three busts of Lucius Verus, Marcus Aurelius and

[249] Boschung & Pfanner 1988, 20-28, fig.12-5.
[250] Boschung & Pfanner 1988, 25 fig.16.

Herodes Atticus (figs.40-42).[251] Discovered together at a tomb (probably that of Herodes Atticus) at Probalinthos, near Marathon. These busts belonged to the same context and were probably made in the same workshop.[252] Albertson's analysis of the portraits led him to argue that all three busts were produced by the 'same hand' on the basis of 'similarities in technical execution' - similar criteria to those laid out by Pfanner and Boschung when discussing the Munich pair above.[253] Stylistically, however, Albertson observes that the bust of Herodes Atticus is very different to the imperial pair.[254] These examples frustrate the idea of both an identifiable workshop's and artist's style. Instead, style was necessarily subject to fashion and the demands of the patron.[255]

If the identification of a workshop style is too elusive and subjective a project, a more technical approach may produce greater results. In relation to portrait busts another method of identifying workshops presents itself. By looking at the backs of a large selection of busts Fittschen was able to create a sample of twenty-two busts, including the three busts from Marathon just mentioned, which he believes stem from the same Greek workshop. These busts all share a so-called 'palm-leaf spine', quite distinct from the typical 'Roman' bust spine which tapers out gradually (see no.9). The examples from within this group date from the Antonine to early Severan period, with the exception of one possible

[251] **LV:** Oxford, Ashmolean inv. 1947.277. **Herodes Atticus**: Louvre, inv. MA 1164 **MA:** Louvre, inv. MA 1161.
[252] Albertson 1983; Fittschen 2001, 71-73.
[253] Albertson 1983, 159.
[254] Albertson 1983, 153-163; Fittschen 2001, 71-77; Fejfer 2008, 309-312.
[255] Russell 2013a, 311; Smith 2002, 71.

Gallienic bust.[256] Fittschen divides this sample into four groups (a-d) based on their variation of this bust spine style. The first three groups, Fittschen argues, are close enough to suggest a common workshop. The final group (d) is closer to Roman variants of the bust spine and is consequently attributed to a separate but probably Greek workshop. One third-century woman's bust is included in this group. That is the bust in the BM (no.9).

This particular bust is a complicated example as there is little evidence for its provenance. Other than the distinctive bust spine form there is no reason to assume that it has a Greek provenance. A bust in the Museo Capitolino presents the same woman but with a different bust-format, defined by a more traditional, rectangular spine. This bust almost certainly has a Roman provenance (no.8). It is, of course, possible that the woman depicted was notable enough to have portraits of her displayed in both Rome and Greece. The closeness of the hairstyle in both portraits to that of Julia Domna's Gabii type makes it possible that this was a woman from within the imperial circle. Alternatively, the unusual spine type may be the result of a Greek sculptor working in Rome. This example and the range of explanations possible reveal that even in cases where a characteristic workshop bust back has been identified it still cannot be assumed, without evidence of context, that this bust came from that workshop.

It is therefore of interest to consider what the backs of the rest of third-century women's busts can tell us. Examining the backs of portrait busts is sometimes

[256]Bust of a man, Athens, Agora Museum, Inv. 2062. Fittschen 2001, 73, no.6 pl. 12.4: the bust-format may date the bust to the Antonine-Severan era, the later portrait the result of a mid 3rdc. recarving.

impossible. Eight third-century women's portrait busts are displayed/stored in such a way as to make clear images of their backs unavailable, a further six busts have been cut or broken in such a way as to make the exact shape of the bust spine unknowable (nos.14, 35, 57, 58). Of the fifty-eight busts where the back can be examined all but one present variations on the typical rectangular 'Roman' spine. The exception is the BM bust with Fittschen's 'palm-leaf spine'. The degree to which the spine tapers out at the bottom and top varies, as does the depth of the bust lip and the care with which the back of the bust is worked. Despite these slight variations it is not possible to identify within this group a cluster of distinct bust backs of the type identified by Fittschen. This is not surprising, given the size of the sample. This is too small a group from too disparate a provenance to assume common workshops.

It is therefore more useful, when dealing with third-century women's busts, to isolate those few examples where we know a pair or group of busts belonged to the same commission. The most obvious case study is the Cleveland busts which belong to the same commission and which indubitably came from the same workshop (nos.66-68) (figs. 101-102). These busts consist of three pairs of portraits of the same couple, all worked to the same dimensions. The busts are not replicas of one another. In each example the drapery varies slightly and similar-looking features, such as the hairstyle, are not identically expressed. The same can be said of the back of the busts: all of the busts share the same long slender spine, which widens slightly at either end. The *tabula* and foot are carved from the same block of marble, as is the bust – a feature characteristic of ancient

free-standing portrait busts.[257] In all six examples the back of the bust has been neatly finished with the tooth-chisel but not completely smoothed down, so marks of this tool are still evident. The size and depth of the bust lip vary, especially at the point where the spine meets. In one case the bust lip at the top barely protrudes (no.67). This difference is probably the result of a shortage of marble at the back of the bust, resulting in an adapted finish.

There are other third-century busts which belong to groups or pairs: the Bloomington busts of Septimius Severus and Julia Domna (no.2 & figs. 103-104), the shipwrecked busts of a mid-third century couple (probably Otacilia Severa and Philip I) (no.52) and the Severan female relatives now in Freiburg (nos.17-18). They present, within their groups, similarly executed bust backs and in particular the spine shapes are comparable. These case studies indicate that, within a workshop, a reasonably uniform and consistent method of carving bust backs may be identified.

However, the caveat that these busts were produced as part of joint commissions, designed to be displayed together and thus may have been subject to greater standardization is important. Although likely, it cannot be proven that separate bust commissions from the same workshops would present similar bust backs. Moreover, heavy levels of recarving and material limitations, such as the size of the marble block, would result in adaptation and variations in bust back finish. Nevertheless, the evidence, provided by both these case studies and Fittschen's study, indicates that workshops probably had a default method of

[257] Müller-Kaspar 1994, 132-133.

carving bust backs, which is an important contributory factor when attempting to group busts on the basis of production.

A final remarkable case study remains which provides strong evidence for identification of a shared workshop. Five over life-size, marble busts of Julia Mamaea present the same portrait features, hairstyle and enveloping mantle bust-format indicative of a shared portrait type. Within this group the Holkham, Vienna and Sansouci busts and the BM and Musei Vaticani busts present respective groups (nos.30-32; nos.28-29). Within both sets technical execution and iconography are almost identical. Understandably, the close relationship between these busts, within their respective groups, has brought the authenticity of all these busts into question. However, there are no signs of modern copying techniques and examination of all five busts independently supports their respective antiquity. Instead, we must seek another explanation.

In the case of the Holkham and Vienna busts, even the backs of the busts are remarkably similar with the same spine and bust shape (no.30-32). On both busts' backs it is possible to observe the marks of the tooth-chisel indicating that they were finished in the same way and to a similar standard. The only difference between the two is that the bust-lip of the Holkham example projects further and overlaps the top of the spine. Further, the finish of the hair at the back of the head is analogous, with identical waves of hair and a bun defined by the same number of coils and chiselled plait detail. The close relationship between these

two busts led Poulsen to identify the Holkham bust as a forgery.[258] Müller-Kasper's investigation went someway to disproving these allegations, noting that the bust was originally carved from the same piece of marble as its ancient *tabula.* As a rule this validates the antiquity of the bust.[259] Further sinter marks on the back of the bust are suggestive of its authenticity, although the stains on the face of the Holkham bust are the result of modern (probably eighteenth-century) surface treatments.

Other busts in the Holkham collection reflect similar harsh cleaning and surface treatments and these do not necessarily bring into question the antiquity of the works, as we have evidence of eighteenth-century restorers treating antiquities in order to make them appear appropriately 'ancient', in line with contemporary aesthetic ideals.[260] In the case of the Vienna bust the head has a break around the neck and has been reattached with stucco. The break is uneven and no circular plug of marble has been inserted.[261] The angle of the head is correct and the marble matches the bust well. This evidence all supports the head belonging. Further the easily observed eighteenth-century restorations on the Holkham bust, in particular the fold of drapery drawn over the right shoulder, present the main distinguishing elements between this and the Vienna bust. This suggests that the eighteenth-century restorers was neither closely aware of the Vienna bust nor modelling their work upon it. Both busts have Roman provenance,

[258] 1923, 13.
[259] 1994, 132-133. figs. 63-64.
[260] Restorers could recreate sinter marks with the use of chemicals, however, these looked quite different and this was not common in the 18th c. For examples of the effects created by modern surface treatments see the face of the Holkham JM (no.30).
[261] An overly regular break or inserted join of marble by the restorer can indicate that the head does not belong (Müller-Kaspar 1994, esp. 117).

although exact find spots are unknown. It is probable that they were produced in the same Roman workshop. This would explain not only their close relationship but also their adherence to a centrally defined portrait bust type of Julia Mamaea.

The second pair, the Musei Vaticani bust and that in the BM, differ subtly from the Holkham-Vienna- Sansouci group. The drapery is differently formulated. A central fold of mantle is drawn across the chest before being gathered over the left shoulder. This is in contrast to the Holkham-Vienna busts, where a large pleat of mantle falls in the opposite direction, over the front of the left shoulder. Further, the folds of drapery on the Holkham-Vienna busts are deeper and simpler in composition. These subtle differences between the two pairs act to underline the close relationship within pairs. The BM and Musei Vaticani busts are both in an excellent state of preservation and have only limited restoration: to the noses, various small patches of drapery and new *tabulae* and feet. As in the case of the Holkham-Vienna pair the restoration is not uniform. The example in the Musei Vaticani has a very solid find context. It was discovered in the excavations at Ocriculum (modern Otricoli). The bust in the BM has a Roman/Italian origin, although little more of its provenance is known. It is therefore theoretically possible that again the two busts originate from the same, probably Roman, workshop. A stronger argument may be made on the basis of close analysis of both objects: drapery folds are identical, both measure 64cm high (excluding *tabula* and bust-foot, which are modern additions) and even reveal their close relationship to each other in such small details as the etching of the eyebrows and strands of escaping hair on the cheeks.

The Julia Mamaea busts prove that high-quality workshops could produce near exact duplicates. Beyond third-century women's busts comparisons may be drawn with other imperial figures with frequently replicated bust-format portrait types. Lucius Verus' bust portraits offer a strong comparison.[262] Fittschen provides a list of ten busts, which closely replicate the over life-size *paludamentum* bust portrait of Lucius Verus in the Museo Capitolino collection (figs.43-44).[263] Comparison between examples reveals variances in drapery formulation to be minimal. Again, the detailed relationship between these busts is further illuminated by comparison with a *paludamentum* bust of Lucius Verus in Copenhagen which, although probably based on the same portrait type, differs in terms of exact drapery formulation and very minor nuances in portrait such as a shorter beard defined by more regular drilled holes.[264] These observations are cursory, based on examination of published images. A more thorough investigation of the actual busts would probably further reveal degrees of relationships between the eleven busts in Fittschen's list. However, it is possible from this corpus to suggest that a central workshop or network of workshops in Rome were producing precise replicas of Lucius Verus's bust portrait type. This surmise is supported by the imperial portraits which were discovered at Acquatraversa, including four cuirass and *paludamentum* busts of Lucius Verus.[265] The Louvre bust, MA 1101, included in Fittschen's list, was one of these. Fejfer notes many comparisons in terms of execution between this and another

[262] Albertson 1981.
[263] **Museo Capitolino**, stanza degli Imperatori 31 inv. 452, H: 75.5cm. Fittschen & Zanker, 1994, 81 no.72 n.13. **Louvre**, inv. MA 1101. H: 83 cm. From Rome, Borghese collection 1808. Kersauson 1996 262-263, no.117 with images.
[264] Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek, inv. 1721, H: 84 cm. Johansen 1994, 216-217 no.89. Also contrast with *paludamentum* bust in Ashmolean (fig.40).
[265] Mastrodonato 1999-2000. See Fejfer 2008, 422-425 for discussion and implications for our understanding of 'imperial' workshops.

bust of Lucius Verus (MA 1131) also from this context.[266] As well as close replication of locks around the forehead, the drapery and bust size are comparable. On this basis Fejfer suggests a common workshop, if not a shared sculptor.[267] Interestingly though, Fejfer notes, that a third Lucius Verus bust (MA 1094), despite clearly being based on the same portrait type diverges in terms of size and details such as the execution of the coiffure. This case study further confirms the ability of workshops to produce standardised busts but also indicates a probable diversity of workshops, in the metropolitan Roman area, producing imperial busts, based on a common model, but to varying result.

The exact replication of the two pairs of Julia Mamaea busts is consequently not without precedent. However, these remain exceptional, as no other identified identical third-century women's busts exist. While certain dominant trends in bust-format can be identified, folds, depth of drapery and bust shape vary considerably. For example, the busts of Julia Domna (nos.1-2, 4-6: excepting the recarved bust no.3) all present her with the same encircling mantle bust-format and in two cases the same distinctive Gabii hairstyle type. Yet, in terms of drapery, shape of bust and style, these are not exact replicas, probably reflecting the fact that they were produced in different workshops. As Pfanner and Fejfer both hypothesise, many of the more subtle 'portrait types' identified for imperial figures may in fact just be the result of different workshops and sculptor deviations from the model.[268] The evidence suggests that in most cases exact

[266] Fejfer 2008, 422-425.
[267] Fejfer 2008, 424.
[268] Pfanner 1989, 202-204; Fejfer 2008, 422-425.

replication was not the objective and when this resulted it was probably the result of a shared workshop and familiar production techniques and sculptors.

A final important point to present itself through this discussion of workshop production and dissemination of third-century imperial women's portrait busts is the centrality of the bust-format to type. It is not the case that just the portrait features and hairstyle were closely reproduced so also was the bust-format. This is true not only in the cases of Julia Domna and Mamaea, discussed above, but also seems to have been true of the busts of Otacilia Severa. This partly explains contemporary trends in bust-format.

MAKING THE BUST

I will now outline several of the vital processes involved in portrait bust production: material selection, transfer of design and copying of portrait types, roughing out, carving, finishing and surface treatments. In all cases my discussion is centred on those details of the sculptural process pertinent to the production of the third-century portrait busts.[269]

The variety encompassed by third-century women's portrait busts, as presented by the catalogue, indicates that busts were highly specific commissions, subject to great nuance. Fashions in hairstyles and bust-format did not result in identical commissions. So it is not plausible that busts would have been partially carved by sculpture workshops and then kept in stock and finished upon their selection by a prospective buyer.[270] Moreover, the extant number of seventy-two third-century women's busts indicates that the volume of consumption was too low to justify stock. Even the poorest of these busts would have been a bespoke expensive commission. As Russell explains, only in exceptional cases would objects such as busts have been bought 'off the shelf' and then only as a result of 'unintentional' stock – due to a patron defaulting or cancelling his commission.[271] Instead, in the third century those looking for a quicker and more economic option might turn to the growing second-hand market, a subject I will deal with

[269] A more general and technical guide to sculpting techniques and tools may be found in Rockwell's guide 1991 also King's College's 'The Art of Making' website: www.artofmaking.ac.uk.
[270] Russell 2013a, deals at length with the question of stock especially in the case of large sculptural commissions such as sarcophagi and explains why this would be costly and inefficient, esp. 232-239, 293-296 (sarcophagi), 313-316 (statuary).
[271] Russell 2013a, 314-316.

at length below. Yet, in most cases it seems that the patron would have commissioned their own bust and been involved in the process from the start.

Material selection: quarrying and marble supply

The first stage of producing a bust was the selection and quarrying of the marble block. A variety of options was open to the sculptor. The option selected was a result of economic factors and also dependent on the sculptor's proximity to the quarry and/or ability to travel. If the workshop was close to the quarry, it may have been possible not only for the carver to supervise the selection and extraction of the block but also to begin work on the initial phase of roughing out, as evidenced by a number of incomplete, roughed-out busts discovered in quarry locations (figs. 47-48). Alternatively, the sculptor might arrange for the block to be cut and transported to his workshop or even have entrusted the choice of block to a third party.[272] These are all logical hypotheses. Russell's analysis of shipwreck cargos provides evidence for all of these scenarios. Cargos exist of: i. cut blocks of stone, presumably being transported to a workshop to be carved; ii. partially roughed out sculptures, in various stages of finish, suggesting that work was divided between quarry and final location; iii. complete works.[273] The discovery of a sculptor's tools, complete with identifying initials in one cargo, indicates that the sculptor may have travelled with the sculptures in order to complete the work in situ at its final location.[274] This summary indicates the multiplicity of options available and the exact process may have varied on a bust-by-bust basis.

[272] Russell 2013a, 317-318.
[273] Russell 2013b, 332-340, tab. 1.
[274] Porto Nuovo shipwreck off Corsica, Bernard (et al.) 1998, 58-66. Russell 2013, 335 n. 96.

The decline in number of new sculptures being produced in the post-Severan era, alongside an increase in sculptural re-use, has led certain scholars to question whether access to marble was becoming more difficult, thus making it an increasingly expensive commodity.[275] Trimble argues that there were shortages in marble due to the 'disruptions to a network of production' in the third century.[276] Evidence from shipwrecks does not straightforwardly support this hypothesis. The largest number of shipwrecks date to the third century, suggesting that boats were travelling regularly across the Mediterranean in this period.[277] However, as Russell notes, a peak in shipwrecks in this period does not straightforwardly evidence increased traffic.[278] Instead, boats in this period may have been travelling more substantial distances, exponentially increasing their risk of being sunk.[279] Even if trade routes did become more hazardous in this period, the evidence indicates that boats regularly risked the journey and it was still possible for sculptures and materials to be transported to workshops and patrons, as evidenced by the cargos of many of these ships.[280] A bust of Otacilia was discovered in just such a context: a shipwreck off the coast of Porticcio in Corsica (no.52; fig.45).[281] This bust was discovered along with a selection of sculptures, including its pendant male bust, another bust of Philip I and monolithic statues of a man and a woman – probably also Philip I and Otacilia. The sculpture was being transported in a mixed cargo, including a huge amount

[275] Prusac 2011, 47-50; Trimble 2011 339-343.
[276] Trimble 2011, 310.
[277] Parker 1992, fig.2; Russell 2013a, 344-349, fig.3; Russell 2013a, 117, fig.4.5-6.
[278] Russell 2013a, 348.
[279] Russell 2013a, 348: traveling further to get marble, dominant white marble now Procennesian.
[280] Meijer 2002, 152-153: argues that more shipwrecks in the third-century partly down to poorer quality ships.
[281] My thanks to Dr Russell for directing my attention to this bust.

of window glass (170kg) and a large selection of amphorae, presumably carrying different tradable produce.[282] Parker's record of shipwrecks in the Mediterranean reveals a high volume of shipwrecks in the notorious straight of Bonifacio area (the passage of sea between the bottom of Corsica and the top of Sardina) (fig.46).[283] This ship seems to have survived this treacherous stretch and continued to follow the shoreline around Corisca, only to be sunk just off the coast of Porticcio. Russell has suggested to me that the boat was en route from Ostia/Portus to Spain (Tarraconensis or Baetica), probably the cargo of an official based in Spain.

It is very difficult to accurately date and quantify levels of quarry use but there seems to be little evidence for rapid quarry closure in this era.[284] From 235 AD (after the death of Severus Alexander), we no longer find imperial inscriptions on blocks and columns, indicating that emperors from this point on did not have economic control of the quarries, a situation to be rectified under Constantine.[285] However, prior to this, the majority of quarries were not under exclusive imperial control and private parties would have always been responsible for the majority of quarry management. This reduction in imperial control, consequently, does not necessarily reflect a reduction in usage so much as a change in quarry organization and management in certain areas. Even if transporting marble did become more difficult, most urban centres had local quarries, which they could utilise.[286] Therefore, marble was attainable.

[282] Massy 2013, 110-14.
[283] Parker 1992, map 6.
[284] Prusac 2011, 81 fig.5; Russell 2013, 81-82.
[285] Meijer 2002, 149.
[286] Russell 2013a, 65-81.

Claridge's study of sculpture from the first century BC to the first century AD indicates that, during this period, many sculptures were carved in separate sections and then pieced together.[287] Claridge logically suggests this was a result of trouble obtaining large blocks of marble.[288] This is not true of third-century women's busts, which reveal little concern for marble economy as reflected by the larger formats and the tendency to carve the whole bust including *tabula* and bust-foot out of the same block of marble.

Nevertheless, there are always exceptions and one bust in Copenhagen has lost a large pieced section from the top of its head (no.58). The decision to apply a separate piece in such an awkward position was probably a result of a fault in the marble, causing the loss of a section, rather than an inability to find an adequately sized block of marble. Furthermore, the large size of third-century busts suggests that standard marbles were not overly expensive or difficult to source. Evidence from the huge third-century sarcophagi trade makes a powerful argument for the availability of marble in this period.[289] In conclusion, arguments connecting third-century 'crisis' with marble shortage and transport networks are far from substantiated.

The only regular instances of piecing are those we find for small sections of now often missing hair from around the back of the head and nape of the neck or the complete, separately carved hairpieces. The latter has both technical and

[287] Claridge 1988, 139-152.
[288] Claridge 1988, 139-152.
[289] Russell 2011, 119-147.

aesthetic explanations and will be discussed in full in a subsequent chapter.[290] The former probably can be explained as a result of technical convenience. The majority of busts with these pieced sections have been more broadly re-worked as part of the remodel of an old bust into a new third-century subject. However, Hirst and Salapata correctly assert that this practice alone is not indicative of re-use.[291] Remarkably in the case of the bust of Otacilia discovered in the shipwreck off Corsica, the separately worked, pieced lower section of parting-braid has survived. The front of the bust is heavily eroded so it would not be possible to identify reworking. However, its context within a large haul of substantial contemporary marble works suggests that it was part of a new commission. Whether applied as part of the original production or for a remodel or repair, these sections reflect the technical issues created by women's hairstyles, which were often deeply undercut and liable to break off. Piecing offered a practical solution to these technical challenges.

In terms of material selection, white marbles obviously presented the most popular and presumably readily available option. However, coloured marbles and more precious stones offered another if more expensive and deluxe alternative. The fashion for these busts in modern eras means that many of them have been subject to heavy restoration and are now separate from their original heads. A Late Severan woman's bust, with bust, *tabula* and base all carved from the same block of *pavonazzetto* marble and the head carved separately and inserted in white marble, provides an excellent, if rare, surviving example

[290] see here ch. 6: 150-151.
[291] Hirst & Salapata 2004, 147.

(no.27). We also have two roughed-out busts in porphyry and *pavonazzetto*, discovered abandoned at their respective quarries at Lykabettus, Mons Porphyrites quarry in Egypt and at the quarry of Iscehisar (Afyon) in Turkey (figs. 47 & 48).[292] The majority of surviving busts carved from coloured marbles or semi-precious stones are below life-size, for example: a smaller than life-size bust in Copenhagen is carved from alabaster and a miniature bust found in Ephesos is of onyx while the head is of white marble.[293] The scarcity of surviving life-size examples is indicative of the expense of these materials. At the other end of the scale, the bust from Hierapolis, Syria, is carved from a local limestone. This choice reflects economic and practical advantages of using local stones: the sculptors at the local workshop were used to working with this stone and a local source dramatically reduced transportation costs.

Designing the bust

An important preliminary stage in the production of a bust was the initial design phase. It is difficult, however, to reconstruct how the sculptor conceived this design and the processes involved in transferring this to stone. The remains of measuring points in the form of small, raised mounds or pierced points provide tantalising evidence of this process. However, these mounds often appear irregularly placed and few in number. This in part reflects the fact that what remains are generally those points which the sculptor did not manage to remove and these are often on the back of portraits or in areas where their presence would not be considered obtrusive. Typically, these points existed in groups of

[292] Bruno 2002, 186, 189, fig.10; Maxfield & Peacock 2001, 109-10, fig.3.73: 'found on the footpath near the hut with niche' in the Lykabettus quarry village; Russell 2013, 319.
[293] **Alabaster:** Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek, Copenhagen, Inv. 811, H. 33cm; **Onyx bust:** Selçuk Museum, inv. 2395, H: 20cm.

three and would have been used to make sure that the portrait was correctly proportioned. These measuring points often survive on imperial portraits, suggesting that they correspond to a model of an imperial portrait type, which the sculptor was reproducing. For example, the bust of Julia Domna in the Louvre, an otherwise finished work, presents three large measuring mounds on the large bun at the back of the head (no.1; fig.51a). Similarly a bust of a mid third- century woman ('Otacilia Severa'?) has two barely discernable holes, in the centre of the crests of hair, framing the face (no.53; fig.51b). This can be compared with a Trajanic-Hadrianic woman's head which also depicts two small pierced measuring points in the hair above the brow (fig.80).[294]

Measuring points on Roman portraits are few in number and do not support the use of modern and precise copying machines which require huge numbers of points (300-400) and which produce extremely accurate copies.[295] Rockwell consequently argues that we should not envision a contraption similar to the modern pointing machine as supported by the fact that none of the drilled holes indicative of such a process are found on Roman statues.[296] How were these points used then and, in the case of copies, how precise a method of reproduction was created? There are several hypotheses. Russell follows Blümel's proposal that a simple frame with suspended plumb-line, from which measurements could be taken, was used (fig.52).[297] Roman sculptors would then work freely, using these rough guidelines. Blümel's hypothesis is a good one and

[294] Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek, inv. 774, H: 36 cm. Nose has been broken off. Johansen 1995, vol. 2, 116-117 (with ill.): identifies as Sabina and suggests that it is identical to the 'Plotina' in Vigna Pacca from Ostia.
[295] Rockwell 1993, 118-20; Pfanner 1989, 184.
[296] Russell 2013a; Strong and Claridge 1976, 202-3; ibid.
[297] Blümel 1943, 54-7, fig.42; Russell 2013, 350.

explains variation between portraits of the same type. However, his study was primarily based on sculptures from the Hellenistic and earlier periods, which do not have measuring points. What then was the purpose of measuring points?

In his thorough investigation of measuring points Pfanner notes that in the Roman era it is common to find three points which form an acute, downward pointing triangle. This is true of the measuring points on our third-century bust of Julia Domna (no.1). Pfanner consequently proposes that a special measuring triangle would have been used to take measurements from the 'original' and transfer the design to the 'copy' (fig.53).[298] He argues that this tool, when used on the front of the face, would allow the most important proportions to be created while other features would be measured using callipers. This explains why the points are not positioned, as we might expect, in an equilateral triangle, which would be more conducive to taking measurements with callipers alone. Pfanner's method encourages us to consider how measuring points may have been used but it should be remembered that many portraits, even those of imperial personages, do not seem to have been produced using these. For example, we may consider the partially complete head probably of Domitian, the carving of which was presumably interrupted by the emperor's assassination and consequent *damnatio memoriae* (fig.54).[299] In this instance, the head is still only very roughly carved, however, proportions have clearly already been defined and there is no evidence of measuring points. Perhaps in this case a method closer to that proposed by Blümel is more likely.

[298] Pfanner 1989, 197, fig.17.4; 201-202, fig.21.
[299]Marble, The Getty, inv. 75.AA.26, H: 42.5 cm. Traces of the pick visible at the back of the head, chisel marks on the face which has only been sculpted summarily. From Asia Minor. Varner (ed.) 2001, no.35, 158-161; Erhart (et al.) 1980, 46-49, with figs.

Both Pfanner and Blümel's methods are feasible, although with the evidence available it is impossible to exclusively argue for one method or the other. In fact, it is likely that the exact method utilized would vary not only between workshops but also from commission to commission. In most cases exact copies would not be required. For example, to return to the portrait busts of Julia Domna, despite replication of bust-format and hairstyle, none of these busts appear to closely reproduce the same prototype. These busts were probably produced in separate workshops and while it was important to make sure that the portrait was recognizable, there may have been little interest in an exact replica. In certain cases more precise methods of transferring a design were employed, such as with the busts of Julia Mamaea, discussed above (nos.28-32). It is not known what tools were used to aid the replication. The busts are completed to such a high-finish that no measuring points or other marks, which might reveal how they were produced, survive. Precise replicas were possible but remained rare and were probably the result of shared workshop production.

Having considered the design phase, let us now outline the technical processes involved in carving a bust from start to finish. The busts in my sample are mostly complete products for which it is difficult to describe the formative phase of production.[300] However, busts in various stages of completion do survive from antiquity and these provide valuable insight into the formative phases of carving a bust and allow us to reconstruct a chronology of production.

[300] Rockwell 1993, ch. 6: discussion on methods of roughing out a statue.

Sculpting the bust

Pfanner argues that the majority of sculptures would have been prepared in rough form in the quarry. At this stage the local sculptor would only need to know the portrait format, whether the subject was a woman, man, with or without wreath and with or without mantle.[301] In this way the sculptor could reduce the statue's weight by at least 50% before transferring it. Also, this method allowed faults to be identified early in the process. This explains the many examples of roughed-out portraits abandoned at the quarries, rejected due to a fault in the stone.

Two busts have been found abandoned at respective *pavonazzetto* and porphyry quarry sites and reflect similar levels of preliminary working (figs. 47-48).[302] Interestingly, in the case of the *pavonazzetto* bust the sculptor has been careful to carve the head out of a white un-veined section of marble while the body of bust, destined for drapery, is in the veined section (fig.47).[303] A large rounded oblong at the bottom indicates the basic shape of the bust-foot. A dome of marble around the head is prepared for the later carving of the hair. The neck remains thick and undefined. The bust has been worked, as was normal at this stage, with the point chisel.

[301] Pfanner 1989, 194.
[302] Bruno 2002, 186, 189, fig.10; Maxfield & Peacock 2001, 109-10, fig.3.73: 'found on the footpath near the hut with niche' in the Lykabettus quarry village; Russell 2013, 319.
[303] Maxfield & Peacock 2001, 109-10.

A roughed-out bust discovered in a workshop, rather than quarry context, at Aphrodisias is further along in the carving process (fig.49).[304] The bust of a man, dating to the second to third century, appears to have been left unfinished due to a fault in the marble. The features of the face, such as the ears, have been very summarily indicated. A flat chisel has outlined the eyes and the positions of the pupils are indicated by small pinholes. A roughed-out bust of a woman, dated between the first to early second century AD, is now in Istanbul and comes from the cargo of a ship sunk near Şile (fig.50).[305] The bust was discovered, along with a portrait, and was probably being transported from the *Proconnesian* quarries to a workshop nearer the patron, for its completion. It presents a similar level of finish to the Aphrodisias example: the eyes and other facial features are very cursorily marked. The hairstyle, however, is clearly outlined, with a large orb of hair and small bun at the back of the head. From the early stages of design important elements, such as the hair, had to be carved out to ensure that enough marble was available. This is reflected in finds on sarcophagi of unfinished portraits which indicate the hairstyle, making it possible for them to be accurately dated.[306] These examples provide useful illustrations of the early carving stages of producing a portrait bust.

Examples of busts further along in the process also exist. A Severan woman's bust, from Cyrenaica, remains unfinished (no.11). The bust and cylindrical foot have been completely worked and appear finished, including the hollowed-out

[304] Inv. 67-325, H: 53, W: 45.5, D: 24.5 cm. Smith & Lenaghan 2008-2009, 29, 302-303, no.37.
[305] Istanbul Arch. Mus., inv.72, 53 '*The Anatolian Civilisations. II, Greek/Roman/Byzantine: the Council of Europe XVIIIth Art Exhibition, St. Irene, Istanbul May 22-October 30, 1983.*' 134, B371; Asgari, 'Proceedings X int. Congress of Archaeology' 1978, 48, n.32, fig.17; Pfanner 1989, pl.16a.
[306] Smith 2008, 347-94.

back, spine and bust-lip. The face, neck and hair reveal the first stages of fine working and details, such as the eyelids and mouth, have been carved. Chisel marks remain on the cheeks and the face requires a final polish. A large section of marble remains at the back of the head from the shoulders up to the top of the head. This section is marked by rough pick chisel marks. The hair has its rough, globular Severan shape and more detailed working of the hair framing the face can be observed. This example confirms, as is suggested by the above roughed-out busts, that the large section of marble behind the neck was only removed prior to the final finish. The retention of this section provided extra support to the fragile neck area during the majority of sculpting. This large supporting area may also reflect the voluminous hairstyles of this period. We may compare this bust with the complete Severan woman's bust also from Cyrenaica. In this instance the orb-hairstyle is defined by a very large segmented bun that covers the entire back of the head and reaches the nape of the neck, almost meeting the top of the mantle. Only a thin channel is chiselled in between.

It is interesting that the bust of the unfinished Cyrenaica portrait seems to have been worked and finished first. Rosenbaum consequently suggests that this was carved and kept in stock until a suitable patron arrived and then the face and hair would be completed.[307] This is difficult to prove and it may just reflect the sculptor's preference for beginning at the bottom and working up or suggest, as discussed above, that the face and hair were worked by a separate specialist to the one who finished the bust-base and bust.

[307] Rosenbaum 1960, 72 no.90.

The unfinished miniature bust in Darmstadt (provenance unknown) and the bust from Hierapolis in Syria both reveal unfinished bust backs (nos.60 & 23). In both instances sections to either side of the central spine have been hollowed out, thus reflecting a desire to recreate the bust-format. However, in the Darmstadt bust rough chisel marks define the oval back of the bust, which is yet to be fully hollowed out, and the bust-lip is not even articulated. In the case of the bust from Syria a large, roughly defined supporting area, like that presented by the Cyrenaica example, runs from the spine of the bust up to the back of the head. The unfinished nature of these busts does not necessarily preclude their use and it may be in one or both cases that the patron decided to take them as they are. In particular, busts from funerary contexts often reveal a rushed or incomplete commission, for example a Trajanic to Hadrianic bust from the columbarium Via Ostiense at St Paolo fuori le Mura (fig.59).[308] Although on display, areas of this bust had not been finished. In this instance the back was hollowed out satisfactorily but sections of marble remain behind the ears, chisel marks can be seen on the cheeks, the pupils are not drilled and the etched detail of the hair has not been finished. The bust, however, was discovered in use and the patron must have decided to use the work as it was either for economic or time sensitive reasons.

Carving techniques

Third-century women's busts reveal a great dependence on the chisel for elements of final detail. Details, such as irises carved in an incised semi-circle,

[308] Rome, Musei Vaticani, Magazino, inv. 4973. H: 39.5: Fittschen & Zanker 1983, 55-56, no.72 pls.90-91; H. chin-parting: 16cm. Lugli 1919, *Notizie degli scavi di antichità,* 323-324, pl.18.

tear-ducts, individually delineated eyebrows and escaping strands of hair, are etched onto the face with the chisel. This fine chisel work is also a feature of the carved hairstyles. Individual strands of hair are carved with varying degrees of skill. These etched waves of hair in many cases take on a pattern-like regularity (for example: nos.37 & 38). The fine, incised details must have been among the last phases of the sculptural process. This is supported by the bust of Julia Mamaea in the Museo Capitolino (no.26) where the regular wavy lines of hair end abruptly on one side of the head and the bust is left incomplete (fig.55).

Drilled work in third-century women's portrait busts is limited in contrast to many late first- to second-century women's busts. This said, the drill was not completely abandoned. Nearly all the busts are defined by the heart/bean shaped drilled pupils typical of this period.[309] Several third-century women's busts present escaping drilled curls of hair (for example: nos.25-26, 64). One of these examples dates to the latter half of the third century, thus proving the continued, if less regular, use of the drill for women's hairstyles into the second half of the third century (no.64). Moreover, the thick pressed waves of hair so fashionable in Severan portraits were produced using the drill (see for example nos.1-2, 8-9 & 11-12). The deep channels running round the parting of many third-century busts were achieved through use of the running drill. Many third-century women's portrait busts employed the drill quite extensively to create the thick folds and pockets of drapery. An excellent example is the bust in the BM (no.25).

[309] Only exception busts from Cyrene.

The increased tendency to use the chisel rather than the drill for decorative detail creates in many cases a flatter, less rich effect. However, one need only consider the bust in the Hermitage (no.62), which dates to the mid-third century, and observe the artfully and naturalistically defined strands of hair to fully appreciate the artistic possibilities of this method of carving. The change in technique in third-century portrait busts consequently should not be seen as a reflection of decline in skill so much as a readjustment in terms of portrait style and adaption of techniques accordingly. As Smith describes in relation to second-century portraiture, marble carving technology and techniques were 'born out of the requirements of the Antonine self-image.'[310] So it was for third-century art. The aesthetic and ideals had shifted slightly and so in turn did marble carving techniques.

Finishing the bust: surface treatment and polychrome

The final stage of completing a bust was the surface treatment. An intaglio ring stone of Carnelian and dated to the late first century BC, presents an artist painting the clavicle bust of a woman mounted on a column (fig.56).[311] The techniques used and pigments applied to ancient sculptures in this final stage, however, are difficult to identify with the naked eye. Most of the busts discussed here are collectors' items, which have been through restoration and radical cleaning. The application of harsh chemicals and surface cleans post-antiquity is reflected in a number of cases where the etched details of the eyebrows have been almost entirely removed (for example no.6). Furthermore, in cases where

[310] Smith 1998, 62.
[311] The Met. inv. 81.6.48, 1.3 x 1.14 cm. Østergaard & Nielsen (eds.) 2014, 47, no.5.

restoration has taken place, thick veneers have often been added to give the portrait a regular hue. A good example of this is the bust in the Uffizi, which shares, along with many of the other sculptures in this collection, a distinctive ochre patina – a result of modern layers of finish (nos.13, 40, 51).[312] Similarly, in many cases traces of polychrome would have been intentionally removed. In the eighteenth century a letter from the excavator and dealer George Hamilton to the collector Charles Townley refers to a statue being 'pumiced down to make it white and smooth'.[313]

As a result of such modern treatment and the impact of various other environmental influences only three busts present remnants of polychrome discernible by the naked eye: a bust in Alexandria has a painted decorative design on the folded bands of the tunic and a bust in Israel and one of Aurelia Euposia from Melos, now in Athens, both have traces of pigment in the hair (nos.61 & 69). A number of sarcophagi from the third century also reveal visible traces of polychrome. In most cases this is restricted to such details as hair and drapery, as is the case on a garland sarcophagus from the Via Tiburtina, Rome, which dates to the end of the third century.[314] In all these cases the discernible polychrome is confined to those areas where strong colours might be expected: hair and drapery. This is supported by the use of coloured stones on third-century portraits. The bust of *pavonazzetto* marble has an inserted head in white marble (no.27). Also, the roughed-out bust from the *pavonazzetto* quarries of Docimium in Afyon, Turkey, is carefully carved so that the head is in white, un-

[312] Romualdi, Pallecchi, Pierelli & Tonini (2005) 'Surfaces of antique marble sculptures in the Uffizi Gallery: reflection of history and image' in *Surface Engineering* vol. 21, no.5-6, 378-384.
[313] Letter of Hamilton to Townley 16/03/1775 Bignamini & Hornsby, 2010, no.111: 61-62.
[314] Østergaard 2008, 56-57, fig.49: in Copenhagen, Ny Carlsberg Glyototek, inv. 2468, H: 104 cm.

veined marble (fig.47).[315] Finally, several of the orphaned, separately carved hairpieces of the Severan era were carved in coloured marble and precious stone (figs.81-82).[316] The use of coloured stone in portraiture was generally confined to those areas where strong polychrome made natural sense. [317]

The naked eye can only take us so far and the real discoveries in this area have been made through the use of modern photographic and scientific analysis techniques. Of particular relevance here is the 'Tracking Colour' project based at the Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek which utilises microscopy and photo-analytical imaging to expose traces of ancient surface finish and which has focused on a number of third-century portraits.[318] The first general point to come out of their research is that in most cases traces of pigment can be found on all areas of the portrait, including the skin. However, these layers should not be understood as opaque, unnatural coverings, as suggested by many reconstructions.[319] Instead, the layers on the skin appear to have been very light, few in number and would have created a translucent effect, in contrast to the heavier levels of pigment found on the hair and details such as the eyes and lips. Interestingly, analysis of the head of Gaius Julius Verus Maximus, son of Maximinus Thrax, reveals that the skin has been given a high polish before thin layers of pigment were applied,

[315] Maxfield & Peacock 2001, 109-10.
[316] See discussion below 151-155. However, it is to be kept in mind that many (perhaps all) of these coloured stone hairpieces are as modern forgeries.
[317] Østergaard 2008, 40-62: 'Bikini Venus' from Pompeii – gilding is used for accoutrements, hair, lips etc. Agrippina the Younger head, found in Herculaneum, now in Naples, Museo Archaeologico Nazionale, inv. 150192: polychrome traces on hair, eyebrows and eyes.
[318] http://www.trackingcolour.com: for example two women's heads: **inv.799**: c.190-200 AD, H: 37cm., Acquired in 1887 from Count Tyszkiewicz through the mediation of Helbig. **Inv. 1492**: c.240 AD, H: 33cm. bought in 1896 from Martinetti's art store in Rome.
[319] On the historiography of polychromy Brinkmann 2014, 'Research history' in Østegaard & Nielsen (eds.), 22-48.

creating a 'high-gloss polished skin'.[320] This explanation is important as it reconciles the use of expensive marble, the effort of finishing and polishing a sculpture to a high standard and the application of pigment evident from analysis.

Without specific analysis it is not possible to reconstruct the finish of the busts on a case-by-case basis. However, the above examples reveal that after the bust was polished, using natural abrasives in order to remove tool marks and buffed to a high sheen in order to enhance the natural properties of the marble, pigment would have been a final but vital stage. Just as drilled pupils made the portrait see so must veneered skin have made it live and colourful hair and decorative drapery made it fashionable.

In the above discussion I have necessarily focused on the production of stone portrait busts. This reflects the fact that the vast majority of surviving busts belong to this category, with only one bronze miniature exception. It is important to note that while marble may have been deemed the most appropriate material for the third-century woman's portrait busts, busts could be produced in a variety of materials. These ranged from the surviving handful of gold and silver busts of Roman emperors, which were probably employed as military standards,[321] to bronze busts and precious stone[322] and even wax busts.[323] A

[320] Skovmøller & Therkildsen 2011, inv. 826, head of Gaius Julius Verus Maximus.
[321]Almost life-size gold bust of MA from Aventicum (Lausanne, Museé d'Archéologie et d'Histoire, found in 1939, H:33.5 cm, . Half life-size gold bust of SS (Komotini Archaeological Museum, found in 1965, 980 gr.) & a silver bust of LV from Marengo treasure found near Torina in northern Italy (Torino, Museo d'Antichità, H: 53 cm). Lahusen 1990, 251-266, esp. 256, 265 pls. I.1-2, III,4; Fejfer 2008, 167, pl.16.

papyrus text from the third century records the *boulē* of Alexandria voting to set up a silver bust of Otacilia.[324] Similarly another papyrus text records a silver bust, of ten pounds weight, being commissioned for Otacilia in Herakleopolis.[325] These imperial busts of precious metal were probably used in city processions along with religious idols.[326] In the material record no silver or gold busts of women from the imperial period survive. This is not surprising as the precious metal probably resulted in such busts being melted down and re-used. Moreover, to have a bust produced in gold or silver was a special honour and it is unlikely that there were ever many such busts of women and those that did exist must have been of imperial persons. As with other areas of sculpture, the lack of bronze busts probably reflects the tendency to melt down and reuse this material. The only surviving bronze woman's bust from the third century is consequently miniature, at only 9.7cm high, and depicts Julia Mamaea (no.33).[327] In this study then I will necessarily focus on marble busts which make up the majority of my sample.

CONCLUSION

It may not be possible to exactly reconstruct the production process of any one bust from selection of material through to final finish but I hope the above

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[322] Chalcedony portrait bust of a young woman 130-40 AD, The Met. inv. 07.286.125, H: 9 cm. Dahmen 2001, 197, no.199, pl. 199.
[323] Fejfer 2008, 175, n.140, fig.101: miniature wax bust of a Severan woman now in the Liverpool Museum. Inv.49.18.53, H: 13 cm. Authenticity questioned & has consequently not been included in my sample.
[324] Preisigke, F., 1915, *Sammelbuch Greichischer Urkunden aus Ägypten*, vol. 1 553, no.5284; Schade 2003 20, n.140.
[325] Lahusen 1999, 264.
[326] Lahusen 1999, 264.
[327] Fejfer 2008, 158: popularity of bronze for public honorific statues, marble preferred for private commissions which busts most frequently were.

discussion draws upon the evidence available to offer a sensible hypothetical process, the details of which would have undoubtedly varied on a bust-by-bust basis. It now remains to consider those busts, which were not 'new' works but were carved from earlier recycled portraits. What were the motives behind recarving women's portrait busts and how did this impact the final formulation of feminine identity expressed through these portraits?

CHAPTER FIVE. REMAKING THE ROMAN PORTRAIT BUSTS

Many of the busts within this sample document not only their formative creation but also later phases of recarving and alteration. 24% (17 busts) of third-century women's busts have been carved from an earlier portrait bust. This is indicative of the greatly increased levels of portrait recarving from the third-century on. These alterations reveal the multiple lives of a portrait bust and frustrate the view that a piece of art belongs to and reflects one specific historical context. Reworked pieces provide vivid insight into how elements of style, dress and fashion have developed over time and consequently allow the classical archaeologist to begin to untangle and appreciate the complex web of tradition and innovation inherent in such works.

IDENTIFYING RE-CARVED PORTRAITS

The first important consideration when discussing recarved portraits is the process involved in identifying if a portrait has been reworked or, alternatively, if we are looking at damage, modern restoration, poor original workmanship or any number of other explanations. It is for this reason that Fittschen in a review of Prusac's work on recarved portraits warns against overzealous identification of 'recarved' portraits, thus reaffirming the need for careful personal analysis or, at the very least, excellent images of all sides.[328] In the discussion below, I consequently focus on those busts which I have been able to see in person and here I provide a short outline of 'signs' that a work has been recarved.

[328] Fittschen 2012 (review), 637- 643. Prusac, 2011.

The important, if obvious, point must be made that recarving is easiest to identify in cases where the recarving has not been completely successful, for example where the proportions of the portrait are wrong or damage to its parts, symptomatic of its recarving, may be identified. In the hands of a very skilled carver such tell-tale signs may be subtle and difficult to confirm. With women's busts the most important locus of a recarving is generally the hair, especially as in some cases the face is only very subtly reworked. In many of the cases below, the recarving of the hair demanded the application of extra marble pieces or in several cases complete separately carved hairpieces. As discussed, these elements alone are not necessarily indicative of recarving.

All recarving involves cutting away layers of marble and in many cases the original portrait did not provide enough mass of marble to accomplish the preferred hairstyle. Most of the extra hairpieces have now been lost, leaving behind the cut back sections with scored surfaces and in some cases traces of holes and pins with which the new sections were attached. This was not the only solution and a number of the other recarved portraits manage without attachments or new hairpieces. In these cases the hair is often low to the head and can be thin on top and almost etched into the face. In a few cases it is clear that the original portrait was adorned with a large hairstyle providing quantities of marble, ideal for recarving. In these examples unconventional adaptions of the original hairstyle to fit modern fashions may still reveal the portrait's multiple lives.

Of the physiognomic features the ears are important when identifying a recarving. The recarving of the hair often results in damage to the ears and extensive damage to this feature is revealing (fig. 57). Furthermore, as part of the remodel the sculptor has a difficult choice: recarve the ears or leave the original pair. The former option is tricky and can result in mangled, often uneven constructions, the latter may lead to disproportionately large ears which sit incongruously on the new portrait. This may be especially evident in cases when the original portrait depicted a man (no.25).

The eyes, after the hair, are the feature most likely to have been remodelled as part of a recarving (fig.58). Viewing recarved portraits in profile, the eyes often sit in deep recesses. They also tend to be overly large and too close to the nose. More generally, an extensive recarving often results in unbalanced and poorly proportioned features. The mouth could become disproportionally small, the face slender with high cheekbones and the profile overly thin (nos.44 & 65). Finally, the angle of the head could appear unnaturally tilted up or down, reflecting the impact of cutting away large sections of marble (no.10). In some cases the bust is not recarved so the head appears disproportionally small (no.50).

This is a summary evaluation of the most obvious and common signs of a recarving. However, the extent of a recarving may vary dramatically and in the cases of some of the busts discussed below the faces have been left virtually untouched. Furthermore, a recarving demanded great creativity and initiative on the part of the carver and the final result was determined by the skill of the

sculptor, the nature of the original portrait and the level of transformation this demanded.

PATTERNS OF PORTRAIT RE-CARVING IN THE IMPERIAL PERIOD

It is necessary to consider patterns in third-century women's recarved busts against wider chronological trends. Prusac's research on recarved portraits presents a dataset of recarved portraits of all formats, spanning between 100 BC and 565 AD.[329] Unfortunately, Prusac's data analysis is not always transparent. For example, it is not clear how many portraits she examined.[330] Further, as Fittschen's critique reveals, certain of her identifications of recarved portraits are suspect.[331] This is especially true of imperial figures.[332] Nevertheless, the overriding chronological trend, confirmed by this study, is valid: more portraits are being recarved from the third-century AD on. This increase is underlined if we correlate these findings against the well-documented reduction in statue dedication and production in the mid-third century.[333] The high-volume of recarved third-century women's portrait busts reflects this wider development.

Here I present a graph showing the number of busts recarved next to the total number of busts for each period (table & graph 6). I have divided the sample into four periods: Severan (193-235), Late Severan (217-235), 'Soldier Emperors'

[329] Prusac 2001, 4-5.
[330] Exact number of portraits examined not given – 2006, 108: 'over 2000'; 2011, 5: gives 'representative selection' no total number for recarved portraits or number of portraits examined given.
[331] Fittschen 2012 (review).
[332] See above n.215 & below n.334; Fittschen 2012.
[333] Prusac 2006, 109, fig.3: graph amount of recarved portraits compared to the amount of new-made portraits in each period. 2011, 32 diagram 1.

(235-284) and Tetrarchic (284-313). These categories allow me to compare the 'crisis' era with the framing Severan and Tetrarchic periods. Relative to the number of busts produced, the mid-third century 'Soldier Emperors', as we might expect, presents a peak: 38% of the busts from this period have been recarved. Interestingly, sizeable proportions of portraits were being recarved in the Severan and Late Severan period.

It is significant that all but one of the recarved third-century women's portrait busts are of private women. Only the bust of Tranquillina (no.49) has been recarved from an earlier bust. Yet, examples of recarved third-century imperial women's portrait heads also exist.[334] Increased levels of recarving in the third century can consequently be attributed to the proliferation of recarved private portraits. Prior to the third century, the majority of recarved portraits were of imperial figures.[335] Most of these transformations were associated with the practice of *damnatio memoriae*. Evidence from the Severan period on suggests that this was no longer the primary reason for recarving portraits. This confirms Prusac's argument that there was a change in attitude around the third century towards the practice of recarving private portraits.[336] This, however, cannot just be linked to the 'crisis' years but began in the Severan period. We should consequently envision a more subtle and gradual development in attitude towards portrait re-use.

[334] All HE's portraits have been identified as recarved by Prusac (2011, 145, nos.260-263, figs. 37-38) as well as bust in Rome (no.57) & the head in the BM, she also identifies a head in Columbia, (University of Missouri Museum of Art and Archaeology, Inv. 2004.1) and Bucharest, (Nat. Mus. of Ant., inv.18797) as recarved portraits of HE. I am not convinced by these identifications, nor that all these portraits were recarved. However, the over-life-size head in the BM does appear to be HE and has been recarved.
[335] Prusac 2006, fig.2.
[336] Prusac 2006, 112; 2011, 47-50.

WHY RE-CARVE?

The question remains why these busts have been recarved and what were the circumstances which combined to make this a socially acceptable option when commissioning a portrait.

Economic

The most frequently given, if rarely developed, explanation for portrait re-use is economic.[337] This reflects the fact that recarved busts, even the more skilfully worked examples, presented an economic choice due to the substantial savings in material costs and workmanship hours. Moreover, the boom in sculptural production in the second century resulted in a superfluity of portraits, especially in tomb and villa contexts, creating circumstances propitious for re-use.

That recarving was a cheaper option, however, does not automatically explain why this suddenly became popular in the third century. It is frequently argued that the third-century 'crisis' left people without either the financial resources or materials necessary for new portraits.[338] It has been suggested that issues with obtaining access to good quality materials demanded a normative readjustment to the re-use of sculpture making wider-scale re-use permissible.[339] As discussed briefly above, arguments concerning breakdowns in trade routes and dramatic quarry closures in this period are far from convincing. Furthermore, economic

[337]Prusac 2006 & 2011; Matheson 2000a, 70-71.
[338] Prusac, 2006, 111-115; Matheson 2000a, 71: recutting of private male portraits in the third and 4th c. was 'fundamentally' a result of 'economic causes.'
[339] Prusac 2011, 47-50.

conditions, as in all periods, will not have had a uniform impact and response. Significantly, in earlier, more stable and apparently prosperous periods compromises in terms of quality, material or size were far more common as economic solutions than choosing to re-use a portrait.

An ideological shift ?

Prusac consequently argues that there was an ideological shift in attitude towards recarving portraits brought about by the tumultuous third-century 'crisis' years which fundamentally altered 'mankind': 'the individual was no longer held in high esteem, and the form of the portraits, previously treated with respect, lost its importance as the view of mankind changed, and portraits could be recarved on a grand scale.'[340] This explanation, however, not only overly dramatizes the circumstances of the third century and ignores the fact that re-use was already common in the Severan period, prior to the 'crisis', but also reflects the view that recarving a portrait must necessarily result in a violent degradation of the original image. This reveals a tendency to group all re-use together and thus conflate the code of practice involved in the symbolic and violent re-use for *damnatio memoriae* with the, by the third-century, relatively commonplace practice of re-using private portraits.

The existence of recarved portraits prior to the third century indicates that re-use was not a completely new development in this period but that it was simply not as common before. Further, the process of re-use, as I will detail below, did not necessarily involve the degradation or even complete destruction of the

[340] Prusac 2006, 112.

original portrait. In fact, it is remarkable how much of the original bust and portrait were preserved. Only those elements essential to expressing a new identity were changed. We should, consequently, envision a more gradual process of normative readjustment towards re-use, resulting in widespread, morally 'neutral' acts of recarving. Rather than reflecting a symbolic devaluation of 'the portrait' and changing attitudes towards commemoration, in most instances recarved busts of women act to reconfirm the high-status associations of the bust-format and reflect enduring habits of expressing feminine virtue through the portrait medium.

The second-hand market: sourcing portraits for re-use

In order to further explore the motivations behind third-century female portrait bust re-use, we must consider how portraits were selected and acquired for this purpose. The relatively large levels of sculptural re-use taking place in this period raise the question of how the originals were sourced. Russell notes that patrons rejecting or abandoning a commission must have always been a factor in sculptural production and resulted in small levels of 'unintentional' stock.[341] The excavation of the workshop at Aphrodisias reveals not only contemporary, fourth-century works, but also pieces dated to the second and third century AD. Some of these may even predate the workshop.[342] It is likely that, while some of these pieces represent abandoned commissions and fit into the category of 'unintentional stock', other pieces may have been purposely selected and brought into the workshop for re-use and selling on. It is unlikely that

[341] Russell 2013, 313-314.
[342] Russell 2013, 313-314; Van Voorhis 1999, 103-4.

'unintentional stock' alone could have satisfied the demand for recarved portraits in the third century. Furthermore, in many cases the lapse in time between original date and recarving is too substantial to suggest that these were pieces which had simply been sitting about the workshop waiting for a new patron. For example, a bust, now in Copenhagen, was recarved around the mid-third century from a late first-century portrait bust - a period of over a century dividing the two phases (no.59).

In tomb and villa contexts, especially after the sculptural boom of the Antonine period, there must have been a surplus of 'out-of-date' portraits which no longer had specific relevance.[343] We see this in the third-century Roman tomb context, where re-use of tombs by dependents or new owners often resulted in multiple layers of dedications. As Borg asserts, in the third century we do not necessarily see a violent reorganisation and destruction of earlier phases so much as a respectful integration and re-use by new patrons.[344] Tombs consequently present a likely early context for portrait re-use. Evidence, such as the unfinished portrait bust discussed above and a multiplicity of incomplete commissions from tomb contexts in earlier periods, reflect a precedent for improvised solutions in the funerary context (fig.59).[345] Many recarved portraits are known from funerary contexts and Antonaccio suggests that many of the recycled materials used for recarved portraits may have come from tomb contexts.[346]At least two of our busts (the girl recarved from a *togate* Hadrianic man's bust and the bust of Aurelia Monnnina, with funerary inscription) come from funerary contexts

[343] Compare to situation in the *Fora* and other important civic centres (Witschel 2007, 113).
[344] Borg 2013, 158-60.
[345]Example unfinished see above: 121, n. 310, fig.59.
[346] Antonaccio 1992, 445-446, fig.8; Matheson 2000a, 71 n. 9-10.

(nos.25 & 65). Further two recarved busts, with respective calyx and acanthus leaves support, may also come from a funerary context (nos.10 & 44).[347]

Contexts for recarved portraits: the family tomb

An interesting case study, for understanding the motivations behind recarving and the methods practiced, is presented by a Late Severan family group of busts. This group included two female portrait busts, which were apparently purchased along with a torso bust of a youth and the head of a youth on a bust (nos.17-18; figs.60-61).[348] The busts in question are currently on temporary display in the Cast Gallery in Freiburg, but they belong to a private collector and evidence concerning their provenance is limited. That the busts belong together seems to be confirmed by date: all four portraits are Late Severan. In the case of the two women an association is certain as the portraits represent an elder and younger woman with physiognomically common features. It seems possible that this was a mother and daughter pair. The four busts have undergone three main phases of work: first, their original creation, probably in the late second to early third-century; second, they were recarved at some point in the Late Severan period; finally, they underwent some rather artful and at times deceptive restoration – probably nineteenth to twentieth century.[349]

In relation to the female busts, the formulation of the drapery has led Mlasowsky to suggest that these were originally 'Large Herculaneum' women statues which

[347] See below: 238 for discussion of the association of this feature with funerary contexts.
[348] In the latter instance, the head of the youth, it is not certain if the bust is pertinent. The restorer has so closely modeled their work on that of the complete male bust that it is difficult to know if this bust belongs with the head or not.
[349] This does not dramatically impact our discussion but should be kept in mind, for further details see here no.17.

were then transformed into Late Severan busts.[350] He notes that the backs of both women's heads are very flat and, in between the large coiled plait bun and the collar, a line of marble remains. This section would normally be removed to reveal the neck. This element leads him to argue that the portraits would have been veiled. This observation is sensible, however, Mlasowsky's consequent argument that veiled busts are very unusual and thus these must have been adapted from full-scale statues may go too far. Examples such as the veiled bust, in the Metropolitan Museum and the Syrian bust, now in Pensylvania Museum, indicate that new third-century women's busts could be depicted with a mantle drawn over the head (nos.15 & 23).

The drapery formulation of the busts could simply reflect the tendency amongst larger third-century busts to emulate statue drapery types.[351] Finally, the back of the bust is typical of third-century busts and does not indicate a fundamental remodelling. The re-use of statues for bust-format portraits, therefore, must remain hypothetical as we lack confirmed examples of this practice. A half-figure bust in Dresden, of a man wearing a mantle and gripping a scroll, has similarly been identified as a bust reworked from a statue (fig.62).[352] Again, this is problematic, especially as in this instance the arms are separately carved and inserted, which is an unusual feature if this was originally a statue.[353]

[350] Mlasowsky & Herrscher 1992, 176-182., no.19-20, with pls.; Mlasowsky 2006, 124-131, no.31-32, pls.45-49.
[351] See here discussion. 214 ff.
[352] Staatliche Kunstsammlungen, head: Inv. Hm. 398, bust and hands inv. H4 108/204. H:1.15m, C. 200 AD. Hands and head carved separately. Vorster & Knoll (eds.) 2013, 371 no.86, n. 11 (F. Sinn); Goette 1990, 70-71; Sinn 2009, 138-139.
[353] ibid. 371, 374.

In the case of the Freiburg busts, therefore, it is most likely that these busts were recarved from relatively new Severan busts. The fact that both busts were originally veiled and were consequently uniformly recarved with identical hairstyles suggests that the original busts were probably commissioned together and then recarved together. In this instance Mlasowsky's suggestion of a family tomb context seems sensible.[354] It is then possible to understand how the two women's busts, and probably the two male busts, present such cohesive stories. After no more than a generation, the owner, perhaps a relative of the original portraits' subjects, employed a sculptor to either update or perhaps re-identify these portraits. If the latter, we may understand this re-use of the family portraits as a way in which the owner could create new family images but also continue to draw a link between their family and their ancestors.

Contexts for recarved portraits: an elite villa

The tomb may have been the logical early context for portrait re-use, but it did not take long for this to become a more widespread practice. Our next case study, the Villa at Chiragan, provides evidence for the commission and display of recarved busts within even the grandest elite spaces and alongside the production of new portraits, disproving arguments which purely associate this practice with decline and economic hardship.

The sculptural collection and scale of the residence at Chiragan are exceptional compared to any other villa in Gaul (fig.158). Portraits, however, are regular finds in this region - most villas in Gaul reveal at least one private portrait

[354]Vorster & Knoll (eds.) 2013 no.86.

amongst their sculptural assemblages and a few villas had imperial portraits.[355] At Chiragan the collection continued to be added to and new pieces were introduced well into the fourth and fifth centuries AD. It is consequently interesting that recarved busts are present in a collection for which new pieces were still being commissioned. The two recarved third-century women's busts depict Tranquillina, recarved from a below life-size Trajanic-Hadrianic woman's bust, and a private woman in half-figure bust-format (nos.49-50).

Both busts reveal areas on the back of the head where sections of marble were added in order to create the fashionable mid-third-century parting-braid (figs.63). In these cases an effort was made to give the pieces contemporary and, at least in the case of the Tranquillina bust, accurate portrait types. Given the longevity of the collection at Chiragan, with busts dating as early as the Julio-Claudian period, it is likely that these busts were already in the collection when they were selected for re-use.

In the case of the bust of Tranquillina, as is observed above, the portrait re-model is thorough and makes identification with the mid-third-century imperial woman straightforward. The bust, however, has been left untouched. This is true of the majority of recarved third-century women's busts and reflects the fact that the remodel of the bust-format was the last priority and often deemed unnecessary to the re-identification of a portrait. In this instance the bust-format

[355] Castelculier: first-century male head and shoulders of a bust of the third or fourth (Stirling 2007, 312-313). Imperial portraits in SW. Gaul: Heads of MA found at Castelculier and Nérac (Stirling 2007, 314). For sculpture from SW. Gaul: Stirling 2007, 314, n. 57; Balmelle 2001, 228-232; Espérandieu, 1908, nos.948, 950, 954-958, 960-963, 965, 968, 969, 975-978, 981-983, 987, 992, 996, 998, 1003, see also Balty 1995; Cazes 1999, 118-147.

is of a type and size no longer produced in the third century and presumably would have been recognised as such by the viewer. This may be compared with a recarved mid-third-century bust in Copenhagen, reported to come from Aquileia, which also retains its original first-century bust-format with decorative *tabula* (no.59). Further, there are multiple examples of busts with preserved decorative *tabulae*, distinctive bust-feet and acanthus-leave-supports, all unusual features for third-century busts (exceptions are nos.10, 23, 44). These examples indicate that, despite distinct fashions in women's bust-formats, 'out-of-date' busts often remained unworked and did not compromise the re-identification of a portrait. This distinctive 'antique' element may even have been purposely preserved and imbued the portraits with added heritage and prestige.

In contrast to the bust of Tranquillina, the half-figure portrait indicates the rapidity with which busts could be re-used. The bust-format dates to the late second to third century and is not incongruous with the portrait's head and mid-third century hairstyle. However, there are indications that the bust has been recycled within fifty years of its original creation: the chiselled areas on the back of the head, the iron pins for the application of extra marble sections, the marks on the ears and the recarved face.[356] The exact reasons surrounding the bust's re-use are unknown, however, the impressive size of this half-figure bust probably made it a suitable option for the new portrait of an important member of the family at Chiragan. The original portrait may have represented a relative, perhaps now deceased. If so, familial 'likeness' would have aided the recarving and the process of re-identifying the portrait.

[356]Bergmann 1999, 28, n. 145; Bergmann 2007, 329, n. 41, 333-335, pl. 90; ibid., 5.1, pl. 99: 20-21.

The two recarved third-century busts belonged with a large collection of imperial and private portraits, the latter presumably members of the elite family who owned Chiragan. The majority of these are in bust-format. On the basis of observable 'antique' repairs on many of the portraits and chronological spread, it is proposed by Hannestad that the portraits at Chiragan were bought within a short space of time, from the second-hand market and formed a Late Antique, probably fourth-century collection.[357] However, as Bergmann outlines, there are problems with this argument. First, she notes that while certain pieces have been reworked in antiquity (in this group she includes the two third-century women's busts discussed here) many of the repairs noted by Hannestad are actually modern restorations performed after the portraits' discovery in the eighteenth to nineteenth century.[358] Further, the chronological spread of portraits may simply indicate a long accumulative growth of the collection over the span of the villa's occupation.

Both Hannestad and Bergmann are preoccupied with the 'problem' of the eccentric nature of the portrait collection. It includes such minor third-century imperial figures as Tranquillina and Philip II and a portrait of the second-century prince Geta, who was to experience *damnatio memoriae*. Further, the collection has multiple portraits of Augustus, Tiberius, Trajan and Septimius Severus but no portraits of other important imperial figures such as Hadrian.[359] There is little evidence, however, that even the most elite families of empire had complete up-

[357] Hannestad 1994, 127-137; 1997, 453.
[358] Bergmann 2007, n. 54: points to the example of work done on one of the busts of Augustus which Hannestad (1994,129) said was done in antiquity but is in fact recognised to be modern.
[359] Bergmann 2007 323-339.

to-date collections of imperial portraits. Instead, such galleries would have gradually been added to over time, especially in periods of affluence. At Chiragan just such a prosperous period is evidenced in the late second to third century around the time when our re-used busts date. This is supported by a number of 'new' portraits, which are closely based on third-century portrait types also found in Rome. The idiosyncratic nature of the collection will have been exacerbated over time by the addition of 'heirloom' pieces and the removal of portraits by relatives as a result of changes in ownership, as Bergmann suggests.[360]

Chiragan provides a unique opportunity to understand recarved third-century women's portrait busts within a wider sculptural collection. Within this context the recarved busts reveal how re-use was utilised by the elite to keep an extensive collection up-to-date and relevant. Furthermore, the high-quality 'new' works at Chiragan and the affluence of the villa indicate that recarved busts should not simply be associated with poor economic circumstances and lower class contexts. This is supported by another recarved woman's bust, from an elite public context this time: a bathhouse near modern Viterbo, in Italy (no.42). The bust in question dates to the Late Severan period and was displayed along with a selection of other busts dated between the Severan to mid-third century (incl. nos. 41 & 43).[361] This example indicates that even elite, public commemorations in the Severan period could be fulfilled through dedication of recarved busts.

[360] ibid.; Bergmann 1999, 42-43.
[361] For context see below: 279-284.

These re-used portraits must be understood as part of a larger phenomenon: a growth in the second-hand market and a move away from commissioning new portraits. In her study of villas in North Western Gaul Balmelle notes that in the Late Antique phase contemporary portraits were increasingly rare and instead many villas contain re-homed portraits from earlier periods.[362] A number of instances of busts from much earlier periods displayed in third- to fifth-century contexts exist. One example is a male bust of the time of Trajan, from Montmaurin-Lassalles. [363] Stirling consequently argues that these earlier portraits and sculptures may have gained an 'heirloom' status.[364] This could explain some of the stranger acquisitions we find in Late Roman contexts, for example a recarved bust of Domitian found in a third- to fourth-century villa in Spain.[365] In this case it seems likely, as Stirling proposes, that the bust had lost its original, specific identity and the negative associations inherent in this.[366] Instead, the bust became a generic symbol of antiquity, a treasure of the past.[367] The heritage of their originals may then have imbued the recarved third-century busts with a special status. As Varner proposes: "Perhaps an intentional

[362]Balmelle, 2001, 228-231. The battered head of a man, probably fourth-century in date, from the villa at Sérviac (Balmelle 2001, 229, fig122a-b; Braemer, 1982, 139-141. Fig.40-43:dates to era of Constantine) is an exceptional example, just like the fourth-fifth-century sculptures and portraits discovered at Chiragan; Stirling 2007, 308.

[363] Balmelle 2001, 230, fig.123. Example of the bust of Nero re-cut as Domitian from the villa of El Ruedo in Spain which was heavily re-modelled in the late third-early fourth-century (Vaquerizo Gil- Noguera Celdràn, 1997, 106-111, no.1). Stirling 2007, 313, n.50: owners probably no longer recognised who was depicted instead used to 'represent the family's lineage'.

[364] Stirling 2007, 308.

[365]Bust of Nero re-cut as Domitian from the villa of El Ruedo in Spain which was heavily re-modelled in the late third-early fourth-century (Vaquerizo Gil- Noguera Celdràn 1997, 106-111, no.1). Stirling, 2007, 313, n.50: owners probably no longer recognised who was depicted instead used to 'represent the family's lineage'.

[366] Stirling 2007, 308.

[367] Stewart 2007, 29: development of a '"curatorial" attitude', in Late Antiquity, towards statues of the past.

recycling in which one aims at linking oneself to powerful and respected ancestors."[368]

These re-homed portraits reflect the availability of and trade in second-hand portraits, at least from the third century on. There is, however, a distinction between redisplaying a portrait and the recarving of one to form a new identity. The recarving of a bust, however successful, was intended to fundamentally re-identify the portrait. However, recarved portrait busts often reflect a secondary interest in preserving elements of the original portrait in a way, which signals the 'antiquity' of the object, such as the bust-format.

FORMING NEW IDENTITIES

The above discussion reveals how recarving was utilised within portrait groups in order to update third-century collections. Recarved third-century women's portraits present a negotiation between preserving the antique and asserting the identity of the new portrait.[369] Not all recarvings, however, performed this re-identification as effectively. For example, one of the recarved busts in Vienna presents a rudimentary portrait, with overly round face and small indiscriminate features (no.10). It is hard to imagine a close resemblance between this portrait and the intended subject. Often we may wonder if these recarved busts functioned as accurate likenesses of their new subjects. It is to this question that I will now turn and to the implications and compromises involved in trying to

[368] Varner 2004, 223.
[369] Stewart 2007, esp. 30: discussion of the importance of 'likeness' in portraiture as expressed in Late Antique literary sources.

express the third-century identity of the new subject within the confines of an older bust.

A new hairstyle: a 'new' woman?

The locus of the hair became central to the process of re-identifying a portrait and forming a new identity for an old portrait. This has lead scholars to suggest that recarved women's portraits represent the same woman in both phases, with any changes in hairstyle a result of the woman in question updating her portrait to suit new, imperially led fashions.[370] As I will discuss below, there is little evidence for the practice of regularly re-visiting and updating one's own portrait. If such examples do exist they must be exceptional. Recarved portraits have been found in funerary contexts, substantial periods of time often exist between carves and many recarvings were extensive.[371] This all suggests that in the majority of cases a recarving was part of a change of identity. The possible ambiguity, whether the subject of the portrait had changed, reflects the complex nature of portrait re-use and, in particular for women, the focus on the hair for expressing a new identity. If recarved portraits content themselves with reworking the hairstyle, which in the modern view is a very superficial element of appearance, rather than remodelling the face to form a physiognomically accurate portrait, this raises issues concerning female identity. Should we understand third-century women's portraits as neutral canvases whose only distinctive feature was their hairstyle, an element designed in itself to express

[370] Matheson 2007, 70-80.
[371] Fittschen & Zanker 1983, 103-104, no.152.

conformity to elite fashion.[372] Below I will investigate this issue by considering how re-modelled hairstyles worked within the broader recarved portrait bust. I will argue that the hairstyle was uniquely important to re-identifying the portrait as that of a new subject and locating the portrait within a new historical period. The balance between preserving elements of the old portrait and asserting further elements of the new subject varied greatly from portrait to portrait. However, this very diversity of formulae indicates the individual and particular nature of third-century women's portrait busts.

Third-century women's portrait busts present three possible approaches to re-modelling the hair: (i.) the new hairstyle may simply be chiselled out of the old style, (ii.) extra sections may be attached as required or (iii.), most radically, a complete separately carved hairpiece can be attached. Below I will focus on examples of recarved busts that utilize each of these solutions in order to consider the motivations involved in re-modelling the hair and the centrality of this component to female identity.

All recarved third-century women's portrait busts have re-worked hairstyles. In the majority of cases the new style was achieved by chiselling the new style out of the old. The bust from the 'Hanghaus 1' in Ephesos provides a good example of this (no.46). The Late Severan hairstyle with oblong plaited and coiled bun is the result of a skilful recarving. The hair on the top of the head is thin but remnants of the original hair have been used to create loose strands of hair around the

[372] Herrmann 1991, 46: when discussing a marble woman's head in Boston and whether we should understand her recarved hairstyles as indicative of a new portrait identity observes: 'As with all Roman female portraits, there is a certain generality to her features.'

parting and thick, escaping locks in front of the ears, features typical of hairstyles in this era. The hair has been carefully chiselled to form naturalistic, individually delineated hairs, creating texture and compensating for the absence of marble on top of the head, resulting from the recarving. The face has also been artfully remodelled, as the large recessed eyes indicate. In this instance the bust and decorative *tabula* seem to be original. The care and skill of the recarving make it very difficult to ascertain an original identity for the portrait, although the original bust format suggests a mid-second to early third-century date. Furthermore, the drapery style with encircling mantle indicates that this would originally have been the bust of a woman. The recarving of the hair is part of an extensive re-model, designed to create a 'new' and individual portrait. The preservation of the bust, however, signals the bust's antiquity.

The bust in Copenhagen, purportedly from Aquileia, also has no added sections of marble or separately carved hairpieces. However, the original hair has been recarved, this time into a parting-braid, characteristic of the mid-third century (no.59). In contrast to the Ephesos bust, the only other sign of the bust's adaption are the recarved eyes, which have been drilled. The original bust-format and the face have otherwise been left untouched.[373] Too large a gap exists between the bust's formative creation in the late first to early second century and its third-century recarving for this to be the same woman in both phases. The minor adaptations cannot be explained as a result of a woman updating her portrait in-line with contemporary fashions. In this instance the ideal first- to early second-century woman's portrait bust was obviously considered

[373] Fittschen & Zanker 1983, 103-104, no.152.

satisfactory and in no way incongruous with the later subject's identity. The only notably out-of-date features were the hairstyle and the undrilled eyes. Consequently these features alone were recarved. This example reveals that women's hairstyles were central to their identity. In the case of an ideal portrait, updating the hairstyle and eyes alone could be enough to re-identify the portrait.

The second option for remodelling the hair, the addition of sections of separately carved marble, was generally done in conjunction with a complete recarving of the hair as described in these two examples (fig.63). As discussed above, the addition of separately carved sections to complete a hairstyle is one with precedents in earlier periods and is not necessarily indicative of a recarved portrait. In the Flavian and Trajanic period we have examples of sections of hairpiece, which would have been attached to help complete the elaborate hairstyles of this era (examples of new busts with pieced sections nos.35, 48, 52).[374] In the majority of cases, however, Roman sculptors preferred to carve the hairstyle, however elaborate, out of the same piece of marble as the rest of the portrait. This is true in the third century too when patched hairpieces are generally found in cases when the portrait has been damaged or underwent a recarving (nos.17-18, 41, 49-50, 52).

In the third century these sections were most commonly added at the side of the face, around ear level, as in the case of the two busts in Freiburg (nos.17-18), or at the back of the neck, as with the busts from the villa at Chiragan (nos.49-50).

[374] For example Trajanic hairpiece in Ostia, Museo Ostiense, inv. 1931, H: 19 cm, for discussion and more examples see Herrmann 1991, 46-7 ns.71-73, figs.21-22.

The location of these sections reflects the demands of third-century fashions. The large buns of the Severan period demanded volumes of hair on either side of the face. The alternative ears-uncovered variation often required sections of hair behind the ear and the parting-braid style, which dominated most of the third century, often began low on the neck and required a mass of hair at the back of the head. Furthermore, these were areas where during the recarving the sculptor was likely to experience difficulty. Sections of hair protruding from the head were far more susceptible to breakage. The application of separately carved sections of marble reflects effort made and the troublesome nature of transforming the coiffure of an earlier portrait into a contemporary hairstyle. While many of these pieces have now become detached they would have been pinned and stuccoed into place and were designed to be permanent. The example of the half-figure bust from the villa at Chiragan reveals not only the roughed down surface for the new section of marble but also the remnants of iron pins, used to secure this in place (no.50).

Complete, separately carved hairpieces were a unique feature of the Late Antonine to Severan eras and a number of such caps of hair have survived.[375] They are closely connected to and, I will argue, a result of the fashion for wigs in this period, a central element of female adornment in the third century. This is a topic I will expand upon elsewhere.[376] Of relevance here is the impact of this fashion on the recarving process. Three of our recarved busts wore separately carved hairpieces (nos.21, 42, 44). The use of a separately carved hairpiece

[375] Fittischen & Zanker 1983, 104-106 no.155: identify 34 portraits of this type. Crawford, 1915/1916, 113-115, nos.46-57.
[376] here 165 ff.

simplified the job of the carver who could rough down the head and apply this, thus avoiding the tricky job of remodelling an existing style and the issues of marble scarcity inherent in a recarving. This was particularly true in the early third-century when the large globular hairstyles demanded halos of marble not easily created from recarved portraits.

The four third-century recarved busts with separately carved marble hairpieces present divergent approaches to the recarving process. In the first two instances, a bust in the Louvre and a bust in the Museo Capitolino, which was carved from that of a Trajanic/Hadrianic bust, the inclusion of a separately carved marble hairpiece is part of an extensive recarving (nos.42 & 44). In both cases the preserved Severan hairpieces are neither elaborate nor are they of a more expensive marble. Instead, the hairpieces are thin, modest works. In the case of the bust in the Louvre, the separately carved hairpiece is only cursorily chiselled at the back of the head and seems to have been worked from a scrap piece of marble. The face has been radically recarved: the deeply socketed eyes have the huge, heavy lids characteristic of this era and sit beneath sharply ridged brows. Sections of marble have been cut away at either side of the face, making the cheeks appear hollow and the cheekbones overly high. The old chin has been remodelled and is replaced by a small chin, cut into the face. The bust-format is of a type fashionable in the Antonine and Severan era, although the simple, flat folds of drapery may reflect either a lesser carver or be indicative of Severan recarving. The thin profile may support the latter option. Despite the extensive nature of this remodel the proportion of the head to bust and the posture of the head remain satisfactory. This fact is testament to the skill of the sculptor but

also suggests that the Severan bust was reworked from a similar portrait type, probably an earlier Severan or Antonine female portrait bust. The roughly completed back, defined by the marks of the roundel, is also suggestive of a late second-third century date. The final result is a dramatic surface recarving but no fundamental structural changes.

In the two cases discussed so far the addition of a separately carved hairpiece was not an aesthetic but a pragmatic decision because the original portrait's hair did not provide enough material for a recarving. The new hairpieces were part of an extensive remodel and probably complete transformation as the subject of the bust changed fundamentally. A final bust in the Museo Capitolino, with a modern replacement hairpiece, presents a less aggressive recarving (no.21). The original bust dates to the Antonine period and, except for the dramatic hair restyle, was only subtly re-worked. Large locks of the original hairstyle remain on the forehead and around the neck, thus reinforcing the wig effect. The Antonine style bust-format itself has been left untouched. The face has only been subtly recarved. Lines on the forehead and the etched brows, so characteristic of this era, have been added. In this case the transformation is subtle, reflective of the ideal, unphysiognomic portrait which only requires nuance to be reattributed.

It is examples such as these which have encouraged speculation that complete, separately carved hairstyles were regularly exchanged in order to update a portrait in line with imperial fashions, rather than as a result of a re-use.[377] This

[377] Amelung 1903, 744; Crawford 1917, 115-116 pl.50; von Heintze 1963, 41, 241, nos.50, 310; Matheson 2000a, 70-80.

is an old argument, most recently championed by Matheson, who suggests that the recarving and addition of new marble hairpieces was an economic choice for poorer women wishing to update their portraits.[378] In this way the 'likeness' of the portrait was maintained over time. This fashion argument is supported by the fact that these hairpieces were not just created in cases when portraits were being recarved. For example, the bust of Julia Domna in the Villa Doria Pamphili does not seem to have been recarved and was prepared for a separately carved hairpiece (no.3). Nevertheless, in examples, which have been photographed without hairpieces (nos.4 & 21) it is obvious that high levels of preparation went into applying a hairpiece. This had a drastic impact on the portrait head which was ferociously chiselled down in order to prepare it for the hairpiece. In the case of the Stuttgart example it is possible to remove the hairpiece and put it back on with ease. In the other cases, such as that just discussed in the Museo Capitolino, it is clear that the hairpiece would have been carefully secured with stucco and metal pins (no.21). Finally, Fittschen draws our attention to examples of women's portraits wearing separately carved hairpieces in funerary contexts.[379] This all indicates that these hairpieces were designed to be permanent and would only have been changed as part of a drastic remodel and were not subject to the whims of changing fashion.

These examples once again indicate the emphasis placed on recarving the hair when remodelling a portrait, reiterating the primacy of hairstyles to female identity and the centrality of this feature to a portrait's success. However, in the

[378] Matheson 2000a, 76-77.
[379] Fittischen & Zanker 1983, 105.

majority of instances the recarved hair was accompanied by a general remodel. Most recarved third-century women's busts at the very least included recarved eyes and eyebrows. The identity of women then was not vested in only one aspect of their appearance. Yet, changing the most fashion sensitive feature ensured that the recarved portrait succeeded not only as an antiquity but also as a modish assertion of the 'new' third-century woman's identity.

Economic necessity and gender transformations

That changing attitudes made portrait re-use permissible and even at times advantageous is, I hope, reflected by the above discussion. This social re-alignment made it possible for patrons looking for a cheaper or quicker option to consider commissioning a recarved portrait. Obtaining materials quickly and cheaply was probably, in the majority of case, the main reason for sculptural re-use; for example the portrait of a man carved from an anta-capital, a woman cut from the back of a helmeted goddess's head or respective portraits of a man cut from the sole of a colossal foot and a woman from the toe of another (figs. 64-66).[380] Similarly, in cases when the original subject of the portrait was ill-suited to the later portrait recarving, it is likely that the decision for recarving was largely based on practical motivations such as sourcing materials and keeping

[380] **Man carved from marble anta-capital**, 79-96AD: Princeton University Art Museum, inv. y1953-25, H: 37.5 cm; Antonaccio 1992: figs.1-6, Varner (ed.) 2001, 224-227, no.59 (AD68-81/96); Kinney 1997, 118, figs. 1-2. **Woman carved from marble helmet goddess head**, Princeton University Art Museum inv. y1989-55, H: 29.5cm; Varner (ed.) 2001, no.58, 220-223 (AD 14-37). **Man cut from sole of colossal foot**: Alexandria, Greco-Roman Museum, inv. 24662. Adriani 1940, *Annuaire du Musée gréco-romain 1935-9*, 160, pl. 66.3-4; Antonaccio 1992, 445, fig.8, n. 16. **Miniature portrait of a woman cut from the toe of a large statue**: Stuttgart, Landesmuseum, inv. 1.13, H: 9.4 cm: Watzinger, C., 1927, *Expedition Ernst Sieglin* vol. 2, 1b, 47-9, no.31, 48, figs. 9-10; Laube, I., 2012, *Skulptur des Hellenismus und der Kaiserzeit aus Ägypten*, no.117.

costs down. Interesting examples of this are the three third-century women's busts, which appear to have been recarved from male portraits (nos.25, 44, 61).

The recarving of female portraits from male and vice-versa is not without precedent.[381] In the third century, however, examples are more common. Examples, such as the head of Antinous recarved as that of an un-identified third-century woman, provide fascinating evidence of this phenomenon (fig.67).[382] Another obvious comparison is the sarcophagi corpus, which provides many examples of portrait recarves, which involve a gender change.[383] Birk has argued that, in the case of sarcophagi portraits, examples of mixed gender portraits reflect the wide spectrum of gender identities in the Roman world, thus through selecting an ambiguous or mixed gender portrait the patron might complicate their gender identity and imbue their portrait with virtues associated with the opposite sex.[384] In most instances these sarcophagi portraits seem to be the result of a hasty rededication and the consequent adaption of the portrait. These gender ambiguous images may be interesting to modern eyes but they do not carry the meanings similar images would today.[385] Nevertheless, Birk is correct to note that the patron did not demand a more accurate portrait. The regularity of these gender adaptations suggests that turning a male portrait into that of a

[381] For example a marble portrait of a Republican/Julio-Claudian woman which was recarved as Domitian: Budapest, Museum of Fine Arts, inv. 34.7016. Prusac 2011, 140 no.170, fig.8a-b; Varner & Bundrick, 2000, 72, nos.2a-b; Varner 2008, 188.
[382] Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek, inv. 3286, H: 32cm. Johansen 1995, 200-201, no.88. Other third-century examples: **Portrait of a bearded man** in the process of being recarved from that of a woman with circular Trajanic crowning braid still intact - on the art market in Rome in 1960s, present location unknown. Matheson 2000a, 77. Fig.10a-d; **Portrait Julio-Claudian woman** recarved into a 3rd c. man, Brescia Museum. Matheson 2000a, 77 n.48; Blanck 1969, 49-50, pl.18a.
[383] Birk 2011, esp. 255-256. For examples of a gender change sarcophagi, i.e. an erotes sarcophagus Rome, Musei Vaticani, Galleria Lapidaria, inv. 9242, L: 1.22m., H: 34 cm Kranz 1999, 163, no.137, pl.55.1: 220-40 AD.
[384] Birk 2011, esp. 231.
[385] Koch & Sichtermann 1982, 610; Koch 1990, 65-66.

woman or vice-versa was not taboo. Here I will consider the possible implications of recarving a male portrait bust to form a female third-century bust.

The most crudely adapted bust is that of the Severan girl (no.25). The drapery of the bust and the large right ear as well as the small bust-format indicate that this was formerly a male, *togate* bust of Hadrianic date (figs.68-69).[386] The girl's head with its tear-drop shaped, early third-century form of the parting-braid and twisted-bands hairstyle is the product of an extensive recarving. The recarving is unsubtle and careless. The large right ear, traces of tool marks and un-polished face exemplify this. The low-quality workmanship indicates the rushed nature of the commission and the low budget of the patron. We may consequently deduce that the male bust was selected for practical reasons concerning availability and cost. Nevertheless, the fact that the male drapery, a *toga contabulata*, was left untouched when it could easily have been reworked into a more gender neutral garment is significant. It may be that the subject of the recarved portrait, a young girl, ensured that the absence of breasts or more specific female drapery did not compromise the gender identity of the subject. Either way, it does not seem to have troubled the patron that the portrait was obviously recarved from that of a man.

The youth of the subject and rushed manner of the recarving suggests that the bust was commissioned on the girl's death and was intended for a funerary

[386] See Fittschen & Zanker 2010, 86, no.81, pl.95, Rome, Palazzo dei Conservatori, inv. 1174. H: 58 cm.

context. This example may be compared with the bust of Aurelia Monnina which has also been recarved, although from a female bust, and which has a funerary dedicatory inscription (no.65). Perhaps unsurprisingly the occasion of a child or young woman's death dictated a hurried commission and resulted in the quicker option of having a bust recycled rather than produced from scratch.

Another example, again from the Museo Capitolino, presents an extensive recarving (no.44; fig.71). Once again the bust-format dates the original bust to the Trajanic period, as indicated by its shape, cylindrical foot, acanthus leaves support and the finished back. However, in this instance the bust has been heavily reworked to create flat, regular pleats of drapery. The angular and thin features of the new portrait are indicative of a radical recarving. The long neck is exceptionally thin and seems to bulge slightly in the middle, suggesting a former Adam's apple. This feature, along with the aggressive approach of the carver, may suggest that the original bust depicted a Trajanic man, perhaps a clean-shaven man similar to the bust in the Museo Capitolino presented here (fig.70).[387] A bust of this type would not provide the quantities of marble necessary for successfully recarving it into a female portrait and would demand a more aggressive approach.

In this instance the former masculine identity of the bust has resulted in a radical recarving. Trajanic/Hadrianic busts seem to have been a fashionable choice for recarved portraits in the third century. In most examples of recarved busts from this era the actual bust component and drapery are preserved, while the face and

[387]Fittischen & Zanker 2010, 83, no.79, pls. 94-95 Braccio Nuovo, inv. 1004. H: 48 cm.

hair have been remodelled. This example presents an exception. The sculptor seems to have been most concerned that the bust reflects the new subject, a Severan woman, rather than reveals its former identity as an early second-century man. As a result even the fashionable Trajanic/Hadrianic bust was radically cut back and transformed in a manner appropriate for a female portrait.

A bust found in modern Palestine provides a final example (no.61). The pronounced, masculine physiognomy has led to several condemnatory descriptions of the bust over the years. It has never been fully considered, however, that the bust's broad face and thick jaw reflect its previous identity as the bust of a man. The bust is certainly the result of a recarving: the small, deep-set eyes, high cheekbones, flat planes of the cheeks and thin profile of the bust are suggestive of this. The heavy drapery and size of the bust suggest that this would have originally been a *himation* or *togate* portrait, probably dating to the late second to third century. In this case the remodel may reflect a drastic change in subject. However, the transformation has been skilfully executed, creating a characterful and accomplished portrait.

The original subject provided a large canvas for the creation of the new female portrait. At the back of the head the woman's braid meets the collar, indicating that the previous portrait would have had a long, full head of hair. The draped bust has been well re-modelled. The drapery still appears full and it has been possible to form small, if unusually pointed, breasts. That scholars of this bust have not observed anything unusual in the masculine face reflects the fact that physiognomic, mature and so-called 'characterful' female portraits were not

uncommon in the third century. In particular the bulge in the forehead and folded brow are common and do in fact reflect and emulate fashions in male portrait sculpture, a topic I will discuss further in chapter seven. The large jaw, broad face and small eyes, however, are unusual features for a women's portrait in this era and reflect the difficult choices involved when remodelling a portrait. The sculptor has integrated and utilised elements of the original masculine portrait to create a skilled 'character' sketch of a mature third-century woman in keeping with wider trends in female portraiture. The difficulty in distinguishing between elements of the original portrait and the later portrait brings into question the so-called realism of this portrait and once again raises the difficult question of the importance of likeness when constructing third-century female portraits.

In all three instances the selection of a male portrait bust seems to have been a result of economic necessity or convenience. In the first case, the bust of the girl, a rushed commission was probably triggered by the child's death. The youth of the subject may have meant that the masculine drapery did not seem too incongruous, as the child appears pre-pubescent and has consequently not achieved her full gendered status. In the other two cases, which depict more mature women, efforts have been taken to more fundamentally re-gender the bust, in the former case through a drastic recarving, in the latter instance through the addition of breasts. These busts are consequently unambiguous female gendered portraits. The use of male portraits therefore in no way seems to have reflected a desire on the part of the sculptor or patron to present a transgressive portrait. Nevertheless, the final example reflects how certain

expressions and manners of representation were fashionable for both male and female portraits in this period and could be retained in the process of recarving. When selecting a bust for recarving there seem to have been no taboo concerning the selection of a male bust for a female portrait. Instead, the main priority was which portrait bust could most effectively be recarved to form a successful 'new' portrait.

CONCLUSION

The power and status of the Roman portrait, which might even be understood as equivalent to an individual's presence,[388] the reverence with which portraits could be treated and the disgust with which the literary sources often reflect upon statue re-use compound the negative associations of recarving statues.[389] It is because of this heritage that portrait re-use in the third century is largely viewed as a result of desperate economic circumstances which excuse the breaking of previous taboos. However, as Stewart argues, when discussing Dio Chrystotom's famous condemnation of Rhodian statue relabelling, 'the mindset that permitted reuse of old portraits was fundamentally the same as that of Late Antiquity.'[390] In relation to third century women's busts there is no evidence of a gradual process of taboo breaking, quite the contrary, we find recarved busts in elite public and grand villa contexts alongside new commissions in the Severan period. This reflects the fact that third-century patrons saw no separation between the portraits of the past and those of the present but took a continuum

[388] Here, n. 145.
[389] Matheson 2000a, 77-79.
[390] Stewart 2007, 34.

view of heritage.[391] They consequently adapted gradually and with ease to the idea of portrait re-use when circumstances made this desirable.

[391]Witschel 2007, 125-126; Stewart 2007, 34.

CHAPTER SIX. SELF-STYLING AND *CULTUS*

In Roman women's portraits hairstyles were frequently the most important method of expression. From the elaborately curled and piled hair of Flavian and Trajanic women to the ostentatiously understated *nodus* of Livia, hair was important and value laden. Examination of re-worked busts in the following chapter re-enforces this message: even in cases when all other elements from an earlier portrait are retained the hair is updated and specific. More important than particularised facial features, a woman's hairstyle was central to her portrait's meaning and the construction of identity it projected. As Bartman asserts: 'Roman female hairstyles were highly individualised gendered cultural markers, in many cases having a physiognomic role in a portrait like the face itself.'[392]

The above dating methodology reflects the vital role of women's hairstyles in not only identifying imperial women's portraits but also for relatively dating private women's portraits. However, in the post Severan era a paradox presents itself, while women are clearly preoccupied with having fashionable and specific hairstyles, developments are subtle (if useful for the purposes of dating) and the fashions often appear static and even retro. The hairstyles of the Severan era are referenced throughout; most notably the plaited parting-braid. Noting this trend Schade suggests that imperial women, important leaders and stimulators of fashions around Empire, would have styled themselves so as to make reference

[392]Bartman 2001, 1.

to the Severan dynasty - the last stable regime.[393] Through stressing continuity and associating themselves with the Severans they hoped their own families' reigns would be legitimised and that through their images they would evoke their successful predecessors. This has made it hard to identify portraits of imperial women such as Salonina with security. However, the continuity of the imperial hairstyle may have been important to the imperial message and evoked feelings of stability and continuity.

There may also be a practical element at play; most of the imperial women of the post-Severan to Tetrarchic era did not rule long enough to establish themselves and therefore did not generate the implementation and circulation of radical and innovative hairstyle fashions. Instead imperial women's hairstyles, like the imperial women themselves, must always have been drawn from elite private women and reflected the fashions of this group. Evidence suggests that among elite women conformity to fashion was extremely important and innovation subtle and gradual. Hairstyles were specific to each woman but fitted within a framework of fashion, with strict boundaries and rules reflecting the hegemony of the era.

Having already outlined the developments in women's hairstyles in the third-century from the perspective of my dating methodology (see above ch.3), here I will take a more thematic approach and consider some of the most important trends of this era as well as some of the more innovative hairstyles presented in third-century women's portraiture.

[393] Schade 2003, 13.

WIGS AND HAIRPIECES[394]

One of the most startling features of the busts in my sample and third-century women's portraiture in general is the preponderance of the wig or hairpiece. This is a truly unique feature of third-century women's portraiture. The more elaborate female hairstyles of the Flavian and Hadrianic-Trajanic era have stimulated discussion of the feasibility of some of these styles (fig.72).[395] Stephens, a professional hairstylist, has demonstrated how it is possible, through the use of thread and needle (of the type frequently excavated in Roman context), to recreate even the most complex of ancient women's hairstyles (fig. 73).[396] Stephens observes that many Roman women's portraits present hairstyles in such detail as to indicate that these were based on real styles rather than imaginative fantasies of the sculptor.[397]

That women could create these styles with their real hair does not mean that all of them did. In terms of 'real' Roman wigs no definitive preserved examples survive. Bartman mentions a wig made of linen, tinted a chestnut colour, which was discovered by an eighteenth-century excavation and apparently belonged to the tomb of a Christian woman on the Via Ostiensis, the current whereabouts of this wig, however, are unknown.[398] Alternatively Allason-Jones proposes two

[394] Wig may be defined as a covering for the head; a hairpiece as a section designed to supplement the real hair on the head.
[395] Bartman 2001, 8-11, figs.6-8. The 'Fonseca' bust, (Museo Capitolino, inv. 434. H. (ancient): 39. Bust is modern. Fittschen & Zanker 1983 53-4, no.69, pls.86-7) famous example of the built up Flavian hairstyle = at the centre of debates concerning whether these hairstyles could have been achieved with real hair (fig.72).
[396] Stephens 2008.
[397] Stephens 2008, 119; Bartman 2001, 7-8.
[398] Bartman 2001, 14 n.69: Boldetti 1720, *Osservazioni sopra I cimiteri de'santi matiri ed antichi Christiani di Roma*, 297.

possible examples of hairpieces: a long plait of brown hair which was reported to have been found coiled in a cremation urn at Rainham Creek and some strands of false hair, attached to piece of leather, from les Martres-de-Veyre.[399] In neither instance is preservation or contextual evidence good enough to sustain a certain identification of these as hairpieces.

Wigs have been found in Pharaonic Egyptian contexts and these provide useful insight into how ancient wigs were produced, although the vast differences in date should be born in mind.[400] Stevens Cox's examination of just such a wig in the British Museum revealed it to have been made completely from human hair (fig.74).[401] The wigs 'reticulated foundation' was formed of tightly plaited hair. Long strands of hair were then 'anchored' to this net: pulled through, twisted and secured in place through the application of beeswax (fig.75).[402] This example gives us an idea of the required skill and necessary time that went into constructing a wig in the ancient world. We may speculate as to more economical variations, for example the wig made of coloured linen just mentioned, however it seems that real wigs would have been expensive commodities.

References in literary sources to the use of wigs and hairpieces indicate that they were not unusual amongst the Roman elite. A variety of wigs or hairpieces were available dependent on the individual's requirements. Nero and Messalina are

[399] 2005, 133. My thanks to Dr Allason-Jones for her useful 'wig' references. **Rainham Creek:** Wood 1883 "Roman urns found near Rainham Creek, on the Medway" in *Archaeologica Cantiana* vol.15, 108-110; Black, E. W. 1986, "Romano-British burial customs and religious beliefs in South East England" in *Archaeological Journal* vol.143, 225. **Martres-de-Veyre:** Audollent, A. 1921, "Les tombes des Martres-de-Veryre" in *Man* vol. 21, 163.
[400] Bartman 2001, 14 n.69: wig.
[401] Stephens Cox 1977. Mummy wig**,** New Kingdom. Found in Deir el-Bahri. BM, inv. EA2560. Strudwick (2006) *Masterpieces of Ancient Egypt*, 194-5.
[402] Stephens Cox 1977 70, fig.2.

described as wearing a *galerus* or *galerum* (a partial hair piece) in the former case to cover his baldness, in the latter to supplement her hair to fashionable effect.[403] Alternatively various literary references are made to the wearing of *capillamentum* (a full wig), for example in Petronius' *Satyricon* the narrator is adorned with a wig of golden curls.[404]

Ovid indicates that wigs and hairpieces could be utilised to disguise and compensate for hair damaged by heat and cosmetics. Ovid describes his mistress Corinna wearing a wig after her hair was destroyed by dye.[405] He also advises older women, with thinning hair, to use hairpieces.[406] Further evidence indicates, however, that hairpieces and wigs transcended these purely practical concerns and functioned as fashionable accessories - blatant and advertised to others. This is supported by a passage in Tertullian: 'In vain do you labour to seem adorned: in vain do you call in the aid of all the most skilled makers of false hair.' [407] Tertullian's moral objections aside this passage is important as it not only provides contemporary evidence for fashions amongst women for hairpieces and wigs but in its reference to makers of these indicates a craft orientated to fulfil this demand.

Evidence for the necessary associated trade in hair to supply this demand is scant but important in understanding the nature of women's fashion. Ovid and Martial both make reference to '*captivos crines*'; Ovid's mistress's wig was made

[403] Sue. *Nero* 26; Juv. *Sat.* 6. 120-124. Olson 139, n.117.
[404] Petron. *Sat.* 110; Caligula is also described wearing a wig of this type (Sue. *Calig.* 11).
[405] Ovid *Am.* 1.14.45-50. For discussion Olson 139 n. 119.
[406] Ovid. *Am.*
[407] *De cultu Feminarum* 2.7.

from golden Germanic hair.[408] Similarly Juvenal describes Messalina as wearing a blonde wig.[409] Alternatively an extract in the *digest* includes '*capelli indici*' in a list of luxury goods, alongside spices, precious stones, expensive fabrics, eunuch's and exotic animals, all to be subject to custom dues.[410] These references evidence the Roman trade in hair and the high value placed on foreign hair, of pigment and type less attainable amongst the Mediterranean cultures. The desire for these hairs, which presumably would have contrasted strongly with the wearer's natural hair, reveals a lack of concern for 'natural' looking wigs. This reflects wider fashions in women's hairstyles: the proliferation of references to women dyeing their hair unnatural hues and the complex nature of Roman women's coiffures are indicative of a preference for elaborate, heavily styled and artificial styles.[411] Bartman correctly asserts that for Roman women hair was not arranged to appear naturally attractive so much as to signal the complex processes, skill, time and ultimately taste of the owner who instigated the creation.[412] The obvious contrast, frequently made in Roman reliefs and other iconography, is between the unkempt 'natural' hair of the barbarian woman and the controlled and cultivated, if artificial styles, of the fashionable Roman lady.

This is reflected by representations of seated women having their hair arranged – scenes symbolic of the cultivated and civilised private realm. For example a sandstone pillar monument, from Neumagen (Belgica), which dates to the mid

[408] Ovid, *Am.* 1.14.45-6; Mart. *Epg.* 14.26. For discussion see Bartman 2001, 14, nos.70-71.
[409] Juv. *Sat.* 6.120-124.
[410] *Dig.* 39, 4.16.7.
[411] Hair dye: Pliny's *HN* is especially informative on the topic of hair pigments: 32.67-8 (black) 30.134 (remedy for grey hair) 28.191 (red). Martial *Epg*. 8.33.20 & 14.26 (to lighten hair). For further discussion of references to Roman hair dye in the literary record see: Olson 1999 (dissertation) 138-9 & Allason-Jones 2005, 133.
[412] Bartman 2001, 5-7.

third-century, depicts a woman having her hair dressed by multiple attendants alongside other scenes of family unity, learning and the reception of clients (figs. 76-77).[413] Depictions of this kind come from all over empire.[414] A fragment of late third century sarcophagus front, from Isola Sacra, includes a toilette scene (fig.78).[415] The woman depicted is sitting in a tub-chair while three servants attend her; one stands behind her and styles her hair. A terracotta statuette, this time from El-Djem in North Africa, depicts a similar scene: a woman draped in expensive clothes sits with her feet on a footstool while a servant dresses her hair (fig.79).[416] In this instance the woman in question is wearing a Severan orb-hairstyle, augmented-braids variation, with evenly pressed finger waves, which fall onto the shoulders. The way the hair sits on the head suggests that this could be a wig being styled.

The repetitive nature of the iconographic formula in the third century reflects the positive associations of having one's hair elaborately styled and the implied wealth and leisure this required. Wigs and hairpieces should be understood as part of the vocabulary of this elite, cultivated realm.

The depiction of wigs/hairpieces on women's portraits

The extracts and evidence discussed above indicate that wigs and hairpieces were used throughout the imperial period. This raises the question of why is it

[413] Trier, Rheinisches Landesmuseum, inv. NM 184. Kampen 1981, 150 no.32, fig.50. Scenes of this type seem to have been reasonable popular in this region between the 2nd to 3rd c. for example also in Trier, Rheinisches Landesmuseum, inv. NM 314 & 462. Kampen 1981, nos.33, 35. Wilhelm, M., 1932, *Grabmäler von Neumagen,* pl. 34, 184 a; pl. 38, 185a12.
[414] For a compilation of *ornatus* scenes see Schumka, 2000 262-265 nos.86-100 & Kampen 1981.
[415] Ostia. Found in 1977 at S. Ippolito on the Isola Sacra. L. 193, H. 35 cm. Amedick 1991, 136 no.86, pl. 107. 2-4; Schumka 2000, 263, no.90.
[416] Louvre, inv. CA 3262, H: 135 cm. Kampen 1981, 152 no.38, fig.85.

only in the Severan era that wigs are clearly and frequently represented in women's portraits. This is interesting as there is not the expected logical correlation between the representation of hairpieces and the adoption of more elaborate hairstyles. In the Late Severan period relatively simple styles were created with the aid of wigs. The wig must have taken on heightened symbolic associations to become an element articulated and advertised in women's portraits.

There is some evidence for the depiction of wigs/hairpieces on women's portraits before the Severan period.[417] In particular the neat framing bands of many Trajanic-Hadrianic women's portraits create a divide between face and hair (fig.80).[418] On these same portraits the hair is often modelled into overly smooth forms and the effect appears far from natural.[419] However, as the discussion has revealed, 'natural' was not the desired effect and the lack of 'realism' in these portraits does not necessarily indicate the use of wigs so much as a desire to present styles so incredible and contrived that reality is questioned.

In contrast in the Severan era wigs are explicit and signposted to the viewer. This could be done either through carving the hairstyle in such a way as to signal the separate and artificial nature of wig or the effect could be intensified through the application of a separately carved hairpiece. Below I will discuss both of these

[417] See discussion Bartman 2001, 10-22.
[418] op. cit.
[419] Bartman 2001, 10, pl.1: gives the example of a marble head of Marciana, The Met. Inv. 20.200, H: 31 cm.

options in turn and how they were utilised in third-century women's busts in order to express 'wigs'.

Julia Domna is the first imperial woman to be depicted explicitly wearing a wig. In the bust in Bloomington (no.2), Julia Domna's orb-hairstyle is pressed into thick waves and regularly modelled and a neat line around the parting makes the hair appear to sit on the head, signalling its artifice. More explicitly loops of 'real' hair escape from beneath the wig, just around the level of the covered ears. These snail curls are found on all the busts of Julia Domna and are even clearly represented on most of her coin portraits (table 4.5).

Two busts in the BM and Capitoline, which represent the same elite woman, probably a member of the Severan imperial family, replicate Julia Domna's Gabii hairstyle but with the distinction that a broad section of hair, at the front of the head, is gently twisted to form a loose band which frames the face (nos.8-9). Peeking out from beneath this great helmet of hair are two plastically formed ringlets of 'natural' hair. This was not a feature exclusive to the imperial circle or limited to busts from display contexts in Rome and Italy; the bust of Crepereia Innula represents thick curls of hair on the cheeks and escaping sections at the top of the forehead (no.16). In fact of the portrait busts dated to the main Severan era (193-217) the majority are explicitly wearing wigs while two are inconclusive.[420] Polychromy, as Schauenburg proposes, may have also been used

[420] I have been careful to differentiate those portraits which are explicitly presented wearing wigs and those which are inconclusive. The former category is defined not only by the cap-like, regularly modelled hair but large escaping tendrils of hair on the cheeks and in some cases around the ears and on the forehead. The inconclusive category consists of those portraits where the cap-like artificial nature of the hair may indicate a wig and is joined by carefully etched

to signal the wig.[421] This is supported by those examples of separately carved hairpieces in coloured marble (figs.81-82).[422]

In five busts the wig wearing could be even more explicitly expressed through the application of separately carved hairpieces. As discussed above, separately carved hairpieces or pieced sections of hair are sometimes indicative of reuse and need not automatically symbolise wigs.[423] For example the thin white marble separately carved hairpieces of two Late Severan busts were probably primarily technically motivated to facilitate their respective busts' recarving (nos.42 & 44). These caveats noted it is interesting that the majority of the separately carved hairpieces, or portraits prepared for these, date to the Severan period. Of the thirty-five examples listed by Fittschen, seven date to the late Antonine period (2 portraits of Crispina), fifteen are Severan (11 portraits of Julia Domna) and two are private portraits of Late Severan women.[424] It is clear then that this is a practice located in a particular period and it can not be a coincidence that the main women's portrait fashion of the time was for wigs. This connection is supported by the fragment of a funerary relief which depicts a woman's portrait bust in encircling mantle bust-format supported by framing

strands of hair on the cheeks; these elements are subtle and could also represent a hairstyle formed from 'real' hair.

[421] Schauenburg 1967, 57.

[422] For example Severan woman's head carved from white marble with separately carved wig made of Onyx marble, H: 29cm, Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek, Inv. 2741. Johansen 1995, 54-55: Bergmann & Sande believed wig to be a modern fake. A number of these are probably modern forgeries i.e. here **no.21** & 1st c. Herm portrait recarved in the 3rd c. and head prepared for wig, with modern wig: Ny Carlsberg Glyptotekre, inv. 2742, H: 41cm. Johansen 1995, 56-57. **Detroit Institute of Arts,** white marble third-century head with separately carved hair-piece in dark stone. inv. 38.41. H: 25 cm. Kleiner & Matheson (eds.) 1996, 174-5, no.130 (PJED) – authentic?

[423] For argument that detachable hairpieces used by women to keep their portrait up-to-date with fashion: Kleiner & Matheson 1996, 174. Argument largely rejected: Fittschen & Zanker 1983, 105.

[424] Fittschen & Zanker 1983, 104-6, no.155 n. 4.

maenads and sitting above an acanthus calyx (fig.83).[425] The woman on the relief is depicted wearing an orb shaped, separately carved hairpiece. That this is the case is expressed by the large section of 'natural' hair on the forehead, the incised line between wig and face and the contrast of the naturally waved 'real' hair and the precisely pressed waves of the wig. As evidenced by this relief wigs in this period were high-status commodities and women's portraits reflect a desire to underline the fact that they shared in this elite fashion.

The bust of Julia Domna in Stuttgart presents an excellent example of a well preserved portrait bust with intact separately carved 'wig' (no.4). The etched curls of 'real' hair on the cheeks further enhance the 'wig' effect. The bust of a private woman in the Museo Capitolino which was recarved from an Antonine portrait and had consequently been prepared for a now lost Severan hairpiece, reveals an innovative way of utilising elements of the original hairstyle. The head is roughed to a peak, ready for the hairpiece, however, tufts of the portrait's original hair on the forehead and on the neck remain, presumably intended to contrast with the artificial 'wig' simulated by the hairpiece now lost.

The above examples evidence the fashion for depicting women wearing wigs in the Severan period. So why did the wig become such an important aspect of Severan women's portraiture? One traditional explanation is that the wig was introduced by Julia Domna and reflected her foreign, Syrian, origins.[426] Gauckler argues that these wigs were in some way associated with religious customs

[425] Frankfurt, Liebieghaus, inv. 1503. Schauenburg 1967, 45-63, fig.1-2.
[426] Hekler 1912, 44; Neugebauer 1936, 170; Hinks 1976, 85: Assyrian tradition imported by JD.

adopted from Syria.[427] This argument reflects the fact that Gauckler focused exclusively on separately carved wigs and consequently understood this as an exceptional feature only expressed by a small selection of portraits.

However as Bartman argues there is not a great deal of evidence of wig wearing in Syria. For example the Palmyrene portrait reliefs present lavish headdresses but do not include wigs. There is some evidence among the Syrian portrait reliefs published by Parlasca of women wearing wigs.[428] In one instance, a section of a column monument from Northern Syria, the women depicted in bust-format appear to be wearing wigs (fig.152).[429] This example is believed to date to the Antonine period, thus preceding the Severan fashion. It is possible then that Julia Domna, influenced by a fashion for wigs in Syria, transmitted this trend through her own portraits.[430] Whether the explicit presentation of wigs on women's portraits reflects Syrian influence or not the quick adoption and emulation of this fashion by private women reflects the fact that for the Romans, as discussed above, the wig was not an unusual feature and did not have negative 'eastern' connotations. This then would not have been seen as a 'foreign' imposition.

Interestingly the wig continues even when hairstyles become more simplified in the Late Severan period. For instance the half-figure bust in the BM (no.26) presents a typical Late Severan hairstyle, not dissimilar to that of Julia Mamaea

[427] Gauckler, 1910; Crawford 1915/16, 104-105, n. 3; Schauenberg 1967, 55 n.73.
[428] For example grave relief of Nardine "aus Aleppo", from Antiochia. St. Petersburg, Hermitage, inv. A 450. Parlasca, 1981, 17, n.175, pl.19.3 (Antonine).
[429] See n. below – without close examination it is impossible to be certain, these may also be part of their elaborate head-dresses.
[430] Adoption of the wig as an eastern, Assyrian fashion: Hekler 1912, 44; Neugebauer 1936, 170; Becatti 1966, 362; Hinks 1976, 85; Hill 1964, 8-9; Nodelman 1965, 116, 124. Baharal 1992.

(nos.28-36). The 'hair' is parted in the middle and pressed into even waves and sits in a flat cap on the head, large sections of drilled and plastic ringlets cluster in front of the ears and fall onto the shoulders. The difference in depiction of the 'real' hair and the natural is stark. The 'real' hair is drilled into irregular ringlets in contrast to the regular pattern of the etched hair of the hairpiece. This example is consequently instructive in our analysis of other busts and reveals that carvers in the third-century had not simply forgotten how to carve naturalistic hair but were choosing to carve hair in such a patterned, regular manner so as to express the presence of a wig. Another example in the Museo Capitolino from the same period presents a similar contrast of flat wig and escaping clusters of drilled ringlets (no.27). These examples are two of the best quality busts in my sample and skilfully contrast real 'natural' hair and wig/hairpiece. Many of the other portrait busts of this era are not so clear. Most notably the busts of Julia Mamaea all present her with the same cap of flat hair as both the busts just discussed. However, there are no escaping clusters of ringlets. Instead we see strands of hair etched onto the cheeks. This detail is subtle and it is impossible to tell whether a wig is being depicted or not.

Numerous private women's busts from this era present the same hairstyle, flat cap and regularly chiselled waves of hair with etched strands of hair on the cheeks and sometimes on the forehead. Whether we should understand these etched strands as escaping tendrils of 'real' hair is difficult to decide. In fact the ambiguity of these portraits may reflect the reality that both possibilities were available. Even if these are not wigs the hairstyles depicted, modelled into uniform, waved caps, reflect the influence of the hairpiece. There is a possible

irony as once the artificial imitated the real, now the real may be imitating the artificial.

The question of wig or not wig remains open for many portraits of the mid to late third-century. For example the portrait bust of a mature, full figured woman at Farnborough Hall, of the mid third-century, presents a closely modelled cap of hair with etched strands in front of the ears (no.55). A bust dated to the late third to fourth quarter of the third-century proves that in some cases wigs continued to be explicitly represented (no.64). The woman's wiry strands of hair are formed into a cap, with a large twisted parting-braid, clusters of drilled curls behind the ears surely indicate 'natural' escaping hair. However, by this period this was a dying trend. In the case of the bust of Aurelia Monnina, dated to the third quarter of the third-century, the hair is etched into lines up from the forehead suggesting that the hair is being pulled back from the scalp (no.65). Similarly the bust in the Hermitage (no.62), of contemporary date, skilfully presents waves of hair being drawn back from the face in naturalistic waves. Finally the Cleveland busts, which date to the Tetrarchic era, with their large rolled parting-braids, depict the hair falling round the face and being drawn back in natural waves (nos.66-68) In all these cases it is still possible that the women depicted did use wigs or hairpieces, however, this feature is no longer visually dominant in their portraits.

In most instances, when referenced by the literary sources, wigs and hairpieces are utilised for satirical or moralising purposes, demonstrable indicators of immoral, decadent or deceptive behaviour. For example Nero and Domitian are

characterised as vain for using hairpieces, while Caligula and Messalina use wigs to deceive and behave in immoral ways.[431] However, the above discussion compiles evidence for the fashionable use of wigs and hairpieces and proposes a set of positive, elite associations for this practice. In the third-century the wig was an important way of expressing culture and refinement or *cultus.* As Fejfer rightly asserts *cultus* was one of the 'most powerful and dramatic visual messages a Roman woman could espouse.'[432] The practice of *cultus* was closely linked with the refined lifestyle of the elite private sphere. Women, the natural occupants of the private sphere, were useful vessels for expressing this virtue. The wig was an expensive possession and the wearing of such an object would be completely impractical for any but the most leisured classes. The wig consequently became an important symbolic indicator of a woman's status. The increasingly simple cap like hairstyles of this period could consequently serve a dual purpose; creating an understated modest appearance while ensuring that the true status and *cultus* of the subject would not be overlooked.

EYEBROWS

'He wanted to produce some more lines even more silly than the last, I believe, when Tryphaena's maid took Giton below decks, and ornamented the boy's head with some of her mistress's artificial curls. Further, she also took some eyebrows out of a box, and by cunningly following the lines where he was defaced she restored his proper beauty complete.'

Petronius, Satyricon, 110

The eyebrows are one of the most distinctive and expressive elements of third-century women's portrait busts (fig.84). The detail with which individually

[431] Suet. *Dom.* 18; Messalina: Juv. *Sat.* 6.120-124; Sue, *Cal.* 11.
[432] Fejfer 2008, 352.

delineated brow hairs are depicted reflects a wider trend in third-century portrait carving for etching facial hair and surface detail into the face - this can be likened to the chiselled stubble of the men of this era. At times the effect created through etching the brows is striking. To take the example of the *pavonazzetto* bust in the Museo Capitolino; the white marble face is marked by the large, regular, diagonally hatched brows which meet in the middle, more subtle hairs can be seen stretching across the brow, just above the nose (no.27; fig.84.a). In this case the regular patterned effect is, at least to modern eyes, unnatural. However, this artificiality may not be purely the result of stylistic change as a reflection of fashions in eyebrow grooming. As with hairstyles naturalism was not necessarily the desired effect. We have evidence for the plucking or shaping of brows in the Roman era; as with other areas of body hair, Roman women were conscientious in their grooming of this feature. Tweezers, the implements required to define the brows, are common finds and seem to have been essential implements of the Roman grooming kit (fig.87).[433] Eyebrows could even be aided by the addition of fake hair. To take an extreme and illustrative, if humorous, example we may consider the passage from Petronius' Satyricon, quoted above in full, which makes reference to the use of fake eyebrows. Brows then, like hair, were subject to careful shaping and the fashions of the time.

The full, etched brows of the third-century must be understood as important expressions of female grooming and fashion. The large monobrows of this era

[433] Tweezers from Lincoln, L: 61mm, BM, inv. 1866,1203.183; toilet sets are common finds, for example a copper-alloy set from Braughing which includes an ear scoop, tooth-pick and tweezers. BM, inv.2007,8045.69.

had nothing to do with a naturalistic or unkempt appearance but indicate precisely the opposite. The ordered patterned regularity of brows on women's portraits creates a uniform and groomed effect. Moreover thick arched eyebrows, which frequently meet in the middle, are a common feature on many of the more 'youthful'/'ideal' busts: for example the fragmentary bust in Copenhagen presents full, neatly arched, etched brows which almost meet at the bridge of the nose (no.39).

Mummy portraits provide useful non-sculptural evidence for practices of female eyebrow grooming. The majority of mummy portraits, irrespective of date, depict women with full, and shaped, thick black brows (figs. 21 &23). It might be argued that these full brows merely reflect the 'real' thick facial hair of the women depicted. However, for a society so familiar with hair removal and grooming it is unlikely that this hair would have been left, or that it would be expressed in a painted portrait, unless it was considered desirable. Examples such as the mummy portrait of a woman from Hawara, with thick monobrow, dated between 55-70 AD indicate that full brows were worn, at least by some Egyptian women, throughout the imperial period (fig.85).[434]

Thick eyebrows on sculpted portraits are also not exclusive to the third-century. For example the head of a young woman from the mid second century, who is depicted with clearly etched, full brows, which meet over the bridge of the

[434]Lime-wood, H: 41.6, W: 21.5 cm. BM, Inv. EA 74713. In Walker & Biebrier, 1997, 44-45 no.18. Also see portrait of a woman on linen AD 100-20, reported to be from er-Rubayat, H: 37.5, W: 18.5 cm. BM, inv. EA 63395. In ibid, 87-88, no.77.

nose.[435] This fashion, however, was to become more prevalent on sculpted portraits in the third-century, reflecting a renewed interest in this element of self-styling. This point is made most clear if we compare the portraits of Faustina the Elder and Yonger, which generally depict them with finely arched brows, consisting of delicately etched horizontal lines.[436] This is in contrast to those of Julia Domna which consistently represent her brows as thick, arches made up of vertically etched hairs which in most instances meet at the bridge of the nose.[437]This evidence makes it clear that large brows were a central element of Julia Domna's fashionable portrait type in a way they where not for her immediate Antonine predecessors. Domna's adoption of thick brows may have in turn influenced the portraits of private women. Either way, a feature previously considered a fashionable option, in the Severan period, became an essential and defining element on women's portraits.

Depictions on third-century women's busts reflect a variety of eyebrow styling options. In some cases the effect is more extreme and a full monobrow is presented, in others the chisel marks are finer and the brows are full but do not quite meet in the middle (figs.81a-d). Subtle variations aside, full, thick etched eyebrows are found on all third-century female busts, the only exceptions are busts which have been damaged or which have been subject to such severe modern treatments as to have removed ancient surface details (nos.13, 41 & 59).

[435]Braccio Nuovo, inv.2764, H: 26 cm. Fittschen & Zanker 1983, 75, no.98, pl.123.
[436] For example see Faustina Elder: marble bust, Rome, Museo Capitolino inv. 447, H:49 cm. ibid. 13-14, no.13, pls.15-16; Faustina Younger: marble bust, Rome, Musei Capitolini, Palazzo dei Conservatori, inv. 851, H: 69.5cm. ibid. 19-20, no.18, pls.22-23.
[437] Fittischen & Zanker 1983, no.19, neatly etched full, but naturalistic brows – now hairs over the bridge of the nose. No.20, schematic etched brows, relatively thin but go down the bridge of the nose.

The explicit and at times schematic articulation of women's brows is a distinctive feature of third century women's portraits. This was true not only of imperial women's portraits or busts but in wider sculptural representations. For example a sarcophagus from the Catacombe di Pretestato, depicts a woman in frontal bust format, her brows are prominent, neatly etched arches which meet at the bridge of the nose (fig.86).[438] As observed this trend in part reflects a preference by third century sculptors for etching details such as facial hair onto the face of the portrait. In earlier periods such details may have been created purely with polychrome. This technical innovation, however, must have been motivated by a desire to underline this feature as was the case with the distinctive 'military' stubble of the male portraits in this era. This is supported by the fact that depictions of third century women in other media also include heavy, 'etched' brows. For example a gold *aureus* of Julia Domna goes to lengths to etch the brows (fig.88).[439] This is interested as in most instances it is customary to depict the brow, on numismatic portraits, with a simple horizontal line. Here then attention has been paid to give Domna her distinctive brows.

While Roman women's grooming had always placed emphasis on the shaping and styling of the brows, in the third century we may note a new emphasis on the depiction of full, often styled brows in women's portraits. Like wigs, brows became a locus for expressing fashionable taste, leisure and grooming. In particular the popularity of the monobrow and the well-groomed and stylised

[438] Marble, Inv. 21, L: 86. Bielefeld 1997, 116, no.91, pl. 49.5.
[439] BM, inv.1864,1128.100. RIC4 578.

representation of this feature indicate that rather than being a result of the *veristic* desire to present portraits in an ultra-realist manner this element reflects the fashionable style of the time. The pervasive nature of this element indicates that full brows must have become central to ideals of female beauty and the taste of the third-century.

JEWELLERY AND DECORATIVE DRESS

The discussion above indicates how third-century busts used female grooming of hair and eyebrows to assert status, taste and ultimately *cultus*. However, other elements of female grooming or adornment had long been treated with unease and seem to have been deemed inappropriate on female bust portraits. Jewellery and overly lavish clothes, the main focus of Roman moralising attacks and sumptuary legislation, are clearly not considered appropriate for a respectable female portrait bust. In reality elite women wore expensive jewellery and lavish dress, a fact proudly displayed in many of the funerary portrait traditions of Empire.[440] For instance the mummy portraits, which date between the Julio-Claudian and Severan eras, frequently depict women wearing jewellery and ornamental hair-pins (figs.21, 23, 85).[441] Similarly the *tondo* of Julia Domna and family depicts her wearing a bejewelled diadem, large pearl-earrings and a pearl

[440] Palmyran funerary relief busts are the most obvious examples. For example BM, inv. 125019, 3rd c. AD.

[441] Stephens 2008, 119: omission of female hair-pins ('bodkins') on Roman women's portraits indicates that these were not commonly used. Problematic as large no. of mummy portraits depict women wearing ornamental hair-pins, we also have many finds of these. Instead hair-pins probably understood as decorative items akin to jewellery = rarely included in women's 'respectable' portrait statues.

necklace (fig.89).[442] Amongst elite peers and within the private sphere these items of adornment would have signalled wealth and status, however in the more traditional and morally conservative Roman public context assertions of wealth were treated with greater suspicion. Therefore busts, despite often presenting women in a 'real' manner, in terms of drapery styles and hair fashions, generally avoid adornment and jewellery which would have been normal wear for most elite Roman women.

Towards the end of the third century, however, it is possible to identify a gradual moral re-adjustment in relation to female adornment in portraiture. Elements of embellishment, previously limited to portraits of the strictly private sphere, such as gold-glass and non-Roman cultural contexts, became present in statues and busts and began to be integrated into the portraits of imperial women on coins. By the Constantine era this change appears to have been consolidated and most female portraits present women, private and imperial alike, wearing jewellery or decorative clothing in all contexts.[443] Below I will discuss those female busts with ornamental features or jewellery from the third to early fourth-century within the context of wider trends in public ornament on statues and the moral re-adjustment inherent in these changes.

[442] Berlin, Staatliche Museum, inv.31329, D: 30.5cm.
[443] For example: **4th c. marble, statue head** wearing bejewelled diadem and earrings. Como, Museo Archeologico Paolo Giovio, Como, inv. E 2951, H:.33.8 cm. Schade 2003, 187-8, no.1 27, pl. 40.2-3; **5th-6th c. veiled head**, from a statue, of a woman wearing earrings. Pamphylia, in Geneva, George Ortiz Collection, Schade 2003, 226-227, no.I 66, pls. 66 and 67.1, LSA-449 (J. Lenaghan).

The stephane

An element of adornment which is regularly depicted on women's sculpted portraits and imperial women's coin portraits is the *stephane*. In the past this element has been used to identify third-century women's portraits as 'imperial'.[444] This reflects a conflation by modern scholars of the 'diadem' with the '*stephane*'.[445] The former has Hellenistic royal origins and was to become an official royal insignia in the Constantine period.[446] Traditionally this was formed of a band of white fabric tied at the back of the head so that fringed tails fell on the shoulders.[447] However, in its Late Antique imperial variation the diadem was regularly elaborated with the addition of jewels.[448] The *stephane* was only worn by women and generally appeared as a disk on top of the head. The origins of this headpiece are not known although it is an attribute commonly worn by female mythical figures or women in the guise of a mythical figures.[449] The *stephane*, as Schade notes, was consequently not a specific insigne of sovereignty, rather it invoked majestic and sacred connotations and developed generic associations with female adornment and refinement.[450] Over time the *stephane* developed a dual meaning, on the one hand its divine origins made it a symbol of status and power, and on the other it became an element of adornment,

[444] Nodelman 1982, 110, n. 16: diadem the 'familiar insignia of the Augustae', uses this attribute to support his identification of a head in California (Yegül, 1981) and a bust in the Torlonia collection as portraits of Plautilla. Bergmann 1977, 43: uses the attribute of the diadem to support her identification of heads in the BM (inv. 1873,0820.734) and the bust (no.57) as those of HE. In this case comparison with coin portraits and the over life-size head in the BM make her argumentation more compelling.
[445] For example Alexandridis 2004, 49-50.
[446] Hellenistic diadem: Smith 1988, 34-40; Smith 1994, 202-11.
[447] Smith 1988, 34-35.
[448] For example gilded bronze portrait head of Constantine I, from Naissus: wearing a diadem of rectangular plates connected by jewels. H: 36. LSA-557 (U, Gehn); Delbrueck 1933, 119-21, pls.35-6.
[449] Alexandradis 2004, 49.
[450] Schade 2003, 24. Alexandradis 2004, 50: associates 'the diadem', at least initially with sovereignty, however, she notes that this was not an official or exclusive symbol of imperial power.

recognised in examples which Roman women would actually have worn, a symbol of female refinement.[451] This ambiguity in the *stephane's* meaning explains why this element of adornment was considered acceptable on women's portraits long before other forms of jewellery, more overtly expressive of 'real' luxury were permitted.

In the third-century the *stephane* became extremely popular on imperial women's coin portraits, hence the tendency, by scholars, to see it as a specific imperial feature (figs. 96, 98a, 115, 122a; table 4.6, .12, .13-24). In the imperial women's portraits the *stephane* was often accompanied by the crescent moon, a symbol which acted as a reflection to the *corona radiata,* frequently presented in the emperors' numismatic portraits of this era (fig.122a). As Schade outlines the imperial couple were consequently associated with Sol and Luna and invoked the *aeternitas domus divinae* .[452] In the context of these coin portraits the diadem perpetuated divine associations and the virtues concomitant with these.

Five third-century women's busts depict women wearing the *stephane*, three of these depict Julia Mamaea, one depicts Etruscilla and one another Severan imperial woman probably Plautilla (nos.33-35, 57, 24). The three Julia Mamaea busts suggest that one of her official portrait types incorporated this element. The marble busts present the *stephane* in a standardised manner as a large undecorated disk. This type of *stephane* is in common with other marble portraits of this era, imperial and private, such as that of the veiled woman with

[451] Schade 2003, 14.
[452] Schade 2003, 15.

stephane from the Late Severan era in the Louvre, and the portrait of Etruscilla in the BM (no.57) (fig.36).[453] In fact this manner of presenting the *stephane* is familiar in women's portraits of the early imperial era, for example the head of 'Poppaea' in Rome's National Museum.[454] Similarly the bust of a private woman dated to around 130 AD, represents the woman with a large diadem – interestingly in this case a simple classicising design of scrolls has been carved onto the diadem (fig.90).[455] This decoration, however, works with the naturally waved hair and 'classicising' features to give the bust a divine, mythological aspect as was fashionable at this time.[456] The *stephane*'s ornamental role is not emphasised but instead is presented, as on the coins, as a symbol of divine inspired virtue and status. This point is made more overt in cases such as the seated woman from the mid third-century in the Villa Julia who is presented wearing the *stephane* in the guise of Venus.[457] The *stephane* in these portraits is not a piece of 'real' ornament but a symbolic attribute.[458]

The case of the miniature bronze bust of Julia Mamaea is different (no.33). Here the *stephane* is decorated with incised circles and blobs of bronze radiate out from it. This decoration was designed to evoke jewels. We may compare this manner of representation to the painted *tondo* of Julia Domna and family which presents her wearing a jewelled headband (fig.89). Here then we are looking at

[453] Louvre, inv. MA 995, H: 38 cm. Ancient early third-century head on modern bust, tip of nose restored. Kersauson 1996, 428-9, no.198; HE in BM. Op. cit.
[454] Marble head of a Neronian woman, possibly a relative of the emperor. inv. 124129, H: 53.5cm. Felletti Maj 1953, 76, no.131 with pl.
[455] The Getty, inv. 70. AA.100. H: 43. Vermeule 1973, 30, no.64 with ill.
[456] Getty, inv. 70.AA.100, H: 43 cm.
[457] H: 1.25m, hands broken off from the wrists, head broken around the neck and reattached. Found in 1962, in Cazzonella, near Tarquinia on the site of a villa (?). Moretti (ed.), 1975, *Nuove Scoperte e acquisizioni nell'Etruria Meridionale, exhibition catalogue*, 254-258, no.7, pls.76-77. Wood 1986, 91-92, n.7, figs.58-59; Morretti 1975, 254-258, no.7, pls.76-77.
[458] For women in '*forma deorum*' Matheson 1996 & Wrede 1981a.

'real' elements of ornament, designed to express the wealth and power of the individual. The small size of the bronze bust indicates that this was a private commission, like the *tondo*, designed for a smaller audience of viewers, probably in a private context. This demonstrates the distinction between expressions of luxury and ornament on public and private portraits in the Late Severan era. Jewels and elements of *luxus* were still avoided in public, especially in imperial portraits.

Earrings

Most Roman women would have worn earrings and again this is an element of jewellery commonly represented on mummy portraits and gold-glass. Sculpted portraits rarely represent this feature, the only exceptions being representations on sarcophagi (fig.94).[459] No third-century women's busts depict carved earrings. As with other elements of jewellery, however, attitudes towards depictions of earrings in women's portraits were to change and as a result in the Late Antique period, beginning in the fourth-century, carved earrings were often represented in women's portraits (fig.95).[460]

Two third-century women's portrait busts, however, do have pierced ears intended for attaching metal earrings. Pierced ears on Roman women's portraits bring into question the extent to which women's busts could have been adorned with 'real' jewellery and in which contexts this was deemed appropriate. This is a

[459] Examples of third century sarcophagi with carved earrings: **Rome**, *Forum Romanum*, S. Maria Antiqua, H: 55, L: 204 cm. Kranz 1984, 213, no.108, pls. 61.2-5, 88.1-2 & **Ostia**, Megazzini, inv. 1522: sarcophagus fragment depicts woman with large carved earring and globular beaded necklace. 220-230 AD H. 38.5, L. at greatest extent: 42.5 cm. Calza 1979, 62-63, no.79, pl. 57

[460] Marble, 4th c. head with carved earrings from Bulgaria. Bucharest institul de Archeologie, inv. MNA L 624, H: 27. Vianu 1995, fig.37; LSA 971 (U. Gehn).

topic which demands a thorough study beyond the parameters of this thesis, however, even a cursory investigation of the catalogues of the largest published collections permits some basic but important observations. Pierced ears remain a minority choice, for example of the 181 entries in Fittschen & Zanker's catalogue of the women's portraits in major Roman Collection, only eight portraits have pierced ears.[461] Neither does there seem to be any obvious preference for pierced ears in the portraits of a particular period, nor was this specific to private portraits (for example Livia has at least four portraits with pierced ears).[462]

Further it is not possible to exclusively associate this practice with any one portrait format or context. The majority of examples are heads broken and separated from their original bust or statue and in most instances find contexts are lacking. It may be significant, however, that a number of busts including our three third-century examples display this feature. Further, examples such as the Flavian bust from the Vigna Codini *columbarium*, indicate that this was considered particularly appropriate for private, funerary contexts (fig.137). This is supported by the fact that the majority of depictions of women wearing earrings are on private objects or in private contexts: for imperial women bust portraits on intaglios and for private women funerary portraits (figs. 93 or private painted *tondo* of JD fig.89; figs.94 & 130b).[463] This association reflects a

[461] Zanker & Fittschen 1983, nos.22, 50, 80, 88, 106, 107, 159, 181.
[462] Clavical bust, **Liverpool Museum**, H. 42 cm. Alexandridis 2004, 124, no.20 pl. 3.2; Livia (?) Head (?)**Brussels, Musée Royaux d'Art et d'Historie**, inv. A 3687, H. 42 cm. Alexandridis 2004, 120, no.12 pl.5.1; **Vienna, Kunsthistorisches**, inv. 1316, H: 43. White marble head for insertion into a statue. . Bartman 1999, 186-7, no.88, figs. 179-180. **Rome, Musei Vaticani**, Magazino, inv. 4272, H:33.5cm . Bartman 1999, 150-1, no.11, fig.129.
[463] op. cit.

wider reluctance to present adornment on public portraits of women prior to the late third to fourth-century at which point carved earrings are introduced.

There are, however, always exceptions as evidenced by a head of Julia Titi which is adorned with a large stephane and would have been inlaid with precious stones (fig.92).[464] The portrait also has holes for the attachment of a necklace and pierced ears. The head has been broken around the neck and seems to have come from a life-size statue. Details pertaining to its original context are lacking, although the subject, a notable imperial woman, makes a funerary context unlikely. An intaglio also of Julia Titi depicts her similarly bedecked with *stephane,* earrings and necklace (fig.93).[465] However, the intimate nature of this object and its obvious private sphere associations justify such a representation. Instances such as the head of Julia Titi, while unusual, suggest that there was no firm 'rule' controlling representations of female adornment. While it was generally inappropriate to dedicate explicitly public statues of women wearing jewellery, elite feelings towards female adornment and advertisement of it were ambiguous and subject to nuance, dependent on context.

To return to our two third-century women's busts with pierced ears, all depict unidentified, presumably private women and information pertaining to precise display contexts is lacking (nos.58 & 60). The bust purported to come from Aquileia, now in Copenhagen originally dates to the late first century and has

[464] The Getty, inv. 58. AA.1. H: 33. Arndt & Amelung 1893-1940, no.5076; Napoleone, C. & Salmeri, G. 2011, 62, 93.
[465] Marble draped head with pigment remaining, the Getty, inv. 58.AA.1. From Rome, Italy, 33 cm. **Intaglio** Signed by Euodos Aquamarin, modern mounting, Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale. Cabinet des Médailles. Inv. 2089. Fejfer 2008, 347-8, n.54, fig.265.

been reworked in the third century. The fact that the busts have been recarved makes a private, funerary or *domus* context most likely. Similarly the scale of the bust from Darmstadt, which is miniature and may have been reworked from a sarcophagus portrait, indicates it was also intended for a private setting (no.60).

Jewellery and adornment may have been more common than we realise in imperial period. Pierced ears and remnants of painted decoration, such as we find on the *stephane* of a private second century woman, remind us that it was possible for statues to be embellished through attachments of 'real' jewellery and polychromy.[466] Nevertheless as is revealed by the small number of third-century women's busts with pierced ears jewellery remained a minority option, probably limited to more intimate private contexts. Even then this would have been a question of taste as the majority of funerary portraits on sarcophagi of the first three quarters of the third-century do not include any form of jewellery or adornment.[467] The negative associations of immorality and decadence with public displays of female adornment, especially jewellery, began to change in the late third-century. Statues of women dating to the fourth to fifth-century, while much reduced in number, commonly present women wearing jewellery, carved into the portraits, in the form of bejewelled diadems, necklaces, jewelled belts and earrings.[468] This development is reflected by the representations of decorative dress on sculptural portraits of women from the late third century on.[469]

[466] Fragment 43 x 42 x 24 cm., The Getty, Inv. 70. AA.100.
[467] For a discussion of Roman female jewellery and attitudes towards female adornment as presented in the literary texts see Berg 2002; also Fejfer 2008, 345-351.
[468] Op. cit. for examples.
[469] Fejfer 2008, 348-351.

Decorative dress

Fashions in women's clothing, as depicted in women's portrait busts, are indicative of this gradual development in attitude towards public expression of female adornment. As discussed above, except in the most exceptional instances, women's portrait busts depict them in 'real' clothing and are limited to a basic costume of tunic and mantle. These essentials could be worn in a variety of ways dependent on fashions but also, as I will discuss in the next chapter, were manipulated to fulfil the ideological purpose of the portrait. This was also true of elements of adornment in dress. The majority of portrait busts present no embellishment, however, the loss of surface decoration allows us only a limited understanding of the intended decorative effect. Pigment, texture of the 'cloth' and patterned 'embroidered' decoration may have all been expressed or, in the latter case avoided, depending on the desired luxurious impact. Towards the end of the third century, however, a new decorative form of dress is represented: the decorative banded mantle (nos.68, 71-72). In the case of the Cleveland and Bucharest busts the bands are embellished with a carved scrolled design, in the third instance, the bust from Alexandria, a design is painted on.

This decorative drapery often seems to have been accompanied by further ornament, in particular the presentation of necklaces or decorative collars, on women's statues and busts. In the case of the bust from Bucharest a large globular beaded necklace adorns the neck (no.71). As discussed above a statue from Carnuntum is draped in a decorative banded mantle and adorned with a

large jewelled collar (fig.31).[470] Finally the coins of Magnia Urbica, issued from the mint of Ticinum, present an imperial woman for the first time wearing decorative banded drapery and a large jewelled necklace on a public piece of iconography (fig.96).[471] However, this coin comes from a provincial mint, coins of Magnia from Rome and other more centrally controlled mints do not present this. Whether these elements of adornment were central features of Magnia's official portrait or not, these coins provide datable evidence for these fashions which are supported by those busts dated stylistically to this era.

CONCLUSION

From the last quarter of the third-century to first quarter of the fourth-century adornment in the form of decorative clothing and jewellery on statues and portrait busts was becoming more common. In this way the elite came to assert themselves far more overtly through emblems of wealth and thus implied status. No longer were jewels associated primarily with eastern decadence but instead, even in public contexts, these elements were symbols of power and fashion. As Fejfer observes, the reworking of certain statues in the fourth-century makes the point clear, elements of drapery, posture and even physiognomic features remain untouched but jewellery is often added.[472]

[470] Carnuntum, Arch.Park, inv. 3780. LSA-1273 (U. Gehn); Schade 2003, 29-32, pl. 6.2; Jobst 1992, 61, no.41; Krüger 1967, 30, no.82, pl. 29.
[471] BM, inv. 1962,1212.1245. Copper.
[472] For example: a statue of an imperial woman recarved in the 4th c., a gemstone belt has been added in the along with the *orarium*, clasped in the left hand, a late antique symbol of elite status. Naples, Museo Archaeologico Nazionale. inv. 6398 H:1.68m . Fejfer 2008, 349-351, fig.269, n.58; Bergmann 1999, 64-65; Schade 2003, 197-8.

This development must go in hand in hand with changes in the nature of imperial power and its expression. In the Constantine period the jewelled diadem become an essential attribute of imperial power. In the fourth-century both the emperors and imperial women took to wearing elements of adornment as symbols of power and status in their portraits. Jewellery and decorative dress became, as on the Palmyran relief-busts, a symbol of status, power and fashionable taste. The morality of Empire had not fundamentally changed, however attitudes towards female adornment and the vocabulary of virtue presented in elite public representations had transformed. Nevertheless in relation to portrait busts jewellery and adornment remained an option and as evidenced by a number of rare fourth to fifth-century women's busts some elites preferred to omit these embellishments.[473]

[473] Op. cit.

CHAPTER SEVEN. ICONOGRAPHIES OF VIRTUE

In this chapter I will deal with the intrinsic elements of iconography embodied in third-century women's portrait busts. As discussed in the introduction scholarship of third-century portraiture has been influenced by the assumption that this was a period of massive societal flux and transformation.[474] This change in turn required a new expressive vocabulary, which birthed much of the anachronistic terminology ('impressionistic', 'abstract', 'cubist') used to describe portraits in this period.[475] In contrast to this perspective I will argue that third-century women's portrait busts, far from being expressive of spiritual escapism or emotional turmoil caused by 'crisis', acted as a means of re-confirming a canon of well-established feminine virtues such as *pudicitia, pietas, fecundita* and *concordia*. This is reflected in the iconographic continuity we find in third-century portraits busts. The sustained popularity of the bust-format, a traditional Roman method of commemoration, is a further indication of this.

This continuity, however, should not be equated with iconographic stagnation and, as in earlier eras, the canon of feminine virtue was nuanced in order to reflect subtle developments in elite commemorative practices. This is echoed by the development of new bust-formats designed to prioritise those virtues and ideals most relevant to third-century elite concerns. In order to understand these it is necessary to place women's busts in the context of wider third-century representational behaviour. A central, and well-observed, preoccupation of the

[474] See ch. 1: 1-6.
[475] Vermeule 1962: talks about the development of a 'cubist style' most clearly realised in the portraits of the Tetrarchic emperors and traces this back to the Antonine period.

material culture in this period was a heightened emphasis on the cultivated private sphere at the core of which was the harmony and resultant prosperity of the marital-bond. In this cultural context, certain forms of Roman femininity became symbolic of this world and the virtues inherent to it.

I will explore these entwined themes of moral continuity and iconographic nuance in order to emphasise the role of women as symbols of the elite, cultivated private sphere. Third-century women's portrait busts reflect this emphasis in a number of important ways. First, an increasing tendency to draw upon aspects of third-century male representation, such as shared physiognomic features and expressions, reflects a desire to link women's portraits to those of their husbands and thus emphasise marital unity and the prosperity associated with this. Second, new bust-formats allowed for greater expression of the feminine qualities important to the cultivated sphere. Finally, the very choice of the bust portrait as a format with traditional private associations – and in certain cases the selection of more statuesque and larger formats – reflects a desire to elevate the portrait bust, and the private realm it symbolised, to public status.

CONCORDIA: PROSPERITY AND THE MARITAL BOND

Most third-century elite Roman women, if commemorated, were celebrated in terms of virtues deemed desirable for their primary role as wives and mothers. Forbis notes that even in regions such as Italy where elite women could be commemorated in public, the majority of commemorative inscriptions, the large funerary corpus, praised women throughout the imperial period, in terms of

familial, private sphere virtues.[476] I will investigate regional variances in commemorating third-century women's busts in the following chapters.[477] Of importance here is the fact that women, even when commemorated in the public sphere, were most frequently celebrated in terms of their familial roles and associated virtues. This was not a case of keeping women 'in their place' but indicates a desire to use women's portraits and dedications to celebrate and enhance private sphere roles.[478] This is demonstrated in those rare instances where busts have survived with their original inscriptions. In the third century, for example, we have the busts of Crepereia Innula and Aurelia Euposia (nos.69 &16).

Public bust: private ideals – private bust: public status

The bust of Aurelia Euposia dates to the late third century and comes from a sanctuary building in Melos (no.69).[479] The bust was set up by the functionaries of the Asiatic cult and, it is implied by the inscription, in gratitude to Aurelia for her benefaction of the building. Despite the apparent lack of familial involvement Aurelia is celebrated in the inscription primarily in terms of her marital role, as 'husband-loving'. The traditional and private sphere virtue of being a good wife balanced and made acceptable Aurelia's obvious public role. This inscription is important in confirming the essential legitimization and virtue marriage brought women in the third century – even those of extremely elite status.

[476] Forbis 1990, 505-506.
[477] Chs. 8-9.
[478] Davies 2008, 218: women's statues designed to encourage female conformity to 'traditional' Roman gender roles.
[479] See catalogue entry (no.69) and below 269-272 for further discussion of context.

Marital status, however, did not only bring honour and prestige to the woman but was of reciprocal value, as the case of Crepereia Innula's bust evidences (no.16). Crepereia's bust was set up on a large inscriptional base, with Latin inscription, next to an earlier (Antonine) portrait statue of her as a younger woman (fig.97). Both were displayed in a structure of unknown purpose outside Haïdra, in modern Tunisia. The absence of any official *imprimatur* in the inscription has led Fejfer to suggest a private display context.[480]

The honorific style base and large bust-format, positioned next to the full size statue of Crepereia, indicate a grand display space. As there is no indication in the inscription that Crepereia was deceased, we may presume a large private residence. Titus Arranius, Crepereia's husband, was the dedicant and he celebrates her as 'his most precious wife', 'deserving of his deepest gratitude'. This inscription in combination with the one-meter high base, and large third-century bust-format, elevated Crepereia in a manner resonant of honorific statues and consequently was not overshadowed by Crepereia's earlier portrait statue. Titus's decision to honour Crepereia in such a grand manner, for no other stated reason than gratitude to her as wife, allowed him to celebrate his own successful marriage and, as was typical for dedicants, vicariously honour himself.

The discovery of this bust with its inscribed base is useful in considering how busts could be displayed. The placement of busts on large engraved bases does not seem to have been uncommon if we are to believe the evidence provided by third-century sarcophagi. Frequent examples of busts displayed on large

[480] Fejfer 2008, 284.

rectangular bases or plinths can be identified (for example figs. 118, 128-129).[481] This manner of displaying busts borrows from the language of public honorific sculpture and consequently acts to elevate the status of the depicted. This example again provides evidence, if from a very different part of Empire, of how third-century women's portrait busts in private contexts could be displayed in such a manner as to assert public ideals.

These dedicatory inscriptions reflect an emphasis on the status of marriage and the use of women's busts as dedications to express this. In the case of Aurelia the public honour is qualified and legitimized by her private sphere status, conversely, Crepereia's private sphere commemoration is elevated so as to emulate public honorific displays.

The centrality of the marital bond is something repetitively expressed both in third-century imperial and private iconography. For example, we may consider the second main coin type of Tranquillina (fig.98).[482] The obverse presents a right facing bust of Tranquillina. On the reverse we see the legend *CONCORDIA* AVGG in combination with a representation of Gordian holding a scroll and clasping hands with Tranquillina.[483] Ricciardi consequently notes in her

[481] **Villa Doria Pamphili,** garden, L: 1.75. Kranz 1984, 208-209, no.86, pl.48.1**; Museo Nazionale** inv. 124, 745, L: 1.7m. Found on the Via Prenestina, Rome. Stroszeck 1998, 145, no.298, pl.37.3 & 114.1-2; **Tarragona, Museo Paleocristiano**, inv. 53. L: 2.08m. Found in 1923, in Tarragona, during work on a Tabaco factory. ibid. 155-156, no.365, pls.28.4. Also see example in Fejfer 2008, 242-243, n. 52, fig.160: strigilated sarcophagus from Rome, which depicts a married couple in paired busts on large statue bases. Museo Nazionale, inv.112121=124710, L:2.13 m.

[482] Silver Antoninianus, RIC 250. Ashmolean. Surviving coinage of TS v. rare, esp. in comparison to large number of coins of her husband Gordian III. In provincial mints, especially Greece, she is better represented, making her absence from the imperial mints astonishing. Mattingly et.al. (1949) 14; *Numismatic Chronicle* (1939) 16-17: Dorchester hoard: 8,890 coins Gordian III vs. 2 coins of TS.

[483] Ashmolean, Antoninianus, minted Rome, RIC 250.

discussion of Tranquillina's coinage that 'her numismatic issues seem to have been restricted to two themes: marital harmony and prosperity of the age'.[484]

Several of the more elaborate sarcophagi of this period make the point even more explicit by representing marriage alongside other pivotal moments or civic roles in the man's life. For example the so-called 'Brother's' and 'Balbinus' sarcophagi include depictions of the marriage ceremony (figs. 99-100).[485] In both cases the wife is depicted heavily draped and veiled, she is side-on and her movement toward her husband is emphasised. She plucks demurely at her veil with her left hand, while her right hand (in both cases now broken off) would have been clasped in the symbolic *dextrarum iunctio* gesture. On the 'Balbinus' sarcophagus the wife is depicted a second time next to her husband, he in a military cuirass and she in mythological style wet drapery, at the centre of front panel. Finally, the couple reclines together on top of the sarcophagus. In this particular example the repeated presence of the wife indicates the importance of her role/contribution to the marriage and the centrality of this bond to the couple's accrued virtue and consequent status.

[484] Ricciardi 2007, 106-111.

[485] **'Balbinus' Sarcophagus:** C.240 AD. Rome, Praetextatus Catacomb. Borg 2013, 183, ns.100-101, 87-88 (archaeological context) fig.113. Reinsberg, 2006, I.3, 29-32, 107-9, 213-14, no.73, pls. 38, 39.1, 40,42-3, 127.1. **'Brother's' sarcophagus:** C.270 AD. Naples, Museo Archaeologico Nazionale, inv. 6603. Borg 2013, 190-191, n.128, fig.119. Reinsberg, 2006, I.3, 54, 142-4, 203, no.36, pls.78.3, 83.4-6, 84-6, 87.1-4, 121.2, 127.3. Strangely the bride is without portrait features (Borg, 2013, 190 n.129) = focus on the act of marriage in terms of the status this awarded the man rather than a joint celebration of marital virtue.

MARRIED BUSTS

The Cleveland miniature portrait busts

Three pairs of miniature busts depicting the same couple from the Tetrarchic period provide iconographic evidence of the emphasis placed on marital bond in third-century portrait busts (nos.66-68; figs. 101-102).[486] The three pairs of busts replicate one another, although small nuances in dress and posture make it possible to distinguish them. In all three instances the man is depicted in *paludamentum* bust, however, the shape of the *fibula* varies and in two instances a fringed section of drapery is represented on the right shoulder. In the case of woman, two of the busts represent her in a mantle enveloping format, the third, however, is distinctive and depicts her in a decorative banded mantle bust-format. Their similarities indicate that the six busts were not designed to be displayed together but instead would have been distributed as pairs, perhaps to family or honoured dependents. [487]

On the basis of dress and posture it is possible to suggest pairings. In particular in the case of the woman's banded mantle bust and the man's *paludamentum* bust (without fringed detail), the turn of the heads mirror one another while the direction of their respective gazes draws them together (fig.101-102). A clearer point of the pair's unity is made through shared aspects of physiognomy. The depiction of the eyes, mouths and nose is very similar as are the large, smooth planes of the cheeks and oblong face-shape. These shared features are balanced

[486] Men's busts, Cleveland Museum of Art, invs. 65,242; 65.245; 65.247.
[487] Kitzinger 1978, 662-663.

against specific elements, for example the woman's pointed chin and the man's full bottom lip, and consequently do not compromise the individuality of either but act to reconfirm the marital unity. Within this unity dress and hairstyles provide opportunity for expressing separate gendered virtues. For example, the man is depicted in all instances in his *paludamentum,* which places him in the military sphere. This is confirmed by his short, militaristic, etched haircut.[488] In relation to the emperors of this period, who wore similar etched hair and military attire, Smith argues that these combined elements expressed the 'experienced, hardy, energetic militarism', essential virtues of the good emperor in this period.[489] The Cleveland male busts draw upon these masculine elite ideals. In this way the man's *virtus* is emphasized. Interestingly, his beard is not the three-day military stubble so common in this era but a fuller, more lustrous, curly beard, perhaps signifying his grooming and adherence to cultivated fashions of the time.[490] The voluminous rolled parting-braid of the woman's hairstyle makes a similar point but in a more overt and opulent manner, expressing her leisure, wealth and cultivated lifestyle. The decorative aspect of the banded mantle bust, as discussed in the pervious chapter, reflects an increasing elite taste for display and ornament.[491]

Through this case study it is possible to understand how shared physiognomic features, mirrored postures and iconography were used to create a relationship between male and female paired busts, allowing gendered virtues to be stressed but within the wider framework of marital concord.

[488] Smith 1997, 196.
[489] Ibid., 197.
[490] ibid.: 'campaign beard' 3 to 2 day stubble exchanged for a more groomed option.
[491] See previous ch. 6:191-192.

Most portraits of private individuals were one-off commissions so the consequent lack of replicas means that the Cleveland busts are the only examples of several depictions of a paired private couple to survive from the third century. More evidence, however, is available from the sphere of imperial portraits. Another paired commission is seen in the portrait busts of Julia Domna and Septimius Severus, which probably came from Rome and are now in Bloomington (no.1; fig.103-104).[492]

Imperial partnership: the Bloomington busts

Julia Domna's bust presents her at her most voluptuous with a thick neck defined by Venus rings, full oval face and double chin. She is depicted in her typical encircling mantle bust-format (no.2; fig.104a). The tunic clings to and shapes the top of Domna's large breasts, which are then subsumed within her thick mantle. This combination of voluptuous features is expressive of Domna's sexual attractiveness, fertility and associative *fecunditas*. This is a point confirmed by wider imperial Severan iconography which positions Domna at its centre, as mother to the future heirs of Empire (Geta and Caracalla) and consequent symbol of the dynasty.[493] On a coin reverse type Domna is depicted frontally in her typical encircling mantle bust-format with the same full features and thick, curved eyebrows as we find in her portrait busts in the round (fig.105).[494] Geta and Caracalla frame her in profile busts. The title FELICITAS indicates the prosperity and happiness, which result from the imperial family. The busts of

[492] SS's bust: Bloomington, IUAM, inv. 75.33.1.
[493] Kampen 2009, 82-104; Newby 2007, esp. 209-215, 218-222.
[494] Gold aureus, RIC4 181b, BM, inv. R.12666.

Domna demonstrate the ability of women's busts to express exclusively feminine virtues such as *fecundita* and *fertilitas*, which were central to imperial dynastic ideology.

In contrast to Domna's opulent femininity, the bust of Severus presents him in military attire (a fringed *paludamentum*) and his features are thinner and more rugged. In this respect these busts express distinct but complementary gender roles expressive of their positions as *pater* and *mater* of the Roman Empire.

A SHARED EXPRESSION: THE 'THIRD-CENTURY FROWN'

The Bloomington busts, despite their distinct bust-formats and their very separate gendered associations, are iconographically tied by a common expression, the so-called 'third-century frown'. In Severus's portrait subtle lines meet over the brow, creating a small bulge at the bridge of the nose and either side of the eyebrows (fig.103c). Lines running from the eyes and the nasolabial folds mirror these.[495] The general effect is a concentrated expression. This frown is traditionally associated exclusively with male portraits and there has been little discussion of women's portraits, which depict this feature, and the implications of this. In the case of Domna the frown is subtle but bulges above the eyebrows again mirror her nasolabial folds (fig.104c). The effect is naturally intensified by her fashionable, etched monobrow.

[495] Nodelman 1965 197, 354; Wood 1986, 29.

As a prominent feature of later third-century emperor portraits, this frown is often seen as characteristic of the time, an expression of anxiety stimulated by the 'crisis' (for example busts of Caracalla & Philip I: figs. 106 & 107).[496] There are obvious problems with this argument. Firstly, x shaped frowns and furrowed brows were not unique or original to the third century; it is possible to trace them back through the imperial period (see here figs. 108, 109, 112-113). Furthermore, it is illogical that this expression was intended to express anxiety caused by the 'troubled times'. As Smith asserts: 'Anguish and anxiety…were emphatically not the business of ancient portrait representation.'[497] Anxiety is a negative emotion, symptomatic of loss of control. Third-century imperial and elite private iconography was instead preoccupied with stressing continuity and reaffirming traditional Roman norms and values. Furthermore, anxiety runs counter to dominant Roman masculine ideals, such as *virtus*. Finally, this would be a particularly unsuitable emotion for an emperor, who through his portraits must advertise his competence and readiness to rule, thus offering his subjects a stable and prosperous future.[498] Instead then we should understand this frown, in the context of these third-century men's portraits, as expressing the concentrated vigour necessary for a successful ruler and military commander. We must then inquire as to the iconographic purpose of representing women with this frown and the gendered implications of this expression.

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[496] **Caracalla *paludamentum* bust**, Naples, Museo Archaeologico Nazionale, inv. 6033. CANTILENA (et.al.) 1989, 158, no.25; some debate concerning the authenticity of this bust see Fittschen 1985, 406; Paul 1985, 432; Fejfer 1988, no.54, 90-91 & ns. Paul **Philip I toga *contabulata* bust**, , Braccio Nuovo, inv. 124 H:94.5 cm. Amelung 1903, vol.1, 149-150, no.124, pl.20. Wood 1981, 66: Philip I portrait: 'expression of troubled anxiety….looking to the gods for guidance'.

[497] Smith 1997, 202.

[498] Ibid., 179-183: offers a new interpretation of the values associated with the vigorous third-century emperor portraits.

The greater prominence of this frown in third-century male portraits reflects the primarily masculine virtue of this expression, the assertive and active characteristic necessary to *virtus*. This must lead us to question whether women were simply mirroring fashions in male portraiture and thus confirming the secondary import of their own gender identity and the inferior status of feminine virtues. Kampen argues that a 'women by taking on selected attributes of men became more virtuous…. The visual images help to make viewers aware, over and over, of this 'fact': men and women are different and unequal.'[499] This view of women's portraiture allows them little agency or independent ideological power and is supported by scholarly attempts to interpret women's portraits in this era exclusively in terms of the 'militaristic' male portraits. L'Orange, for example, argued that the parting-braid was modelled on the helmet. Similarly, some of the terminology used to describe women's hairstyles in this period, such as 'helmet-hairstyle', reflect this bias.[500] Ziegler has suggested that third-century hairstyles were designed to allude to the helmet of *virtus,* thus associating the women with the personal *virtus* of their husbands.[501] As we have discussed these hairstyles have very little to do with the military sphere and were important insignia of *cultus* and its associated virtues.[502] Further, if the sole purpose of women's portraits was to mimic and reiterate masculine virtues, one might wonder the purpose of having them at all. These interpretations are so preoccupied with a preconceived notion of the third century that they fail to understand the relationship between husband and wife portraits and the complementary roles they present.

[499] Kampen 1996, 18.
[500] L'Orange, Wessel 1946/7, 62-64.
[501] Ziegler 2000, 179-181; Schade 2003, 13-14.
[502] see here 165 ff.

In order to understand this relationship and the function of the mirrored frown in married portraits, it is helpful to draw comparison between our third-century women and an important second-century example: the portraits of Trajan and Plotina (figs.108-109). Trajan in his portraits, as in this bust in the BM, is often depicted with subtle x shaped lines and small bulge above the nose.[503] This expression may be compared with that worn by Plotina on a portrait head, from Rome, in the Museo Capitolino.[504] In this way, as in the case of Septimius Severus and Julia Domna busts, they wear variations on the same expression. In the case of the bust of Trajan this expression is matched by his vigorous turn of the head and creates a purposeful effect. Plotina's otherwise relaxed features and lightly pursed mouth display a calm but engaged disposition. This is also true of Domna's bust. Other than this concentrated expression her demeanour is relaxed (fig.104C). More than this, her cupid's bow upper-lip forms an affable smile (no.2). In both imperial pairs the incorporation of a shared expression must have been intended to reiterate the connection between the emperor and his wife and the combined power of the marital bond. This would have been most effective in the case of Septimius Severus and Julia Domna's pendant busts, which were designed to be displayed together.

[503] BM. inv. 1805,0703.93, H: 75 cm. Found in 'Roman Campagna' (1776), Townley collection. Smith 1904, 155-156, no.1893. Opper 2008, 13. Other examples of Trajan wearing this expression: Louvre, inv. MA 1150 & MA 3512. Kersauson 1996, 76-79, no.28 & 84-85 no.30.
[504] Museo Capitolino, Stanza degli Imperatori 21 inv. 439 H: 38. Fittschen & Zanker 1983, 8, no.7, pl.9.

'Characterful' portraits of private women

The contorted brow and/or frown were not specific to imperial couples but were part of the common repertoire of portraiture. An important group of third-century women's busts reveal a wider fashion for presenting women in a more expressive manner, often in combination with 'realist' features and signs of ageing. A frown was often an important component of these so-called 'characterful' portraits and strongly links these women to their male counterparts.

The majority of women's busts present thickly defined nasolabial folds, an element held in common with contemporary male private portraits. This allusion is supported in certain examples, as in the case of Julia Domna's bust, by subtle bulges above the eyebrows, which form diagonal lines, mirroring the nasolabial folds. A bust in the Museo Capitolino and a bust in Farnborough Hall, both originally from Rome, present more explicit x shaped frowns (nos.27, 55; details: fig.110-111).

The bust in the Museo Capitolino dates to the Late Severan period and consists of a similar encircling mantle bust-format to the bust of Domna, although in a *pavonazzeto* marble which imbues the portrait with added grandeur. In this portrait we see the clearest x shaped frown with prominent diagonal lines above the eyebrows and well-articulated nasolabial folds (fig.110). This impression is intensified by the thick etched brows. An added vitality is brought to this portrait by the strong turn of the neck to the left. The head is not demurely inclined as we find on other busts (compare with no.15) but uncompromisingly stares straight

ahead. This assertive posture is one common among Late Severan busts and most notably the busts of Julia Mamaea (nos.28-32). The combination of 'frown', vigorous turn of the neck and strong forward gaze are common elements of male portraits (figs. 106-107). Nevertheless, these 'masculine' elements in no way negate the femininity of the portrait. In particular the wig and escaping clusters of curls beneath the ears are indicative of the fashionable Late Severan woman. Furthermore, the prominent frown is balanced by the woman's otherwise calm demeanour as expressed by her lightly pursed lips, which are lifted at the edges to form an affable expression.

The Farnborough bust, dating to the mid-third century, depicts a more mature and corpulent woman (no.55; fig.111). In this instance bulges above the eyebrows are amplified by the two v shaped brow lines on the forehead. The other features of the face are relaxed and neutral. In particular the eyes gaze evenly off into the distance and the mouth is lightly pursed and turns up ever so slightly at the edges. In common with Domna's bust, the woman is depicted with full features, although in this case it is in combination with aged elements: bags beneath the eyes, lined forehead and a slightly loose section of flesh beneath the ears. This is also a highly physiognomic image, exemplified by the large ears and, unusual for this period, small eyes. While a highly specific portrait, the Farnborough bust reflects wider fashions in mid-third century and can be compared to the voluptuous portrait of Otacilia Severa in the Musei Vaticani.[505]

[505] Braccio Nuovo III 23, Inv. 2764, Fittschen & Zanker 1983, 34-35, no.37, pl.46: H: 26 cm. found in a medieval wall between Maxentius-Basilica and the Colosseum. Unrestored, nose lost, various bumps to the face.

Within this image the frown adds focus and again creates a receptive appearance.

A useful comparison is provided by a mid-second-century marble head from Rome, now in the Museo Nazionale in Rome (fig.112).[506] In this instance we find the same mixture of full corpulent features: double chin, thick Venus rings and slight jowls, in combination with wrinkle lines on the forehead, contorted brow and thick nasolabial folds. Similarly, a mummy portrait, also dated to the second century, depicts a woman with contorted brow and lines on the forehead but this time in combination with thin features and grey hair (fig.113).[507] A third-century head in Berlin presents even more severely aged features: dropping eyelids, large bags, jowls and loose skin (fig.114).[508] These examples not only evidence precedents for depicting private women with expressive features but the common combination of this with signs of aging.

In all these instances the combination of aged features with expression reveal a preference for a more realist and expressive portrait. As Matheson outlines, the mature matron was often held up as a figure of moral integrity in Roman society. This is indicated by epitaphs, which have been found with private 'older woman' portraits throughout the imperial period. For example, *'parens o(m)nibus subvenies*' (mother (Parent) who came to the aid of all) and '*mater omnium*

[506] inv. 33, H: 31 cm. Felletti Maj 1953, 111, no.215 (with ill.).
[507] H: 31 cm. BM inv. GRA 1890.9-20.1. Walker & Bierbrier 89-90, no.79.
[508] Berlin, Altes Mus. (storage) inv. SK 447, H: 39.5 cm. Kekulé von Stradonitz 1922, 370; Heilmeyer 2005, 29. Arachne entry (53112).

hominum' (mother of all men).[509] This epitaph reveals an association of the 'older woman' portrait type with the ideal of the woman as the guardian and backbone of the Roman family.

In the third century this is substantiated by the coin portraits of Julia Maesa from the reigns of her grandsons, which depict the imperial grandmother with crows-feet, lines on forehead and thick nasolabial folds (fig.115 & table 4.6).[510] Maesa's double chin hangs loosely and the cheeks seem thin and hollow. These aged features in part reflect Maesa's mature years. However, the decision to display these elements reflects the ideological associations of the mature matron. This is reflected by the heavily moralising coin reverses of Maesa's coins: 46% *pudicitia*, 13% *pietas*. A limestone bust of a woman from Syria has been identified as Julia Maesa on the basis of its aged features and loosely combed orb-hairstyle (no.23).[511] This identification cannot be confirmed and this is probably the bust of a private woman from a funerary context. Nevertheless, the combination of aged features (lined forehead, bags beneath the eyes, thin cheeks and jowls) with an x shaped frown, and strong forward gaze reveal a similar preference for the morally upright, older woman portrait. In this bust the draped head reiterates the virtuous status of the depicted.

Initially considered a masculine expression we see in the above examples how the x shaped frown and gathered brow could be integrated into third-century

[509] CIL VIII.7384 in Matheson 2000b, 129: from an epitaph for a woman who lived to 81 – a rare case when the impressive old age of the woman at death made this a point worth commemorating in her epitaph.
[510] Brass Sestertii, mint of Rome. RIC 414. Ashmolean.
[511] For further discussion of context see here: 237-239.

women's portraits. The subtle variations of the x shaped frown imbue these women's busts with some of the concentrated and responsive expression of their male counterparts but also importantly act as a device to connect the feminine and masculine spheres without compromising gendered ideals.

In 'forma deorum'and wearing a frown

The bust of a woman in the Hermitage provides a final striking example of the 'third century frown'. Dated between 250-70 AD the bust is reported to have come from Rome. The woman's brow is gathered, with two vertical lines above the bridge of the nose, and she has a subtle x shaped frown, in a manner most resonant of third-century male busts (no.62; fig.116). Yet, in contrast to the assertive posture and stubbled, masculine appearance of many of these male portraits, the woman's demurely turned head and *'forma deorum'* bust with wet clinging tunic combine to create a hyper feminine portrait.

This bust may be the only preserved example of its kind. However, representations of women on sarcophagi reveal *'forma deorum'* busts to be a well-established iconographic formula. A large repertoire of sarcophagi *tondi* with paired portraits of husband and wife survive on strigilated sarcophagi (figs.117, 119-120).[512] In these portraits the women are commonly depicted as in this bust, with the tunic falling off the shoulder and wet drapery, but with

[512] **Wilton House,** Salisbury, no inv. L:2.05m. Found in 1725-6 in Rome, in the columbarium of 'the freedmen of Livia'. Stroszeck 1998, 162, no.408, pls. 62.6, 65.1, 113.4; **Ostia, Museo Ostiense**, inv.126, tomb sealing panel, C.250-270 AD, from Isola Sacra, Kranz 1984, 196, no.41, pl.26; Zanker & Ewald 2012, 44, fig.34; **Musei Vaticani, Cortile Della Pigna**, inv. 5155, L: 2.15m. From the Vatikan gardens. Stroszeck 1998, 122-123, no.149, pls. 14.2. & 113.3.

realist facial features and contorted brow (figs.117 & 120).[513] Generally, the woman stands behind the man, her hand on his chest, thus signifying the close bond between husband and wife. The husband is frequently dressed in the *toga contabulata* symbolic of his civic role.[514] In one example, a strigilated sarcophagus from Rome dating to the late third century, a husband and wife are portrayed in a *tondo,* positioned above crossed *cornucopia*.[515] Here the couple's marital bond and the prosperity it brings, as symbolised by the *cornucopia*, are celebrated.

A sarcophagus, from Rome and now in the Villa Doria Pamphili, presents a more elaborate variation on this frequent motif of marital concord (fig.118).[516] In this instance the man and woman are both depicted in half-figure busts, positioned on a large statue base. The woman, as is customary in these depictions, is positioned behind the man and is turned towards him. Her hair is styled in the fashionable Severan variation of the orb-hairstyle with augmented-braids. The bust represents her in ideal terms with tunic slipping off her right shoulder, billowing mantle and long tresses of loose hair. Her husband in contrast is depicted in the *toga contabulata*. He turns his head to look at his wife and grasps a scroll in his left hand. The woman's right hand, which rests on her husband's arm, also holds a scroll. The postures of the portraits, shared statue base and matched attributes underline the relationship between the couple while their costumes assert the separate gender associations.

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[513] op. cit.
[514] Musei Vaticani, Cortile della Pigna no.149.
[515] Rome, Piazza Di Spagna (now missing) in Stroszeck 1991, no.322,149-150, pls.: 64.1-2; 65.2; 117.4.
[516] op. cit.

Close examination of the women's faces on these sarcophagi reveals many of them to be endowed with the same creased brow and x shaped frown as that identified on the bust in the Hermitage (figs. 104 & 106b). Another example of a portrait *tondo* of husband and wife on a sarcophagus, originally from Rome and now in Wilton House, exemplifies this (fig.117).[517] The woman is depicted again in *'forma deorum'*, this time with billowing *mantle* and wet drapery. Her hand rests on her husband's chest and her head is completely in profile as she turns to look at him. In contrast to her ideal guise, her face is defined by a pronounced physiognomy, including a large nose. Most significantly here, two prominent creases create a bulge over the bridge of her nose.

In the sarcophagi portraits discussed above the woman's *'forma deorum'* bust-format places the woman in the allegorical world of feminine virtue while the man's civic 'real' costume of the banded *toga* allows him to retain a public style status. This tension between preserving gender identity and separate spheres while asserting marital union is one reflected in the development of new third century bust formats. The arm-sling bust, which only came into fashion in the third century, provides an interesting case study through which to examine developing trends in formats and what these can tell us about feminine virtue and gender roles in this period.

[517]op. cit.

CONJUGAL ROLES: THE ARM-SLING BUST

Within the arm-sling bust group we find a huge amount of variety from the shoulder bust with only subtly indicated arm beneath thick mantle (nos.8 & 40) to the waist or even half-figure bust with open and expressive gesturing arm (no.56). This category presents an exciting alternative to the encircling and enveloping mantle formats, both of which offer very limited articulation of anatomy or body language. Immediately, the indication of the arm beneath the drapery, however subtle, imparts the woman's bust with greater expressive power. This format, consequently, reflects a third-century fashion for busts 'to do more'. What they did, however, could vary greatly and have diverse symbolic associations. This is well exemplified by two busts in New York, both in arm-sling, waist bust-format. One purportedly comes from the Greek Islands, the other from Italy (nos.15 & 56; fig.121).

Pudicitia: the veiled bust

The first bust depicts the woman in an orb-hairstyle and can be dated to the Severan period (no.15). The woman is heavily draped, her mantle is drawn over her head and wrapped closely around the entire bust. The confining mantle encompasses and moulds the bust: the right arm, which clasps on to a fold of fabric just below the neck appears to strain against the restricting costume. The left breast is similarly modelled. The woman's head is turned to the right and tilted slightly down, and her large eyes gaze up at the viewer, creating a demure impression.

This portrait like that in the Hermitage reveals that busts did not always present women in 'real' clothes and manner. The lack of realism is reflected in this bust by the fact that, despite the heavy drapery, it is possible not only to see the outline of the breast but also the shape of the nipple beneath. This element is not in line with traditional Roman ideals of virtue and modesty. Yet, as we have seen in the more extreme instances of the *'forma deorum'* busts: if the woman's portrait is borrowing from ideal, symbolic drapery formulations such moral transgression is acceptable and can in turn be used to allude to certain symbolic types and ideals.[518] Thus the heavy drapery may generally evoke modesty but the shaped breasts and nipple are indicative of beauty and fertile potential. The interesting contradiction of the emotional allure of her beauty and her heavy drapery and demure pose are typical of the Roman virtue of *pudicitia*.[519] We may compare this bust with the personification of *pudicitia* on a coin reverse of Otacilia (fig.122a).[520] As the figure's veil and matronly attire suggest, this virtue was partially concerned with the idea of modest concealment and quiet withdrawal from public eyes. However, the presence of the virtue on a coin's reverse reflects the paradoxical expectation of an audience for displays of *pudicitia*. Further, the manner in which the personification plucks at her veil, a gesture with much earlier Greek origins, is suggestive of unveiling and the woman's sexuality.

[518] Matheson 1996, 182-193.
[519] See Petronius, Satyr, II0-13: humorous tale of the widow of Ephesos for a good exemplar of *pudicitia*; Also Seneca, *Contr.* 2.7.3, on how a woman should best express *pudicitia*. Langlands 2006, discussion of the virtue of *pudicitia*.
[520] Silver antoninianus, mint of Rome. RIC 123c. Ashmolean.

Pudicitia is often used to refer to a particular statue format which depicted the woman veiled and, as in this bust, with her arms fully draped and one raised either to pluck at the drapery framing the face or to hold on to a fold beneath the neck.[521] The other arm is usually drawn across the waist in a further protective gesture. This was a statue type which went out of fashion in the early second century. However, a statue of an early Severan woman in the Museo Capitolino presents a rare third-century example (fig.123).[522] The bust obviously does not include the full left arm necessary to complete the pose and may not have been making direct reference to this posture, but it is clear that this bust was influenced by this iconographic repertoire and the ideological associations of this closed posture. The virtues of *pudicitia* and *fecunditas*, expressed by the combination of heavy but revealing draping, are amongst the most traditional and specifically feminine virtues a woman's portrait could extol.

Two Late Severan mother and daughter busts, currently in Freiburg, present a closely comparable pair (nos.17-18). In this instance the women are depicted in arm-sling bust formats, which seem to be modelled on or at least aware of the Large Herculaneum statue format (compare to figs. 124-125).[523] There is some indication that these busts were recarved and originally would have been veiled, further confirming this association.[524] In these two busts the folds of drapery form thick pleats and, in contrast to the Metropolitan Museum bust, little of the women's body is suggested (no.15). The effect is a modest portrayal.

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[521] *Pudicitia type*, Greek Origins: Dillon 2010, 87-91.
[522] Museo Capitolino, Salone 15, inv. 636. H. (without plinth): 1.81m. Fittschen & Zanker 1983, 97-98, no.141, pl.168. Face heavily cleaned and worked over as reflected by the loss of surface detail. Head and statue are unbroken.
[523] Compare to a Severan, Large Herculaneum statue from Noviodunum, op. cit.
[524] See above discussion 138-139.

These arm-sling busts borrow from the iconography of statue formats to create easily recognisable and highly traditional virtue portraits. The closed postures and confining drapery of these portraits, however, was only one option and a second group of open posture arm-sling busts reveal an important new iconographic repertoire for third-century women.

Open posture arm-sling busts

A second bust in the Metropolitan Museum presents a very different arm-sling portrait to those discussed above. The portrait dates to mid-third century and depicts a young woman with parting-braid of the style worn by Otacilia Severa (no.56). Here the right hand holds onto the mantle and is not heavily enveloped within drapery. The projection of the right arm opens up the portrait. This gesture is common on sarcophagi from Rome and Italy, both on representations of full figure portraits and of busts in *tondi* (figs. 126-131).[525]

On sarcophagi this gesture is commonly accompanied by the left hand gripping the attribute of a scroll (fig.126, 128-131).[526] Similarly it is usual to find representations of this bust-format type in our husband and wife pairs (fig.127).[527] This format seems to offer a common female parallel to the male himation/toga 'civic' portrait type. The scroll, an increasingly popular attribute

[525] **Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek**, 220-240 AD, REF.; Museo Nazionale (fig.128). op. cit. Tarragona (fig.129); **Kensas City, The Nelson-Atkins Museum of Art**. inv. 87-21 H: 83, L: 239 cm. Muse Sarcophagus 240-260 AD. Cohon 1992, fig.1 &4, esp. useful for discussion of context; **Missing** (fig.131) no.inv, no.measurements. 270-280 AD. Stroszeck 1998, 161, no.403, pl.109.1

[526] op. cit.

[527] op. cit. For example of arm-sling bust, husband and wife pair see sarcophagus, Rome, Museo Nazionale, inv. 124711, L:2.21m. From Acqua Traversa bei Gallicano (1937). Kranz 1984, 248, no.335, pl.95.3.

for representations of bust-format portraits on sarcophagi, was held by a woman as often as by a man and seems to have been shorthand for the education and the intellectualism of the private elite sphere. Brown consequently argues, making reference to these third-century paired portrait *tondi*, that the elite woman of this era 'had been swept, by her cultivated husband into the charmed circle of shared excellence'.[528] This may have been the intended impression of these paired portraits, as is reflected by the woman's often supportive role standing behind her husband. But women as the traditional occupants of the private sphere were far more naturally associated with that world and thus their depiction provided a link with it for the men. The paired presentation with their wives was an important symbolic tool in emphasising their legitimacy in the private world as well.

The association of women with the cultivated private realm and its erudite connotations is one commonly reiterated in sarcophagi iconography. This is well observed by Huskinson in her discussion of Muse sarcophagi, a genre popular in the third century exactly because of its intellectual associations.[529] She notes that women naturally fit into the iconography of these sarcophagi and could even be depicted as one of the Muses (figs.130 & 132).[530] In a sarcophagus from Rome, now in the Nelson-Atkins Museum, a central woman with fashionable mid third century parting braid, pierced ears and portrait features stands in arm-sling posture, gripping a scroll and surrounded by ten muses all carrying attributes of

[528] Brown 1988, 14.
[529] Huskinson 1999.
[530] Ibid., 195. Zanker 1995, 272.

the cultured pursuits they symbolise (fig.130).[531] This depiction clearly expresses the positive associations of the educated elite woman who sits comfortably in the company of the muses. Similarly, a restored, although still pertinent Muse sarcophagus, from Rome, depicts a husband and wife facing one another on pendant chairs (fig.132).[532] They are surrounded by the muses and the wife, holding a Cythera (restored), appears as one of them. A pile of scrolls on the husband's lap confirms his position in this intellectual sphere. Here the woman provides a symbolic bridge to the private cultivated realm for her male partner.

To return to our arm-sling busts, a sarcophagus, from Rome, depicts a woman in this format, holding a scroll above the three graces (fig.117).[533] In this context these figures function as elements of ornament, associating the depicted with the charmed and cultivated private realm. These examples reveal how at least one aspect of education and elite intellectual life had a feminine resonance and the important role of women as symbols of this.

The arm-sling bust portraits, although diverse, reflect the expressive possibilities of larger third-century bust formats and how these could be utilized to advocate familiar feminine ideals. They also reveal how interest in the honouring of the private sphere and women as symbols of this could ironically result in more public-style, statuesque busts in third-century contexts.

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[531]See n. above; Cohon 1992.
[532]Musei Vaticani, Inv. 976, heavily restored by Francesco A. Franzoni who gave it to the Musei Vaticani in 1789.
[533] Op. cit.

PIETAS: A BUST AT PRAYER

A final example, dated to the Late Severan period, exemplifies the full possibilities of the statuesque, half-figure bust format (no.26). The bust in question depicts a young woman, with full, but ideal features, expressive smile and large eyes. The bust reaches down to the hips and is draped in a gap-sleeved tunic tied at the waist and a mantle diagonally slung across the front from right to left. The arms of the bust are broken off at the elbows, but they provide the most interesting feature. Close examination reveals that the most likely reconstruction is for the figure's arms to have been raised up. As we have no surviving busts with similarly projecting arms we must turn to representations of women in the iconographic repertoire to reconstruct the woman's gesture.

Although the majority of women's portraits present them in closed postures with arms drawn to the body, a number of useful comparative examples exist. A bronze statue of a Severan Imperial woman from Sparta depicts a woman with right arm outstretched, possibly in a gesture of address. The slight incline of the head may suggest that this is more a gesture of religious supplication, symbolic of the subject's piety (fig.133).[534] However, without the left arm, which is lost, it is difficult to provide a full interpretation.

[534] Athens, Nat. Mus., inv. X. 23321, made of a large number of separately cast bronze parts. May have been pulled down and attacked as a result of DM. C.220 AD. Rhomiopoulou, 1995, 77, no.121: 'JM'. Found at the acropolis of Sparta. Rhomiopoulou 1997, no.121, 116.

A good comparison is offered by a sarcophagus, now in Florence and probably from the vicinity, which depicts scenes of garland-making (fig.134).[535] The apex parting-braid indicates a third-quarter of the third century date. In the centre of the sarcophagus relief is a woman in half-figure bust-format, rising out of a basket of flowers. In her left hand she holds a small open box and her right is held up, the palm turned towards the viewer. This is an unusual scene but reveals the possibility that the arms were raised in order to hold attributes. Statues of women with arms raised in a similar manner, however, have a far more common purpose: to perform the gesture of *orant*. An example is the bronze statue of Livia from Herculaneum.[536]

Sarcophagi evidence indicates that *orant* figures increased in popularity in the third to fourth century. This is at least partly the result of Christian adoption of this gesture, although without other iconographical indicators it is not sensible to make religious assumptions on the basis of this gesture alone. I have not been able to find any examples of bust-format portraits performing this gesture. However, given the popularity of this gesture in the iconographic repertoire this seems the most likely explanation for arms directly raised in front of the bust (see for example fig.126). This is supported by the raised eyes and smile of the woman –all indicative of a prayer state.

[535]Baptistery, no.inv., L: 2.22m., 260-280 AD. Schauenburg 1995, 128, no.45 pl.104; Kampen 1981 155, no.46, fig.76; Zanker & Ewald 2012, 29, fig.25.
[536]Found with Mammius Maximus in the theatre at Herculaneum, H: 214 cm. Inv. MANN 5589. Also Alexandridis 2004, pl.4.

If the bust was depicted performing the *orant* this would have asserted the *pietas* of the subject.[537] *Pietas* was a central virtue in the canon of Roman feminine qualities, thus, while this bust must have been a specific commission, the gesture of *orant* would in no way have surprised the ancient viewer. Julia Domna twice attested performing the *orant* gesture.[538] Huskinson notes how in the Late Roman period the *orant* figure, most often a woman, was frequently depicted juxtaposed with a man holding a scroll.[539] In this way the religious domain became entwined with the intellectual private sphere.

This example once again reveals how third-century women's portrait busts, even those of exceptional format and statuesque form, did not deviate from the traditional repertoire of Roman virtues.

In the next chapter I will develop this theme by considering the context and display of women's portrait busts. I aim to understand how women's busts in this period related to their physical surroundings and what this can tell us about their function and how they were intended to be viewed.

[537]Alexandridis 2004, 79-8.
[538]Alexandridis 2004, 80 nos.224 & 217, pls.50.3 & 49.1: panel relief on the gate of Argentarii & statue Antalya Museum, inv. A 3262, H:1.98m. In both instances only one arm would have been raised with the palm towards the viewer.
[539]Huskinson 1999, 203; Zanker 1995, 284-90: late 3rd c. increasing conflation of spiritual virtues and intellectual pursuits – complementary virtues.

CHAPTER 8. CONTEXT AND DISPLAY: PRIVATE

The purpose of this and the following chapter is to identify the provenance and display contexts of third-century women's portrait busts. Depending on size and weight portrait busts could be used in a huge range of private and public display contexts. The more we can reconstruct these display contexts the more it is possible to understand the function of these objects and the motives behind their production and dedication.

In order to achieve this aim the basis of these chapters will be those third-century women's busts with good provenance and traceable find context. However, even in these examples of busts with 'good context', evidence concerning actual display can be fragmentary. In order to inform and broaden our interpretation a holistic approach is utilised, embracing both the specificities of the busts in my sample and all available contextual reference. For example, three busts have inscriptions, which provide clues as to circumstances determining their dedication. Evidence provided by representations of busts in other media offers useful information. Depictions of busts on sarcophagi, for example, often provide details of display such as statue bases and aedicule frames. Further, it is possible to imbed this discussion in historical context: examples of well-contexted busts prior to the third century are important in understanding precedents for bust display. In the absence of adequate specific details of display this holistic approach provides cumulative evidence from which a valid and valuable picture of bust context and display can be drawn. In order to make sense of and explore this variety of evidence the material in these

chapters is organised by context. This chapter will focus on the two main private contexts, the tomb and villa/*domus*, and the following chapter on public contexts.[540]

First, however, it is necessary to present a geographical overview of all busts with provenance. This dispersal is mapped against chronological patterns in order to provide an idea of the geographical and historical dispersal of third-century women's busts thus providing a wider framework for the more detailed analysis of specific display contexts and case studies.

WHERE AND WHEN? GEOGRAPHICAL AND CHRONOLOGICAL DISTRIBUTION

These are the broadest aspects of context. For the majority of busts in my sample details of exact find-spot are unknown and all that is recorded is the summarised geographical origin, such as 'from Rome,' or acquisition details which allow us to surmise this. Mapping provenance, even at this uncertain level, allows us to build up a picture of the geographical spread of third-century women's portrait busts (tables 7-8 & Map 1).

A disproportionately large number of the extant busts come from Italy and in most cases specifically Rome and its vicinity. This seems to have remained one of the main centres for portrait-bust commissions in the third century. Beyond

[540]I am aware of the shortcomings of the terms public and private and define them above ch.1: 25.

Rome small clusters of busts come from Asia Minor, Greece and North Africa. We also have busts from the North Western provinces such as Gaul and Noricum.

This distribution gains in significance if correlated with the chronological spread of third-century women's busts. The evidence indicates that 'later' third-century busts are proportionally as diverse in terms of provenance as the 'earlier' Severan and Late Severan busts (table 5, graph 4). We have a good number of case studies from the North Western provinces and troubled border regions such as Carnuntum. This indicates that, while we see a uniform reduction in busts in the post Severan era, a pattern reflected in other portrait formats, this decline was not absolute even in so-called troubled areas of Empire.

The above analysis can only give an overview of the material dealt with here. The small size of the sample inevitably increases the possibility of misleading coincidences of survival and publication. This is reflected by certain discrepancies in the data such as the small number of busts from North Africa, a prosperous region in the third century and somewhere we would expect to find more busts. This discrepancy probably reflects the geographical bias of modern archaeology and practices of recording finds rather than ancient trends in bust commission. Nevertheless, this map demonstrates the wide geographical dispersal of the female bust-format in this era all over the Roman Empire. This diversity of locations is even more startling when contrasted with the relative iconographic uniformity of these busts and must present questions concerning portrait format dissemination. Below, where evidence survives, I will consider some of these regional display contexts and consider variations over Empire.

It is against this broad geographical and chronological spread of third-century women's portrait busts that we will now investigate display contexts.

TOMB CONTEXTS: ROME

The precedent for bust display in tombs: 100 BC –193 AD

As touched upon when discussing the origins of the bust-format, a number of early depictions of busts on funerary reliefs allude to the elite tradition of ancestor commemoration (fig.9).[541] This association imbued the portrait bust with strong honorary and commemorative qualities, a status which translated into the more general use of the bust in the mourning of relatives. This is exemplified by a first-century BC funerary relief which depicts a seated, togate man, who the inscription identifies as Quintus Lollius Alcamenes, a *decurio* and *duumvir*, and who holds in his right hand the portrait bust of a boy, presumably his son (fig.135).[542] A veiled woman to the left offers incense. This relief provides evidence of the early use of busts in the funerary ritual itself and the symbolic role of the bust as an emblem of the deceased. The poignancy of this association was to continue as is confirmed by the prevalence of representations of portraits in bust-format on funerary monuments in the first and second centuries AD. Moreover, despite the loss of provenance of many busts, good examples of busts from funerary contexts survive, providing precedents for bust display in funerary settings. Here I draw upon a few good case studies from

[541]Op. cit.
[542]Marble panel, low relief, 25 x 35 cm, Rome, Villa Albani, D'Ambra 1998, fig.10.

Rome in order to demonstrate the social classes involved and types of display spaces utilized.

The Vigna Codini columbarium II is one of the best and earliest examples of portrait busts from a funerary context (figs. 136-139).[543] The occupants of the columbarium all seem to have been imperial slaves or freedmen.[544] Here amongst the rows of niches, three contained portrait busts: one of a woman dating to the Neronian period and two busts of men dating respectively to the mid Claudian-Neronian period and the Julio-Claudian-Flavian period. It is significant that, rather than modify their idea of what they wanted, the dedicants went to the lengths of enlarging their allotted niches so as to fit their portrait busts. In this context the bust was used to assert the elevated status of the dedicants in relation to the more modest dedications presented in the rest of the tomb.[545]

The second-century chamber tomb of the Manilii family, in Vigna Moroni on the Via Appia, presents a grander tomb context in which busts of the family were an integral and original part of the central family gallery. The five portrait busts discovered in this tomb commemorate a single generation of the family dated

[543]Discovered in 15th c. the columbarium was only excavated & published in 1847 (Anderson 1988, 66: published by Henzen in the *Bulletin de l'Institut de correspondance archéologique*). Inscriptions in the tomb (CIL 6.2.4418) = earliest of 3 surviving columbaria: constructed in AD 10 during the consulship of Sergius Lentulus Maluginensis and Q Junius Blaesus. Built by a corporation of shareholders whose cremated remains were buried within it. In total 205 niches and over 400 funerary tablets and *loculi*.

[544] Inscriptional information in the columbarium allows us to identify the social class of those commemorated: majority of occupants freed slaves and workers of Marcella the Elder, wife of M. Agrippa and later of Julius Antonius and her daughter Marcella the Younger, wife of Paullus Aemilus Lepidus and later of M. Valerius Messalla.

[545]Audley-Miller 2010, 27-30, no.1.

between 120-140 AD (figs. 140-142).[546] The tomb was also constructed to contain the bodies of future generations of family, kinsmen and freedmen who would presumably ensure the maintenance of the tomb. In contrast to the columbarium this tomb was large and included large statuettes in *'forma deorum'* and was defined by stucco architectural decoration.[547]

Another contemporary example, which reflects the same second-century preoccupation with grand architectural tomb spaces, tucked away from public view, is Mausoleum H, the largest of the house tombs in the St Peter necropolis.[548] Gaius Valerius Herma built the tomb for himself, his wife Flavia Olympias, their children and their freedmen and freedwomen.[549] The central chamber of this tomb alone was over 25m^2. The tomb was decorated with niches defined by stucco architectural detail and depictions of statues (fig.143). Fragments of marble portraits of Flavia Olympias and Gaius Valerius Herma also survive. Amongst the finds, and of particular interest here, is a stucco female portrait in bust-format (fig.144).[550] These examples evidence the function of busts in the grandest of tomb spaces, displayed alongside or even in preference to full-scale statues. The placement of busts inside the pseudo villa architecture

[546] All now in the Rome, Musei Vaticani, Galleria Chiaramonti, inv. 721-723. Andrea 1995, pl.220-225; Fejfer 2008, 119 – 121, figs.72-77, n. 150. Three of these have inscriptions identifying them as Manilia Hellas (H: 59 cm, inv. 721), L. Manilius Primus (H: 73cm, inv.722) and L. Manilius Faustus (H: 53cm, inv.723), two more busts depict a woman and man but are without identifying inscriptions (inv. 1827; 389A in Andrea 1995, pl.519-20).
[547] Both Hadrianic: **woman in the guise of Venus**, H: 1.17 m, Rome, Musei Vaticani, Magazino, inv.2952 ; **man in the guise of Mercury,** H: 1.28 m, Rome, Musei Vaticani, Sala a Croce Greca, 561 inv. 187. Fejfer 2008, 119, figs. 72-73.
[548] Fejfer 2008, 120.
[549] Liverani & Spinola 2010, 92-105.
[550] Liverani & Spinola 2010, 102, no.57: suggested that it was displayed near the central grave, the central arcosolium of the north wall.

of these tombs is indicative of the status of this form and its versatility suited to a huge range of display contexts.

The above examples indicate how the bust could be adapted to fit the grandest of second-century tombs or the more humble grave or columbarium niche. The high-status and funerary connotations of the bust-format are reiterated most poignantly by the terracotta bust-rattles *(crepundia)* found in the graves of children (fig.145).[551] Even in contexts where busts were inconvenient or where resources prevented the 'real' thing, the form of the bust was utilized.

Third-century AD busts in tombs

The proclivity for displaying busts in funerary contexts continued into the third century, but the number of busts decreased. Instead, we find large numbers of representations of busts on third-century sarcophagi. This may lead us to wonder whether the incorporation of the bust-format portrait into the iconography of third-century sarcophagi acted as shorthand for the 'real' thing. The canvas of the sarcophagus gave the dedicant free rein to depict themselves in as fantastical or high-status a manner as they desired (figs. 25, 118, 180). That so many patrons, in the third century, consequently opted for representations of portrait bust-formats on their sarcophagi is indicative of the status of this format in the funerary realm. Further, some patrons obviously still wanted the 'real' thing as evidenced by the bust of Aurelia Monnina (no.65).

[551] Santa Rosa area, Flavian-Trajanic period. Liverani & Spinola 2010, 229, n.235.

Case study: the bust of Aurelia Monnina

The bust of Aurelia Monnina dates to mid to late third century and comes from Rome, although no records of precise find context survive. The bust is inscribed with the letters DM, an abbreviation of *dis manibus,* which is a typical Roman sepulchral inscription. On the *tabula* an inscription names the subject as Aurelia Monnina, daughter of Alexander, an imperial freedman, and Umbricia Ammias.

The inscription on the bust indicates Monnina's social class as the daughter of an imperial freedman. *Tituli* of all kinds decreased in numbers in funerary contexts in the third century.[552] The inscriptions we do have provide interesting evidence concerning the social class of those commemorated. Borg's analysis of funerary dedications in third-century Rome suggests that, in comparison to first centuries BC-AD, commemoration by the equestrian classes peaked while dedications by the poorer strata of the freedman class and slaves decreased.[553] In contrast the upper economic branches of the freedman class, such as Aurelia Monnina's parents, are prevalent and remain amongst the most heavily commemorated in funerary contexts.[554]

The final line of Aurelia Monnina's inscription details her age: 18 years old. The inclusion of the deceased's age was not mandatory or even typical but reflects a stress on this aspect. In light of the youth of the subject we can infer an expression of loss at the untimely nature of her death. This dedication, consequently, reflects a continued emphasis on commemorating the loss of

[552] Borg 2013, 31.
[553] Ibid., 32, 40, 135.
[554] Ibid., 40.

children through funerary monuments by the financially capable freedmen classes. This group children continued to have important symbolic worth and their portraits acted as vessels for expressing social advancement.

As discussed above the bust of Aurelia is also indicative of portrait re-use in funerary settings. The bust reveals signs of re-working and has been recarved from an earlier, probably Severan date, bust. The remodel has been skilfully done but the choice not to commission a new bust may indicate both the rushed nature of the commission, due to the unexpected loss of the young woman, and a limited budget.

This example should be compared with a bust of a girl, in the Museo Capitolino, which has been carved from a Hadrianic togate man's bust (no.25). In this instance we have no find context beyond a general Roman provenance and the bust has no inscription. However, the youth of the subject and the rushed nature of the commission, which has been rather cursorily crafted from an earlier bust, suggest that this was also a funerary dedication for the unexpected loss of a child. Indeed patterns in portrait commemoration make a Roman freedman family, like Aurelia Monnina's, probable.

These two examples not only provide evidence for the continued use of busts in third century but for commemorations by those outside of the traditional elites of Rome and continued dedications by the wealthy freedman class. The sentiment, inscription and ideals expressed in the bust of Aurelia Monnina would not have been out of place in an early imperial tomb.

Reconstructing third-century tombs and bust display

Busts identified as funerary on the basis of iconography and inscriptions can only tell us so much without details of their original context. It consequently remains to reconstruct tomb context on the basis of other evidence. Borg's recent work, using material from Rome and its vicinity, provides a useful survey of funerary contexts in the third century.[555] Her study takes in a large array of tomb types from terrace tombs, probably owned by *collegia*, to huge monumental sarcophagi, re-used tombs and *hypogea*. To summarise, her survey reveals that while new tombs were, in terms of square-footage, often smaller than their second-century counterparts, the levels of decoration, especially exterior display in the form of marble slabs, architectural facades and sometimes even exterior mosaics, reveal a return to first-centuries BC to AD methods of funerary commemoration.

However, finds in third-century Roman tomb contexts pertaining to the display of busts are frustratingly scarce. It is for this reason that Pensabene's publication of a corbel designed to support a bust is of some significance (fig.146).[556] A round recessed area on top of the corbel, with a 16 cm diameter, indicates where the bust was mounted and that this was probably a full-sized bust. The corbel is defined by a moulding at the front, which forms a simplified acanthus-lip. The top lip of the corbel bears an inscription, which informs us of that the freeman Volusius Maro dedicated the funerary monument to his patron L. Volusius

[555] Borg, 2013.
[556] Pensabene 2008, 1113-17; Borg 2013, 35 n. 107.

Volusianus, a *scriba librarius* who achieved equestrian rank.[557] Pensabene dates the corbel to the first half of the third century on the basis of how the characters are engraved, the architectural details and the nature of the moulding.[558] The piece apparently comes from a large funerary monument on the *Campus Martius*.[559]

On the basis of this example we can see how busts continued to be used in high-status funerary monuments for the upper echelons of Roman society. This example also informs us about its display. The corbel was probably mounted on a pilaster as indicated by the square dowel, 9.5 wide by 7.4 cm deep, in the bottom. The pilaster is not preserved, but the size of the dowel hole suggests a relatively slim support, perhaps a thin column shaft. Representations of busts in other media provide evidence for busts being displayed on thin column shafts. One example is the carnelian ring stone which depicts a painter working on a first-century woman's bust mounted on a short column (fig.55). In this period we have many examples on sarcophagi of busts displayed in *tondi* supported by column shafts (fig.120).[560] Finally, later in date but perhaps most instructive are a number of fourth-century Christian sarcophagi which present the false adoration of the bust of Nebukadnezzar (figs. 147-148).[561] Here the busts are presented perched on top of a thin column plinth with a Corinthian capital and

[557] Pensabene 2008, 1114.
[558] Ibid., 1115.
[559] Ibid., 1113: discovered during cataloguing of the archaeological elements saved form the vaults of the theatre of Marcellus; Borg 2013, 35.
[560] For example: strigilated sarcophagus, Rome, S. Sabina, atrium (no.inv.), L: 2.22m. Kranz 1984, 227, no.167, pl.71.4-7, 88.3-4.
[561] **Siracusa, Museo Archeologico**, Inv. 864, L: 21cm. Fejfer 2008, 242-243, n. 52, fig.159. **Boville Ernica, Chiesa San Pietro Ispano** L. 265 cm. Dresken-Weiland 1998, 20-21 no.63 pl. 21.1-2. **Louvre, inv.no.Ma 2984**, fragment from the front of a decorative sarcophagus lid, L. 40 cm. *Dresken-Weiland 1998, 205, no.438, pl.105.*

possible mount. These representations are important as they indicate that displaying busts raised on columns and mounts was common practice. While in this instance the display of a bust on a column is part of a design to symbolise the false adoration of Nebukadnezzar, it does indicate that displaying busts in this manner brought prestige and status to the depicted.

Whatever the nature of the pilaster upon which the corbel was displayed, the decorative front of the corbel, plain sides and back indicate that the bust was probably positioned against a wall and was mainly intended to be viewed from the front and perhaps in profile. The bust's inclusion in a prominent and presumably large funerary monument on the Campus Martius indicates the continued use of busts in elite, Roman funerary dedications.

REGIONAL TOMB CONTEXTS

The discussion thus far has been concerned with evidence for busts displayed in funerary contexts from Rome. It is now necessary to consider examples from elsewhere in Empire.

The free-standing 'Roman' portrait bust, as indicated by the above geographical dispersion, was to disseminate throughout Empire (map 1). However, in the funerary context a number of Mediterranean cultures developed alternative funerary bust traditions, many of which flourished in the third century.[562] These

[562] For example: funerary relief busts from Nysa Scythopolis, Beth Shean/Beisan, Isreal (Romano, 2006, no.95-98 195-198); or funerary busts from Cilicia (Çalik 1999, 101-110).

'busts' are often in relief and are consequently excluded from this catalogue. However, they present an important phenomenon, firstly, because they explain the absence or scarcity of free-standing busts in certain areas where we have well-preserved funerary contexts. Secondly, many of these alternative funerary busts bear a relationship to and dependency upon Roman funerary traditions and more specifically indicate the influence of the Roman free-standing portrait bust-format. These regional relief busts indicate the status of the free-standing bust but also the adaption of this to suit specific regional funerary tomb display contexts. An instructive case study is provided by the funerary busts of Cyrenaica.

The reception of the Roman bust-format: Cyrenaica

The funerary portrait busts of Cyrenaica are in relief and were displayed in haphazard niches, cut to suit the bust, on the front of the rock-tombs of the local necropolis (fig.150).[563] The style and quality of workmanship indicate that these were produced in local workshops. At first glance the distinct frontality and plaque-like, one-dimensional character of these reliefs indicate a regionally distinct character. However, Rosenbaum's analysis revealed that these busts were introduced as a result of Roman influence in the area and reflect the reception of the Roman practice of displaying portraits in tombs.[564] Further, and of great interest to this study, these funerary busts develop over time in relation to the Roman free-standing portrait bust, consequently including more of the chest and occasionally arms, thus suggesting an awareness of and dependence

[563]For example BM: invs. 1867,0512.56 (found near the temple of Apollo, H: 25 cm, 190-210 AD); 1861.7-24.2 (found in a tomb at Ain-es-Selmani, H: 21 cm, 140-170 AD); 1861,11-27.148 (H: 26, AD100-120). Walker & Bierbrier 1997, 199, nos.274, 273 & 270 Rosenbaum 1960, pl. 2.1-4.
[564] Rosenbaum 1960, 15.

upon this format.[565] This is reflected by the fact that free-standing 'Roman' portrait busts are also found in Cyrenaica, though confined to public/religious and villa/domus contexts (nos.11-12; figs. 153-154).[566]

The nearest we get to a free-standing bust in a funerary context is the representation of a Severan woman in encircling mantle bust-format framed by an aedicule structure on a stele (fig.149).[567] Dowel holes on the sides of the stele indicate that this was probably displayed in a niche on the façade of a tomb, although one of considerably larger size than those required by the Cyrenaica funerary busts. Rosenbaum notes that several tombs with larger niches of this kind do exist.[568] This example reflects an awareness of metropolitan Roman fashions for using free-standing busts in funerary contexts. However, 'real' free-standing busts are absent as the Cyrene funerary relief busts are far better suited to the shallow display niches carved out of facades of Cyrene's rock-tombs.[569] These examples reveal the need for specific bust-formats to suit regional tomb display contexts, but they also confirm a knowledge of the free-standing bust-format and an understanding of this as 'the' high-status funerary portrait format.

[565] Rosenbaum 1960, 19.
[566] Ibid., 13. For example: from the **house of 'Jason Magnus'** bust of a woman: BM, inv. 1468, ibid. 67, no.76, pl.49.1-2. Bust of a priest**:** Cyrene Arch. Mus., Acc. No.C17034. Ibid. 64-65, no.68 pls.44.1-2, 108.2. From the **Temple of Venus** two women's busts: BM, inv. 1416, inv. 1414, ibid. 61-62, nos.58-59, pls.38.2-4, 39 1-2.
[567] Cyrene, Arch. Mus., inv. C 13008, H: 86 cm. Rosenbaum 1960, 124-125, no.284, pl.101.1-2.
[568] Rosenbaum 1960, 124.
[569] See n. above (fig.150).

Syria

The same is true in Syria where the majority of funerary busts are in relief format, carved from local limestone and produced in local workshops.[570] These are in contrast to the free-standing Roman busts in the metropolitan centres, which seem to come from non-funerary contexts. For example, we have two third-century, marble male portrait busts of excellent quality, from a private house context in Antioch.[571] A Severan woman's bust, which comes from Hierapolis (Membidj), a major centre in Roman Northern Syria, consequently presents an interesting exception as a free-standing portrait bust produced in limestone, in a regional workshop and with possible funerary context (no.23).

Case study: A Severan woman's bust from Hierapolis

In terms of portrait format, the partially recessed back and sides indicate the sculptor's understanding of what was an integral and distinguishing feature of the free-standing portrait format. However, the limestone material and the carving technique are in common with Northern Syrian funerary relief-busts. In parts the bust has almost been carved in relief: the neck is not the full depth we would expect but instead merges into the background provided by the veil drapery. Moreover, much of the workmanship is cursory: tool marks are easily observed on the neck, the drapery is exceptionally linear and the face rather stylised in its completion. Furthermore, the woman may be wearing her hair in a typical Severan style but she is depicted in regional headpiece.

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[570]Parlasca 1982.
[571]Vermeule 2000, 93-94 figs. 3-4: discovered in a cache of sculpture comprising 22 fragments and including a head in red porphyry.

The vast majority of portrait sculptures from the Membidji area come from funerary contexts suggesting a similar context for this bust too. The potential funerary context may be supported by its acanthus leaves support. In his study of this element on bust-portraits Jucker identified this as a feature specific to funerary contexts.[572] This funerary association is supported by the large number of representations of busts on funerary monuments, which include this support type. [573] However, acanthus/calyx leaf decoration is of course prolific in architectural ornament outside of funerary contexts and as so few busts have good context we must be wary of the potential circular logic of identifying every bust with this element as funerary. In the case of the Syrian bust this support type, in combination with regional patterns of display, makes a funerary context possible.

Although we have no other examples of free-standing busts in this area, representations of busts on Syrian grave monuments indicate knowledge of this format and its appropriateness in funerary contexts. For instance one relief from Adana, North Syria, depicts the portrait bust of a woman displayed within an aedicule (fig.151).[574] The hairstyle dates the bust to the late Antonine period. The bust-format is a traditional encircling mantle type such as we might find anywhere in Empire. The bust is also depicted with an acanthus leaves support. Fortunately, this relief retains its Greek inscription identifying the woman as Theodora, daughter of Philandros – a slave girl. The armless bust depicted in this relief appears very similar to that of our Syrian portrait bust.

[572]Jucker 1961. Freyer-Schauenburg 1980, 118-125: has updated and discussed Jucker's original groups of foliage supports 'Blätterkelch'.
[573]Op. cit.
[574]Adana Arch. Mus, inv. 1311, provenance unknown. Parlasca 1982, 13 n. 126, fig.14.3.

Relief panels from a Syrian pillar-tomb monument depict paired busts of a man and woman within aedicule displays (fig.152).[575] These reliefs indicate knowledge of fashions for displaying the bust in an aedicule monument/niche with an inscription below (generally Greek) and classical architectural elements, such as Corinthian column capitals. However, the traditional Syrian headdress worn by the woman in the latter example and native pillar-tomb monument are indicative of strong regional funerary traditions. In this way we can see how the free-standing bust-format was integrated as a symbol of metropolitan Roman fashion within an otherwise regionally distinct funerary monument.

Asia Minor

To return to the issue of bust display, Cormack's survey of Roman tombs in Asia Minor provides further evidence for the display of portrait busts in regional tomb contexts.[576] Two late second to third-century Imborgion temple tombs in Cilicia, located close to the modern village of Demircili, provide evidence for bust display. Temple tomb 1 presents a console block in the rear wall inside the *cella*, at a height of 2.70m, which may have been used for the display of portrait busts.[577] That this shelf could have been used for funerary busts is supported by the architectural decoration of tomb II.[578] A gable surmounts the two storied colonnaded tomb front and is decorated with shoulder bust portraits of two men with naked torsos in *himations* which are draped over their right shoulders and wrapped around the bottom of the busts. These busts have now lost their heads,

[575]Beirut National Museum, inv. V 564. H: 1.98m. Parlasaca 1982, 19 – 20, n.204, pl.22.3; 23.1-2.
[576]Cormack 2004.
[577]ibid. 204-206, figs.71-77, esp. fig.75.
[578]ibid. 206-209, figs. 78-79, esp. figs. 78-79.

but presumably represent those buried in the tomb. Inside the upper *cella* three third-century sarcophagi remain: the left decorated with garlands, the right with 'fish and geometric ornamentation.' The central sarcophagus is decorated with garland swags and river gods, which flank two female busts and a central fruit-basket.[579] On the vertical walls above each sarcophagus are two consoles carved with acanthus leaves. These were presumably intended for displaying busts. However, it is uncertain that these busts would have been free-standing ones rather than regional relief busts. Either way, these tombs are useful for reconstructing possible bust display contexts in tomb settings and in understanding the relationship between sarcophagi and bust portrait.

Conclusion

The above discussion reveals that, despite a scarcity of well-contexted, third-century women's busts from funerary settings, representations of busts on funerary monuments, or in other media, evidence the continued familiarity of the bust as a high-status format in the funerary realm. I will return to the significance of representations of women's portrait busts in funerary contexts and what these can tell us about the status of this format in the final chapter.

VILLA/*DOMUS*

It is in the portrait galleries of imperial and elite villas that we find most evidence for sculpted portraits in the domestic sphere. In these settings the bust-format was pervasive from the late first-century AD on. We may consider three

[579] Cormack 2004, fig.82.

examples from high-empire: Hadrian's villa at Tivoli, Herodes Atticus's villa at Eua and the house of Jason Magnus in Cyrene (figs. 153-154). A large selection of portrait busts of imperial figures survive among the considerable sculptural haul picked over by the excavators of the eighteenth century at Tivoli.[580] In the villa at Eua, in conjunction with Herodes's collection of Hellenistic mythological sculpture, a gallery of imperial portraits, of which several in bust-format, were discovered. These include a portrait of Herodes Atticus himself.[581] The house of Jason Magnus contained a large selection of sculptures, including a number of imperial and private portraits all dating to the Antonine period (figs.153-154). Alongside a *himation* bust, presumed to depict the villa's original owner, were busts of Marcus Aurelius, Antoninus Pius and Lucilla, the daughter of Faustina the Younger.[582] A later addition to this assemblage was a portrait head of a private individual closely emulating the hairstyle of Lucius Verus.[583] The elite owners in these cases sought to assert their status as prominent dignitaries by physically displaying their portraits in contiguity to those of the imperial family. A gallery of portrait-busts provided the perfect vessel through which to express

[580] Raeder 1983; Charles & Lavagne (et. al.), 1999. Selection of busts discovered at Tivoli: **fragment of a marble bust of Hadrian**, H: 31 cm., Palazzo Massimo, inv. 2004344. Ibid., 207, no.53; Fittschen 1984, 198: compares this to bust of Hadrian, found at Milreu in Portugal. **Nude, torso bust of Hadrian**, heavy restoration esp. of r. shoulder, H: 91 cm. Discovered in 1769 in Gavin Hamilton's excavations, Musei Vaticani Inv. 724. Amelung 1908, 482, pl. 64; Charles & Lavagne (et. al.) 1999 208, no.54. **Nude, torso bust of Antinous**, H: 90 cm. Musei Vaticani Inv. 636. Amelung 1908, 547, no.357, pl.70; Charles & Lavagne (et. al.) 1999, 211, no.7. **Bust of LV in cuirass**, H. 76 cm. Hermitage, inv. F. 859. Stéphanie 1872, no.28; Charles & Lavagne (et. al.) 1999 212, no.58.

[581] Sculptural discoveries at the Villa of Eua: Spyropoulos 1992, 50-55. The bust of Herodes Atticus, discovered in western trench, from the exedra of the villa, near the Nymphaeum, depicts Herodes in a younger portrait type to that discovered at Marathon: Athens, Nat. Mus., inv. 4810, Spyropoulos, 1992, 53.

[582] Four busts discovered at the house of Jason Magnus, Cyrene: **1. Jason Magnus**, Cyrene arch. Mus. Inv. C 17034 H: 75. cm; **2. Lucilla**, BM, H: 56 cm, inv. 1861,1127.18; **3. Antoninus** Pius, BM, H: 71 cm (inv.1861,1127.14); **4. MA**, BM, H: 74 cm, inv. 1861,1127.15. Smith & Porcher 1864, 76; Smith 1892, nos.1463, 1464, 1468; Fejfer 2008, 94, n.51, fig.57.

[583] Head in the BM, inv. 1861,0725.9: AD161-169, H: 43.18, Smith 1892, no.1486; Adams 2003, 46-47.

this ideal. It is significant that in these instances the patrons were not limited by fiscal or spatial concerns and yet their choice was the bust-format. This indicates that bust-format, at least by the second century, was a refined and high-status choice for the wealthy patron setting up portraits in his villa or town house. Further, the contemporary trend for increasingly large bust-formats, which was to continue into the third century, reflects a willingness to display busts in grander architectural spaces within Villa and Public contexts.

The practice of filling elite residences with sculpture, both portraits and ideal, continued into the Severan period. In Rome a huge house once owned by Fulvius Plautianus, the praetorian prefect of Septimius Severus, displayed portraits of Lucilla, Macrinus and a selection of private portraits along with much earlier idealising sculpture.[584] This example reveals the increasingly eclectic nature of sculpture display in Roman houses and, particularly important in the third to fourth century, the tendency to create galleries which intermingled portraits and ideal sculpture from much earlier periods with current or in some cases re-worked portraits.

It is very likely that some of the large number of busts in my sample from Rome and Italy, especially the better quality imperial busts, came from either an elite or imperial villa context.[585] Here I focus on two case studies which provide secure find-contexts and allow detailed interpretation of display and habits of dedication in the third century: a woman's portrait bust from the 'Hanghaus 1' in

[584] Steinby 1993, vol. 2, 105-6; Fejfer 2008, 94-96, n.52.
[585] Fittschen 1978, 28-43, n. 60, argues that the JD and SS busts now in the Bloomington collection probably come from an elite villa just outside Rome. For further discussion of the JD bust see here no.2.

Ephesos and two busts, one a private portrait, the other that of Tranquillina, from the villa of Chiragan in South West Gaul.

THE TOWN AND COUNTRY: THIRD-CENTURY WOMEN'S BUSTS IN TWO ELITE RESIDENCES

The domus: 'hanghaus 1', Ephesos

The so-called 'Hanghaus' 1 is a residential block situated in centre of Ephesos opposite to the Temple of Hadrian. The Roman *domus* was built at some point in the late first to early second century AD on top of the site of a late Hellenistic peristyle house. The complex in its entirety covered an area of around 3000 m2. The Roman *domus*, which we are concerned with here, covered an area of 1400m2 suggesting that this was a prestigious, large residence (fig.155). [586]

Phases

The *domus* underwent several phases of occupation and redevelopment. The main stimuli for change were the earthquakes which struck Ephesos in the Gallienic period (C AD 262) and in the fourth century AD. The first of these caused the loss of almost the entire atrium and the south room and resulted in a major reorganisation of space. The *domus* was broken up into smaller living areas and there is evidence of certain areas being taken over by commercial ventures such as a cart company. The general division of space into smaller flats is a pattern followed in other residences in this once lavish elite occupied centre

[586] The site undergone intermittent excavation by the Austrian school since 1958. 1960s excavations most sculptural finds - no records documenting accurate find locations from this period (Aurenhammer 2003, 155). Aurenhammer (2003) has published the sculptural finds and where possible identifies original find-context (see fig.156: plan with find-spots of sculpture).

of Ephesos. However, the central domestic area of the Roman *domus* remained in continuous use as an elite dwelling and part of the large reception spaces remained in use and undivided (area B). The fourth-century AD earthquake resulted in yet more destruction and a consequent reduction of space occupied. Despite these catastrophic events parts of the *domus* experienced continued occupation into the seventh century AD.[587]

Find context of the bust

The woman's portrait bust, of primary interest here, can be dated to the Late Severan era on the basis of hairstyle. The bust was discovered in the early 1960s in the peristyle of the house (no.46). Eichler recorded: 'the clearance of debris overlying the vaulted lower rooms led to the discovery of the peristyle court…. seven marble bases with double scotia are preserved in situ on the west side….. A bust of a Roman woman (empress) of ca. 220 AD was found fallen in the basin.'[588] According to the notes left by Eichler, while the larger upper part was found in the basin, the unsecured pedestal was found standing against the westernmost inter-columnation on the southern edge of the basin.[589] Although the portrait in the form we have it dates to the Late Severan period, it has been suggested, and I concur, that it has probably been recarved from a secondary-century portrait bust.[590]

[587] Aurenhammer 1999, 535-543 & 2003, 153-209, pls.72-121.
[588] Eichler quoted in Mellink 1962, 83, see here, no.16 for further discussion of bust.
[589] Aurenhammer 2003, 163-165, no.S. 11.
[590] See here: 148-149.

Sculptural context

The bust belonged with a large array of other sculptural finds from the peristyle including fragments of two travertine busts.[591] Enough remains of one of the busts to identify it as a male, fringed *paludamentum* bust, which probably dates between the late second to third century AD (fig.155.8).[592]

It is important to place this bust in the context of the other sculpture found in the *domus*. The majority of pieces can be dated to the late second to third century AD.[593] The main exception is a less than life-size bust of a woman from the late Julio-Claudian period (fig.155.3). The ideal sculpture is more difficult to date than the portraiture but the majority of pieces come from the second to third centuries AD.[594] This sculptural haul indicates that the *domus* was at its most affluent between the second century and the earthquake in the Gallienic period.

Here I present a plan with the recorded findspots of some of the most important sculptural finds from the 'Hanghaus 1'(fig.155). Other than the busts already mentioned, significant finds include a third-century portrait head of a man from the time of Gordian III, discovered in the western passage of the *peristyle*, and a

[591]Aurenhammer 2003, 161-162, n. 83, nos. S32-S32a.

[592]Fragmentary nature of these busts = difficult to date. Inan & Rosenbaum dated to the Constantine period (1966, no.186, pl. 110, 3-5). Fittschen dates to the Hadrianic era (1973: 225, 62; ibid., 475, pl. 22.1-2). I agree with Aurenhammer who dates them between the Antonine and 3rd c. (Aurenhammer, 2003, 161, n. 83) – compare the fringe on the *paludamentum* bust with that on the busts of a private man in Munich, 3rd c. (inv. 381, Boschung & Pfanner 1988, 20-28, fig.12-15) (fig.39).

[593] Finds from Hellenistic *peristyle* house include: large selection of terracotta, a bronze statuette of Aphrodite and a statuette of Asklepios (Aurenhammer 2003, 156-157, Aphrodite: no.S 1; Asklepios: no.S 2).

[594] Large array of ideal sculptures, mainly in the form of statuettes, now fragmentary, survives and can mostly be dated between the 2nd to 3rd c. AD (Aurenhammer 1999, 535-543 & 2003, 153-209, pls.72-121). A **statuette of Zeus** (Aurenhammer, 2003, no.S 49) came from a 3rd c. layer in the *atrium impluvium* = one of the few pieces of the ideal sculpture that can be accurately dated.

life-size head of Commodus, discovered in the rubble in space C, a room just off the *peristyle*.[595]

Unfortunately, these findspots cannot always be understood as solid indicators of original display location. The long timespan of the 'Hanghaus' means that pieces were inevitable moved over time. This is especially true of finds in some of the outer-rooms. For example, a number of significant sculptural finds were discovered in an outer building next to a lime-kiln, indicating that they were gathered here to be melted down and were not necessarily part of the sculptural programme of the *domus*.[596] It is consequently not certain if such impressive finds as the bronze portrait of a man from the Severan period discovered 'high up in taberna III' originally belonged to this house. [597] In this instance traces of shock in the form of crack and deformation of the skull may indicate that the, now lost, body was removed, possibly for reuse.[598] Aurenhammer's suggestion that this was an honorific statue originally displayed in the vestibule of the *domus* is therefore difficult to sustain without further evidence.[599] Similarly, fragments of two late second to third-century busts come from the outer-rooms of the Hanghaus: a life-size armoured bust from the sculptural depot in room F and a heroically-naked, torso male bust found in two fragments in Room I and L.

[595] **3rd c. portrait head**: Aurenhammer 2003, 165, n. 136, no.S 37; Inan and Rosenbaum 1966, 133, no.161 pl.93.3-4. The head is thought to go with a left leg which Eichler reports was found in the same place and which seems to be of the same marble. **Head of Commodus**: no.S 82.
[596] Aurenhammer 2003, 155 (in space H).
[597] ibid., S 18; 1999, 518 n. 38, 539, n. 38: Fittschen (1973) revised portrait date from period after the Severans to within the Severan period.
[598] Aurenhammer 2003, 163, re-use is suggested by traces of shock found in the form of a crack and deformation of the skull caused when separating the head.
[599] Aurenhammer 1999, 518; Aurenhammer 2003, 163-165.

It is extremely unlikely that this was their primary context given the utilitarian nature of these rooms.[600]

The history of the Hanghaus *domus* shows the continuing presence of works from every stage of its history. Evidence, especially in the more central areas of the house, indicates continued use and display of objects from much earlier phases. For example, a life-size, female, ideal head and herm wall in the *peristyle* belong to the first phase of the *domus* but were still on display in Late Antiquity.[601] The discovery of the Severan woman's bust with foot and fragments of two other busts, probably second to third century, in the central *peristyle* area rather than amongst piles of sculptures in the outer-rooms or forming part of any of the various spoil walls in the *domus*, make it more likely that this was part of the house's original sculptural collection. [602] This is supported by the continued use of the *peristyle* as a central connecting hub for the *domus*. It had two main phases: as part of the initial Roman *domus* and then, after the third-century earthquake, as a connecting passage to the smaller residential units to the east and area B.

Display space

As the Severan bust was found in the *peristyle*, which is a very appropriate display space for a bust, it is reasonable to suppose that it belonged there. In this

[600] Aurenhammer 2003, S 113, H: 24.5cm; S 94, H: 30 cm.
[601] **Ideal head:** built into the N.S. wall of the *peristyle* after 3rd c AD. **Herm wall:** Aurenhammer 1999, 536, n. 11 (S 16): only piece found upright and exactly in situ. Fence consisted of 5 double herms, Trajanic to Antonine eras – it seems to have been repaired and new herms introduced during the course of the 2nd c. AD. Compares to fence of the herms in the *peristyle* of the villa near Ivajlovgrad (Bulgaria), 2nd c. AD.
[602]For example spoil wall in area B: It is from this area that a large array of fragmentary pieces, mostly ideal statuettes, come (172-173, nos.S 64- S 74).

space we can imagine busts placed between the columns or around the pool, perhaps on the marble bases described by Eichler. The *peristyle*, however, was not the only prestigious display option in the 'Hanghaus 1'. The atrium complex, including the *nymphaeum* and area B with its large apse presented another space well suited to sculptural display.[603] Although only a few pieces were found here this was a lavish area of the house during the high imperial phase (pre the Gallienic earthquake). The marble cladding of the lower areas and the fine wall painting of the upper walls would have created an impressive space. The niches in the interior walls of the atrium suggest sculptural display, plausibly busts.

Area B, a room to the east of the atrium, is one of the areas, which shows the longest use and latest signs of life in the *domus*.[604] In the second phase of the *domus* this area should be understood as a continuation of the *nymphaeum-atrium* suite: a large undivided hall with a metre high arched alcove in the middle of the east wall, which was on a axis with the central door of the west wall and the nymphaeum. This alcove may have been used for displaying either a less than life-size statue or a portrait-bust. After the third-century earthquake the space was separated by a wall running north to south and the niche in the east wall was reduced. The western half of this area is the only space to reveal a later phase of decoration in the *domus*. The wall paintings were dated by Strocka to around 300 AD and signs of new floors have been identified.[605] This consequently presents another possible location for the display of sculpture, as

[603]Aurenhammer 2003, 177-178. The head of a female statuette was found in the *nymphaeum* (Aurenhammer, 2003, S 12). A small amount of mythological sculpture found in the *atrium*: a statuette of Poseidon was apparently displayed in one of the niches in the wall dividing the *atrium* from SR 1. The statuette of Zeus also came from the *atrium*. Op. cit.
[604] ibid. 172-175.
[605] Ibid. 172, n.227: Strocka 1995, 77.

suggested by the discovery of a woman's less than life-size bust from the late Julio-Claudian period and a late antique date, ideal female head.[606]

Function of 'Hanghaus 1'

There has been some discussion concerning the function of the Roman *domus* in 'Hanghaus 1'. Lang argues that the large reception room and lavish decoration of the second phase (second to third century, pre-Gallienic earthquake) preclude this house having been a private residence.[607] Instead, it is suggested that this functioned as a banqueting hall frequented by one of the local priesthoods. However, as Aurenhammer notes, the predominance of small-scale, ideal statuettes is more indicative of a private residence.[608] Moreover, in elite residences of this period large reception spaces were the fashion, therefore it seems more likely that this was the private residence of one of the dominant elite of Ephesos. This remained a luxurious space defined by large reception rooms and expensive sculptural decoration.

This case study is indicative of the popularity of the bust as a method of portrait format in the *domus* context in the third century AD, and as an 'heirloom' beyond this into late antiquity proper.[609] Four busts can be securely associated with this Roman *domus*. Of these the Julio-Claudian was probably moved here from an earlier context. The remaining three are chronologically compatible and should be understood as belonging to the second phase of the house. This may be compared with evidence from Aphrodisias's 'atrium house' (fig.156). In this

[606] Aurenhammer 2003, S 69.
[607] Lang-Auinger & Forstenpoint (eds.) 1996, 204; Aurenhammer 1999, 543, n. 74.
[608] Aurenhammer 2003, 180.
[609] Stirling, 2007, 308.

prominent Aphrodisian residence we find four busts dating between the early first and third centuries AD.[610] It is clear then that well into the third century, at least in the prosperous cities of the Greek East, portrait busts continued to be produced and displayed in elite domestic contexts.

The villa: Chiragan, South West Gaul

Our second case study comes from a very different area of the Roman Empire - the villa of Chiragan, situated in South West Gaul, on the banks of the Garonne. Throughout the eighteenth century finds were made in the villa, but formal excavations did not take place until the early nineteenth century. Between 1826-30 Dumége led the first excavations and most of the sculptures were discovered during this phase in the villa's excavation history. Subsequent excavations organised by the *Société Archéologique du Midi de la France* took place in 1840 and between 1890-91 Lebégue led another phase of excavations. Finally, and most recently, between 1897-99 Joulin excavated and his publication in 1901 provides the most thorough plans, maps and descriptions of the villa's architecture and finds.[611]

Over thirty portrait busts have been discovered at this villa and among these two third-century women's portrait busts have been identified (no.49-50). These are a slightly below life-size bust of Tranquillina (no.49) and a half-figure, life-size

[610] All in Aphrodisias Museum: **Male 1st c. bust**, Inv. 5751, H: 51.5 cm. Smith & Lenaghan, 2008, 272, no.22; **Germanicus bust**, inv. 5756, H: 53. 3 cm. Smith & Lenaghan, 2008, 232, no.2: originally came from the Sebasteion and brought into *domus* in Late Antiquity, similar to busts of Livia and Tiberius from 'Hanghaus 2' and possibly the Julio-Claudian bust, discussed above, from ''Hanghaus 1''. **Female bust**, late 2nd c., inv. 5758, H: 47.5 cm. Smith & Lenaghan 2008, 236, no.4. **Bust of a priest of Aphrodite**, late 2nd/3rd c. AD, Exc. Inv. 86-1, H: 69 cm. Smith & Lenaghan 2008, 244, no.8.
[611] Stirling 2005, 49-50.

bust of a private woman from the mid-third century (no.50). Both busts reveal evidence of re-working in the third century.[612] This section will attempt to place these busts in their architectural and sculptural display context at the Villa in Chiragan.

Phases

Joulin identified 4 phases: i) the early, modest Roman villa of the Augustan period, ii) a partial rebuild and extension in the Trajanic period, iii) a more extensive and luxurious rebuild in the Antonine period, iv) modest renovations in the Constantine period.[613] Joulin's early attempt at charting the chronology of this complex structure, while impressive, has rightly been challenged by modern scholarship. Balmelle argues that such features as the 'court of honour', basilica room and baths, traditionally dated to the Antonine phase, actually make more sense in a late antique context. Balmelle bases her analysis on that of other villas in South West Gaul and notes that generally we find waves of expansion around 400 AD and in the second half of the fifth century.[614]

The numismatic evidence and a number of sculptural finds correlate that the house was in use and had a Late Antique life. Coins from the Julio-Claudian period through to the early fifth century have been found.[615] There is a particular concentration of coins from the third century and a later peak in the period of

[612] I discuss these busts in ch. 5.
[613] Joulin 1901, 141-160.
[614] Boube 1957: excavated a smaller villa in Martres-Tolosane, built in the late 3rd. c. - he suggests the owners of Chiragan decided to downsize to this in the mid-4th c. Proximity not enough to construct such an argument & discussion of Chiragan suggests, as Balmelle's 2001, analysis indicates, an extended prosperity into Late Antiquity.
[615] Stirling 2007, 53.

Constantine and his successors. In recent years a number of the late antique sculptural finds have been discussed by Bergmann, who uses them to argue that the villa was not only still occupied through to the end of the late fourth century, but flourished in this later phase.[616] This is supported by a fragment of a relief that depicts an arm holding up a *mappa*, the cloth used by elite magistrates to open the games in Late Antiquity.[617] This gesture and the style of the piece date it to the late fourth century. The theme of the relief may indicate the continued elite status of the occupants of the villa, as only the most important magistrates of Empire would be honoured with performing this role.

An ash layer and burn marks on many of the sculptures indicate that the villa was burnt down. Bergmann suggests that this may have been done at the time of the invasion of the Vandals, Suevi and Alans between 406-410 AD.[618] This would fit with the numismatic evidence: the most recent coin dates to the reign of Arcadius (383-408 AD).[619] The residence consequently has a long history of occupation.

Balty, Bergmann and Balmelle have all been important in asserting the Late Antique life of the villa.[620] However, the concentration of sculpture and numismatic evidence indicates a very prosperous Severan to late third/early fourth-century phase, which has been somewhat overlooked. It is presumed that

[616] Bergmann 1999, ch.3, esp. 32. A female head dated to the early 5th c., long un-provenanced, has been identified as coming from Chiragan (Toulouse, Mus. Sant Raymond, inv. 30139. H. 33.5 cm. Cazes 1997, 45; Espérandieu 1908, vol. 2, 100, no.1030).
[617] Bergmann 1999, 32, fig.11, 42-43.
[618] Ibid., 27-28: Orientus the Latin poet of the 5th c. wrote 'Gaul was burning like a single pyre'.
[619] Stirling 2007, 309: due to reduction in the number of bronze coins minted in the later 4th c. earlier bronze coins remained in circulation for much longer = dates based on coins could be too early.
[620] Balmelle 2001, 228-233; Bergmann 1999, 34, 40-41.

as there was a fourth-century renaissance in villa building in South West Gaul, documented and strongly argued for by Balmelle, that this must have been the most important phase at the villa of Chiragan.[621] However, the coins and sculptural finds indicate that the late second to early fourth century was the main locus for transformation in Chiragan.

Find context of the busts

The majority of the sculpture was found broken up into bits and buried in large pits within the villa. Joulin suggested that the busts were broken up and placed in pits prior to the villa's burning[622], but burn marks on the sculpture indicate that they were first affected by fire and at a later date, probably when the land was being worked for agricultural purposes, gathered together and broken up for ease of burial in the huge pits.[623] Ironically, the gathering of the sculptures into pits protected them and proves that all these sculptures were present in the villa's final phase. This is why we have such a complete collection of sculptures from one context, even if their exact display contexts within the villa can only be hypothesised.[624] From the pit in the south-west court (1) ('*terrain prondément boulversé'*: 45 x15 m, between 1-5m deep)[625] comes the largest haul of sculpture, including both the third-century women's portrait busts. Two pits also lay over the bath complex (fig.157).[626]

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[621] Balmelle 2001.
[622] Joulin 1901, 160-161, 376-77.
[623] Bergmann 2007, 325-326; Stirling 2005, 54, n.95.
[624] Stirling 2005, 54, n.95: the fact that the burnt material was mixed in with statuary in the pit indicates that both came from the villa context.
[625] Joulin 1901, 232-233, 498-501; Stirling 2005, n.94.
[626] This treatment of the sculpture means we do not have the same kind of detailed find-contexts as supplied at 'Hanghaus 1'. The major exceptions are the deity *tondi*-busts discovered in the hall of honour (5) and the sculptural finds in the *nymphaeum* and *impluvium* of the summer dining room (2).

Display space

The villa complex is huge, 18,000 m2, that is twice the size of the second largest villa in South West Gaul (Valentine, 8400m2).[627] The monumental basilica hall alone is 260m2. The complex consists of a main residential area, made up of a number of large peristyles and suites of rooms. The largest basilica hall (5), or as it is often titled the 'court of honor', is situated in the north and it is here that the twelve medallion busts of divinities, which may stylistically be dated to the late third to fourth century, were found. It is not difficult to imagine these busts displayed in this impressive reception space. To the south of this space is a bath-suite (6) which centres around a hemicycle swimming pool and is defined by apsidal spaces. Sculptures were discovered in the bath-suite. To the south of the bath-suite we have an atrium complex (8) with a long apsidal structure to the east (7). This area was apparently decorated with mosaic flooring and has a hypocaust system. This area may have been unroofed. Over three hundred fragments of sculpture and other material, including two late mythological statuettes, were found within the pool of the small atrium.[628] A summer dining room with *nymphaeum* can be identified to the west of this atrium (2). Further west again is the second largest reception space: the south-west court (1), which opens onto the Garonne. In the northwest corner of this court is the large pit where most of the sculpture was found. Finally, above this to the north are various clusters of rooms which lead onto the northwest court, the third largest reception room of the villa.

[627] Stirling 2005, 50.
[628] Joulin 1901, 266.

This description of the main villa complex is summary and reflects the fact that this was a huge residence filled with numerous small reception spaces and rooms used for various utilitarian functions. At Chiragan we see a number of reception spaces taken to the furthest extreme in terms of size and lavish decoration. Similarly, the villa is defined by extensive use of apsidal architecture, another distinctive feature of late imperial *domus* and villa architecture.[629] Finally, the inclusion of a lavish bath-suite within the main complex and the huge number of farm buildings and other outbuildings around the residential block, many of which still require archaeological investigation, reinforce the identification of this villa as an elite residence rather than a villa retreat. In this impressive complex the elite owner would not only entertain on a grand scale but run his affairs surrounded by his retainers.

Sculptural context

Around one hundred and fifty sculptures in the round are known to come from the villa. Of these fifty are Roman portraits, twenty are imperial and thirty private portraits (fig.158).[630] We have few portraits from the first century AD, the majority come from the second century with the greatest density of portraits from the Severan dynasty through to the mid-third century. Septimius Severus is represented in no less than four portraits, three of which are portrait busts. A

[629] Borg 2007, 66: gives the example of *Piazza dei Cinquecento* in Rome, which originally dates to the Hadrianic period but has later Antonine and Severan phases, presents an apsidal reception space (E1). Scott (2004, 51) apses as backdrops one of the key distinguishing features of Late Antique villas.

[630]Stirling 2005, 51, n. 73: estimates as to the number of sculptures to come from Chiragan have varied: Espérandieu (1907-38, vol. 2, 29-93, nos.891-1006) published 150 pieces; Boube (1955, 92): 272, including 73 imperial busts; Balmelle (2001, 367): 200 pieces of sculpture. Estimates vary as some sculptures removed from the site prior to the main excavations + some include architectural sculpture & depends how fragments are grouped. Numbers given here those provided by Bergmann who has worked closely with the material in recent years and these statistics agree with the material in the Musée Saint-Raymond.

few later portraits have also been identified, including four Tetrarchic portraits added by Balty and the fifth-century woman's head and fragmentary portrait relief mentioned above.[631] Significantly, thirty of the portraits are portrait busts. The portraits are of good quality and certainly come from a metropolitan workshop in Rome. Two Severan portraits from the villa directly replicate portrait types we have from Rome and one portrait of a Severan man has been identified with a head in Perugia by Dareggi. [632]

Among the other sculptural finds there is a large amount of ideal mythological sculpture: the Twelve Labours of Hercules presented in over life-size panel reliefs, thirteen tondi-busts of deities, an old fisherman carved from dark marble, a selection of theatre masks, a relief representing theatre masks, a plaque depicting Socrates with a herm and a Serapis relief.[633] The sculptural haul consequently indicates the display of portrait busts and sculpture alongside ideal works.

The ideal portrait-tondi were found in the largest reception room ('court of honour') and were probably displayed here. Cazes also suggests that the Labour of Hercules reliefs adorned a long portico in this reception space.[634] Since so much sculpture was found in the *impluvium* of the summer dining room and *nymphaeum* we may speculate that some sculpture was displayed here. The

[631]**Tetrarchic portraits:** op.cit. Balty 1997, 234-238; **5th c woman's head.**
[632] Bergmann 1999, 28-31, figs. 14-15; Perugia head: Bergmann 1999, 30, n. 151: Dareggi 1988, 321-330; Fittschen 1971, 240, no.10, pl. 31-32.
[633] Bergmann 1997, 37-40: some of the significant mythological works (labours of Hercules, tondi and 'old fisherman') Aphrodisian imports of the late 4th to 5th c. AD. Analysis of the marble = coarse grained marble of Saint-Béat, a quarry in the Pyrenees. Still possible that these were migrant Aphrodisian sculptors. Stirling 2005, 57: unlikely that these sculptors would come so far and use unfamiliar marble.
[634] Stirling 2005, 60-61.

baths provide another possible display context, because the bust of a man from the Antonine period was discovered in the private baths at a private villa near Teramo.[635] The use of apsidal architecture in the later phase of the villa brings with it a whole range of new display contexts.

Who owned the villa?

From the villa we have a bust base with an incomplete inscription dedicated to the *genius* of Gaius Aconius Taurus, who we may presume was a member of the family who lived at Chiragan (fig.159).[636] Eck suggests that the inscription could belong to the second to third century AD and on the basis of the name has proposed a number of associations with families we know of in Rome.[637] However, as Eck recognizes, none of these names are close enough to draw a solid association.[638] We must, therefore, settle on identifying the owners as an elite family with strong familial connections to Rome. This is supported by the impressive nature of the collection, the extent of the villa and the evidence of replicas of various private portraits in Italy.[639]

On the basis of the material evidence, however, we may build a more detailed picture of the family who owned the villa in the late second to third-century phase to which our busts belong. The chronological concentration of sculpture in the late second to third century AD, including our two women's busts, suggests

[635] Teramo, Museo Civico: Fejfer 2008, 102, 312, fig.233, n.81: found with two Antonine female portrait busts; Sanzi Di Mino & Nista 1993, 100, no.33, pl. 35.
[636] base found in 1890-1, H:19.5 cm, inv. MSR-31087. CIL 13 11007; Joulin 1901, 293-4, 341, pl. 24, no.307; Balty, (et. al.) 1995, 211, no.152; Bergmann 1999, 43; Eck 2000, 172-173.
[637] Eck 2000, 172; Stirling 2005, 62.
[638] Ibid., 172.
[639] Bergmann 1999, 30, 42-43; Joulin 1901, 187: proposes that the provincial governor lived here.

that this was a flourishing period in the villa's history. Furthermore, it is from this period that we have a number of private portraits with replicas in Rome and Italy. This suggests that these were portraits of elites important enough to own both residences and portraits in Rome and a provincial villa. A break in portraiture in the mid-third century suggests that the villa then changed hands and at this point, as Bergmann suggests, the original family may have removed several portraits.[640]

No other case-study so vehemently asserts the status of the portrait bust in the third century, villa context. The larger formats of many of the second to third-century busts found at Chiragan, most of all the half-figure third-century woman's bust, are indicative of the development of the bust-format to fill the grander architectural spaces of the elite residences of the third century. Fejfer consequently suggests that these larger bust formats allowed the bust to draw upon the language and status of the honorific public statue but translating this to an elite private context. This process can be understood in line with a trend among the super elite of Empire for more extensive residences defined by public-style architecture and grand reception spaces. Chiragan is an exemplary case of this.

The range of different sculptural works and the accumulative nature of the Chiragan sculptural collection, as at the 'Hanghaus 1', are indicative of not only the long lives of these elite *domi* but the resultant eclectic sculptural display.

[640] Bergmann 1999 & 2003.

What is remarkable, however, is that the portrait bust had its place throughout, a format readily adapted and versatile enough to suit any villa/domus setting.

SMALL BUSTS IN PRIVATE CONTEXTS

Even in the grandest residences, such as the villa at Chiragan, busts came in a range of sizes designed to suit a diversity of display situations. This is supported by the bust of Tranquillina which is below life-size and has been recarved from a Trajanic bust. We may compare this example with the miniature third-century busts of a man and boy found in apartment two, 'Hanghaus 2', carved from Onyx and *pavonazetto* respectively; [641] similarly, the third-century miniature *paludamentum* busts in *pavonazetto* and alabaster, both from Rome, and a below life-size alabaster Antonine woman's bust, from Egypt (figs. 160-162).[642] These examples reflect a developing fashion for more expensive, coloured marble and semi-precious stone portraits in the late second to third century.[643] Use of more expensive materials may have justified a smaller format. The three pairs of busts of the same couple, now in the Cleveland collection, and the miniature bust of Julia Domna were also probably intended for a villa/domus context (nos.5, 66-69; figs.101-102).[644] These smaller busts may have been less well suited to grand

[641] '**Hanghaus 2':** Selçuk, Ephesos Arch. Mus., invs. 2177 & 2395, H: 20 cm. Inan & E. Alföldi-Rosenbaum 1979, 178, no.139 & 181, no.143; Krinzinger & Andreas (eds.) 2010, B-S9 & B-S11, pls.284-285.
[642] **Alabaster bust:** Copenhagen, Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek, inv. 811, H: 33 cm Johansen 1995, vol. 3, 218, no.97. Fejfer 2008, 168-171, pl.21.; **Rome, Museo Nazionale**, inv. 65190, H: 37 cm. De Nuccio & Ungaro 2002, 351-52, no.54; **Rome, Musei Capitolini,** no.inv. Alabaster H: 11.7, L: 15 cm. ibid. 354-355, no.61.
[643] Fejfer 2008, 169. See here no.27, also coloured separately carved hairpieces here 125 & 151-155.
[644] man's bust: inv. 65.245.

spaces, but instead reflected the wide range of more intimate contexts in *domus* settings.

The versatility of the bust is indicated by a number of miniature portrait-busts in bronze which survive from the third century, including a miniature bust of Julia Mamaea (no.33) and one of Etruscilla later adapted to be used as a weight.[645] The bust of Julia Mamaea is reported to have come from Egypt and was acquired with two other miniature bronze busts of third-century men.[646] The portable nature of these pieces means that they need not have had a permanent context, although a domestic setting seems most likely. Miniature busts of imperial figures exist in earlier periods, including a large number in the Julio-Claudian period.[647] Dahmen and others have naturally suggested that these busts, along with another wider canon of miniature portrait formats, were used for private veneration of the imperial family and may have even been displayed alongside the *lares* in the family shrine.[648]

How busts may have been used in this context, if at all, is an area for which material evidence is lacking. The busts of Tiberius and Livia, discovered in a niche in 'Hanghaus 2' alongside a bronze snake, have been interpreted as a devotion to the dynasty (fig.163).[649] That these busts were worshipped or part of

[645] HE weight, art market, no inventory, Dahmen 2001, no.103, 172-3.
[646] All acquired together in 1878, from Egypt. Invs. VI 2356 & 2355. Gschwantler 1986, 161-2, nos.298-9, pls. 322-3.
[647] Dahmen 2001, 20; Fejfer 2008, miniatures: 171-174.
[648] Dahmen 2001, 60.
[649] Selçuk, Ephesos Arch. Mus. inv. 81/59/80 P 12/80 (Livia) 81/59/80 P 13/80 (Tiberius). Thür, 2012, 246, n. 58, fig.9; Thür, 2005, 96-101. Found in a niche in room 38. Could have actually come from another context and been moved here in late antiquity (Aurenhammer 1983, 105; Aurenhammer, 2003, 178, n.299; Fejfer, 2008, 96, n.54). Thür, 2012, 246, n. 58, fig.9; Thür, 2005,

a religious ritual, however, cannot be confirmed. Moreover, chronologically it is difficult as the phase they were found in continued to be used long after the Julio-Claudian period. We must question if the later occupants would have continued to practice devotion to imperial figures no longer relevant. Further, in instances such as the minature bronze busts of Julia Mamaea and Etruscilla, their portability means that they need not have had a permanent display context but may even have functioned as portable talismans. The secondary function of the bust of Etruscilla as a weight, however, indicates that whatever the original purpose of the bust, there was little hesitation in recyling this portrait for more practical use, presumably after her death.

It is significant that the bust remained a standard and appropriate choice, even when depicting third-century imperial women in minature and thus freeing the artist and patron to select any format they desired.

96-101: suggests a particular connection between the family and the Julio-Claudian dynasty by which they got their status as Roman citizens.

CHAPTER NINE. CONTEXT AND DISPLAY: PUBLIC

Imperial women's busts were displayed in a variety of public settings, from imperial groups within the civic centre (*agora/forum*) to public parks and various religious settings.[650] And it was not only women of the imperial family who could transcend the traditionally feminine private sphere, as elite Roman women could also be commemorated in the public contexts. Even in the third century, when honorific public dedications were in decline, we find numerous inscriptions indicating that women were still being honoured in certain public contexts.[651] This point must be qualified by the fact that 'public' is a complex word with many meanings and layers.[652] Portraits of women in the public sphere were controlled by certain physical and social limits. Here I will investigate these limits through discussion of those third-century women's portrait busts with public display contexts. I will consider what these examples can tell us about how the status of the woman and the regional context impacted choice of display context. First, I will begin by considering an imperial portrait group, including busts of Julia Mamaea and Plautilla, from the 'basilica' at Ocriculum (nos.24 & 28).[653]

[650] For example, bust of Faustina the Elder, discovered in the gardens of Sallust, BM, inv. 1889,0812.1, H: 58.5cm.
[651] Van Breman 1996, app. 2.
[652] Op. cit. defined above: 24.
[653] My thanks to Prof. Millett for kindly sending me an advance copy of the publication of the BSR project at Ocriculum (Hay, Keay & Millett (eds.) (2013).

IMPERIAL WOMEN'S BUSTS IN THE *FORUM*

The 'basilica' at Ocriculum

The ancient Italian town of Ocriculum (modern Otricoli) is situated in southern Umbria. Despite the modest size of this town,[654] its location on the Via Flaminia made it an important regional centre with close links to Rome.[655] The first official excavations of the site, led by the architect Guattani, took place in the eighteenth century under the direct control of Pope Pius VI. These excavations were fruitful, producing mythological sculpture, a collection of imperial portraits and some impressive mosaics, one of which was used as the new floor in the *Sala Rotunda* of the *Museo Pio Clementino.*The majority of sculpture, after a short sojourn in the workshop of Vincenzo Cecchi, were also housed here and most of these pieces are still in the Musei Vaticani collections today.[656] Since the eighteenth century the site has been left unexcavated, but recently a British School at Rome project, led by Hay, Keay & Millett (et.al), surveyed the town supplying us with valuable new information.

Sculptural context

A large number of late second to third-century imperial portraits come from Ocriculum, including three imperial third-century women's portrait busts

[654] Total population est. at between 1,280-1, 560 by the mid second-century AD (Hay, Keay & Millett (eds.) 2013, 152).
[655] Hay, Keay & Millett (eds.) 2013, 11: AD 69 Vespasian's troops celebrated Saturnalia at Ocriculum on their way to battle with Vitellius (Tacitus, Histories 3.78). Constantius II reported to have passing through en route to Rome in AD 357 (Ammianus Marcellinus vol. 16, 10, 4).
[656] Dareggi 1982, 2.

(nos.24 & 28; fig.164).[657] In the various reports of the excavations, published by Pietrangeli,[658] the bust of Julia Mamaea (no.28), along with another third-century imperial woman's bust initially identified as that of Otacilia but actually a bust of Tranquillina, is reported as having been discovered in the 'basilica' (fig.169).[659] It is perhaps the excavation of these two busts which Hamilton makes reference to in a letter to Townley (20, February 1778): 'The pope has found at Otricoli a small statue, two busts & a vast quantity of medals in particular silver ones.'[660] A bust of a young Severan imperial woman (probably Plautilla) also comes from this site (no.24). This bust, along with a bust of Septimius Severus (fig.165) and heads of Antoninus Pius and Commodus, is recorded as coming from the ancient centre of Ocriculum.[661] Together these pieces would form a cohesive late second to third-century imperial portrait group. Judging by the fact that the excavations focused on the civic centre, these portraits must have come from a public context and probably belong with the other imperial portraits from the 'basilica', where they would form an imperial portrait group. These late second to third-century imperial portraits were additions to an earlier Julio-Claudian and mythological statue group.[662] There is a notable absence of imperial portraits between the

[657] Pietrangeli 1978, 1136-42, nos.19-23. Hay, Keay & Millett (eds.) 2013: do not include these pieces in their table (2.1) of provenanced pieces from the Basilica.
[658] Pietrangeli, 1943; 1978, first modern scholar to pull together & publish various reports from principal excavations between 1775 and 1783. Hay, Keay & Millett (eds.) 2013, 21, table 2.1: finds with known find-context from Ocriculum (based on Pietrangeli). Excluded: head of Jupiter, a statue of Venus Victrix, three togate figures and a cuirassed figure. Pietrangeli 1978: **Jupiter:** 116-17, no 4, **Venus Victrix:** 121, no.8, **togate figs**.: 132, nos.14-16, **Cuirassed fig.**: 134-35, no.17.
[659] Pietrangeli 1958, 166; Pietrangeli 1943, nos.19-20, 94. Dareggi (1982, 2, n.8) lists this as a bust of OS.
[660] Bignamini & Hornsby 2010, vol. 1, 114.
[661] In Sala dei Busti, **bust of SS:** inv. 291; **Head of Antoninus Pius** (on modern bust), inv. 284. Also **head of Commodus:** not mentioned by Hay, Keay & Millett (2013) or Dareggi (1982) but included in the excavation reports (Pietrangeli, 1943, 93, no.16).
[662]Dareggi 1982, Julio-Claudian statues from the 'Basilica': 2-3, ns. 7-20; 12-26, nos.1-6, figs.19-36. **Naked statue of Augustus (**no.565): Rome, Musei Vaticani, Croce Greca, Inv. 181, H: 208 cm. Pietrangeli 1943, 91, n.11, pl. 11; Pietrangeli 1958, pl. 16.1. **Togate statue Augustus/Julio-**

original Julio-Claudian and later Antonine to third-century phases. It is consequently interesting that in the Antonine period the decision was taken to start adding imperial portraits to this established imperial Julio-Claudian portrait gallery.

The 'basilica's' function and display context

So what was the purpose of this building and what display contexts did it offer? Guattani's publication of Ocriculum in 1784 included a reconstructed plan and elevation of the 'basilica' (fig.168).[663] As is often the case in the eighteenth century the plans of the site and 'basilica', while based on real archaeological evidence, appear to have been nuanced and tidied up so as to fulfil 'ideals of classical archaeology'.[664] According to Hay, Keay & Millett (et.al) their survey, the orientation of the buildings as presented on Pannini's plan is not quite correct, despite this fact that they have succeeded in identifying the main structures and creating a revised plan (compare fig.166 to 167).[665]

The structure identified as a 'basilica' (referred to as 'tempio' on Pannini's plan, fig.166, no.14) in the eighteenth-century excavation was recognised by means of

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Claudian prince (no.597): Croce Greca, Inv. 199, H: 208cm. Pietrangeli 1943, 92, n. 13, pl. 12 (Gaius Caesar?); Pietrangeli 1958, 79, n. 61. **Togate statue Julio-Claudian prince**: Galleria dei candelabra, inv.no.2622, H: 156 cm. Pietrangeli 1943, 92, n.14, pl. 12.b (Britannicus?); Pietrangeli 1958, 79, n.62. **Orans statue of Livia (**no.352): Sala dei Busti, inv. 637, H: 211 cm. Pietrangeli 1943, 91, n.12, pl.11.b (Octavia or Claudia?); Pietrangeli 1958, 76, n.35, fig.13; **Head of Claudius**: Sala Rotonda 551, inv. 242, H:71 cm. Pietrangeli 1943, 93, n.15 pl. 13; Pietrangeli 1958, 76, n.32, fig.3. **Statue of a woman in the guise of Venus Genetrix, head of Sabina** (pertinent?) (no.429): Gabinetto delle Maschere, inv.no.816, discovered in campaign of 1779, work heavily restored by Lisandroni, between 1780-81. Pietrangeli 1943, 87 n. 3, pl. 9,a; Pietrangeli 1958, 76, n.31; Dareggi 1982, 21-22, no.5, figs. 32-33.

663 Guattani 1784, (plans done by Pianta).

664 Hay, Keay & Millett (eds.) 2013, 19-20.

665 Ibid., 133-136.

its apse (radius 2.3m), which is still easily observable.[666] This building measured 14 x 14.6 m and was located directly to the north of the forum.[667] The identification of this as a basilica has been contested by Dareggi, who after comparison of this with plans of other civic buildings and consideration of the lavish decoration and the large amount of Julio-Claudian imperial sculpture found here, has identified it as an Augusteum.[668] On the basis of the eighteenth-century plan of the basilica and of Ocriculum (fig.168), Dareggi notes that it is unusual to find a basilica which is i) surrounded by a large wall with only two narrow entrances at front and back and ii) which is positioned to the north of the forum.[669] However, the subsequent survey of the site by the BSR team did not find the large wall presented on Panini's plan, so it is possible that this was a fanciful element of the eighteenth-century reconstruction.[670] Moreover, a building with a large apse could have had many identities. It is a leap, therefore, to suggest that this was originally an *Augusteum* simply on the basis of the architecture, especially without a thorough excavation and accurate plan. The discovery of inscriptions in Ocriculum referring to practice of the imperial cult does not prove that this building was the context for this.[671] Instead, we are on safer ground, without more precise architectural plans or contextual information, in identifying this as a large public building with an imperial portrait gallery.

[666] Hay, Keay & Millett (eds.) 2013, 51-52, fig.3.22.
[667] ibid. 51.
[668] Dareggi 1982.
[669] ibid.
[670] ibid. 5; Hay, Keay & Millett 2013, (eds.): found no such wall.
[671] Dareggi 1982, n. 210: CIL XI, 2, nos.4090, 4095.

Reconstructing display within the 'basilica' is difficult as no information is given in the excavation notes concerning exact find spots within the structure. In Pannini's reconstructed elevation several statues are depicted on a podium while the other statues are placed against the wall.[672] This reconstruction is largely fanciful, as indicated by the fact that generic sculptures are depicted and no reference is made to actual sculptures found at the site. Further, no busts are included. However, the raised podium depicted on the plan and the apse suggest some form of display focus in this area. The busts could possibly have been displayed in niches framing the apse or on columns flanking the central room.

It is striking that while the Julio-Claudian pieces are all statues the Severan and later third-century additions, four in total, are busts. This indicates the popularity of this format in the third century and the perception that the bust was a format suited to monumental, public-style architecture, not just domestic contexts. There is an identical version of the bust of Julia Mamaea, now in the BM (no.29), which comes from Rome. These busts must therefore have been produced in the same workshop in Rome and seem to be precise replicas of an 'official' imperial portrait bust type of Julia Mamaea. This example indicates the close connection between Ocriculum and the capital and the importance of the bust-format to official imperial portrait types of the third century. Furthermore, the inclusion of a bust of Tranquillina suggests that Ocriculum, with close connections to the capital, continued public commemorations of imperial women even in the troubled mid-third century.

[672] Dareggi 1982, 3.

None of the other imperial busts in my sample have a strong public display context. However, the case study from Ocriculum is a strong indication of a continuing practice of commemorating imperial women's busts in public civic contexts in the third century.

REGIONAL PARAMETERS: THE DISPLAY OF PRIVATE WOMEN'S BUSTS IN PUBLIC CONTEXTS

As the above case study indicates, imperial women's busts could be and were displayed in the most prestigious, public contexts. However, private women's portraits were subject to more rigid social parameters which influenced where they could be displayed. It is for this reason that the main public context for women's portraits, as in earlier periods, was religious buildings. A long-standing precedent for women's involvement in religious roles even in the most conservative areas of Empire meant that this provided a 'safe' space for honouring elite women in the public sphere. It is to this context that I now turn.

RELIGIOUS CONTEXTS

Greece

The main context for commemorating women in Greece was the religious sphere.[673] This is supported by the fact that we have a number of examples of portrait busts of private women, which either come from sanctuaries or in their inscriptions refer to the woman's status as a priestess. For example, a bust in the

[673] Van Breman 1996, 55.

Louvre has an inscription informing us that the woman depicted is Melitine, a priestess of the *Metroon* in Piraeus (fig.169).[674] The inscription details that it was set up during the archonship of Philistides and consequently can be dated to AD 154/5 or 163/4. This was probably a funerary bust set up at the sanctuary on the death of Melitine in order to commemorate her prestigious priesthood there. An excellent example of a third century bust with sound religious context is that of Aurelia Euposia which was found at the 'hall of the Mystae' on Melos.

The bust of Aurelia Euposia and the 'Hall of the Mystae' on Melos

The late third-century bust of an elite woman, Aurelia Euposia, comes from a good religious context in the Tramythia valley of Melos. This bust was apparently first discovered in 1862 in an excavation made by 'private persons' which was reported in an Athenian magazine.[675] The bust is recorded as being discovered with 'a mosaic pavement said to be about 40 m. in length, a wall of squared stones with a door in it and various marble sculptures bearing inscriptions, apparently of Roman date.'[676] The building was a long hall (8.32 m. east to west wide, and over 23 m. long) (fig.171). A lavish five-panel mosaic floor consisted of geometric, floral and fish designs. In the southeast corner a small square structure was discovered (marked D), around which the mosaic was designed. This presumably functioned as a shrine or altar. Opposite on the northern wall a niche probably provided the display context for the statue of a priest which was

[674] Inv. MA 3068, H: 71.5 cm. Kersauson, 1996, 308, no.139; Fejfer 2008, 61.
[675] Bosanquet 1898, 61: english translation of passage in Athenian Magazine, included at the start of his description of the BSA Excavations at Melos, Hall of the Mystae in 1896. Since these excavations no further work done on this site. The site briefly mentioned in Renfrew & Wagstaffs (eds.) (1982) vol. on the findings of excavations and survey on Melos (11, 56) - as a Roman site little interest to this publication and no new evidence or interpretation is provided.
[676] Bosanquet 1898, 61.

found fallen on the mosaic.[677] Unfortunately, the report is not specific as to exactly where the bust of Aurelia Euposia was found but "with" surely indicates that it was in this building.

This excavation was conducted without the permission of the government authorities and the pieces were accordingly confiscated and re-homed in the National Museum in Athens. Bosanquet lists the pieces included in this group: the bust of Aurelia Euposia and two columns, with figures of Athena and the tyche of Melos (fig.170).[678] The British team's excavation added a herm, which they found lying on the mosaic floor, to this assembly [679] The shaft of the herm contains an inscription identifying the figure as Marcus Marius Trophimus.[680] The dress of this figure: short *chiton* over a longer one with an animal skin tucked into the belt. This, along with the context, has led to the suggestion that this was some kind of high priest 'hierophant' of the *Mystae*.

Function and display

The building was identified, by the British team, as the Hall of the Mystae on the basis of the herm portrait and inscriptional evidence on the removed columns and in the vicinity. It is hypothesised that this would have been the meeting place for a religious association dedicated to the worship of Dionysus. [681] This identification is substantiated by the inscribed prayers on the two columns that

[677] Bosanquet 1898, 65.
[678] Ibid., 61; Wolters 1890, 246.
[679] Bosanquet 1898, 74, fig.6.
[680] H: 1.80 m. ibid., 74, fig.6. For inscription: Smith 1897, 14-15, no.32.
[681] Cherry in Renfrew & Wagstaff (eds.) 1982, 56.

'the goddess be favourable to Alexander, founder of the Holy Mystae'. [682] Another inscription published by Smith from the area mentions the Dionysian cult.[683] Gehn also suggests that the unusual bust *tabula*, with mouldings at top and bottom is indicative of an altar and thus alludes to the religious affiliations of the honorand.[684] It does seem likely then that this building was used for religious activities, even if the exact nature of the cult celebrated here cannot be unequivocally asserted.

Οἱ περιβώμιοι τὴν / φίλανδρον Αὐρήλι-/αν Εὐπόσιαν ἐν τῷ / ἰδίῳ αὐτῆς ἔργῳ

'The functionaries of the Asiatic cults (περιβώμιοι) (set this up to) husband-loving Aurelia Euposia in her own house'.[685]

We know her husband's name from an inscription from Cyzicus which mentions Aurelia Euposia as wife of a certain Aelius Chrestion.[686] The bust of Aurelia can be externally dated to the late third century.[687]It is interesting that in the inscription on our bust the husband's name is not given but her role as wife is stressed. This indicates that this was not a portrait bust set up with the sole purpose of honouring her husband or other male relatives. Instead, the virtue of being a good wife is expressed, perhaps to act as an appropriately feminine balance to the inherent status and power indicated by such a dedication.

[682] Bosanquet 1898, 61; Both published in Wolters 1890, 246. The identity of Alexander is not known but he is probably a major benefactor and senior priest of the order (Bosanquet 1898, 77).
[683] Smith 1897, 14, no.31.
[684] LSA – 2300 (U. Gehn).
[685] Transcribed inscription and translation from LSA – 2300 (U. Gehn,); IG XII(3) 1126.
[686] IG 3690.
[687] Smith 1897, no.36.

The inscription suggests that Aurelia Euposia was responsible for the benefaction of the hall.[688] The mosaics in the sanctuary can be dated to the late third century and consequently are contemporary with the bust of Aurelia. In most of mainland Greece and the Greek Islands dedications to women and inscriptions recording their honours exclusively refer to them in a religious capacity.[689] For women of Greece the religious context was thus the main and perhaps only avenue for public status.

BEYOND RELIGIOUS CONTEXTS

The Greek East & North Africa

In the Greek East we find relatively regular dedications to women in public settings and in contrast to Greece proper women appear to have been able to assume offices outside the religious realm. The majority of the offices assumed by elite women were purely financial commitments. For instance we have a large number of inscriptions commemorating elite women paying for oil for festivals. *Gymnasiarchia* also make up a reasonably large group but frequently we find women taking this position in conjunction with their husbands and in many cases this would have been a purely financial obligation. Van Bremen identifies twenty-five inscriptions mentioning women taking the role of *agonothesia* from thirteen different cities in the Greek East.[690] However, the total is probably far higher than the inscriptions suggest as Van Bremen notes many women would have taken on this role as part of their position as priestess of the imperial cult.

[688] Smith 1897, no.36; for detailed discussion of inscription LSA – 2300 (U. Gehn).
[689] Van Breman 1996, 82-83.
[690] Ibid., 73: of this number 9 came from Thyateira, 3 from Pamphylian Selge (all from one family) and three from Miletos/Didyma.

This office was also commonly shared with a husband.[691] Significantly, this role involved not just financial contributions but had a large organisational component as the holder was expected to organise entertainment and logistics for festivals. We have the example of Tata the priestess of the Sebastoi, at Aphrodisias, who, though not referred to as an *agonothetes*, clearly took on this role and is said to have organised the best actors, mimes, pantomimes and other entertainments at the festival.[692]

Such examples prove that in certain areas of the Greek East very rich elite women could act as important benefactresses and also organisers taking on significant civic roles, if often in conjunction with their husband or other family members. The reason we know about such women is that for their efforts they have been honoured with inscriptions and statues commemorating them and their families in public settings. These commemorations could include busts. From the Gymnasium of Pisidian Termessos a double base with space for two portrait busts carries the inscription 'T. Cl. Teimodoros, gymnasiarchoi.'[693] From the same city we have an inscription dated to the early third century honouring M. Aurelius Platonianos Platon and his wife Aurelia Artemis who are both described as 'founders of the gymnasium and *gymnasiarchoi* in perpetuity.'[694]

North Africa also offered substantial opportunity for elite women to be involved in acts of euergetism and to enjoy the consequent reward of public honours

[691] Van Bremen 1996, 74.
[692] Ibid., 73.
[693] Names can also be read on architrave of small temple which had jointly been built and restored. Van Bremen 1996, 70, n. 119. Lanckoroński-Brzezie 1890, *Städte Pamphyliens und Pisidiens* vol.2, 7 and 76 (architrave).
[694] Van Bremen 1996, 70, app. 2: no.2.

within but also beyond the religious sphere. I do not know of any busts of third-century women from civic, public contexts. However, Witschel's survey of the public presence of women in North Africa indicates that non-religious, public dedications were possible for the super elite. An exceptional, early third-century example from Thamugadi is Cornelia Valentina Tucciana s. Sertia, a woman of wealthy equestrian rank, who is mentioned in nine inscriptions.[695] Most notably, Tucciana was involved with her husband M. Plotius Faustus S. Sertius in the benefaction of the *Macellum*.[696] Within this complex Tucciana was honoured with five statues. Similarly, in Cuicul, Tiberia Claudia Subatiana Aquilina and Tiberia Claudia Digna Subatia Saturnina, daughters of a governor of Numidia, were honoured by the city with statues set up on a shared base.[697]

The above examples reveal a similar situation in North Africa to that in the Greek East. There is evidence for sculptural dedications commemorating women in public contexts. However, it is important to note that in all instances the women concerned represent a tiny percentage of society, the absolute elite, and that they belonged to families whose benefactions and support were of primary import to their communities. Further, as Witschel qualifies, the emphasis in all the mentioned cases was on the women as members of their families, not as individual agents, and in many instances the inscriptions focus more on commemorating their male spouses and kin rather than the women themselves.[698]

[695] Witschel 2013, 91, 95-96. SO 26.
[696] ibid. 95, n.55: CIL VIII, 2397 (base found in inner courtyard of *Macellum*) CIL VIII, 2398 (statue base, main entrance to Macellum).
[697] ibid. 98-99, n.70: base found east of the *Capitolium.*
[698] ibid. 104.

In North Africa and the Greek East, as supported by both Van Bremen's and Witschel's overviews, honorific statues remained the preferred format for public, civic commemorations of women. There is no evidence for bust portraits in these contexts. The only portrait busts with public context from North Africa come from the temple of Aphrodite in Cyrene.[699] Two portrait busts of women dating to the middle of the second century are reported to have come from this context (fig.172).[700] Due to the busts' find-context it may be presumed that the women depicted were either priestesses of the temple and/or benefactors of the sanctuary. Two Severan women's busts, also from Cyrene but without recorded find-spots, may have been intended for this context (nos.11-12).

As in Greece the sanctuary remained a popular context for public commemorations of women in North Africa and the Greek East and in this setting bust format portraits seem to have been a good option. The exceptional elites might be commemorated in other public settings. However, in these instances honorific statues remained the preferred format.

WOMEN'S BUSTS AT THE BATHS

The only third-century private women's portrait busts to come from well-contexted, non-religious, public settings are those from the baths at Bacucco, just outside Viterbo in Northern Italy (nos.41-43). Below I will consider the

[699] Fejfer 2008, 60.
[700] BM, inv. 1861,1127.117. 58.42 cm. Rosenbaum 1960, 61, no.58, pl.38; BM, inv. 1861,1127.17. 57.15 cm. Rosenbaum 1960, 61-62, no.59, pl.39.

precedent for displaying portrait busts in baths before discussing this exceptional example. In most cases it can be presumed that those private individuals commemorated at the baths were in some way involved with the building or up keep of the baths.

Baths as display contexts

Baths were one of the main loci for displaying sculpture in the Roman Empire. Marvin estimates, on the basis of niches and other architectural spaces clearly designed for displaying sculpture, at least 108-112 sculptures must have been displayed in the main building of the baths of Caracalla, including such monumental works as the Farnese Hercules and the punishment of Dike group, now both in Naples.[701] Marvin consequently goes on to suggest that sculptural decoration was considered one of the most important features of baths and may have been included in the estimated price.[702] Manderscheid's catalogue of sculpture found in baths throughout the Empire, while not exhaustive, includes many of the major case studies and provides a useful indicator of general patterns in displaying sculpture in baths.[703] Not surprisingly the majority of sculptures found in baths are ideal, mythological pieces. Within this category Manderscheid observes that Asklepion, Dionysian and Aphrodisian themes are particularly prevalent and may be seen as the norm in bath decor.[704] Baths were not exclusively decorated with mythological sculpture, however, and Manderscheid identifies one hundred and twenty portraits found in baths of the

[701] Marvin 1983, 353.
[702] Ibid., 381.
[703] Manderscheid 1981.
[704] Ibid., 38-39. This has been debated by Marvin, 1983.

Roman Empire.[705] Of this number thirty-four are definitely imperial portraits, twenty-one can firmly be identified as private portraits and the remaining sixty-five, made up of fragments of portrait sculpture, cannot be identified either way but in all probability mainly belong to the private portrait category.[706]

Busts in baths

While, as in other areas of public portraiture, there is a high-percentage of imperial portraits I have not been able to identify a single portrait-bust of an imperial figure in the bath context. It seems that there was a preference for full-scale honorific statues such as we find of Sabina and Plotina at the baths of Neptune in Ostia or Septimius Severus in the Lepcis Magna baths complex.[707] Consequently, my discussion here will be concerned with the display of private portraits.

A number of portrait busts of private men have been found in public baths throughout the Empire. In the baths of Hadrian in Aphrodisias, a bust of a private man, of Trajanic date, was discovered broken into two pieces in separate locations in the baths.[708] From the baths of Antoninus Pius in Carthage we find an Antonine portrait bust of a similar format. The exact find-context within the baths is unknown.[709] From the various baths at Ostia we have a selection of male portrait-busts. Two life-size busts, one of the late first century and the other of

[705] Manderscheid 1981, table 9: 'Die Ikonographie der Thermenskulpturen'.
[706] Ibid., 34.
[707] Ostia, Museo Ostiense, inv. 339 & inv. 25. Manderscheid 1981, 78, nos.89, 90, pl.20. Manderscheid 1981, 35-36.
[708]Head found in drainage tunnel, bust in central chamber. Aphrodisias Museum, Inv. 79/10/156, H: 64cm. Manderscheid 1981, 98, no.241, pl. 33; Smith, 2007, 209, fig.9 & 40; Smith & Lenaghan 2008, 234, no.3.
[709] Carthage National Museum, inv. 3196. Manderscheid 1981, 116, no.419, pl. 45.

the second to third century, come from the Christian Basilica baths.[710] Three male portrait busts were discovered in the baths of Neptune in 1888, but two of those have been lost and little information concerning their date survives. In both cases it is recorded that the busts came from the *frigidarium*.[711] The third bust is in the Museo Nazionale in Rome and is of Antonine or possibly early third-century date. It is recorded as either coming from the *frigidarium* or the main pool area. Finally, from the baths of Diocletian in Rome, we have a bust of a man which dates to the first half of the second century. This bust was found in the south room of the *palaestra*.[712] The early date of this bust clearly indicates that it came from an unknown display context and was later moved to the baths.[713]

The above busts with find spots confirm the general pattern of sculptural display in baths, the majority of pieces, especially portraiture, are found in *frigidarium* or the main pool area.[714] However, as Marvin and Manderscheid both note, the examples of busts with exact find-contexts are from baths which continued to be used in Late Antiquity and their find-context consequently reflects the tendency to move sculpture into the main, central rooms of the baths in this phase, rather than telling us a lot about the earlier sculptural programme.[715]

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[710] Late first-century bust: Ostia, inv. 50, H: 66cm. Manderscheid 1981, 80, no.106, pl. 21; 2nd to 3rd c. bust: Ostia, inv. 74, H: 60. Ibid. 80, no.107, pl. 21. These busts were discovered in 1939 and their exact find-spots within the baths are not recorded.
[711] Inv. 209, H: 66. Manderscheid 1981, 78-79, no.94, pl. 20. Falletti Maj (1953, no.270) dates this bust to the ½ 3rd c. AD. Calza (1964, no.161, pl. 95) dates to the Antonine period.
[712] Ostia, Museo Ostiense, inv. 76, H: 45 cm. Manderscheid 1981, 77, no.80, pl. 19.
[713] For this list of portrait busts from bath context I am indebted to Manderscheid's (1981) catalogue, I have only included examples which I am confident are portrait busts –this list is by no means exhaustive.
[714] Manderscheid 1981 38-43.
[715] Reflects the fact that in many Late Antique baths outer rooms were frequently closed off and only the main areas kept running. ibid. 378.

Portrait busts at the baths of Bacucco, near Viterbo

I now intend to focus upon a case study in my sample, the thermal baths, known as Aquae Passeris in antiquity, at Bacucco, to the north of Viterbo and close to the Via Cassia. Neither this site nor its sculpture are included in Manderscheid's catalogue, reflecting the rather complex history of these pieces. The only evidence we have of the post-antique discovery and excavation of the site comes from Camilli's report, in the form of a letter to Prof. Gerhard in 1835, which, although summary, is extremely interesting in providing good find-context for the pieces discovered here (nos.41-43; figs 173-174, 176).[716] Camilli briefly describes the finds which came from the main chamber of the octagonal bath building ('great hall'). These include eleven busts of marble, some of excellent quality and others which had been heavily damaged. Of these, he remarks on one in particular which has a wig of removable hair (no.42). He goes on to mention a statue of a leaning satyr and a reclining married couple with a mask and a bird presented as if drinking water (fig.175-176).[717]

Sculptural context

Wrede is the first scholar to attempt to recreate the sculptural collection from Aquae Passeris.[718] He deduced correctly that the leaders of the excavation, Alessandro Especo y Vera and Giulio Zelli-Pazzaglia, took most of the sculpture to decorate the latter's villa in Buon Respiro. A group of sculpture from this

[716] Camilli 1835, 1-7. fig. A. 34.
[717] Louvre, inv. MA 351, L: 1.68. Héron de Villefosse 1890, no.1670; Wrede 1981a, 232, no.106; Kersauson 1996, 436-437, no.201 with ills.
[718] Wrede 1981b, 86-131.

location, the 'collection Campana', was sold to the Louvre in 1863.[719] Of these sculptures, the 'reclining couple', identified as a sarcophagi lid in a later publication, the sketch of which is included in Camilli's letter, is most easily identified as coming from Aquae Passeris (fig.176). Wrede importantly observes that this is not a sarcophagus lid as first presumed - a waterspout is hollowed out of the mouth of the mask - but a fountain group.[720] This is supported by the fact that the man seems to be depicted in the guise of a river god. We may consequently presume that this group depicts the builders or at least restorers of the baths.

Of the eleven busts, the easiest to trace is that described as having 'a wig of removable hair,' as only one of the busts from the Campanian collection in the Louvre has a separately carved marble hairpiece (no.42). Wrede has tried to identify a number of other portraits which are said to have come from the Campania collection, now in the Louvre, with this bath context.

First, a piece which Wrede has identified as a complete bust portrait, but which is a portrait head matched by the restorer with an unrelated, probably modern bust (no.43). The portrait head is ancient and depicts the same woman as that in the fountain group discovered at the baths (fig.175). There is no evidence or mention of other portrait formats at the baths, so it can be presumed that this head also came from one of Camilli's eleven busts (now lost). In this portrait the woman is depicted with a different hairstyle. In the fountain group the woman

[719] Wrede 1981b, 124.
[720] Ibid., 123.

has a Late Severan cap-hairstyle, but here she wears a broad plaited parting-braid which reaches the apex of the head and probably dates the bust to the second quarter of the third century. In the portrait bust the woman also has more aged features. Combined hairstyle and aged features indicate that this portrait was probably dedicated in the baths at a later date than the fountain group. Two portraits of the same woman, dated to separate periods, evidence a continued relationship between this woman, and her family, and the baths complex. The size of the fountain group and its privileged position in the baths also suggest that these were important benefactors, who may have funded the complex or repairs to it.

The last two portraits added to this group by Wrede are also of women and date between the Severan and mid-third century AD.[721] The first is again a portrait head which has been inserted into an ancient bust to which it probably does not belong. It presents a parting-braid hairstyle of the type discussed above.[722] Lastly, there is a heavily restored portrait bust of a woman with the same hairstyle as the woman on the fountain group, typical of the Late Severan period. Although this final example has been heavily restored, one side of the face being completely modern work, it presents no breaks around the neck and is certainly a portrait bust.

This collection of sculpture is important. Portrait-busts of women appear to have been rare in public bath contexts, for example there are none in Manderscheid's

[721] Head not included in catalogue as it is not conclusive that this came from a bust. Louvre, Inv. MA 1034, H.0.29 cm; Kersauson 1986-96 no.223, 476-477.
[722] Wrede 1981b, 130, fig.45, again describes this as a bust.

catalogue. However, here we have at least two and if we include the other two portrait heads, which may also have come from busts, we have a total of four portrait busts, all of which can be securely dated between the Late Severan to mid-third century AD. The evidence of Camilli's account suggests that a further seven busts should be added to this number. Within this unknown group we can imagine the accompanying male third-century portrait busts.

The bath complex and display of the busts

As the baths have not been excavated since Camilli's initial report we are reliant upon his testimony and analysis of the architectural remains in order to reconstruct the baths. Fortunately, he included a plan of the main octagonal building and a reconstruction of the elevation (fig.173 & 174). Ganzert, in conjunction with Wrede's discussion of the baths, attempted to provide a complementary architectural analysis of the ruins and created a reformed plan of the baths (fig.177). The main octagonal building appears to have been placed within a square perimeter. Each of the sides of the octagon is 8.5m in length. In the corners of the octagon there are four niches with a diameter of 4.40m. Camilli's description and the remnants of the setting bed indicate that most of the walls would have been covered in mosaic, including the niches and the floor. According to Camilli, the large, central pool was also mosaicked and could be reached by walking down four tiered steps. Camilli describes another room from the complex in which a black-and-white mosaic presented sea monsters and fish. The mosaic only covered part of the floor and he suggested that the space was filled with a couch, basin or small bath. Ganzert's plan notes the points at which vaults and arches appear to have sprung out from this central building indicating

the presence of other rooms around this nucleus (fig.177). There are some remnants of these outer buildings but without excavation nothing further can be said on the baths' overall structure.

The baths' location, removed from the ancient town of Viterbo, was designed to take advantage of the thermal springs in this area. Thermal springs were much coveted by the Romans, who believed these to have particular healing properties. In certain areas they were associated with religious practices.[723] The baths at Bacucco may be compared with the thermal *Terme Taurine* (fig.178).[724] These baths appear to have had a long life-span. Literary sources and material finds evidence the continued use of this site from as early as the second century BC through to at least the sixth century AD.[725] These baths underwent a large re-construction in the Hadrianic era and also experienced minor restoration works in the third century.[726] Because these were four kilometres from the nearest city at Centumcellae, Koehler makes the persuasive argument that these baths functioned as a spa with dining rooms and a *hospitalia* for longer stays.[727] Although little of the architectural structures of the baths at Bacucco can be reconstructed, the remote situation and thermal springs suggest that these baths should be understood in a similar manner.

According to Camilli's report, all the busts were discovered in the octagonal main hall of the baths. However, it is unlikely that all eleven busts and a large fountain

[723] On thermal spars and sanctuaries see Scheid 1982, 205-214.
[724] Koehler 2007, 115-126.
[725] Ibid., 116.
[726] Ibid., 116-118.
[727] Ibid., 118-119.

group would have been displayed in this one space originally. Instead, these pieces were probably gathered together here at a later stage, post the baths' actual use and would have had earlier display locations all over the bath complex. Camilli mentions 'plinths' to support busts or statues which were also discovered in this central space. The whereabouts of these is now unknown but Camilli's proposal that the busts were displayed on them is certainly possible.[728] As discussed above, evidence for bust display on columns is provided by various representations on sarcophagi (figs.147-148). The fact that the bust with removable carved marble hairpiece is so summarily finished at the back suggests that at least this bust was not displayed so it could be seen in the round. In this chamber then perhaps we can imagine at least four busts displayed in the four *aediculae* with large niches or on the plinths described by Camilli.

CONCLUSION

In the third century the continued production of busts, a boom in sarcophagi production and a reduction in honorific sculpture are considered symptomatic of retreat into the private sphere by the elite.[729] While this is an important argument, the case studies from this section prove its limitations. Associations of this format with an exclusive context, such as 'funerary' or even more broadly with the 'private sphere', are to be frustrated.[730] Similarly, these busts represent a range of different elite classes from all over Empire. This is reflected by the diversity of display contexts presented by case studies discussed in this chapter:

[728] Op. cit.
[729] Fejfer 2008, 260-261; Borg, 2007, 50-52.
[730] Motz 1993, 100: busts originally mainly associated with the funerary realm.

from tombs in Syria and Rome to baths in Viterbo, religious buildings in Greece to villas in Gaul and Ephesos. This variety is indicative of the versatility of the bust-format in this era – it could cross public/private divides.

CHAPTER TEN. CONCLUSIONS

In the above section I have considered evidence for the physical display context of third-century women's portrait busts. In order to fully understand how busts were viewed and the motives behind their display it is necessary to conclude by reflecting upon the social context of third-century women's busts. In relation to these portraits conceptual aspects of display translate into two separate but complementary themes: the family context and the status of the bust-format.

THE CONTEXT OF THE FAMILY

In the third century women were rarely commemorated and conceived of as individuals in the modern sense. Their status was associated with their position within families and their roles as mothers, daughters and sisters. The way we study these busts, categorising by gender, can confuse the way we observe and understand them, creating an artificial divorce between portraits of men and women.

Recognition of context avoids this problem. Busts were often displayed in pairs or as part of family groups. Imperial and private women's busts would frequently have been displayed as pendants alongside their male partner. This is supported by the rare instances when pairs are preserved, such as the Bloomington busts of Julia Domna and Septimius Severus (no.2; figs.103-104), the private portraits of the Cleveland pairs (nos.66-68; figs. 101-102) and the

shipwrecked mid-third-century pair (probably of Otacilia Severa and Philip I) (no.52; fig.45).

At the conceptual level respectable elite women belonged to their families. In certain cases, most obviously funerary, a bust of a woman may have been set up alone. Yet, even in these instances an inscription encouraged the viewer to conceptually place the portrait within the context of marriage or family. For instance, the inscriptions of Aurelia Euposia and Crepereia Innula mention their husbands and that of Aurelia Monnina refers to her parents (nos.16, 65 & 69).

This point is most powerfully made by a late second to early third-century sarcophagus from Aphrodisias set up by the *Boulē* to honour the deceased Pereitas Kallimedes and his wife Tatia (fig.179). This sarcophagus is remarkable for its large honorific style inscription which celebrates the public achievements of Pereitas Kallimedes, paired with the private familial virtues of Tatia and wrapped up in the illustrious heritage of both their elite families. That they are presented as a pair is supported by the iconography of the sarcophagus: two profile portrait busts facing one another. The inscription celebrates Tatia in conservative and traditional terms.[731] Yet, it is clear that she is vital to her husband's status just as he is key to hers. The decision to depict the busts in profile on Kallimedes and Tatia's sarcophagus, however, is unusual and has significant implications. This representation encourages us to understand that busts could be viewed and displayed in a manner which placed emphasis on profile. Importantly, by turning the busts to face one another, rather than the

[731] Aphrodisias, inv. S-3, Smith 2006, 307, no.10, pl. 159; Arachne: no.141539.

viewer, a greater stress is placed on the relationship between the pair. This example must be understood in the context of the huge number of sarcophagi from the third century, discussed above, which depict paired husband and wife busts (figs.117-120).

STATUS OF THE BUST-FORMAT

The status associations of the bust-format are expressed by the corpus of representations of busts in other media. This is particularly significant in the third century as although numbers of actual busts were declining, numerous representations of busts testify to the continued high-status associations of this portrait format. From intimate elements of ornament to highly public architectural decoration we find depictions of women in portrait bust-format widespread in the third century.

The high-status commemorative function of the bust is reflected in representations of busts on sarcophagi in this period. These representations are indicative of a third-century preference for overtly status-conscious iconography, in contrast to the less explicitly promotional mythological sarcophagi of the second century AD.[732]

A distinction must be made between those depictions which can be related to 'real' habits of bust display and the allegorical ones, designed to further elevate the status of the deceased. This is reflected by the large number of sarcophagi

[732] Ewald & Zanker 2012, 254-263; Borg 2013, 178.

which represent busts in substantial architectural frames and with large honorific style inscriptions (for example figs. 180) and by the inclusion of attributes and framing devices.[733] For example, there was a practice of depicting busts in front of *parapetasma* opulently hung in the background and often held up by maenads, winged seasons or cupids (see fig.25).[734] This manner of framing the bust focused the viewer's attention and again acted to reaffirm and elevate the status of the subject's portrait bust. Further, as discussed previously, attributes are frequently presented, women often hold scrolls and the bust-foot is often adorned with a sphere (figs. 25, 126, 128-129). These attributes are rare in 'real' busts and are included in only the finest and most statuesque bust-formats. For example, the bust of Commodus in the guise of Hercules includes the attribute of a sphere, presumably intended to represent the globe and in this instance decorated with the signs of the zodiac (fig.32).[735] Depicting rather than creating the bust freed the patron from practical limitations and allowed for hyperbole as they could present themselves and their family in as grand a manner as they desired.

The symbolic associations of the bust were such that it was subsumed within the wider vocabulary of ornament in the third century. These regular representations reflect the flexibility of this format which could be adapted to suit a wide range of decorative contexts. Portrait busts are particularly prevalent on female items of adornment, from cameo earrings, which depict matching pairs

[733] Sarcophagus with bust in grand architectural display: Villa Doria Pamphili (no.inv., now lost) Kranz 1984, 230-231, no.189, pl.77.1.
[734] On *Parapetasma*: Schauenburg 1967, esp. 52 n.55.
[735] Op. cit.

of profiled busts, to brooches, intaglios and bone hairpins (figs.181-184).[736] These representations were not abstract, as reflected by the fact that most of these depictions are careful to replicate third-century bust-formats. An example is the hairpin with knotted mantle in the Metropolitan Museum Further depictions of this kind, whatever the medium, are always carefully present of the time hairstyle fashions.[737] These decorative ornamental pieces belonged to a huge range of social classes from all over Empire, from the ivory hair-pin from Wroxter to the beautifully executed beryl intaglio of Julia Domna which depicts her profile in encircling mantle bust-format and which presumably comes from an elite context (figs. 183 & 184).[738]

Bust-format portraits of women were everywhere in the third century. The above presents only a small selection. These examples are the result of a long tradition of representing bust-format portraits throughout the imperial period. The bust was a constant, easily recognisable symbol of status and, unlike larger portrait formats, could be scaled down and even displayed in profile in order to suit multiple contexts, from coins to figured capitals. Its regular use for representing women in the third century reflects this well-established tradition and the recognisability of this form. Further, as women's busts on sarcophagi evidence, the bust tied in well with third-century concerns for expressing individual status but often within more private and intimate contexts such as the funerary realm. In relation to women's portraits, the bust format not only

[736] **Intaglio set in gold brooch**, purchased in Athens by the Mount Holyoke College, Massachusetts, inv. MH 1926.4.C.I, C.130-150 AD. **Bone & ivory hair-pins,** Wroxeter, Shrewsbury Museum service, invs. C271 & C273; **Beryl Intaglio JD,** The Met, inv.25.78.90, H: 2.4 cm. Richter 1926, 286; ibid, 1956 no.498, 108-9, pl.60.
[737] Inv. 24.97.80.
[738] Op. cit.

endowed them with additional status but placed them in the continuum of *cultus*, as examples of the virtue Rome hoped for from its women.

BIBLIOGRAPHY AND ABBREVIATIONS CITED

ABBREVIATIONS

For journal titles and book series I follow the conventions of the American Journal of Archaeology (2015).

Frequently cited imperial names
AS: Alexander Severus
HE: Herennia Etruscilla
JD: Julia Domna
JM: Julia Mamaea
LV: Lucius Verus
MA: Marcus Aurelius
OS: Otacilia Severa
SS: Septimius Severus
TS: Tranquillina Sabina

Major series
ASR: Antiken Sarkophagreliefs (ed. C. Robert)
CIL: Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum (Berlin, 1863-ongoing)
IG: Inscriptiones Graecae (Berlin, 1873-1939)
LCL: Loeb Classical Library
RIC: Roman Imperial Coinage
TAM: Tituli Asiae Minoris

Online resources
Arachne: Central object database of the German Archaeological Institute and Archaeology Institute of the University of Cologne
DIR: De Imperatoribus Romanis, Loyola University Chicago
LSA: Last Statues of Antiquity, University of Oxford

LIST OF MUSEUMS AND COLLECTIONS WITH RELEVANT ABBREVIATIONS

Adana, Archaeology Museum (Adana, Arch. Mus.)
Alexandria, Archaeological Museum (Alexandria Arch. Mus.)
Alexandria, Greco-Roman Museum
Aphrodisias Museum
Athens, Agora Museum
Athens, Byzantine & Christian Museum
Athens, National Museum (Athens. Nat. Mus.)
Berlin, Altes Museum (Altes Mus.)
Berlin, Staatliche Museen
Boston, Museum of Fine Arts
Bloomington, Indiana University Art Museum (IUAM)
Beirut, National Museum
Brescia, Museo Cristiano
Brussels, Musée Royaux d'Art et d'Historie
Bucharest, Institul de Archeologie
Bucharest, National Museum of Antiquities (Bucharest Nat. Mus. Ant.)
Budapest, Museum of Fine Arts
Cagliari, Museo Archeologico Nazionale
Carnuntum, Archaeological Park (Arch. Park Carnuntum)
Castle Howard, Collection of the Earls of Carlisle
Carthage National Museum
Cleveland Museum of Art (Cleveland Mus. Of Art)
Copenhagen, Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek
Copenhagen, National Museum

Columbia, University of Missouri Museum of Art and Archaeology
Como, Museo Archeologico Paolo Giovio
Corsica, Musée de préhistoire et d'archéologie (Corsica, Mus. de préhistoire et d'archéologie)
Cyrene Archaeological Museum (Cyrene Arch. Mus.)
Darmstadt, Wella Museum (Wella Mus.)
Delos Museum
Detroit Institute of Arts
Dresden, Staatliche Kunstsammlungen
Edinburg, National Museum
Florence, Galleria degli Uffizi (Uffizi)
Florence, Palazzo Pitti
Frankfurt, Liebieghaus
Freiburg, Cast Gallery
Geneva, George Ortiz Collection
Istanbul, Archaeological Museum (Istanbul, Arch. Mus.)
Izmit, Archaeological Museum (Izmit Arch. Mus.)
Izmir, Archaeological Museum (Izmir Arch. Mus.)
Jerusalem, Rockefeller Museum (Rockefeller Mus.)
Kensas City, The Nelson-Atkins Museum of Art
Komotini, Archaeological Museum
Lausanne, Museé d'Archéologie et d'Histoire
Liverpool Museum
London, British Museum (BM)
Los Angeles, J. Paul Getty Museum (Getty)
Munich Glyptothek
Massachusetts, Mount Holyoke College
Naples, Museo Archaeologico Nazionale
Neuchâtel, Laténium parc et musée d'archéologie (Laténium)
New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art (Met.)
Nîmes, Musée Archéologique (Nîmes Mus. Arch.)
Norfolk, Holkham Hall
Oslo, National Gallery (Oslo Nat. Gallery)
Ostia, Museo Ostiense
Ostia, Piazzale delle Corporazione
Oxford, Ashmolean Museum
Oxfordshire, Farnborough Hall
Palmyra Museum
Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale. Cabinet des Médailles
Paris, Musèe du Louvre (Louvre)
Pennsylvania, University of Pennsylvania, Archaeology and Anthropology Museum (Penn. Mus.)
Petworth House
Pompeii, Antiquario
Pompeii, Deposito del Foro
Pompeii, Sopritendenza Archeologica di Pompeii
Potsdamn, Schloss Sanssouci
Princeton University Art Museum
Rome, Musei Capitolini, Centrale Montemartini
Rome, Musei Capitolini, Palazzo dei Conservatori
Rome, Museo Capitolino
Rome, Musei Palatino
Rome, Musei Vaticani, Braccio Nuovo (Braccio Nuovo)
Rome, Musei Vatican, Cortile del Belvedere
Musei Vaticani, Cortile Della Pigna
Rome, Musei Vaticani, Cortile Ottagone
Rome, Musei Vaticani, Croce Greca
Rome, Musei Vaticani, Fabrica di S. Pietro
Rome, Musei Vaticani, Gabinetto delle Maschere
Rome, Musei Vaticani, Galleria Chiaramonti
Rome, Musei Vaticani, Galleria Lapidaria

Rome, Musei Vaticani, Palazzo del Laterano (Laterano)
Rome, Musei Vaticani, Magazino
Rome, Musei Vaticani, Gregoriano Etrusco
Rome, Musei Vaticani, Gregoriano Profano
Rome, Musei Vaticani, Sala dei Busti (Sala dei Busti)
Rome, Musei Vaticani, Sala Rotonda
Rome, Museo Nazionale
Rome, Palazzo Corsini
Rome, Palazzo dei Conservatori
Rome, S. Giovanni in Laterano
Rome, Villa Borghese
Rome, Villa Doria Pamphili
Rome, Villa Vecchia of Villa Doria Pamphili
Selçuk, Ephesos Archaeological Museum (Selçuk, Ephesos Arch. Mus.)
Stuttgart, Landesmuseum Württembergisches (Stuttgart, Landesmuseum)
Stockholm, National Museum (Nat. Mus. Stockholm)
St. Petersburg, Hermitage (Hermitage)
Siracusa, Museo Archeologico
Teramo, Museo Civico
Tarragona, Museo Paleocristiano
Thessaloniki, Archaeological Museum
Torino, Museo di Antichità
Toulouse, Musée Sant Raymond (Mus. Sant Raymond)
Trier, Rheinisches Landesmuseum
Tulcea Museum of History & Archaeology
Tunis, Bardo Museum (Bardo Mus.)
Vaison, Musée archéologique Théo Desplans
Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum (Kunsthistorisches)
Warsaw, Państwowe Muzeum Archeologiczne
Wilton House, Salisbury

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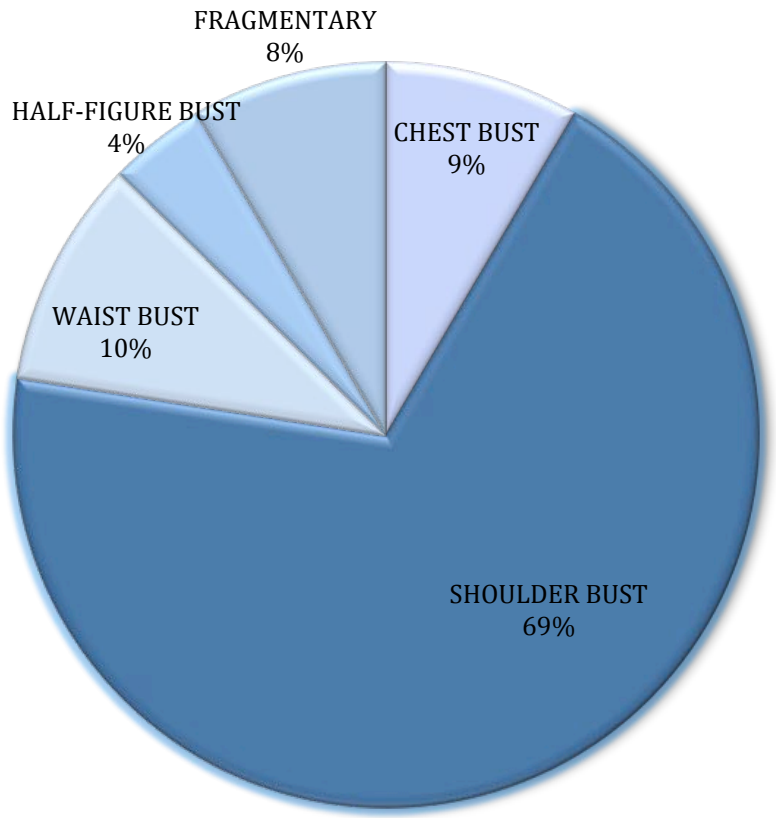
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TABLES, GRAPHS & MAP

PORTRAIT BUST SIZE	
CLAVICAL BUST	0
CHEST BUST	6
SHOULDER BUST	49
WAIST BUST	7
HALF-FIGURE BUST	3
FRAGMENTARY	6
TOTAL:	72

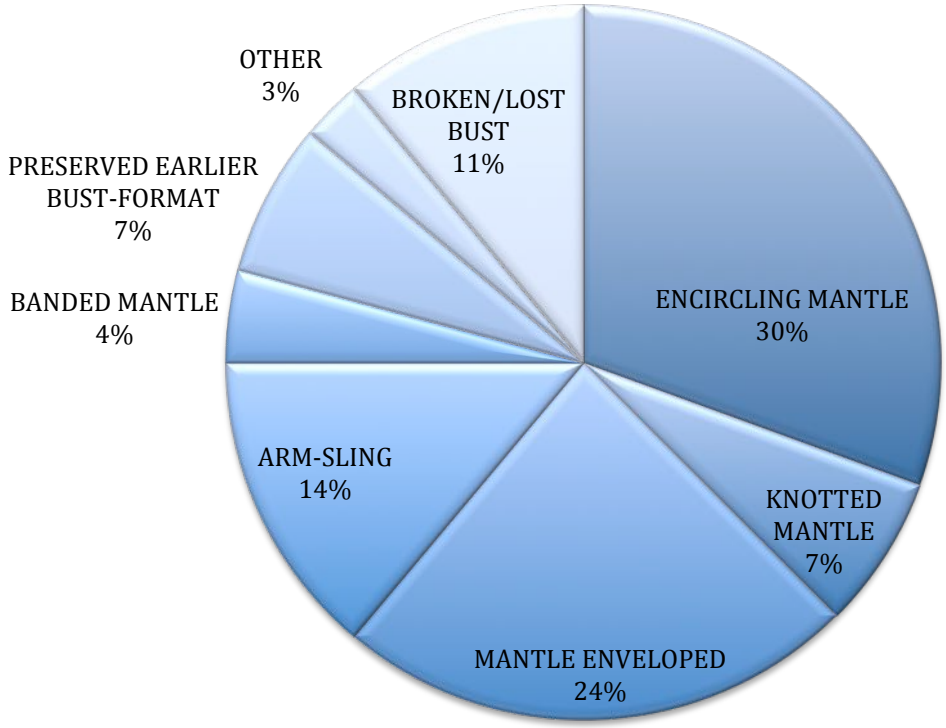
TABLE 1. 3RD C. WOMEN'S PORTRAIT BUST SIZES



GRAPH 1. PIE CHART: 3RD C. WOMEN'S PORTRAIT BUST SIZES

BUST-FORMAT	No. OF BUSTS
ENCIRCLING MANTLE	22
KNOTTED MANTLE	5
MANTLE ENVELOPED	17
ARM-SLING	10
BANDED MANTLE	3
PRESERVED EARLIER BUST-FORMAT	5
OTHER	2
BROKEN/LOST BUST	8
TOTAL:	72

TABLE 2. 3RD C WOMEN'S BUST-FORMATS



GRAPH 2. PIE CHART: 3RD C. WOMEN'S BUST-FORMATS

WESSEL TERMINOLOGY (1946-7)	NEW TERMINOLOGY
I. *Die Nestfrisur mit bedeckten Ohren (Helmfrisur)* (variation 3)	**Orb-hairstyle** **Bun:** a: segmented, large bun; b: tightly plaited bun **Styling:** a: crimped-waves; b: natural; c: decorative bands **Major variant (framing augmented-braids):** **Styling:** a: crimped-waves; b: decorative side braids; c: natural
II. *Die Nestfrisur mit ganz oder teilweise freien Ohren (Nestfrisur)*	**Cap-hairstyle** **Bun:** oblong, plaited and coiled **Styling:** a: pressed, framing waves; b.: natural
III. *Die Scheitelzopf-Frisur*	**Parting-braid** **Height of braid:** a: crown; b: apex; c. forehead; **Shape:** a: oval; b: trapezoid; c: rectangle **Technique:** a: plaited; b: twisted; c: folded
Melonfrisur	**twisted-rows** a: vertical; b: horizontal

TABLE 3: 3rd C. WOMEN'S HAIRSTYLE TERMINOLOGY

IMPERIAL WOMEN'S HAIRSTYLES	OBVERSE NUMISMATIC PORTRAIT	COIN INFORMATION
TWISTED-ROWS		
FULVIA PLAUTILLA*	**1.**  **2.** 	**Gold *aureus*, mint of Rome. RIC4 361** **BM, inv. no. 1864,1128.110** **Gold *aureus*, mint of Rome. RIC4 364** **BM, inv. no. 1864,1128.109** *Photo: BM*
CORNELIA PAULA	**3.** 	**Gold *aureus*, mint of Rome. RIC 215** **BM, inv. no. GLAHM 29106** *Photo: BM*
ORB-HAIRSTYLE		
JULIA DOMNA 'GABII TYPE'	4. 	**Gold *aureus*, mint of Rome. RIC4 567** **BM, inv. no. 1882,0407.1** *Photo: BM*

	5. 	**Gold *aureus*, mint of Rome. RIC4 540** **BM, inv. no. 1864,11128.102** *Photo: BM*
JULIA MAESA	**6.** 	**Brass sestertii, mint of Rome. RIC 414** **Ashmolean** *Photo: Ashmolean*
ORB-HAIRSTYLE (MAJOR VARIANT WITH FRAMING, AUGMENTED-BRAIDS)		
JULIA DOMNA 'LEPCIS TYPE'	**7.** 	**Gold *aureus*, minted in Rome. RIC4 384** **BM, inv. no. 1864,1128.283** *Photo: BM*
CAP-HAIRSTYLE		
FULVIA PLAUTILLA	**8.** 	**Gold *aureus*, mint of Rome. RE5 427** **BM, inv. no. 1867,0101.774** *Photo: BM*

JULIA MAESA	**9.** 	**Gold *aureus*, mint of Rome, RIC4 253** **BM, inv. no. 1867,0101.774** *Photo: BM*
JULIA SOAEMIAS	**10.** 	**Gold *aureus*, mint of Rome, RIC4 246** **BM, inv. no. 1922,1016.2** *Photo: BM*
CORNELIA PAULA	**11.** 	**Silver *denarius*, mint of Rome, RIC 211** **Hunterian Museum, inv. no. GLAHM 29104** *Photo: Hunterian*
AQUILIA SEVERA	**12.** 	**Brass sestertii, mint of Rome, RIC 390** **Ashmolean** *Photo: Ashmolean*

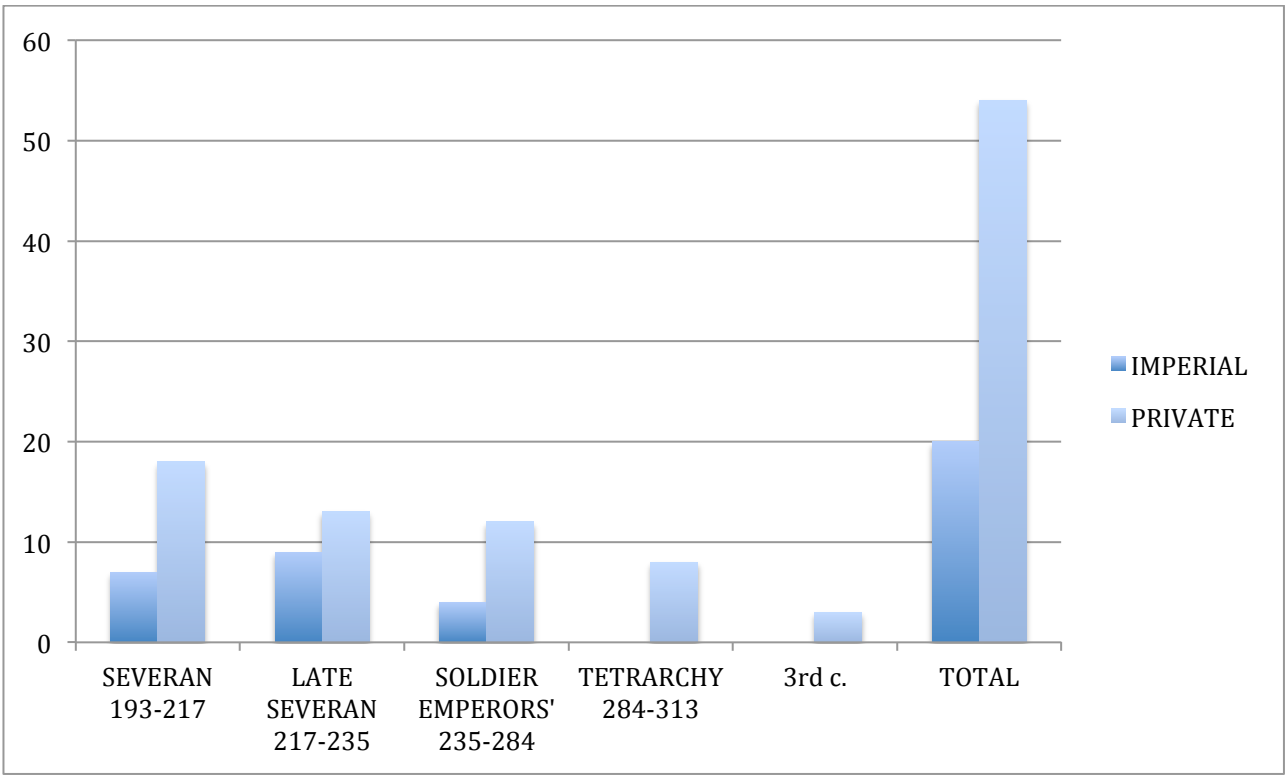
ANNIA FAUSTINA	**13.** 	***Dupondius*, mint of Rome. HCC 1, BMC p. 613, 450** **Hunterian Museum, inv. no. GLAHM 29120** *Photo: Hunterian*
JULIA MAMAEA	**14.** 	**Gold *aureus*, mint of Rome** **BM, inv. no. 1867,0101.789** *Photo: BM*
SALLUSTIA ORBIANA	**15.** 	**Silver *denarius*, mint of Rome, RIC 319** **Ashmolean** *Photo: Ashmolean*
HERENNIA ETRUSCILLA	**16.** 	**Brass sestertii, mint of Rome, RIC 136(b)** **Ashmolean** *Photo: Ashmolean*

ZENOBIA	**17.** 	***Tetradrachma*, Palmyra** *Photo: Kent, Overbeck, Stylow & Hirmer 1973, no. 534, pl. 117*
PARTING-BRAID		
FULVIA PLAUTILLA	**See above no. 2**	
JULIA PAULA	**See above no. 3**	
SABINA TRANQUILLINA	**18.** 	***Antoninianus*, mint of Rome** *Photo: Kent, Hirmer & Hirmer 1978, no. 451, pl. 125*
OTACILIA SEVERA	**19.** 	**Gold *aureus*, mint of Rome RIC4 125a** **Hunterian Museum, inv. no. B.10299** *Photo: Hunterian*
HERENNIA ETRUSCILLA	**20.** 	**Gold *aureus*, mint of Rome RIC4 59a** **BM, inv. no. 1864,1128.124** *Photo: BM*

CORNELIA SALONINA	**21.** 	**Gold *aureus*, mint of Rome RIC5 2** **BM, inv.no. 1867,0101.824** *Photo: BM*
ULPIA SEVERINA	**22.** 	**Gold *aureus*, mint of Rome RIC5 2** **BM, inv.no. R.105** *Photo: BM*
MAGNIA URBICA	**23.** 	**Gold *aureus*, mint of Rome RIC5 348** **BM, inv. no. 1964,1203.143** *Photo: BM*
GALERIA VALERIA	**24.** 	**Gold *aureus*, mint of Siscia RIC6 196** **BM, inv. no. 1867,0101.883** *Photo: BM*

*For full discussion of coin types of Fuliva Plautilla Hill (1964)

TABLE 4: 3RD C. IMPERIAL WOMEN'S NUMISMATIC PORTRAIT TYPES ORGANISED ACCORDING TO HAIRSTYLE

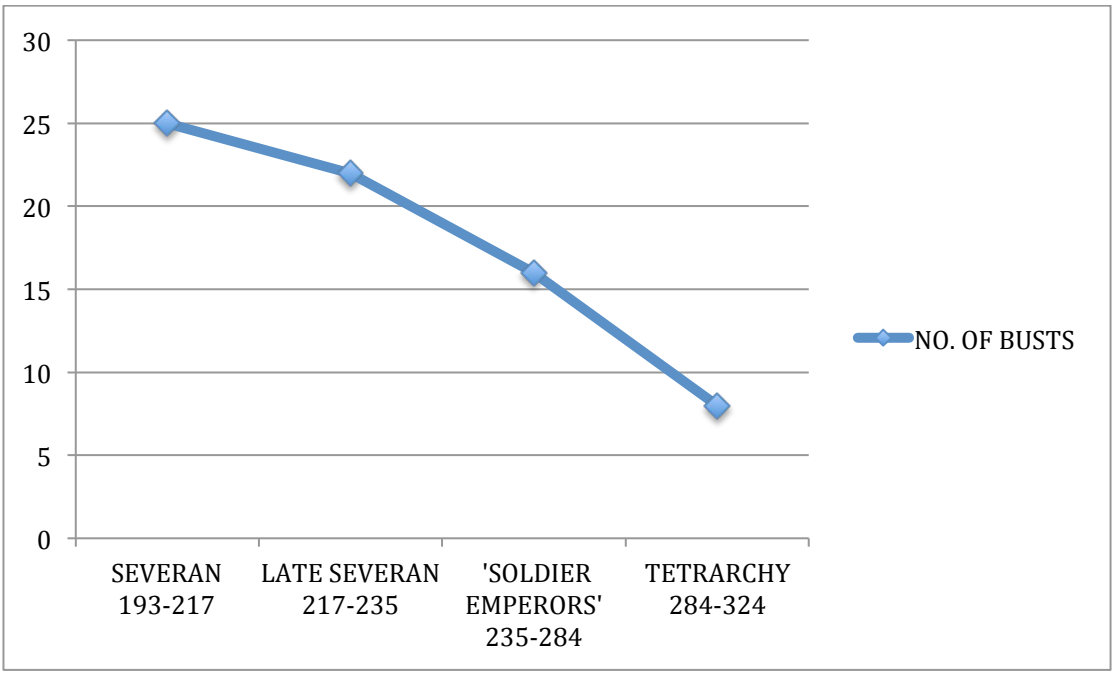


GRAPH 3. BAR CHART: IMPERIAL AND PRIVATE 3RD C. WOMEN'S BUSTS PER PERIOD

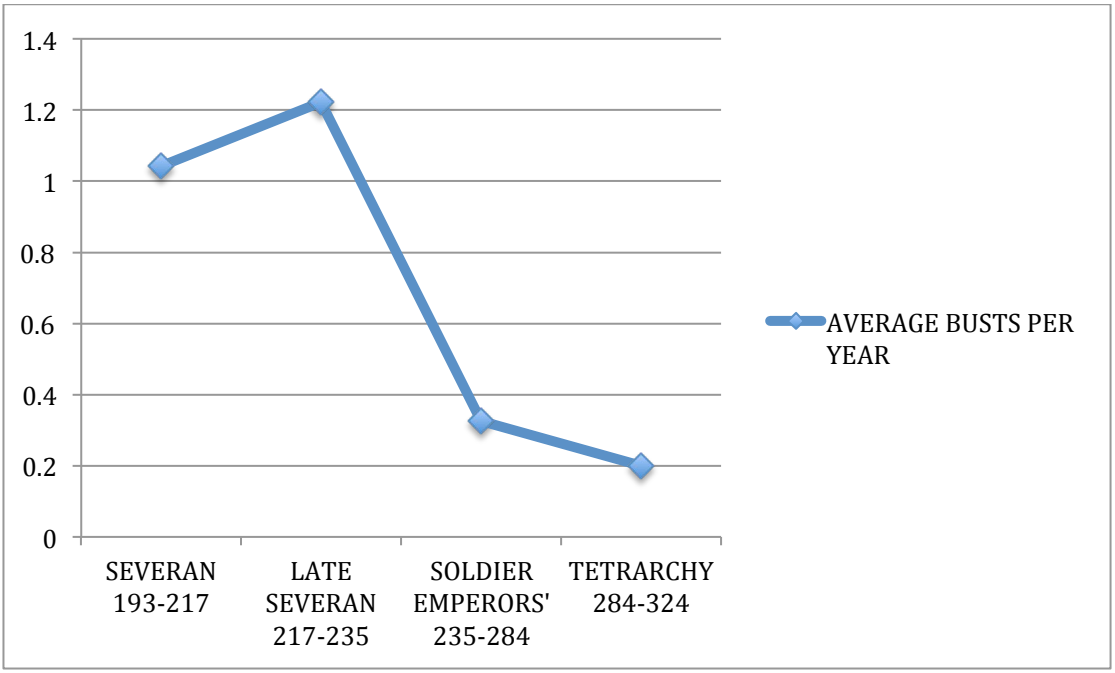
DATE	No. OF Busts
SEVERAN 193-217	25
LATE SEVERAN 217-235	22
SOLDIER EMPERORS' 235-284	16
TETRARCHY 284-324	7
BROAD THIRD CENTURY DATE	2
	72

TABLE 5. CHRONOLOGY: No. OF 3RD C. WOMEN'S BUSTS BY PERIOD

TABLES, GRAPHS & MAP



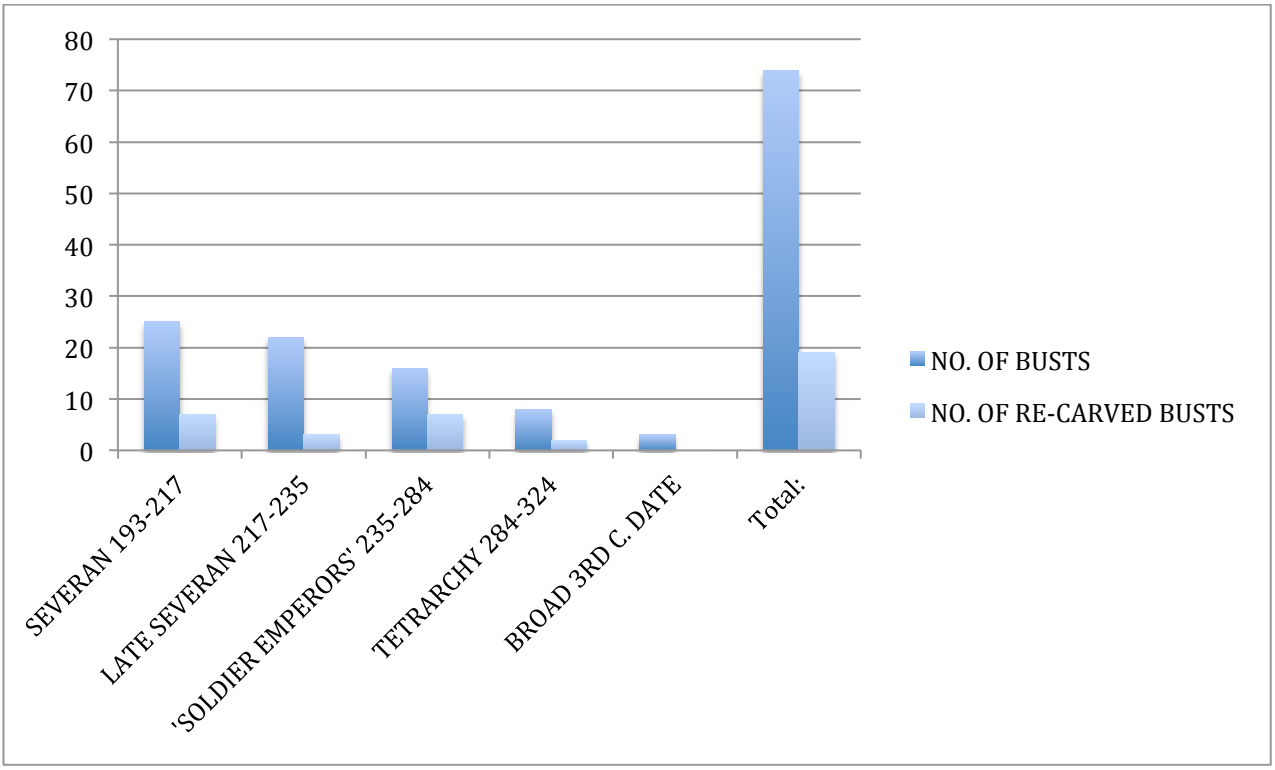
GRAPH 4. LINE GRAPH: No. OF 3RD C. WOMEN'S BUSTS PER PERIOD



GRAPH 5. LINE GRAPH: AVERAGE No. OF 3RD C. WOMEN'S BUSTS PER PERIOD

PERIOD	TOTAL No. BUSTS	RE-CARVED BUSTS
SEVERAN 193-217	25	4
LATE SEVERAN 217-235	22	5
SOLDIER EMPERORS' 235-284	16	6
TETRARCHY 284-313	7	2
BROAD THIRD CENTURY DATE	2	0
TOTAL:	72	17

TABLE 6. No. OF RE-CARVED BUSTS VS TOTAL No. OF BUSTS PER PERIOD



GRAPH 6. BAR CHART: No. OF RE-CARVED BUSTS VS TOTAL No. OF BUSTS PER PERIOD

TABLES, GRAPHS & MAP

REGION	NO. 3RD C. WOMEN'S BUSTS
ROME/ITALY	42
GAUL	5
SARDINIA & CORSICA	1
GREECE	2
BALKANS	1
ASIA MINOR	7
SYRIA	1
JUDEA	1
EGYPT	2
AFRICA	3
NO PROVENANCE	7
TOTAL:	72

TABLE 7. GEOGRAPHICAL DISTRIBUTION: NO. OF 3RD C. WOMEN'S BUSTS DIVIDED ACCORDING TO RECORDED PROVENANCE



MAP 1. GEOGRAPHICAL DISTRIBUTION OF 3RD C. WOMEN'S BUSTS MAPPED ACCORDING TO RECORDED PROVENANCE

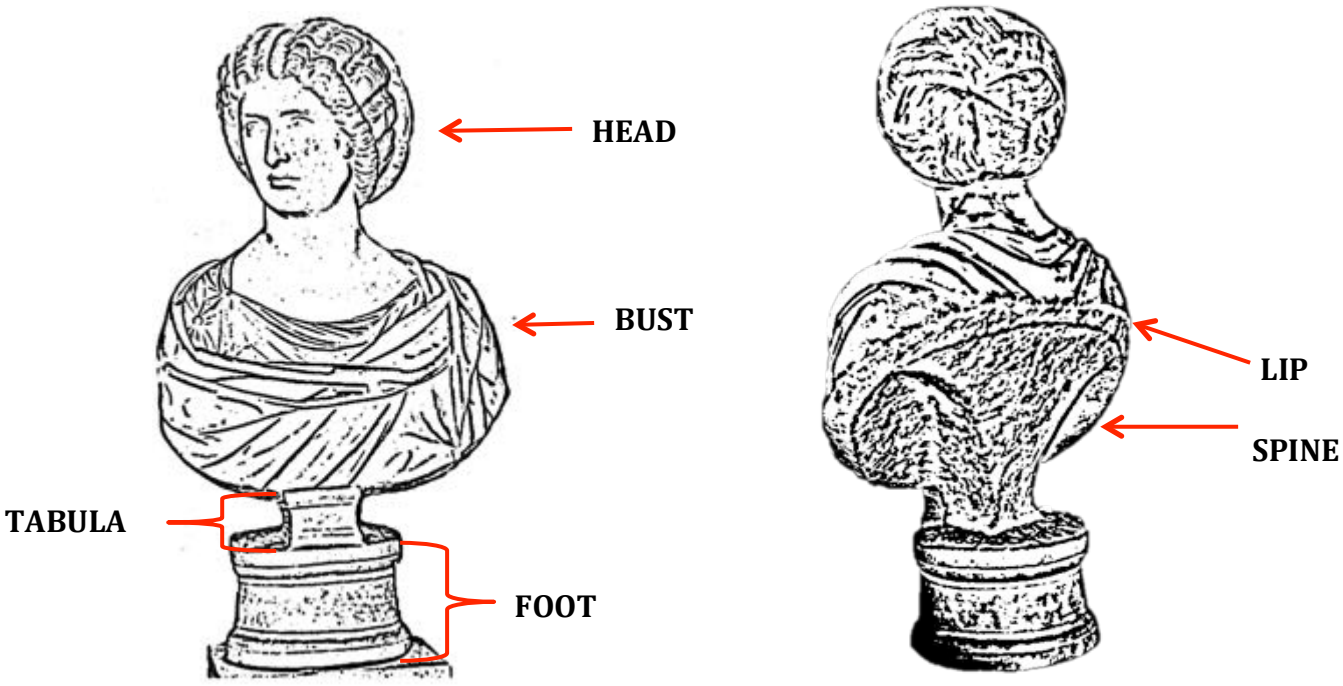


FIG 1. ANNOTATED COMPUTER DRAWING OF 'THE FREE-STANDING BUST'
(not to scale, based on no. 9)



FIG 2. ANNOTATED COMPUTER DRAWING OF BUST-FOOT AND *TABULA*
(not to scale, based on no. 27)



FIG. 3. EXAMPLES OF BUST SUPPORTS & FEET (not to scale): **1.** bust directly on foot (no. 11); **2.** bust on foot with simple rectangular *tabula* (no.9); **3.** bust on foot with calyx-leaves support (no. 44); **4.** bust on *tabula* with scrolled detail and foot (no. 27)



a: Shoulder Bust; b: Truncated or Partial Figure; c: Herm Bust; d: Medallion Bust or *Clipeata Imago*; e: Decorative Bust; f: Freestanding Bust.

FIG. 4. LINE DRAWING OF ABBREVIATED PORTRAIT FORMATS (not to scale). *Motz 1995, fig. 1*



FIG 5. GOLD AUREUS, REV.: OCTAVIA PORTRAIT IN BUST-FORMAT, 40 BC.
Photo: Kent, Overbeck & Stylow 1973, pl. 3, no. 109

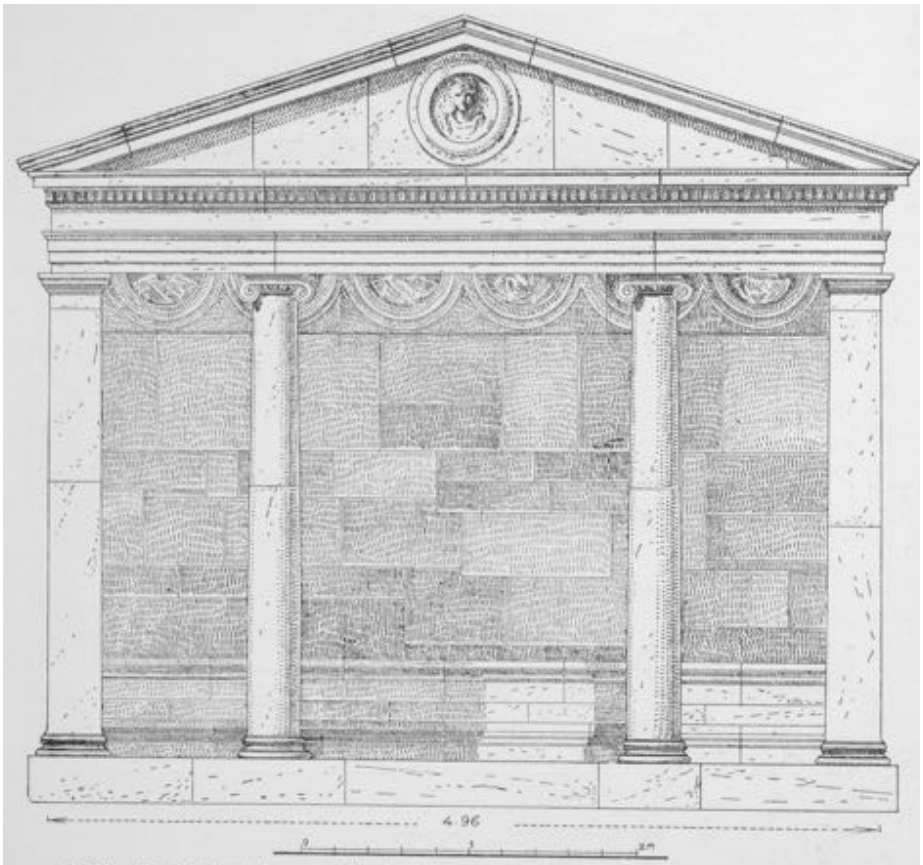


FIG. 6. LINE DRAWING, PROPOSED RECONSTRUCTION OF THE HEROON OF MITHRIDATES, 101/2 BC, DELOS. *Chapoutheir 1935, 42, fig. 56*



FIG. 7. MARBLE, LATE SEVERAN WOMAN'S PORTRAIT *TONDO*. PART OF THE SILAHTARAĞA SANCTUARY GROUP. ISTANBUL ARCHAEOLOGICAL MUSEUM. *Photos: author's*



FIG. 8. MARBLE, SEVERAN WOMAN'S PORTRAIT *TONDO*. FOUND AT IZMIT. ISTANBUL, ARCHAEOLOGICAL MUSEUM
Photos: (front) Richard M. Simmons; (back) Dörner 1941, pl.12, no. 6.2

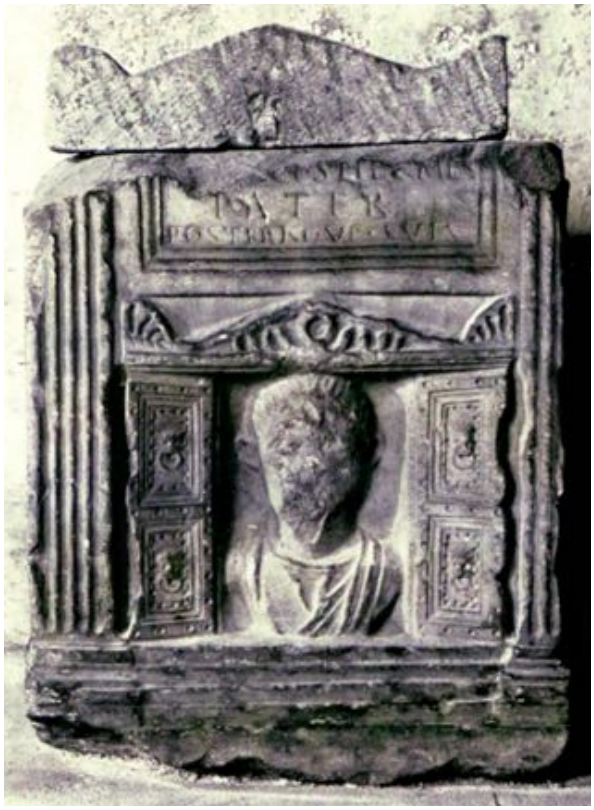


FIG.9. EARLY SECOND-CENTURY BUST OF A BOY DISPLAYED AS IF AN *IMAGO* IN A *ARMARIUM.* FROM ROME. S. PAULO FUORI LE MURA *Photo: Kleiner pl.39.1*



FIG. 10. TERRACOTTA ETRUSCAN BUST WITH 'PORTRAIT' FEATURES, FROM CERVETERI, MUSEI VATICANI, GREGORIANO ETRUSCO
Photo: Ricci (ed.) 2003, Vaticano Museo Gregoriano Etrusco, 175



FIG. 11. TWO MARBLE, HALF-FIGURE STATUES OF HEROICALLY NAKED MEN, FIRST CENTURY BC. FROM MAISON DES SCEAUX, DELOS. DELOS MUSEUM *Photo: Marcadé (et.al.) 1996, 218*



FIG. 12a-b: FRONT AND BOTTOM OF THE MARBLE, HERM PORTRAIT OF STAIA QUINTA. FROM THE SANCTUARY OF DIANA IN NEMI. NY CARLSBERG GLYPTOTECK
Photos: Fejfer 2008, pl.33a & 34a

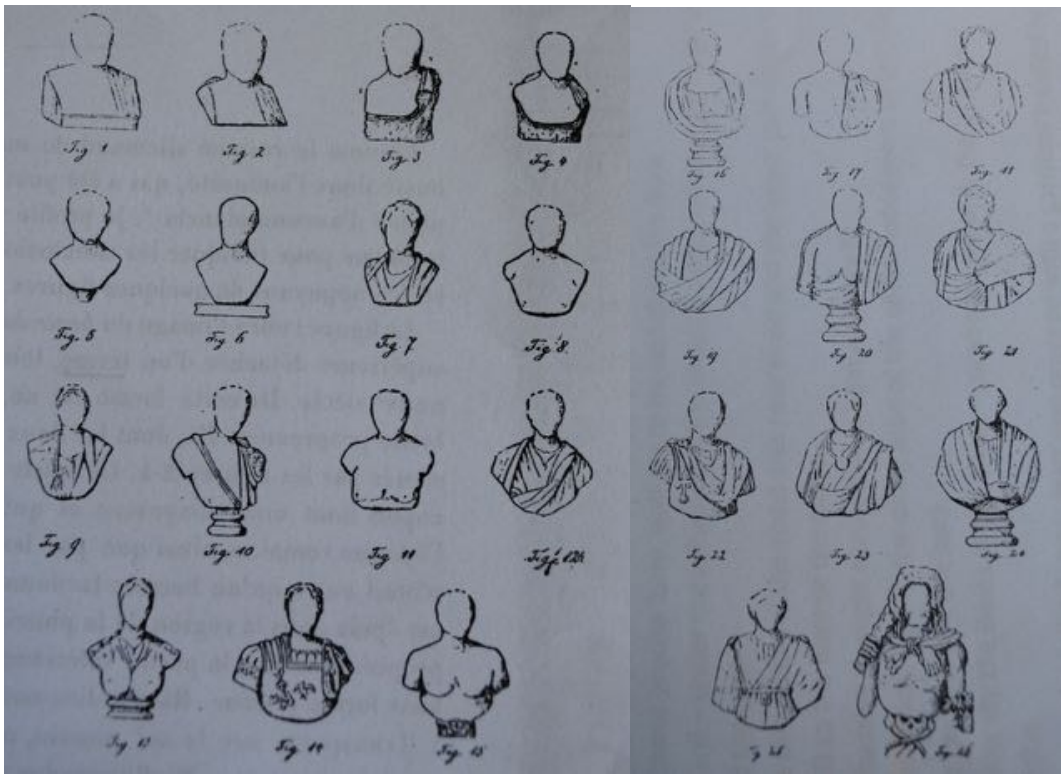


FIG. 13. BIENKSOWSKI'S LINE DRAWINGS, DEVELOPMENT OF THE BUST-FORMAT
(not to scale) *1895, 296, 298, figs. 1-2*

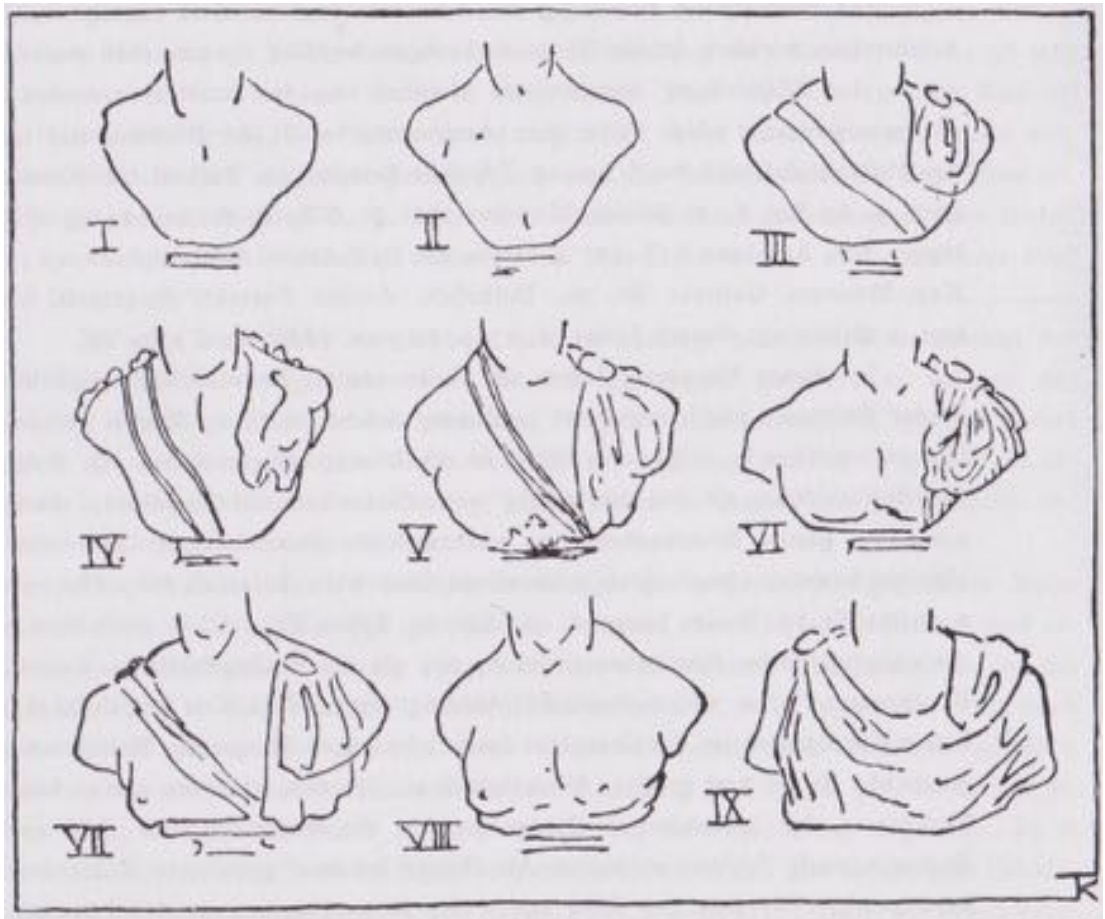


FIG. 14. HEKLER'S LINE DRAWINGS DEVELOPMENT OF THE BUST-FORMAT
(not to scale) *1922-24, 186, fig. 63*



FIG. 15. MARBLE, SHOULDER BUST OF ANTINOUS, HEROICALLY NAKED. FROM PATRAS. ATHENS, NATIONAL MUSEUM. *Photo: author's*



FIG. 16. MARBLE BUST OF TRAJAN, AD 98-117. FROM ROME, THE BATHS OF CARACALLA (?). NY CARLSBERG GLYPTOTEK *Photos: author's*



CHEST-BUST (i) SHOULDER-BUST (ii.a) (ii.b)



WAIST-BUST (iii) HALF-FIGURE-BUST (iv)

FIG. 17. BUST PORTRAIT SIZES: EXAMPLES 3RD C. WOMEN'S BUSTS (not to scale)
(nos. 44, 51, 62, 15, 26)



FIG. 18. BUST-FORMAT: EXAMPLES 3RD C. WOMEN'S BUSTS (not to scale)
(nos. 1, 29, 18, 47, 68)



FIG.19 a-b. MARBLE, LATE SEVERAN ACHILLES & PENTHESILEA SARCOPHAGUS (FRONT). DETAIL: RELIEF OF WOMAN IN ENCIRCLING MANTLE FORMAT. MUSEI VATICANI, CORTILE DEL BELVEDERE *Photos: author's*



FIGS. 20-21. PORTRAIT OF A WOMAN, TEMPERA ON A LINEN SHROUD, 170-200 AD. FROM EGYPT, EL-SHEIKH ABADA; MUMMY PORTRAIT OF A WOMAN, C.200 AD. FROM EGYPT, ER-RUBAYAT. EDINBURG, NATIONAL MUSEUM.

Photos: the Met; Walker & Bierbrier (eds.) 1997, 101, no. 93



FIG. 22. MARBLE, GARLAND SARCOPHAGUS (FRONT). WOMAN (R.) IN MANTLE ENVELOPING FORMAT. APHRODISIAS. *Photo: author's*





FIGS. 23-24. ANTONINE MUMMY PORTRAIT OF A WOMAN. EGYPT, HAWARA. BM; LATE THIRD TO FOURTH CENTURY GOLD-GLASS MEDALLION. FROM ALEXANDRIA (?). THE MET. *Photos: Walker & Bierbrier (eds.) 1997, 74, no. 51; The Met.*



Fig. 25. MARBLE, SARCOPHAGUS (FRONT), DETAIL OF A WOMAN IN ARM-SLING FORMAT WITH UNFINISHED PORTRAIT, 260-270 AD. FROM ROME. BRUSSELS, MUSÉE ROYAUX DU CINQUANTENAIRE *Photo: Stroszeck 1998, pl. 35.1*





FIGS. 26-27. MARBLE, STELE OF A LATE SEVERAN WOMAN'S BUST IN KNOTTED MANTLE FORMAT, STRATONIKEIA; DETAIL OF MARBLE GARLAND SARCOPHAGUS (FRONT), LATE SEVERAN WOMAN IN KNOTTED-MANTLE FORMAT. APHRODISIAS.
Photos: Özgan 1999 pl. 55b; author's



FIG. 28. ETCHING OF A KNOTTED MANTLE BUST, WHEREABOUTS UNKNOWN.
Cavaceppi (1717-1799) Raccolta



FIGS. 29-30. BLUE-GLASS MEDALLION. BRESCIA, MUSEO CRISTIAN ORESCIA; GOLD-GLASS PLATE BOTTOM, FROM CATACOMBS OF ST. PANFILO. VATICAN *Images: Morey 1955, pl. 1 & 25*



FIGS. 31-32. MARBLE, LATE THIRD TO FOURTH-CENTURY STATUE OF A WOMAN WEARING BANDED-MANTLE. FROM CARNUNTUM. ARCHAEOLOGICAL PARK; MARBLE, BUST OF COMMODUS IN THE GUISE OF HERCULES. FROM ROME. MUSEI CAPITOLINI
Photos: LSA-1273; author's



FIG. 33: DETAIL OF MARBLE STRIGILATED SARCOPHAGUS, WOMAN IN BUST-FORMAT. C.260-70 AD. SARDINIA *Photo: Pesce 1957, pl. 31*

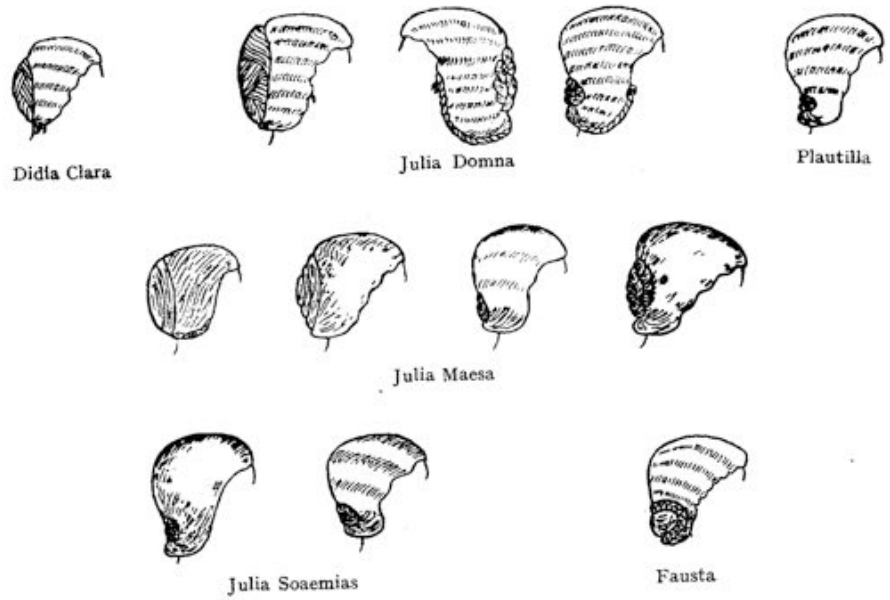


FIG. 34a. WESSEL'S LINE DRAWINGS, GROUP ONE: THE NEST-HAIRSTYLE WITH EARS COVERED (*1946-7, 63-64)*

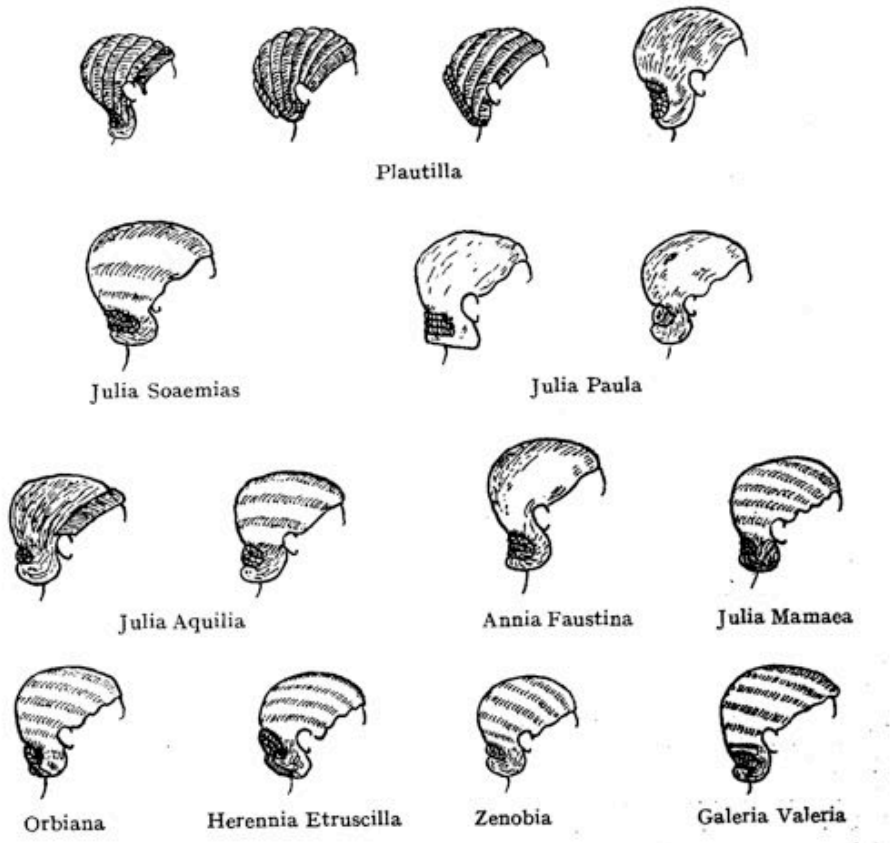


FIG. 34b. WESSEL'S LINE DRAWINGS, GROUP TWO: THE NEST-HAIRSTYLE WITH EARS UNCOVERED *(1946-7, 65-66)*

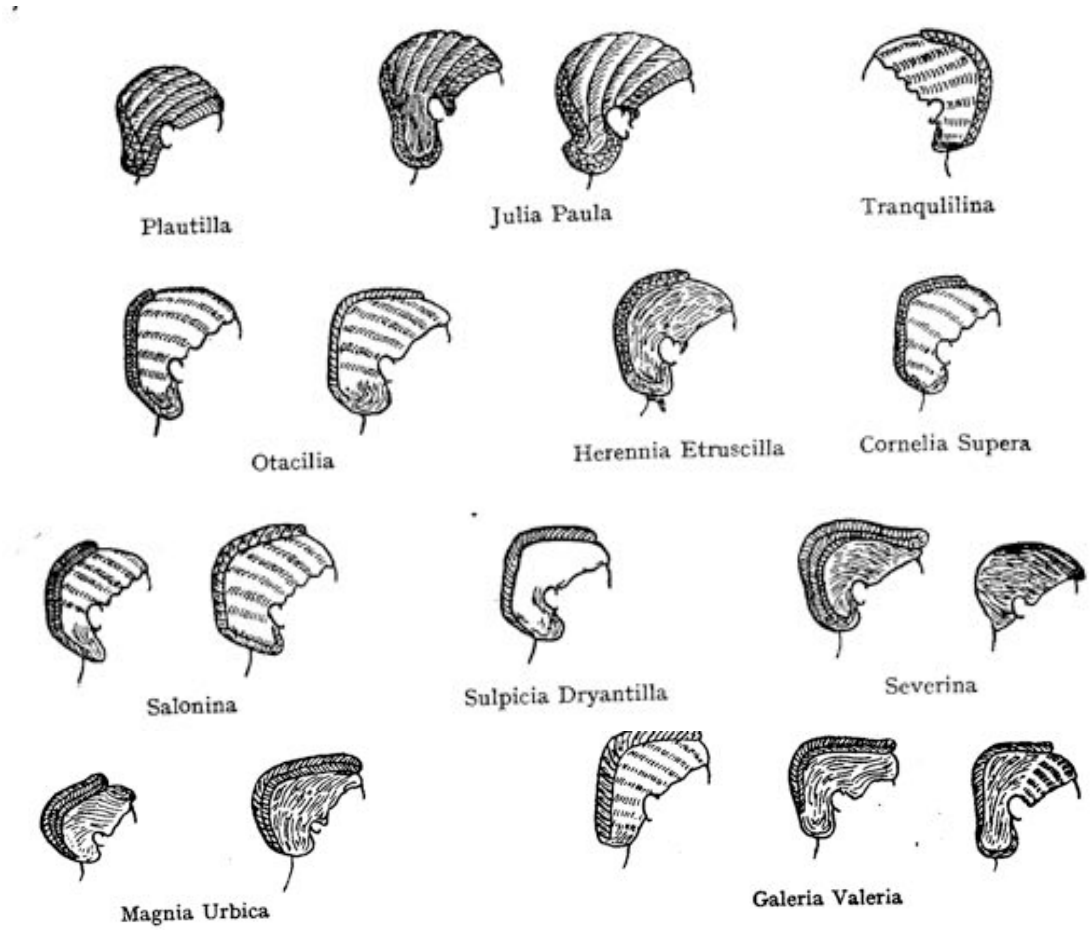


FIG. 34c. WESSEL'S LINE DRAWINGS, GROUP THREE: THE CROWN-BRAID *(1946-7, 67-70)*



FIG. 35. MARBLE, PORTRAIT HEAD OF A LATE SEVERAN WOMAN FROM ROME. NY CARLSBERG GLYPOTEK. *Photo: author's*



FIG. 36a-d. MARBLE, OVER LIFE-SIZE HEAD OF ETRUSCILLA, WEARING A *STEPHANE*, FROM A STATUE. PROVENANCE ROME. BM *Photos: BM*



FIG. 37. FRAGMENT OF MARBLE SCULPTOR'S SARCOPHAGUS. APHRODISIAS
Photo: Smith 2006, 301, no.36

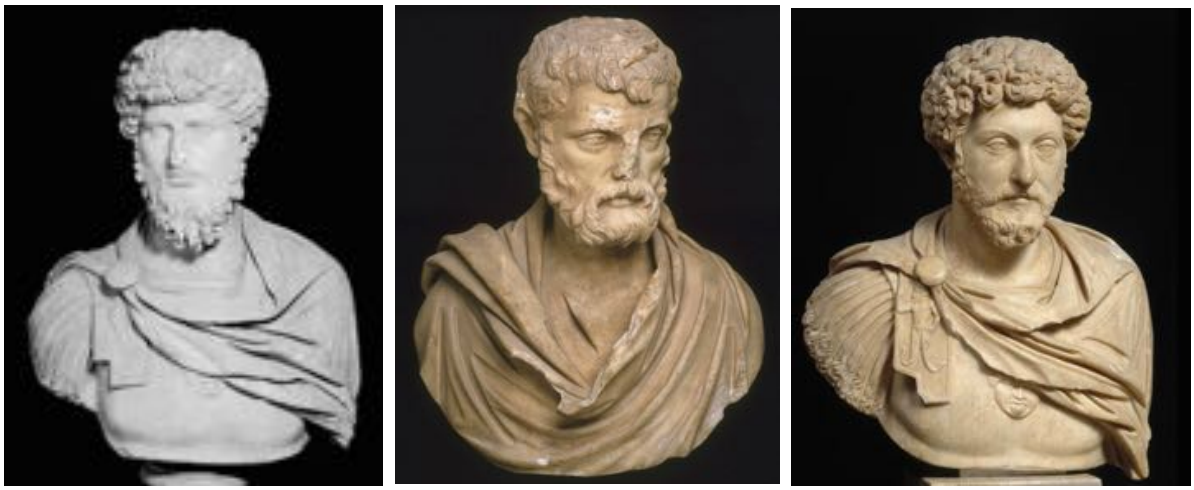


FIG. 38. FRAGMENT OF MARBLE SCULPTOR'S SARCOPHAGUS. EPHESOS. ISTANBUL, ARCHAEOLOGICAL MUSEUM. *Photo: Smith 2011, fig. 47*

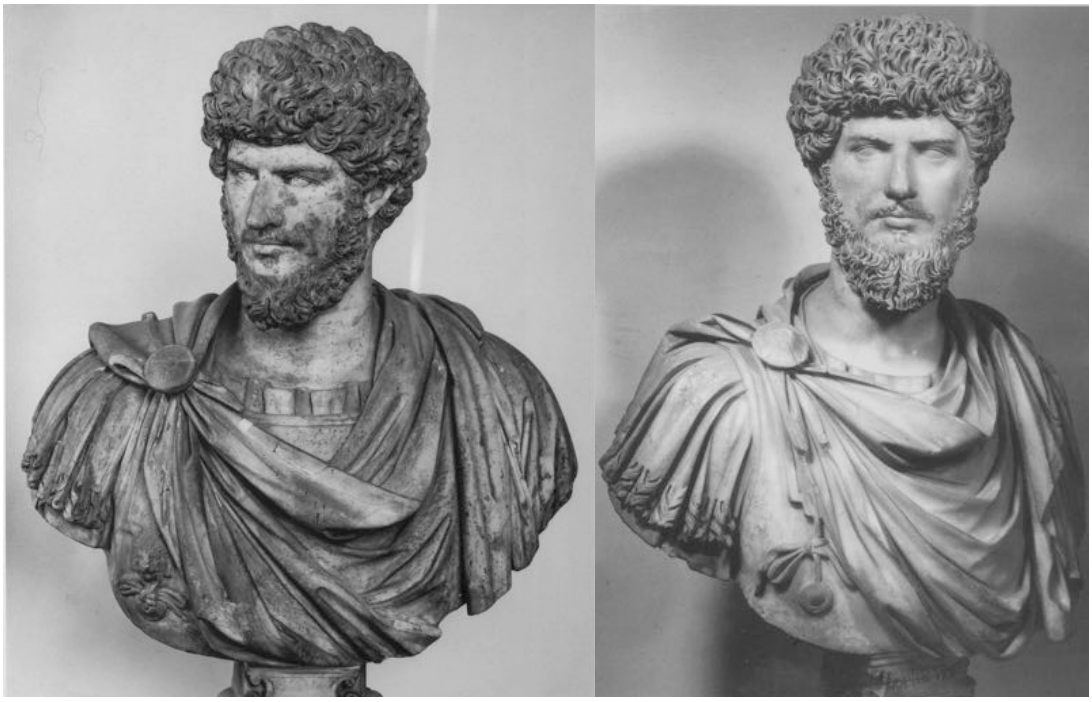
CHAPTER FOUR. MAKING THE ROMAN PORTRAIT BUST

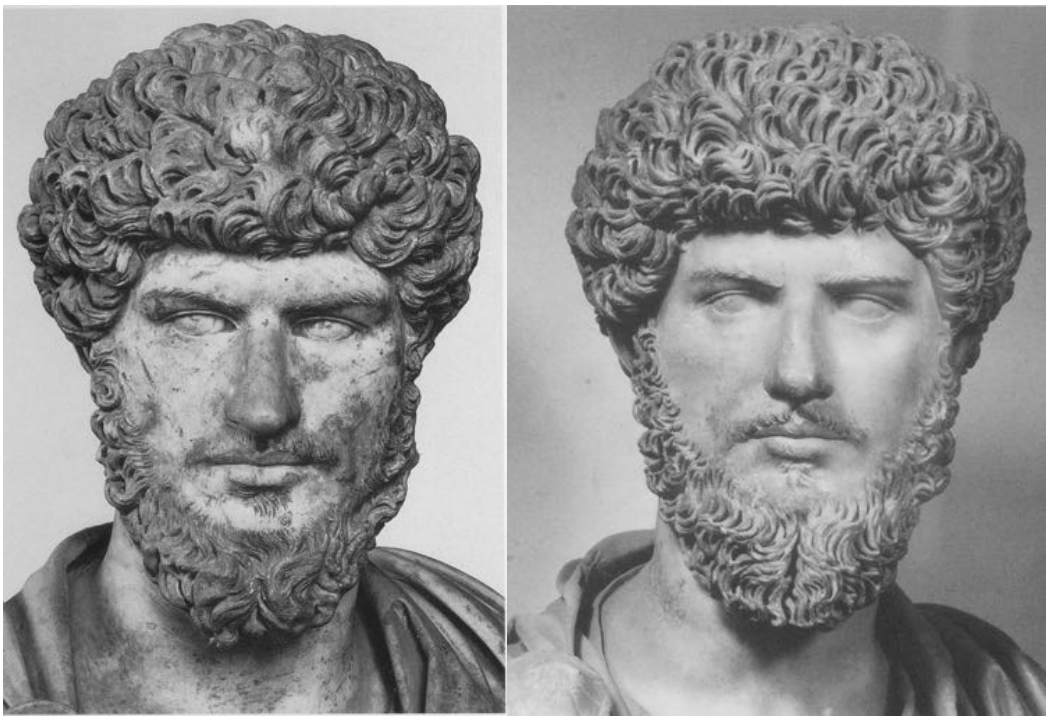


FIG. 39. BUSTS OF THE SAME THIRD-CENTURY MAN IN RESPECTIVE *TOGA-CONTABULATA* AND *PALUDAMENTUM* BUST FORMATS. MUNICH, GLYPTOTHEK. *Photo: author's*



FIGS. 40-42. MARBLE, *PALUDAMENTUM* BUST OF LUCIUS VERUS, OXFORD, ASHMOLEAN; MARBLE, *HIMATION* BUST OF HERODES ATTICUS, LOUVRE; MARBLE, *PALUDAMENTUM* BUST OF MARCUS AURELIUS, LOUVRE. FOUND TOGETHER IN TOMB (HERODES ATTICUS'S), AT PROBALINTHOS, NEAR MARATHON *Photos: Ashmolean; Louvre*

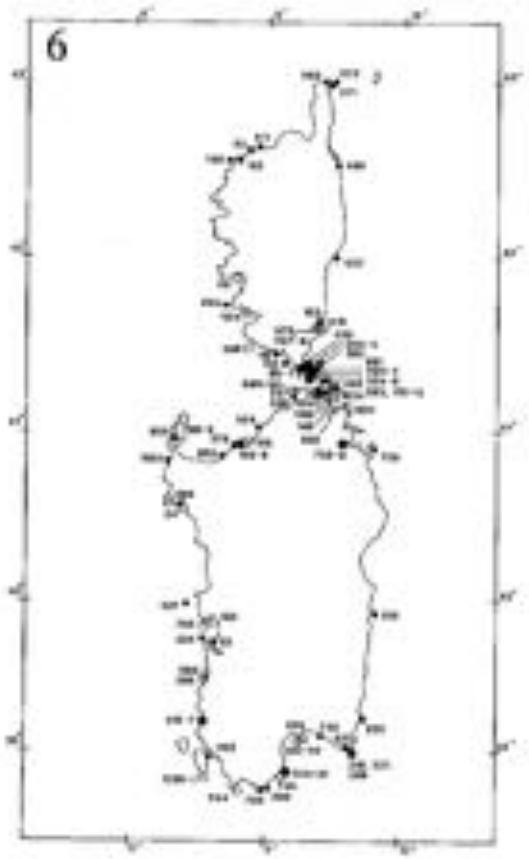




FIGS. 43a-b - 44a-b. MARBLE, LUCIUS VERUS PALUDAMENTUM BUSTS MUSEO CAPITOLINO & LOUVRE. BOTH FROM ROME. DETAIL: FACE OF BOTH BUSTS.
Photos: Fittschen & Zanker 1994, pl. 84.1 & 85; Kersauson 1996, 263, no. 117

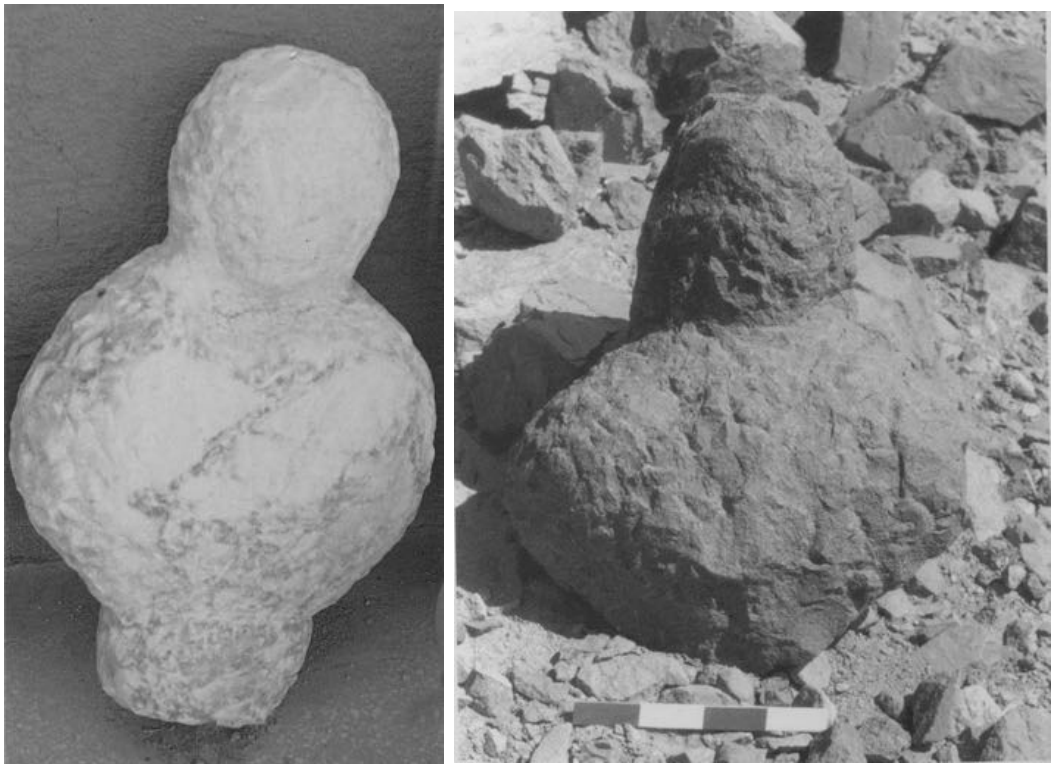


FIG. 45. PICTURE PAIR OF MARBLE, THIRD-CENTURY BUSTS (PHILIP I & OTACILIA SEVERA), FOUND IN A SHIPWRECK OFF GROSSETO-PRUGNA, CORSICA. *Photo: Massy 2013, 113, fig. 156.1 (ARASM)*



FIGS. 46. MAP OF CORSICA AND SARDINIA SHOWING RECORDED SHIPWRECKS *Parker 1992, Map.6*

CHAPTER FOUR. MAKING THE ROMAN PORTRAIT BUST



FIGS. 47-48. ROUGHED-OUT BUSTS: PAVONAZZETTO QUARRIES OF DOCIMIUM IN AFYON TURKEY; PORPHYRY, MONS PORPHYRITES QUARRIES, EGYPT
Photos: Bruno 2002, fig. 10; Maxfield & Peacock 2001, fig. 3.73

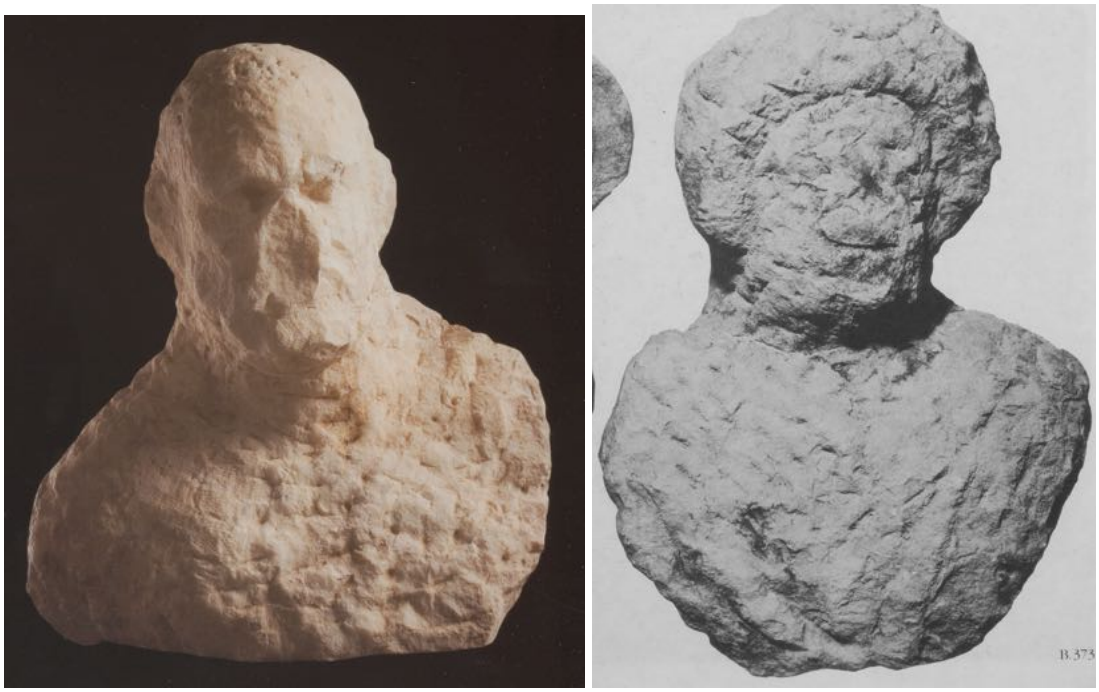
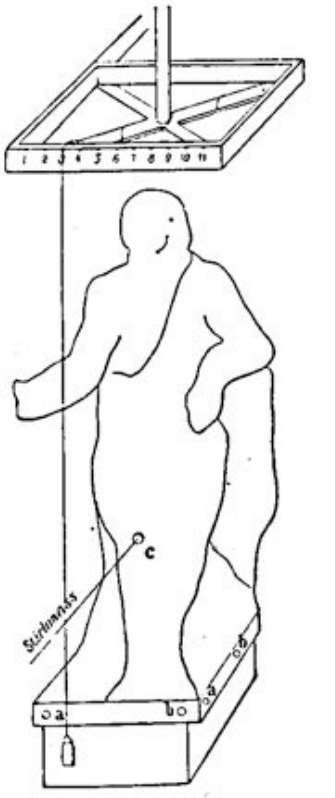


FIG. 49-50. MARBLE ROUGHED-OUT BUSTS: OF A MAN, FROM THE SCULPTOR'S WORKSHOP, APHRODISIAS; OF A WOMAN, FIRST TO EARLY SECOND CENTURY AD, FROM THE SEA NEAR ŞILE, ISTANBUL, ARCHAEOLOGICAL MUSEUM.
Photo: Smith & Lenaghan 2008, 303, no. 37; Asgari 1978, fig. 17;



FIG.51a-b. DETAILS OF MEASURING POINTS: nos. 1 & 53



42. ILLUSTRATION OF MEASURING METHOD WITH PLUMB-LINE

FIG. 52. BLÜMEL'S DIAGRAM *1969, 57, fig. 42*

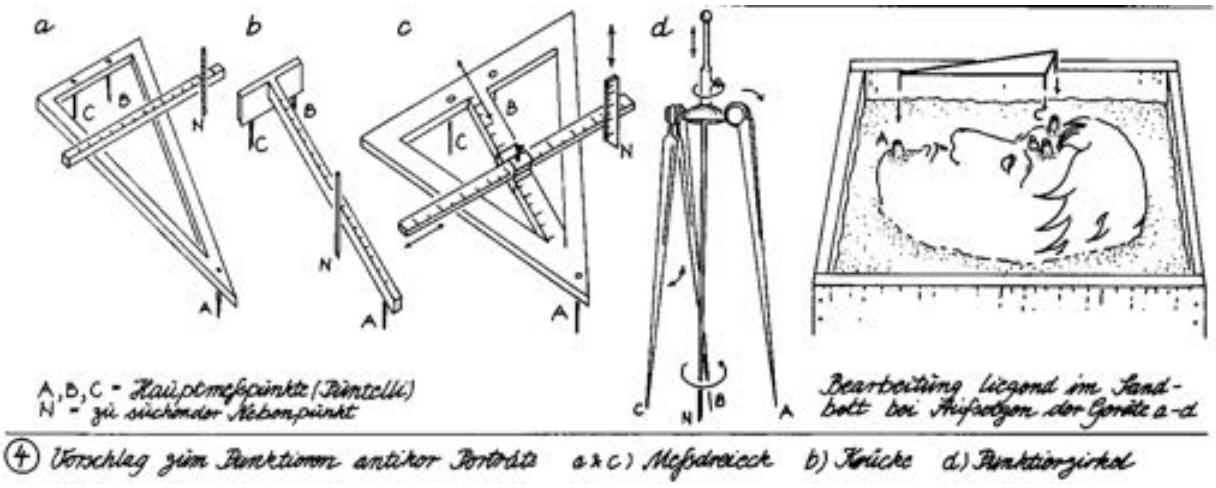


FIG. 53. PFANNER'S DIAGRAM *1989, fig. 17.4*



FIGS. 54a-b. UNFINISHED MARBLE HEAD OF 'DOMITIAN', THE GETTY
Photo: Varner 2004, fig. 136

CHAPTER FOUR. MAKING THE ROMAN PORTRAIT BUST



FIG. 55. DETAIL OF INCOMPLETE SECTION OF ETCHED HAIR, JULIA MAMAEA BUST (no. 36)



FIG. 56. CARNELIAN INTAGLIO, LATE FIRST CENTURY BC TO EARLY FIRST CENTURY AD. A CRAFTSMAN IS DEPICTED PAINTING A WOMAN'S CLAVICAL BUST, MOUNTED ON A COLUMN. THE METROPOLITAN MUSEUM. *Photo: The Met.*



FIG. 57a-f. DETAIL OF EARS ON RE-CARVED THIRD-CENTURY WOMEN'S BUSTS
(nos. 50, 25, 22, 49, 44, 65)



FIG. 58a-c. DETAIL OF EYES ON RE-CARVED THIRD-CENTURY WOMEN'S BUSTS
(nos. 65, 49, 69)

CHAPTER FIVE. REMAKING THE ROMAN PORTRAIT BUST



FIG. 59a-c. UNFINISHED, MARBLE BUST OF A TRAJANIC WOMAN FROM THE COLUMBARIUM VIA OSTIENSE. ROME, MUSEI VATICANI MAGAZINO
Photos: Fittschen & Zanker 1983, pls. 90-91



FIG. 60-61. PAIR OF MARBLE PORTRAITS OF SEVERAN 'YOUTHS' ON HEROICALLY NAKED SHOULDER BUSTS. IN THE LATTER INSTANCE THE HEAD HAS BEEN BROKEN AND THE BUST MAY BE MODERN. BELONG TO GROUP WITH WOMEN'S BUSTS Nos.17-18. PRIVATE OWNER, TEMPORARY DISPLAY FREIBURG CAST GALLERY. *Photos: author's*

CHAPTER FIVE. REMAKING THE ROMAN PORTRAIT BUST



FIG. 62a-b. MARBLE, HALF-FIGURE BUST OF A MAN, CUT DOWN FROM A STATUE (?), C. 200 AD. DRESDEN, STAATLICHE KUNSTSAMMLUNGEN. *Photos: Vorster & Knoll (eds.) 2013, 371, no. 86*



FIG. 63a-d. DETAILS OF THIRD-CENTURY WOMEN'S BUSTS PREPARED FOR PIECED SECTIONS, OR (d) WITH PIECED SECTION STILL ATTACHED *(nos. 18, 48, 49, 50)*

CHAPTER FIVE. REMAKING THE ROMAN PORTRAIT BUST



FIG. 64a-b. MARBLE, FIRST-CENTURY AD MAN'S HEAD CUT FROM AN ANTA CAPITAL. FROM ROME. PRINCETON UNIVERSITY ART MUSEUM.
Photos: (front) Princeton, (back) Fuchs (ed.) 2001, 24



FIG. 65a-b. MARBLE HEAD OF A TIBERIAN WOMAN CARVED FROM A HELMETED GODDESS C.14/37 AD. PRINCETON UNIVERSITY ART MUSEUM.
Photos: (front) Princeton, (back) Fuchs (ed.) 2001, 13

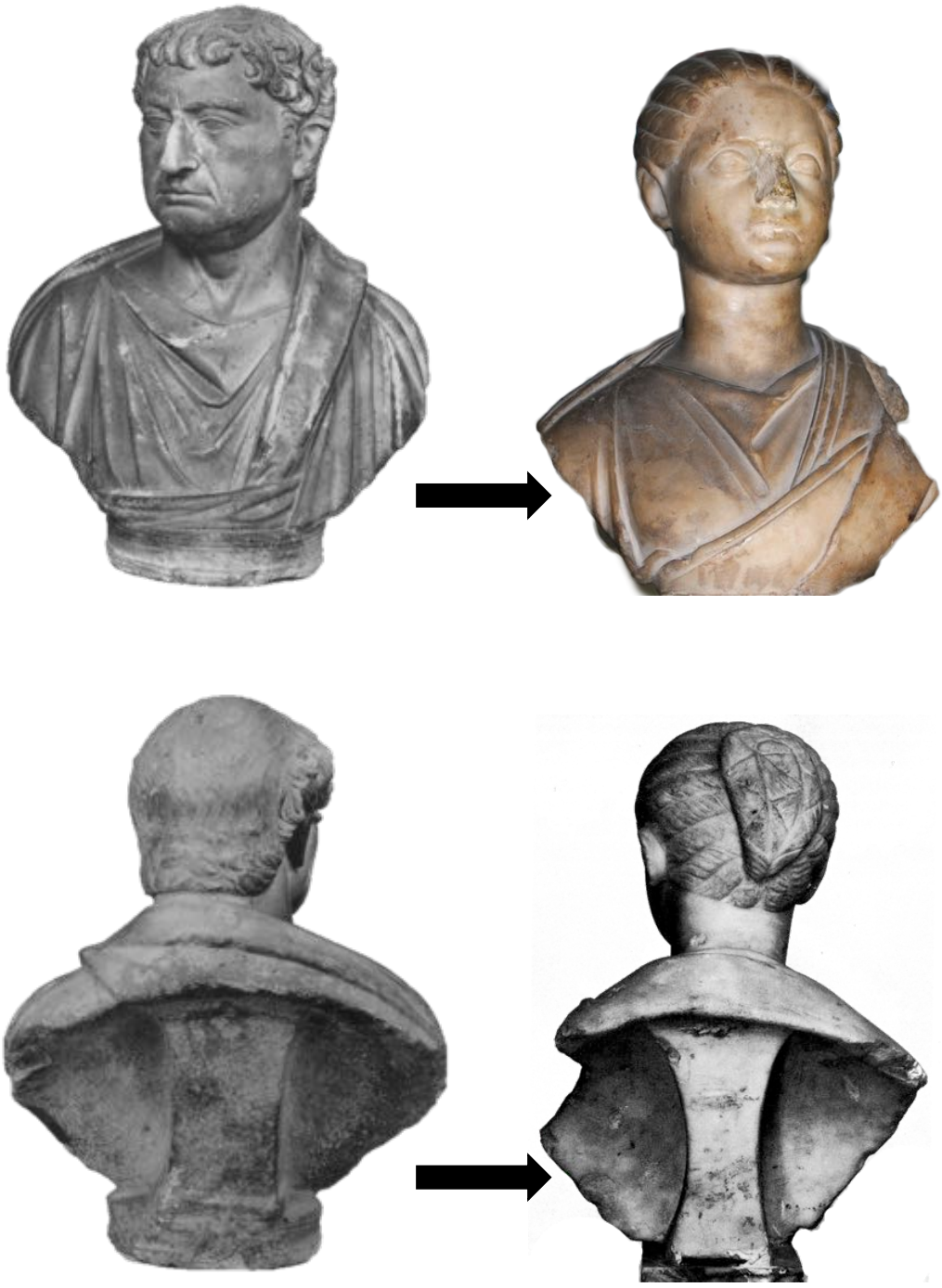
CHAPTER FIVE. REMAKING THE ROMAN PORTRAIT BUST



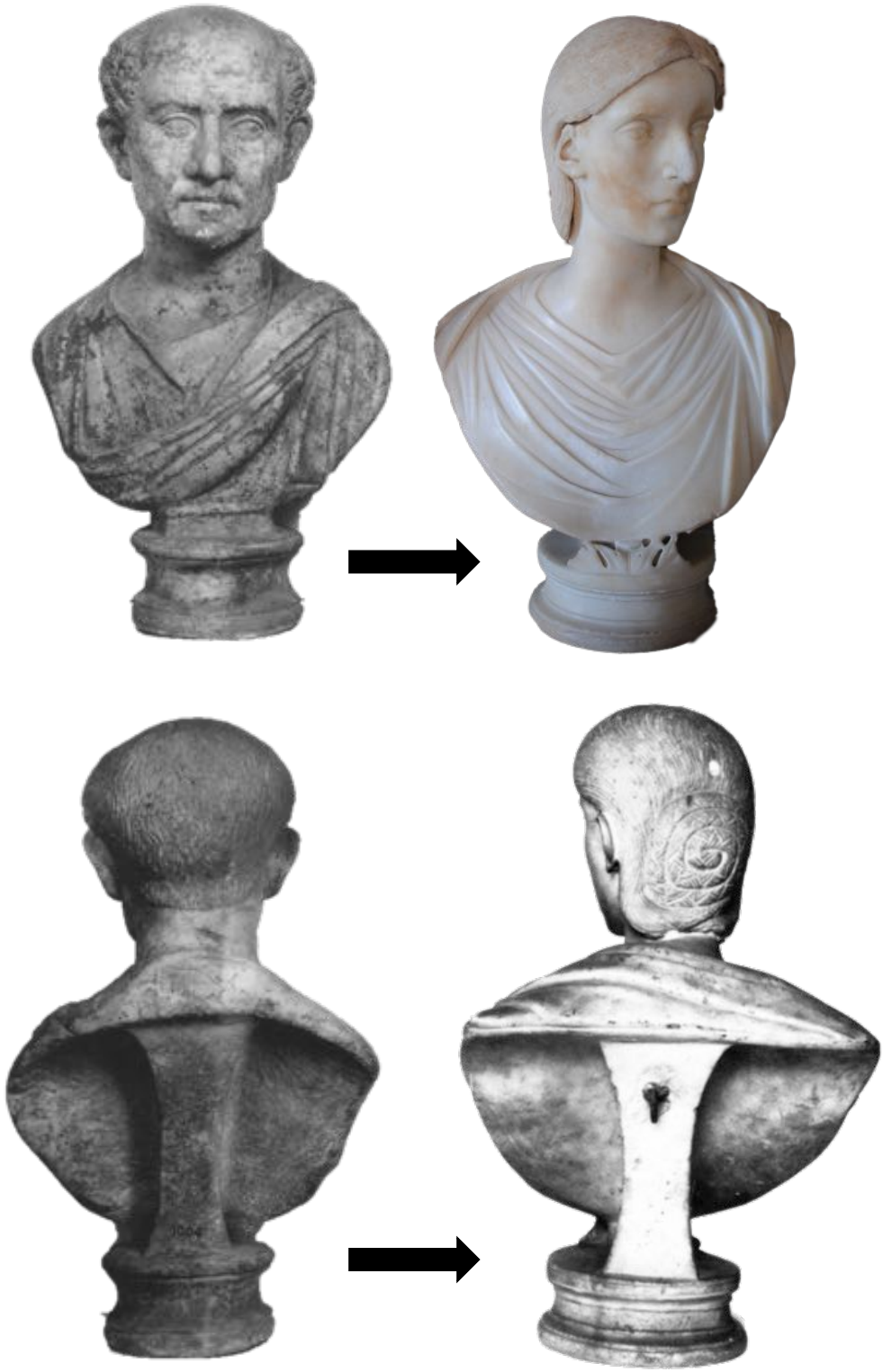
FIGS. 66a-b. PORTRAIT OF A WOMAN CUT FROM THE TOE OF AN OVER LIFE-SIZE STATUE STUTTGART, LANDESMUSEUM, FIRST CENTURY AD
Photos: Hendrik Zwietasch; Landesmuseum Württemberg, Stuttgart



FIG. 67a-b. PORTRAIT OF ANTINOUS (?) RE-CARVED AS THAT OF AN EARLY THIRD-CENTURY WOMAN IN VEIL. NY CARLSBERG GLYPTOTEK. *Photos: author's*



FIGS. 68-69. RE-CARVED THIRD-CENTURY GIRL'S BUST (no.25) NEXT TO MARBLE, TRAJANIC TOGATE MAN'S BUST OF THE TYPE IT MAY HAVE BEEN CARVED FROM. MAN'S BUST, FROM ROME. IN THE PALAZZO DEI CONSERVATORI.
Photos (Man's bust): Fittschen & Zanker 2010, no. 81 pl. 95



FIGS. 70-71. RE-CARVED THIRD-CENTURY WOMAN'S BUST (no.44) NEXT TO TRAJANIC TOGATE MAN'S BUST OF THE TYPE IT MAY HAVE BEEN CARVED FROM. MAN'S BUST FROM ROME, VATICAN, BRACCIO NUOVO.
Photos (Man's bust): Fittschen & Zanker 2010, no. 79 pl. 95



FIG. 72a-b. MARBLE, FLAVIAN WOMAN'S HEAD MOUNTED ON MODERN BUST 'FONSECA BUST', MUSEO CAPITOLINO. *Photos: author's*



FIG. 73a-b. RECONSTRUCTION OF A FLAVIAN HAIRSTYLE ON A DUMMY, DISPLAYING STITCHING TECHNIQUE, BY STEPHENS. *Stephens 2008, 131, fig. 21*



Fig. 74. EGYPTIAN WIG, MADE OF HUMAN HAIR WHICH HAS BEEN CURLED. NEW KINGDOM. FOUND IN DEIR EL-BAHRI. BM
Photo: BM

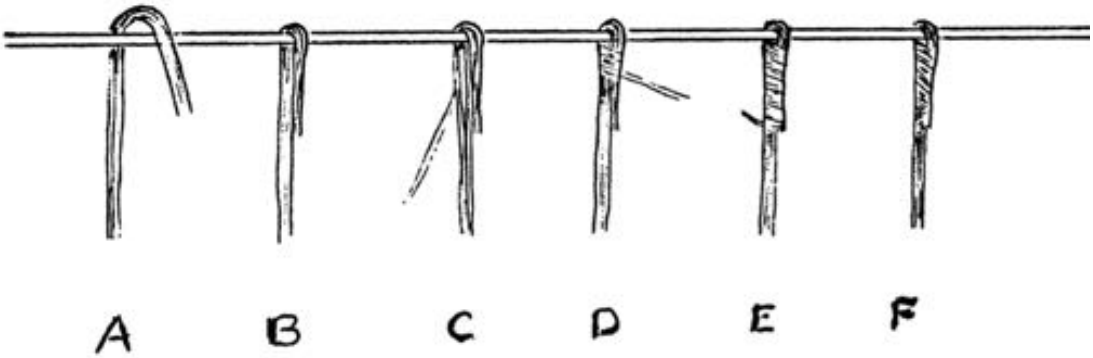


FIG. 2. Method of anchoring the hair strand. Scale: about half natural size.
A. Waxed hair ends looped around mesh of net.
B. Waxed hair ends pressed against waxed stem.
C. Sub-strand separated from the main strand up to the point of looping.
D. Commencement of the tight binding of the looped hair ends.
E. The binding wound back over the last centimetre of already bound stem.
F. Completed bind and anchorage.

Fig.75. STEVENS COX'S LINE DRAWING: 'METHOD OF ANCHORING HAIR.' *Stevens Cox 1977, 70, fig. 2*



FIGS. 76-77. RELIEFS FROM SANDSTONE PILLAR MONUMENTS DEPICTING *ORNATUS* SCENES. BOTH FROM NEUMAGEN (BELGICA). NOW IN TRIER, RHEINISCHES LANDESMUSEUM
Photos: Wilhelm, 1932, Grabmäler von Neumagen, pl. 34, 184 a; ibid. pl. 38, 185a



FIG. 78. FRAGMENT OF LATE THIRD-CENTURY SARCOPHAGUS (FRONT) DEPICTION OF *ORNATUS* SCENE, FROM ISOLA SACRA. OSTIA *Photo: Amedick 1991, pl. 107.3*



FIG. 79: TERRACOTTA FIGURINE, *ORNATUS* SCENE, AD 200-220. FROM CARTHAGE (?). LOUVRE
Photo: Giroire & Roger (eds.) 2007, no. 59



FIG. 80a-b. MARBLE HEAD OF A TRAJANIC WOMAN WITH ELABORATELY STYLED HAIR AND PLASTICALLY FORMED FRAMING BAND OF HAIR. NY CARLSBERG GLYPTOTEK *Photos: author's*



FIGS. 81-82: SEVERAN WOMAN WITH SEPERATELY CARVED HAIRPIECE OF ONYX MARBLE (MODERN?). NY CARLSBERG GLYPTOTEK; THIRD-CENTURY HEAD WITH SEPERATELY CARVED HAIRPIECE OF A DARKER STONE (MODERN?). DETROIT INSTITUTE OF ART.
Photos: author's; DETROIT INSTITUTE OF ART



FIG. 83: MARBLE FUNERARY RELIEF, DEPICTS WOMAN IN ENCIRCLING MANTLE BUST FORMAT WEARING A WIG, FROM ROME. FRANKFURT, LIEBIEGHAUS
Photo: Schauenburg, 45, fig. 1



FIG. 84a-d. DETAILS OF EYEBROWS ON THIRD-CENTURY AD WOMEN'S BUSTS.
(nos. 27, 1, 56 & 69)



FIGS. 85-86. MUMMY PORTRAIT, TEMPERA & ENCAUSTIC ON LIMEWOOD, FROM HAWARA. BM; FRAGMENT OF A MARBLE SARCOPHAGUS (FRONT), DEPICTS A WOMAN IN BUST FORMAT WITH LARGE, ARCHED, ETCHED BROWS. ROME, THE CATACOMBE DI PRETESTATO.
Photos: BM; Bielefeld 1997, pl. 49.5



FIG. 87: PORTABLE, PERSONAL GROOMING KIT (NAIL-CLEANER, EAR-SCOOP & TWEEZERS). DISCOVERED IN SILCHESTER *Photo: Silchester excavation 2015*



FIGS. 88-89. GOLD *AUREUS*, OBV. JULIA DOMNA, MINT OF ROME, RIC4 578.; PORTRAIT *TONDO*: JULIA DOMNA, SEPTIMIUS SEVERUS, GETA (FACE RUBBED OUT A PRIVATE ACT OF DM) & CARACALLA. BERLIN, ALTES MUSEUM *Photos: BM; author's*



FIGS. 90-91. MARBLE BUST OF A WOMAN C130. WEARING *STEPHANE* WITH SCULPTED DECORATIVE DESIGN. THE GETTY; MARBLE HEAD OF A THIRD-CENTURY 'OLD' WOMAN FROM A STATUE. VEILED AND WEARING A *STEPHANE*. LOUVRE .
Photos: The Getty; Kersauson 1996, 429



FIG.92-93. MARBLE, DRAPED HEAD OF JULIA TITI WEARING BEJEWELED *STEPHANE*, FROM ROME. THE GETTY; INTAGLIO AQUAMARIN, PROFILE PORTRAIT OF JULIA TITI WEARING *STEPHANE*, NECKLACE AND EARRINGS. BIBLIOTHÉQUE NATIONALE.
Photos: The Getty; Fejfer 2008, fig. 265



FIGS. 94-95. DETAIL OF MARBLE SARCOPHAGUS FRAGMENT: WOMAN IN PORTRAIT TONDO, WEARING LARGE CARVED EARRRINGS AND GLOBULAR, BEADED NECKLACE. FROM OSTIA, OSTIA MEGAZZINI; MARBLE, FOURTH-CENTURY HEAD WITH CARVED EARRINGS. FROM BULGARIA. IN BUCHAREST, INSTITUL DE ARCHEOLOGIE
Photos: Calza 1979, pl. 57, no. 79; Vianu 1995, fig. 37



FIG. 96. COPPER MINTED ANTONIANUS, OBV. MAGNIA URBICA, MINT OF TICINUM. BM
Photo: BM



FIG. 97a-b. MARBLE, LIFE-SIZE STATUE OF CREPEREIA INNULA AS A YOUNG WOMAN, C. 180 AD. NEXT TO LARGE, HONORIFIC BASE WITH LATIN INSCRIPTION.
Photos: Fejfer 2008, 282, figs. 214-215



Fig. 98a-b. SILVER *ANTONINIANUS*, OBV: SABINA TRANQUILINA; REV: GORDIAN III (R.) & TRANQUILLINA (L.) CLASPING HANDS. MINT OF ROME. RIC. 250. ASHMOLEAN. *Photos: Ashmolean*



FIG.99. MARBLE, 'BROTHER'S' SARCOPHAGUS, 260-280 AD. NAPLES, MUSEO ARCHAEOLOGICO NAZIONALE. *Photo: author's*



FIG. 100. MARBLE, 'BALBINUS' SARCOPHAGUS, C240 AD. ROME, PRAETEXTATUS CATACOMB.
Photo: Zanker & Ewald 2012, 187, fig. 175



FIGS. 101 -102. ONE OF THREE PAIRS OF MINIATURE, MARBLE PORTRAIT BUSTS OF THE SAME COUPLE (No. 67). AD 270-300. FROM ASIA MINOR, CLEVELAND MUSEUM OF ART.
Photos: Cleveland Museum



FIGS. 103a-c.-104a-c. FRONT, BACK AND DETAIL OF MARBLE BUSTS OF SEPTIMIUS SEVERUS, IN *PALUDAMENTUM*, AND JULIA DOMNA, IN ENCIRCLING MANTLE FORMAT (no. 2). ROME (?) INDIANA UNIVERSITY ART MUSEUM. *Photos: IUAM*



FIG. 105a-b. GOLD *AUREUS,* OBV. SEPTIMIUS SEVERUS, REV. JULIA DOMNA IN CENTRAL ENCIRCLING MANTLE FORMAT, CARACALLA (R.) & GETTA (L.) IN PROFILE INWARD FACING BUSTS. RIC4 181b. *Photos: BM*



FIG. 106a-b. MARBLE, *PALUDAMENTUM* BUST OF CARACALLA, NAPLES MUSEO ARCHAEOLOGICO NAZIONALE. *Photos: author's*



FIG. 107. MARBLE, *TOGA-CONTABULATA* BUST OF PHILIP I, MUSEI VATICANI, BRACCIO NUOVO
Photo: author's

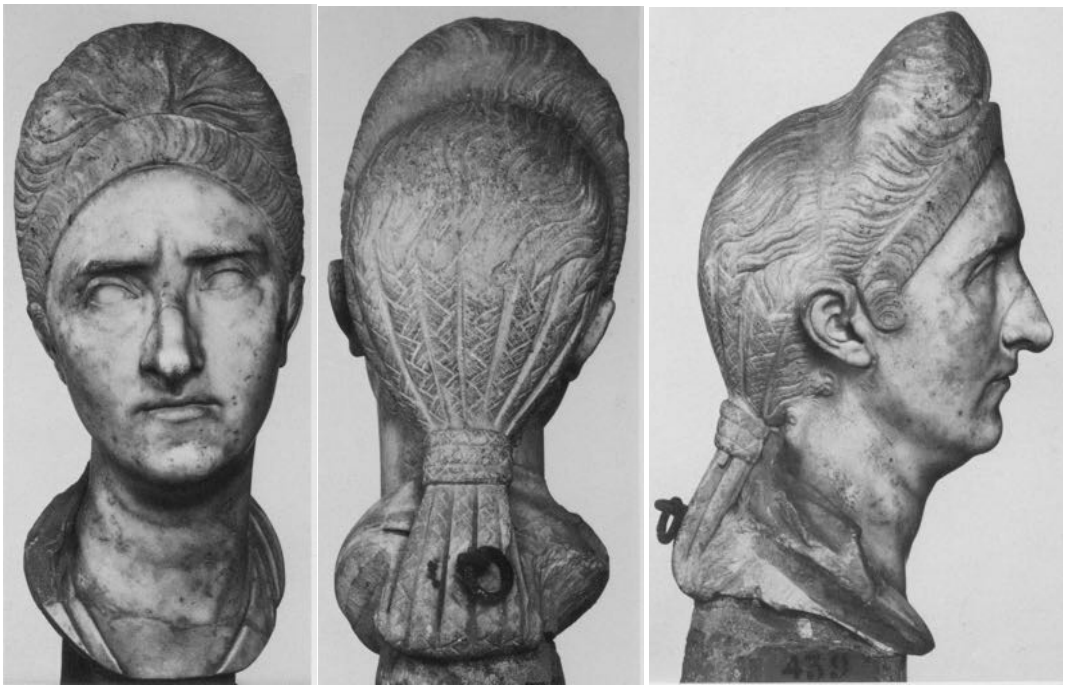


FIG. 108a-c. PORTRAIT HEAD OF PLOTINA, AD 98-121/122. FROM ROME. MUSEO CAPITOLINO.
Photos: Fittschen & Zanker 1983, no. 7



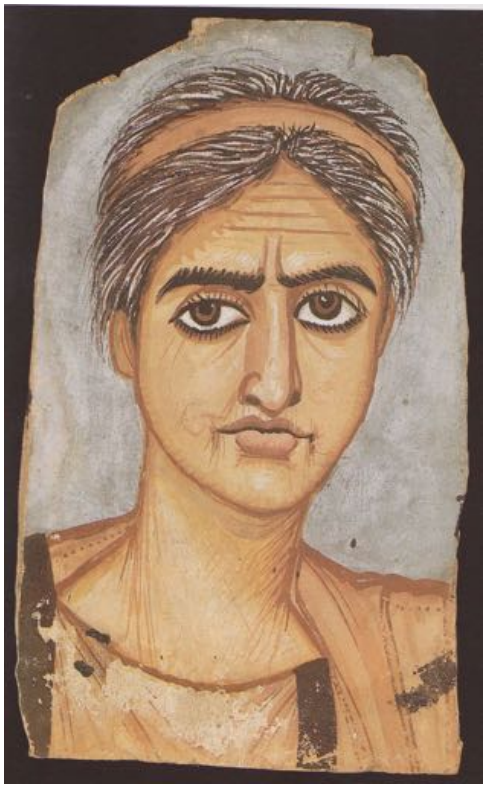
FIG. 109a-b. FRONT & DETAIL, MARBLE, HEROICALLY NAKED, CHEST-BUST OF TRAJAN. BM
Photo: BM



FIGS. 110-111. FACE DETAILS *nos. 27 & 55*



FIG. 112a.-b. FRONT & (R.) PROFILE, MARBLE, PORTRAIT HEAD, MID-SECOND CENTURY AD. MUSEO NAZIONALE ROMANO. *Photo: Smith & Lenaghan 2008, 98*

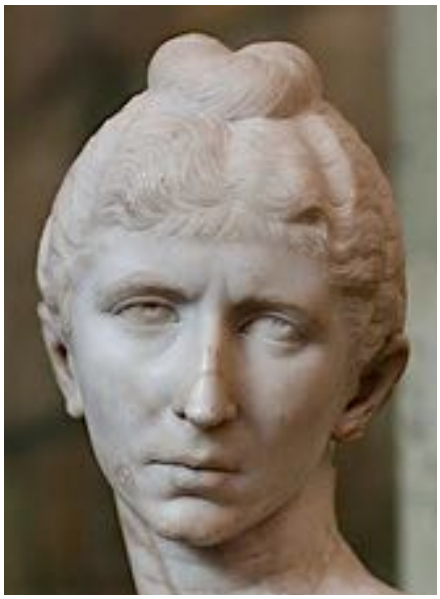




FIGS. 113-114. PORTRAIT OF AN ELDERLY WOMAN, TEMPERA & ENCAUSTIC ON WOOD. 100-40 AD. FAYUM. BM; MARBLE HEAD, OF A THIRD-CENTURY WOMAN. BERLIN, ALTES MUSEUM. *Photos: Walker & Bierbrier 89, no. 79; author's*



FIG. 115. BRASS SESTERTII, MINT OF ROME, OBV. JULIA MAESA. RIC 414. ASHMOLEAN *Photo: Ashmolean*





FIGS. 116-117. DETAIL OF no. 62; MARBLE, STRIGILATED SARCOPHAGUS (FRONT) DETAIL OF A PORTRAIT TONDO, DEPICTING A HUSBAND AND WIFE PAIR, ON A. FROM ROME. IN WILTON HOUSE. *Photos: author's; Stroszeck 1991, pl. 113.4*



FIG. 118. MARBLE, EROTES SARCOPHAGUS (FRONT) DEPICTING A HUSBAND AND WIFE PAIR IN HALF-FIGURE BUST-FORMATS, ON A SHARED STATUE BASE. C200-220 AD, ROME, VILLA DORIA PAMPHIlI. *Photo: Kranz 1995, pl. 48.1*



FIG. 119. A MARBLE TOMB SEALING PANEL, SEASONS AND PORTRAIT TONDO OF HUSBAND AND WIFE PAIR. C250-270 AD. OSTIA MUSEO. *Photo: Zanker & Ewald, 2012, fig. 34*

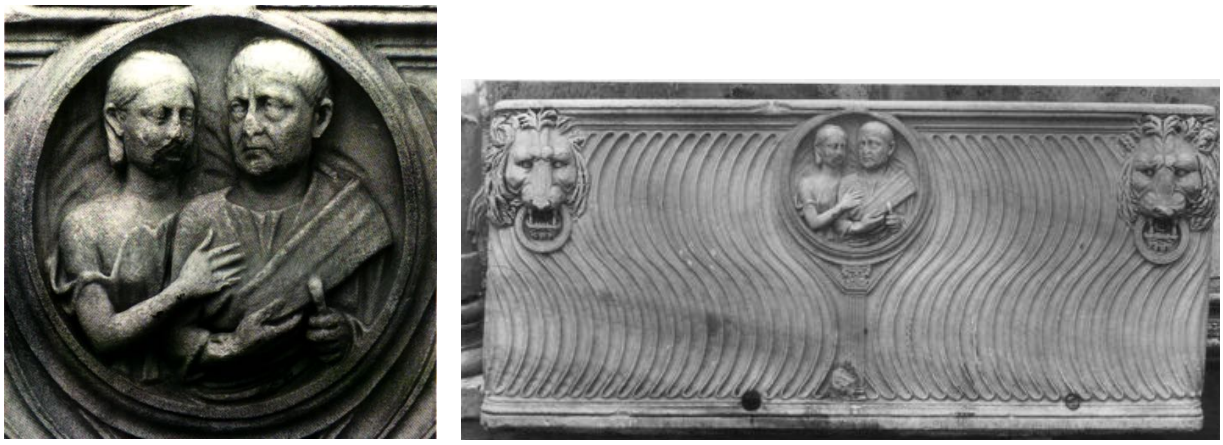


FIG. 120a-b. DETAIL & FRONT OF A MARBLE STRIGILATED SARCOPHAGUS WITH CENTRAL PORTRAIT TONDO OF HUSBAND AND WIFE PAIR. 250-280 AD, FROM ROME, MUSEI VATICANI, CORTILE DELLA PIGNA. *Photos: Stroszeck 1991, pls. 113.3 & 14.2*



FIG. 121. ARM-SLING BUSTS nos. 56 & 15 AS DISPLAYED IN THE MET. *Photo: Alexis Gorby*



FIG. 122. SILVER *ANTONINIANUS*, OBV. OTACILIA SEVERA; REV. *PUDICITIA*. RIC. 123c. MINT OF ROME. ASHMOLEAN.



FIG. 123a-b. MARBLE, STATUE OF AN EARLY SEVERAN WOMAN, DRAPED IN THE *PUDICITIA* POSTURE. FROM ROME. MUSEO CAPITOLINO *Photos: Fittschen & Zanker 1983, pl. 168*



FIGS. 124-125. MARBLE, LARGE HERCULANEUM WOMAN (c.40-60 AD). DRESDEN; MARBLE, PORTRAIT STATUE OF A SEVERAN WOMAN IN LARGE HERCULANEUM WOMAN TYPE. NOVIODUNUM. TULCEA MUSEUM *Photos: Getty; Trimble , 2011, fig. 6.2*



FIG. 126. MARBLE, STRIGILATED SARCOPHAGUS (FRONT) WITH TONDO BUST OF A WOMAN IN ARM-SLING POSTURE, HOLDING A SCROLL (L. HAND) C220-240 AD. NY CARLSBERG GLYPTOTEK. *Photo: author's*



FIG. 127. DETAIL OF THE FRONT OF A MARBLE, STRIGILATED SARCOPHAGUS. CENTRAL HUSBAND AND WIFE FIGURES WITH CLASPED HANDS. PARIS ART MARKET (1943), MISSING, C250-270 AD. *Photo: Reinsberg, 2006, pl. 115.2*



FIG. 128a-c. DETAIL OF A STRIGILATED SARCOPHAGUS (FRONT), WOMAN IN ARM-SLING FORMAT, CLUTCHING A SCROLL AND ON A STATUE BASE, C260-270 AD. FOUND ON THE VIA PRENESTINA. ROME, MUSEO NAZIONALE. *Photos: Stroszeck 1991, pl. 37.3 & 114.1-2*



FIG. 129. MARBLE, STRIGILATED SARCOPHAGUS (FRONT), CENTRAL ARM-SLING BUST OF A MID-THIRD CENTURY WOMAN. FROM TARRAGONA, MUSEO PALEOCRISTIANO
Photo: Stroszeck 1991, pls. 28.4



FIG. 130a-b. FRONT AND DETAIL OF A MARBLE, MUSE SARCOPHAGUS 240-260 AD. CENTRAL FIGURE A PORTRAIT OF A WOMAN WITH PIERCED EARS AND WEARING MANTLE IN ARM-SLING POSTURE. FROM ROME. NELSON-ATKINS MUSEUM.
Photos: Cohon 1992, fig. 1 &4



FIG. 131. MARBLE, STRIGILATED SARCOPHAGUS (FRONT), DETAIL OF A TONDO PORTRAIT, MISSING. *Photo: Stroszeck 1991, pl. 109.1*



FIG. 132. FRONT OF A MARBLE MUSE SARCOPHAGUS, WHICH DEPICTS A SEATED HUSBAND AND WIFE PAIR, SURROUNDED BY EIGHT MUSES. THE WIFE IS CAST IN THE ROLE OF THE NINTH MUSE. LATE SEVERAN. *Photo: author's*



FIG. 133. BRONZE STATUE OF A LATE SEVERAN IMPERIAL WOMAN, FOUND IN SPARTA. ATHENS, NATIONAL MUSEUM. *Photo: author's*



FIG. 134. MARBLE SARCOPHAGUS (FRONT) DEPICTING A WREATH BUSINESS (R.), A CENTRAL HALF-FIGURE BUST OF A WOMAN WITH RAISED ARMS AND THE SAME WOMAN SEATED & RECLINING, IN THE GUISE OF VENUS (L.). 260-280 AD. FLORENCE, BAPTISTRY
Photo: Zanker & Ewald 2012, 29, fig. 25



FIG. 135. MARBLE, FUNERARY RELIEF OF MAN HOLDING A PORTRAIT BUST, MID-FIRST CENTURY AD. VILLA ALBANI, ROME. *Photo: D'Ambra 1998, 26, fig. 10*

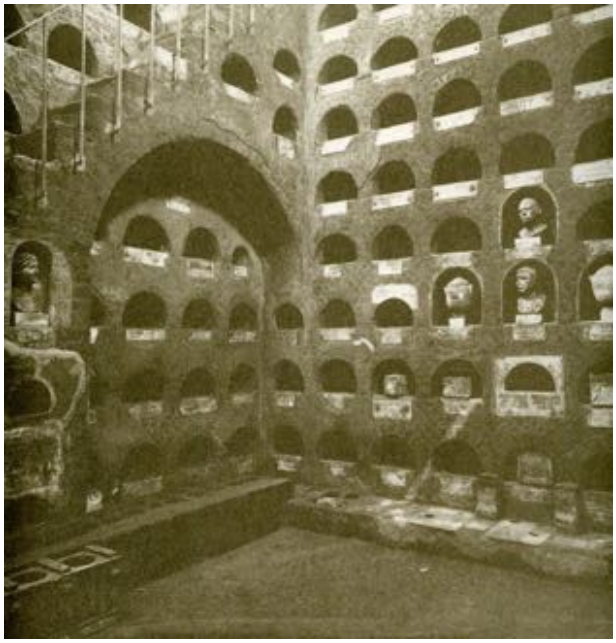


FIG. 136. PHOTOGRAPH TAKEN OF THE VIGNA CODINI COLUMBARIUM II, IN 1877 (ABOUT 25 YEARS AFTER THE COLUMBARIUM'S EXCAVATION) WITH PORTRAIT BUSTS PLACED IN ENLARGED NICHES.
Photo: original image Parker 1877, pls. II reproduced in Fejfer 2008, fig. 68



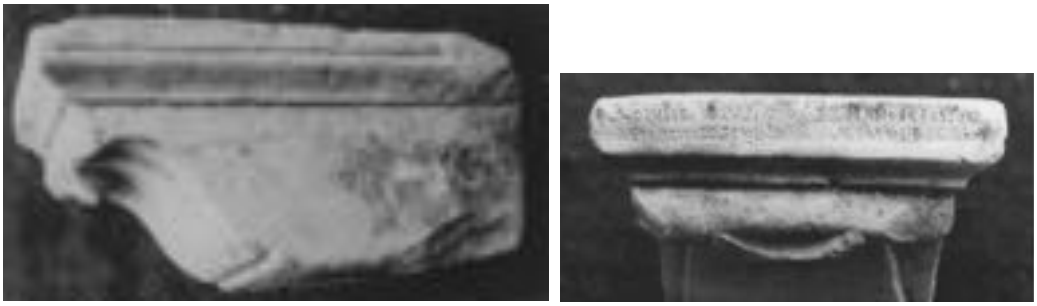
FIGS. 137-139. THREE MARBLE, PORTRAIT BUSTS FROM THE VIGNA CODINI COLUMBARIUM. *Photos: Anderson & Nista, 1988, nos. 15-17*



FIGS. 140-142. THREE OF THE BUSTS FROM THE TOMB OF THE MANILII: LUCIUS MANILIUS PRIMUS, L. MANILIUS FAUSTUS & MANILIA HELLAS. 220-240 AD. MUSEO CHIARAMONTI *Photo: Fejfer 2008, figs. 74-77*



FIGS. 143-145. ST PETER'S NECROPOLIS: STUCCO ARCHITECTURAL DECORATION (R. WALL) AND STUCCO BUST OF A SECOND-CENTURY WOMAN FROM THE TOMB OF THE VALERII (MAUSOLEUM H.). TERRACOTTA, BUST-RATTLE (C.80-110 AD) FROM A CHILD'S GRAVE. *Photos: Liverani & Spinola 2010 99, no. 53; 102, no. 57; 227, no. 73*



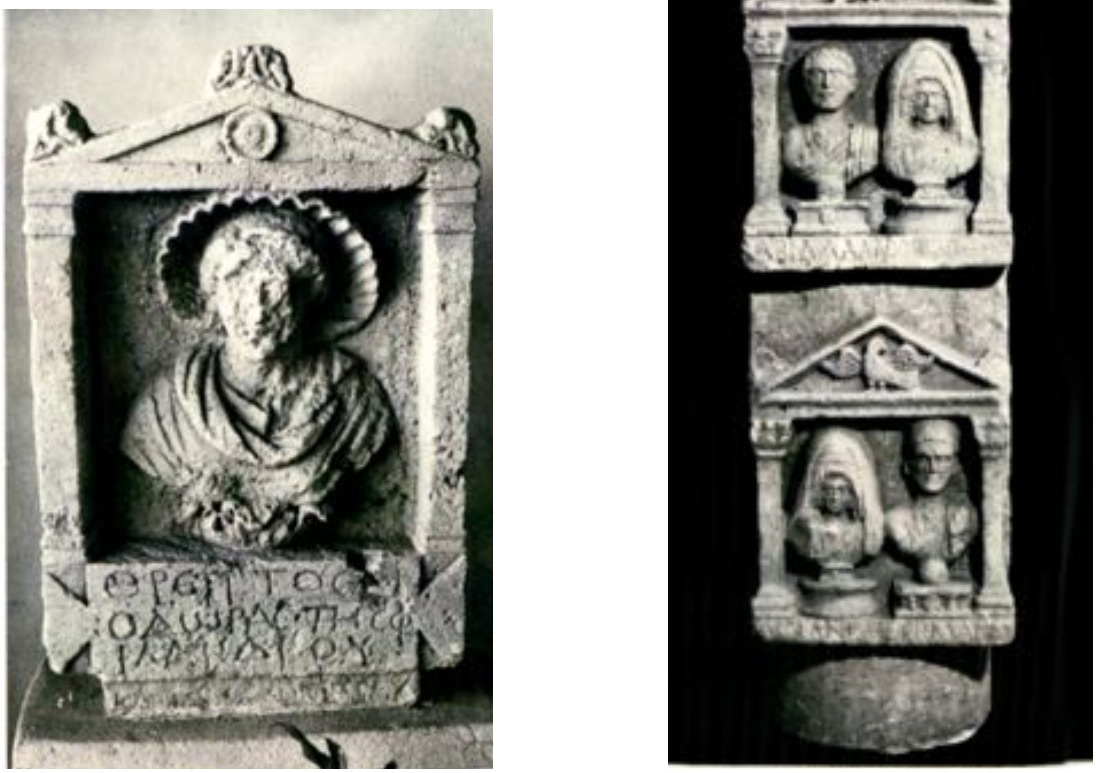
FIGS. 146.a-b. CORBEL FOR A PORTRAIT BUST (NOW LOST) DEDICATED BY VOLUSIUS MARO TO HIS PATRON L. VOLUSIUS VOUIANUS A *SCRIBA LIBRARIUS* OF EQUESTRIAN RANK. FUNERARY MONUMENT ON THE *CAMPUS MARTIUS.*
Photos: Pensabene 2008, 116-117, figs. 1 & 4



FIGS. 147-148. DETAIL OF A SARCOPHAGUS & FRAGMENT OF A SARCOPHAGUS: THE FALSE ADORATION OF NEBUKADNEZZAR, REPRESENTED AS A BUST PORTRAIT, DISPLAYED ON A COLUMN. SIRACUSA, MUSEO ARCHEOLOGICO & LOUVRE.
Photo: Fejfer 2008, 242, fig. 159; Dresken-Weiland 1998, pl. 105, no. 438



FIGS. 149-150a-c. FUNERARY STELE DEPICTING A SEVERAN WOMAN'S BUST IN ENCIRCLING MANTLE FORMAT, CYRENE MUSEUM; A SELECTION OF THREE WOMEN'S FUNERARY BUSTS CARVED IN RELIEF, DATING FROM THE EARLY TO LATE SECOND CENTURY. FROM CYRENE. NOW IN THE BM. *Photos: Rosenbaum 1960, no. 284, pl. 101; BM*



FIGS. 151-152. GRAVE RELIEF FROM ADANA, NORTH SYRIA, DEDICATED TO PHILANDROS; PART OF A PILLAR-TOMB MONUMENT, NORTH SYRIA. BEIRUT
Photos: Parlasca 1982, pl. 14.3; ibid., pl. 22.3



FIGS. 153-154. MARBLE BUSTS FROM THE 'HOUSE OF JASON MAGNUS', CYRENE: BUST OF JASON MAGNUS (?) CYRENE ARCHAEOLOGY MUSEUM; MARCUS AURELIUS, BM *Photos: Fejfer 2008, 94, fig.57*; *BM*



FIG. 155. FINDSPOTS OF SIGNIFICANT PORTRAIT FINDS FROM THE ROMAN *DOMUS*, 'HANGHAUS 1'. *Plan & figs. Lang-Auinger (et al.) 2003, pl. 4, 380. Compiled by author.*



FIG. 156. PORTRAIT FINDS IN THE ATRIUM HOUSE, APHRODISIAS. INCLUDING LATE-SECOND TO THIRD-CENTURY BUSTS OF A WOMAN IN ENCIRCLING MANTLE FORMAT & A PRIEST OF APHRODITE. *Photo: Smith & Lenaghan 2008, 236, Fig. 3*

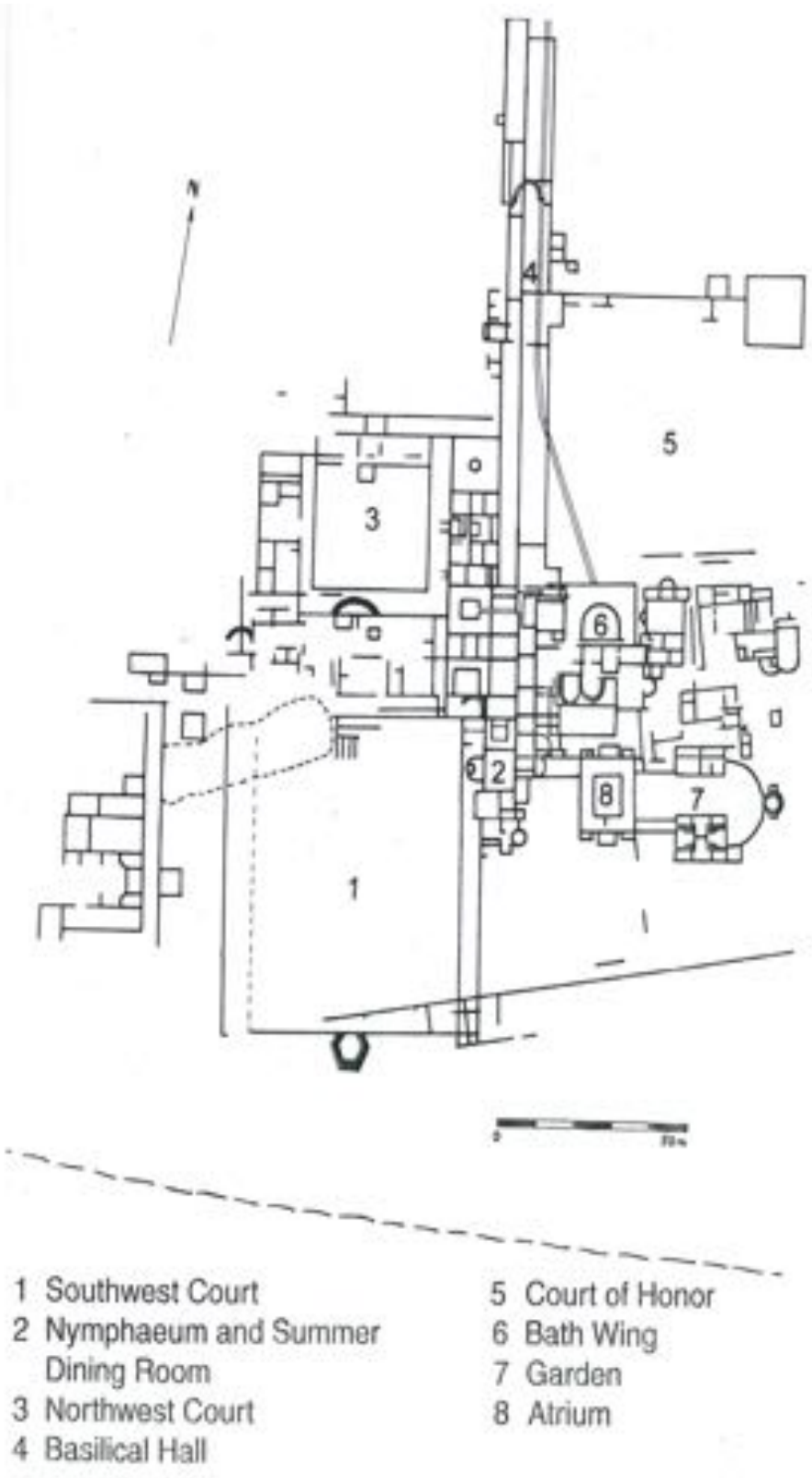


FIG. 157. PLAN OF CHIRAGAN MAIN RESEDENTIAL AREAS.
J. Heinrichs, after Joulin (1901, fig. 1) reproduced in Stirling, 2005, 51, fig. 23

CHAPTER EIGHT. CONTEXT AND DISPLAY: PRIVATE



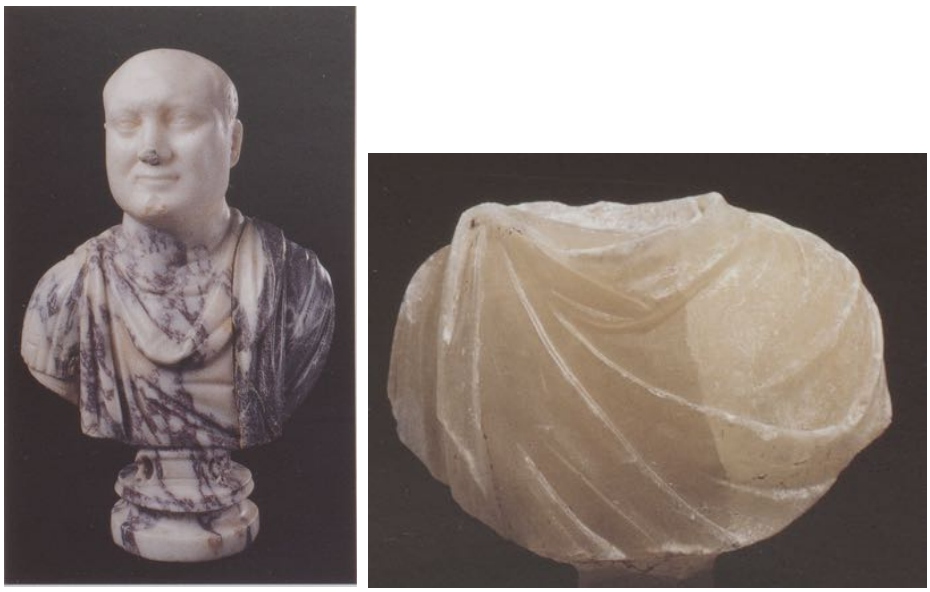
FIG. 158. CHIRAGAN PORTRAIT ASSEMBLY IN MUSÉE SANT RAYMOND, TOULOUSE. *Photo: author's*



FIG. 159. BUST BASE DISCOVERED AT CHIRAGAN. INSCRIBED: GAIUS ACONIUS TAURUS. MUSÉE SANT RAYMOND, TOULOUSE. *Balty, (et. al.) 1995, 211, no. 152*



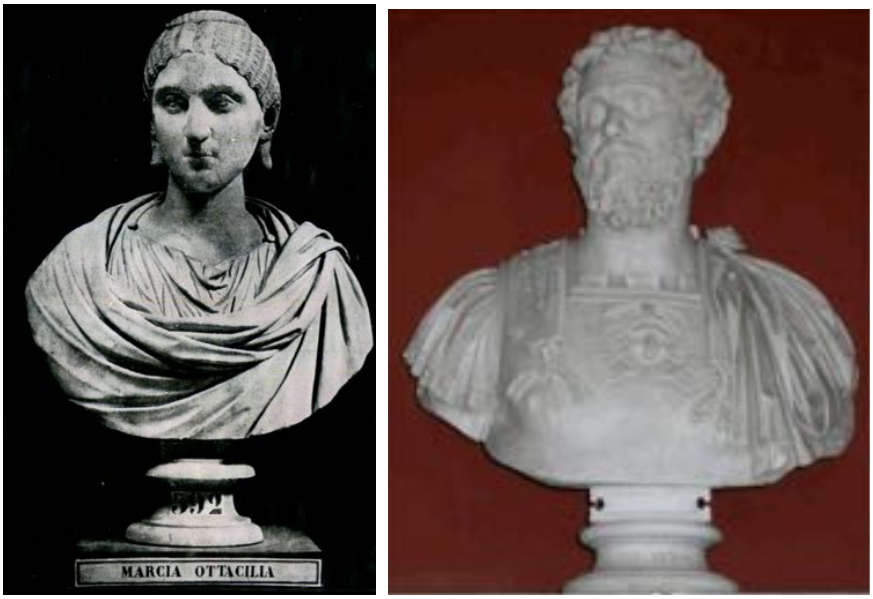
FIG. 160a-b. BELOW LIFE-SIZE, ALABASTER BUST OF AN ANTONINE WOMAN. FROM EGYPT. NY CARLSBERG GLYPTOTEK. *Photos: author's*



FIGS. 161-162. TWO MINATURE *PALUDAMENTUM* PORTRAIT BUSTS OF THIRD-CENTURY MEN: PAVONEZZETO BUST, MUSEO NAZIONALE; ALABASTER, MUSEI CAPITOLINI. *Photos: De Nuccio & Ungaro 2002, 352, no. 54; ibid. 355, no. 61.*



FIG.163. MARBLE CLAVICLE BUSTS OF LIVIA & TIBERIUS, WITH BRONZE SNAKE THEY WERE FOUND WITH. ALL IN A NICHE IN ROOM 38, 'HANGHAUS 2' EPHESOS ARCH. MUS., SELÇUK. *Photo: Thür, 2012, fig. 9.*



FIGS. 164-165. TWO THIRD-CENTURY MARBLE PORTRAITS FROM OCRICULUM: A BUST (?) OF TRANQUILLINA (TORLONIA) & A BUST OF SEMPTIMIUS SEVERUS (SALA DI BUSTI).
Photos: Visconti 1884, no. 592; author's

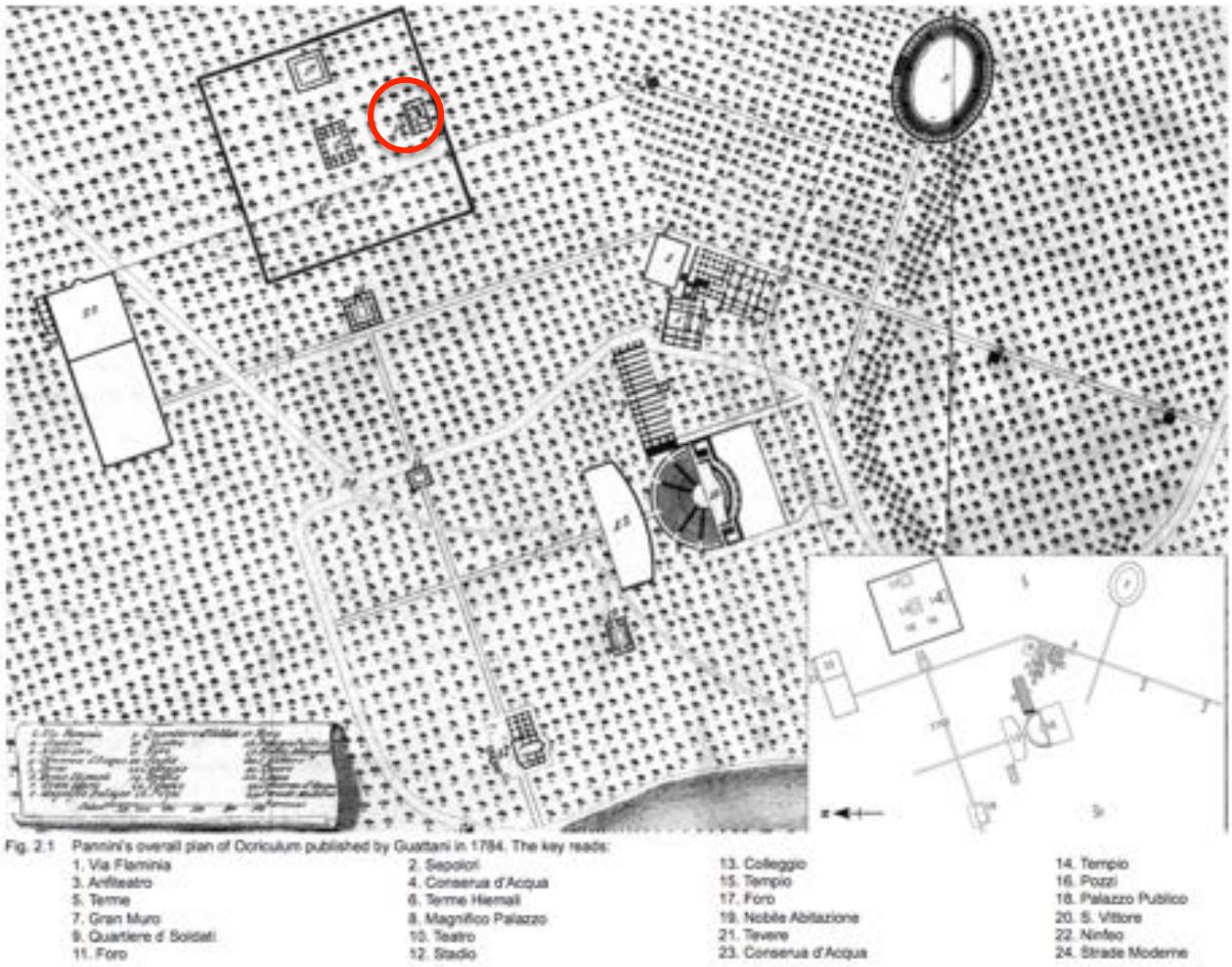


FIG. 166. PANNINI'S OVERALL PLAN OF OCRICULUM PUBLISHED BY GUATTANI IN 1784. 'BASILICA' CIRCLED IN RED. *Reproduced in Hay, Keay & Millett (eds.) 2013, fig. 2.1*



FIG. 167. Hay, Keay & Millett (eds.) 2013, UPDATED PLAN OF OCRICULUM, 'BASILICA' INDICATED BY A RED CIRCLE. *Plan: ibid. fig. 6.1*

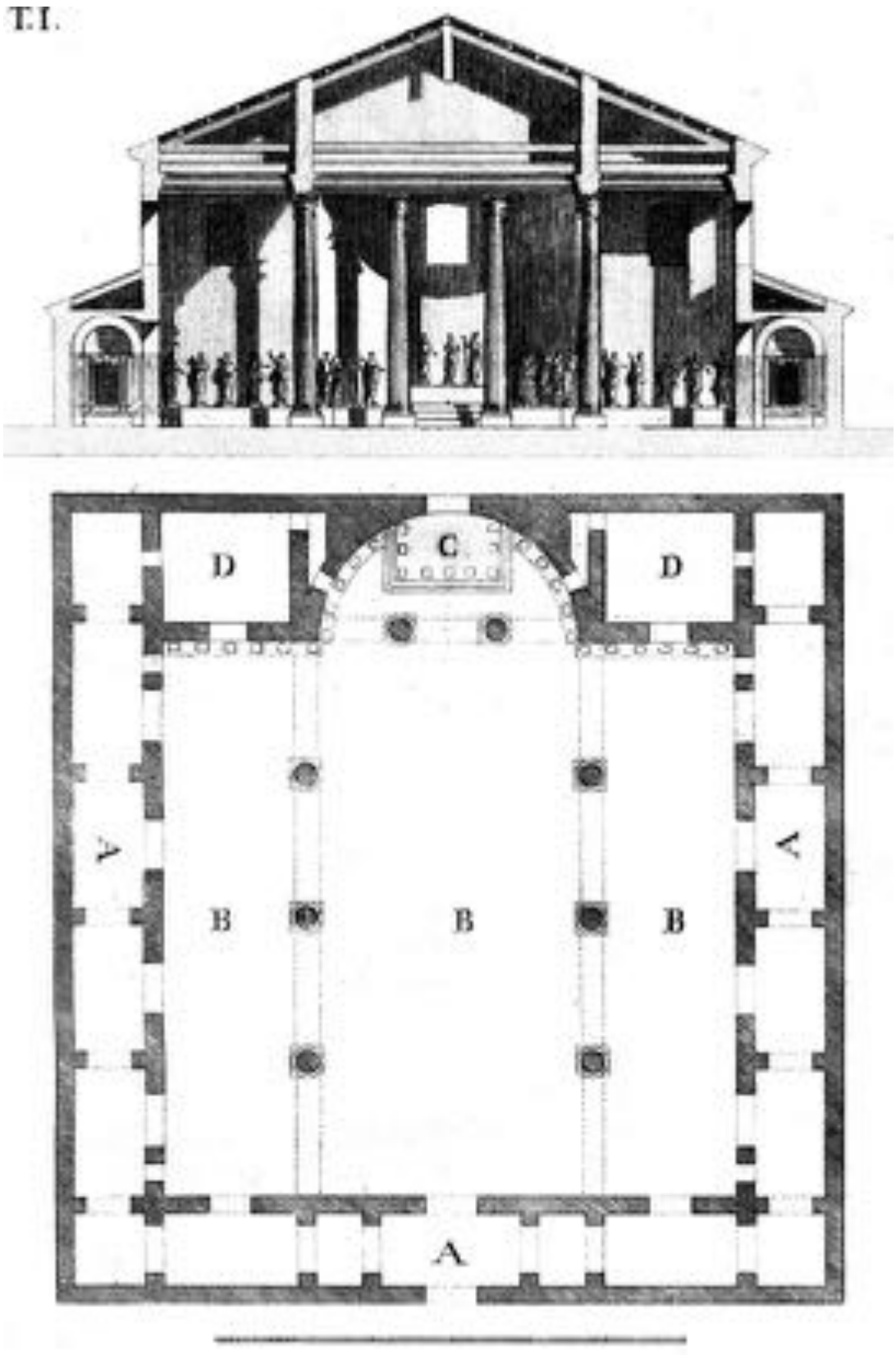


FIG. 168. PANNINI'S PLAN AND ELEVATION OF THE TEMPIO ('BASILICA'). *GUATTANI, 1784*



FIG. 169. MARBLE, PORTRAIT BUST OF MELITINE, A PRIESTESS OF THE METROON IN PIRAEUS. *Photo: Louvre*



FIG. 170. LINE DRAWING OF AURELIA EUPOSIA (no. 69) *Bosanquet 1998, 77, fig. 8*

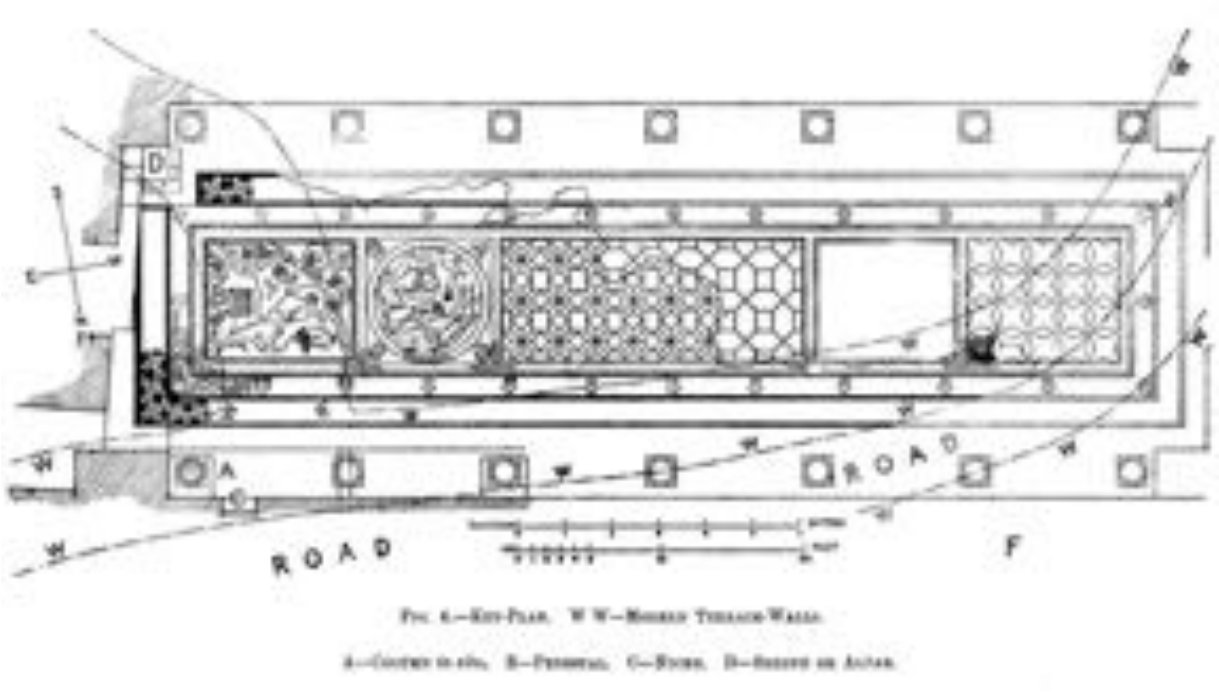


Fig.171. LINE DRAWING OF THE 'HALL OF THE MYSTAE.' *Bosanquet 1898, 67, fig. 4*



FIG.172a-b. TWO PORTRAIT BUSTS FROM THE TEMPLE OF APHRODITE IN CYRENE, BM.
Photo: BM

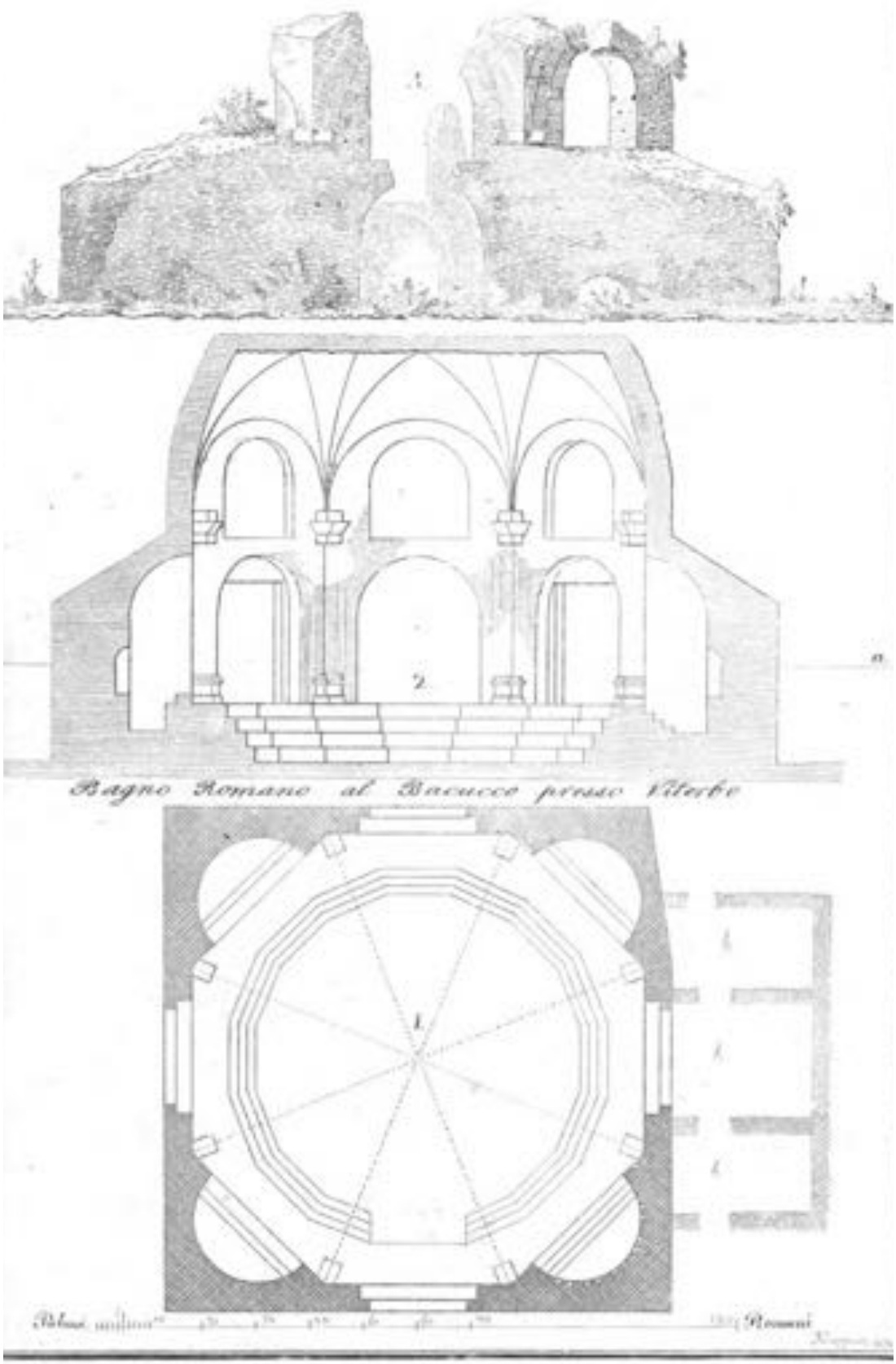


FIG. 173. PLAN, ELEVATION AND DRAWING OF THE BATHS OF BACUCCO.
Camilli 1835, fig. A.34

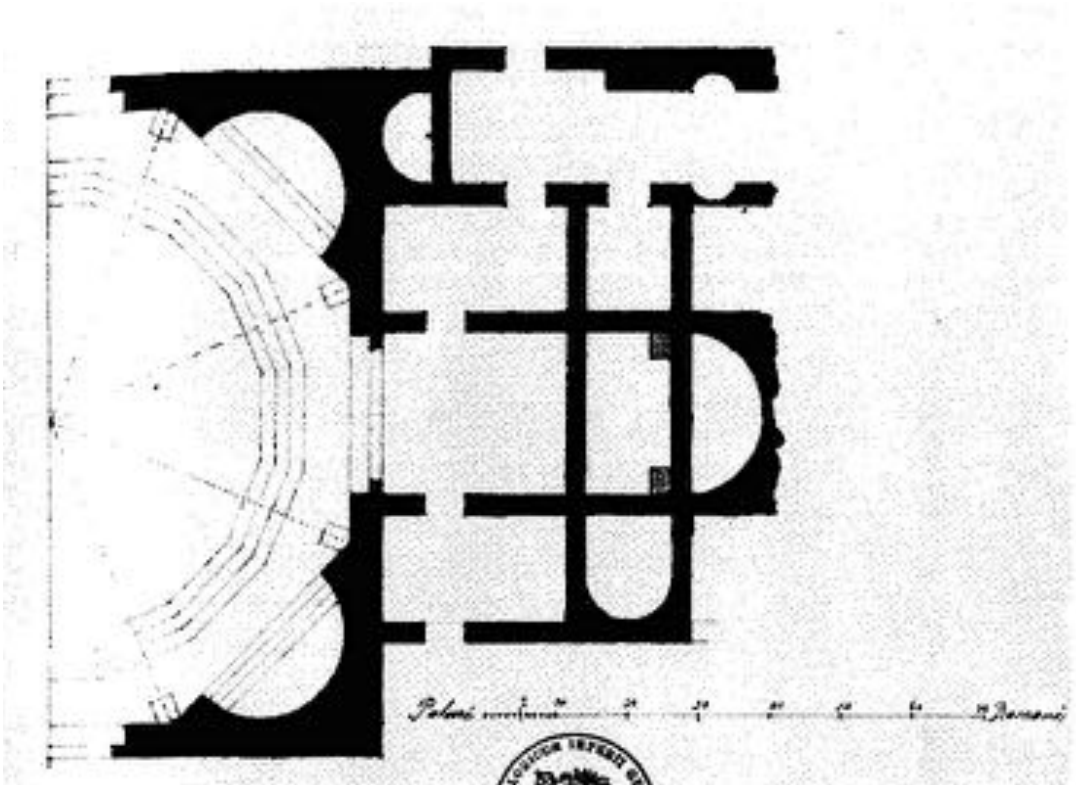


FIG. 174. PLAN OF THE BATHS OF BACUCCO. *Camilli 1834, pl. 47*





FIGS. 175-176. MARBLE, FOUNTAIN GROUP & CAMILLI'S LINE DRAWING, FROM THE BATHS OF BACUCCO, LOUVRE. CAMILLI'S LINE-DRAWING (fig. A.34). *Photo: author's*

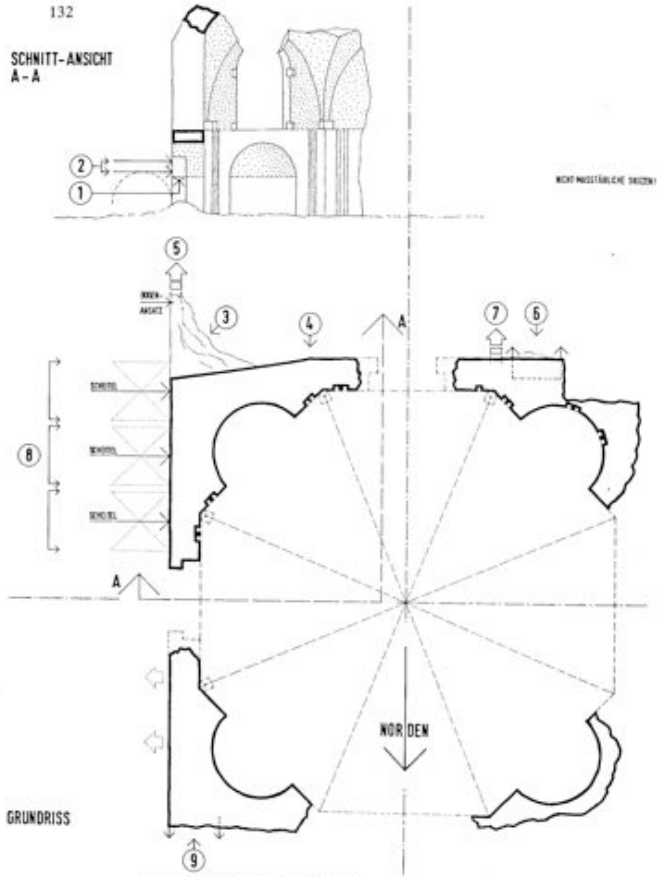


FIG. 177. GANZERT'S REVISED PLAN OF THE BATHS OF BACUCCO BASED ON HIS ARCHITECTURAL SURVEY. *1981b, 132, pl.46*

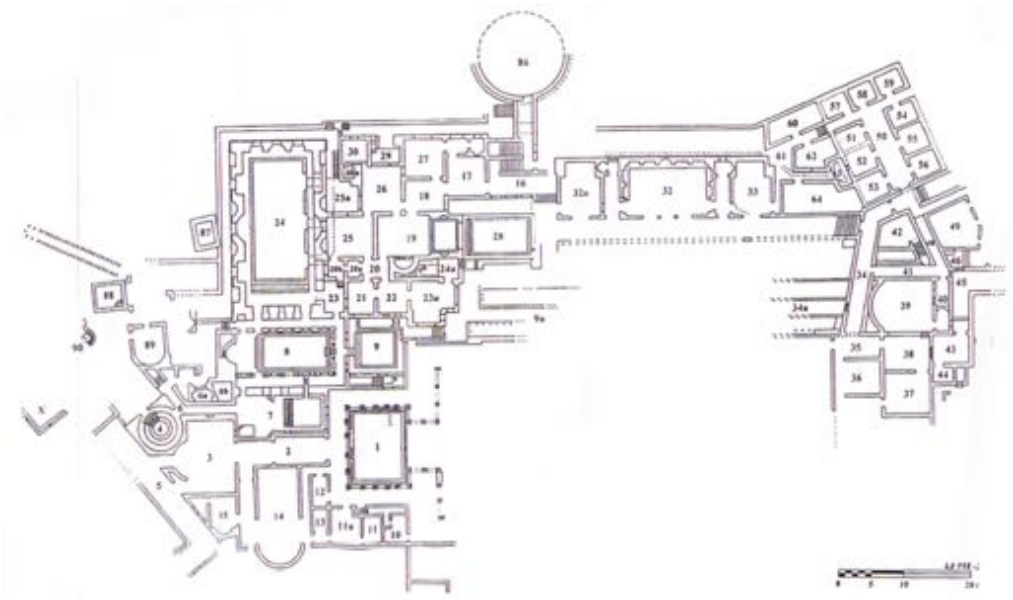


FIG. 178. PLAN OF TERME TAURINE. *Bastianelli, Le Terme Taurine, Civitavecchia, 1985, reproduced in Koehler 2007, fig. 2*

CHAPTER TEN: CONCLUSIONS



FIG. 179. MARBLE, SARCOPHAGUS OF PEREITAS KALLIMEDES AND HIS WIFE TATIA, APHRODISIAS. *Photo: author's*



FIG. 180. MARBLE, SARCOPHAGUS, MAN IN ARM-SLING BUST, HOLDING SCROLL WITHIN AEDICULA. VILLA DORIA PAMPHILI (NOW LOST). *Photo: Kranz 1984, pl. 151*

CHAPTER TEN: CONCLUSIONS



FIG. 181. BROOCH, WITH INSET ROMAN CAMEO, DEPICTING A WOMAN IN ENCIRCLING MANTLE BUST-FORMAT (PROFILE) WITH PARTING-BRAID. C.130-150 AD. PURCHASED IN ATHENS BY THE MOUNT HOLYOKE COLLEGE.





FIGS. 182a-b-183. BONE HAIR-PINS. WROXETER, SHREWSBURY MUSEUMS SERVICE; BERYL INTAGLIO WITH PORTRAIT OF JULIA DOMNA (PROFILE) IN ENCIRCLING MANTLE BUST-FORMAT. AD 200-210. THE MET. *Photos: image sy4368; the Met.*