Antinous, Archaeology and History*

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1 LOCATING ANTINOUS

This article focuses on the portraits of Hadrian's young favourite, Antinous. Its primary aim is not to refine the corpus by adding or subtracting individual pieces — although by the end, some of its members will have been exposed as less secure than others. Rather it uses his corpus and the compilation of this corpus to examine how portrait sculpture more broadly is judged. At its heart are the questions: how do we identify a marble likeness of one individual as distinct from another? How did the ancients? To what extent are these different questions? Classical archaeologists have long recognized that in the Roman world at least centrally-defined portraits were disseminated as three-dimensional models to be copied or adapted by artists up and down the Empire: this is why we find almost identical heads of Augustus in Rome and in a context with such a divergent iconographic tradition as Egypt.[1] The main implication of this for their own work has been that careful comparison of the surviving 'replicas' of any one model enables them to pinpoint the fundamental details of the original and thus embrace or reject heads as examples of this 'portrait type'. This type can then be identified (e.g. as Augustus) or, better still, dated and identified (e.g. Nero as he is represented at the time of his Decennalia), normally by further comparison with named portraits on coins.

I am not about to argue for an alternative mode of classification. Any method is going to embrace certain charlatans and leave deserving candidates languishing in the storeroom. Besides which, 'typological studies' as they are called (after the types described above) have proved highly successful at expanding the numbers of identified portraits and our knowledge of how these were made in antiquity.[2] Although there is no literary evidence to confirm the sending out of models from the centre, the startling conformity of certain heads within regional diversity demands that the process often worked like this 'on the ground'. But the question still remains: how well does this system of reproduction fit with the subtle realities of image-recognition (the meaning of a portrait as conferred not by the artist but by the viewer)? The need for this distinction is perhaps particularly acute in a society like Rome where images derived much of their importance and identity (not necessarily as Augustus or Nero, but as a particular kind of Augustus or Nero) from borrowing from other images, Greek and Roman, historical through to mythological.[3] How does

* I thank Mary Beard, Torsten Krude, Robin Osborne, Rolf Schneider, Andrew Wallace-Hadrill, the Editor, and the anonymous readers of *JRS* for their challenging comments on drafts of this paper. I also thank the British School of Rome for its support of this project in its early stages and the Torlonia family for access to the Villa Albani-Torlonia in Rome. I dedicate it to Keith Hopkins.

[1] For Augustus' portraiture, see D. Boschung, *Die Bildnisse des Augustus* (1993) and the sophisticated response by R. R. R. Smith, 'Typology and diversity in the portraits of Augustus', *JRA* 9 (1996), 30–47.

[2] 'Typological studies' are perhaps best represented by D. Boschung, *Die Bildnisse des Caligula* (1989) and *Die Bildnisse des Augustus* (1993); K. Fittschen, 'Zum angeblichen Bildnis des Lucius Verus im Thermen-Museum', *JdI* 86 (1971), 214–52 and *Die Bildnistypen der Faustina Minor und die Fecunditas Augusta* (1982); K. Fittschen and P. Zanker (eds), *Katalog der römischen Porträts in den Capitolischen Museen und den anderen kommunalen Sammlungen der Stadt Rom III. Kaiserinnen und Prinzessinnenbildnisse; Frauenporträts* (1983). Clear versions of the current state of play are given and practised by C. Evers, *Les portraits d'Hadrien: typologie et ateliers* (1994); E. Bartman, *Portraits of Livia: Imaging the Imperial Women in Imperial Rome* (1998); and S. Wood, *Imperial Women: a Study in Public Images, 40 B.C.–A.D.68* (1999). The methodology is sympathetically critiqued in a review of Fittschen and Zanker's catalogue by R. R. R. Smith, 'Roman portraits: honours, empresses and late emperors', *JRS* 75 (1985), 209–21.

[3] Excellent here is T. Hölscher, *Römische Bildsprache als semantisches System* (1987), recently translated into English as *The Language of Images in Roman Art* (2004), esp. 69–73 on Antinous.

JRS 95 (2005), pp. 80–96. © *World Copyright Reserved.*
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https://doi.org/10.3815/000000005784016342 Published online by Cambridge University Press

realizing such visual promiscuity differ from cataloguing? The ultimate aim of cataloguing is to decide whether an image represents one thing or the other: if it meets the entry-requirements of a particular corpus, it is claimed for that corpus and made as justified a member as the next one — regardless of possible differences from the prototype. How much of the subtlety of the image is subjugated in reaching this decision? Can typological studies accommodate the complexities of viewing?

The answer is obviously negative. But unpacking exactly why this is so engenders a more nuanced understanding of how recognition and identification work in practice, as well as investing similarity with as much historical significance as visual difference. This kind of reflection is crucial not only for those who work on ancient sculpture directly but for any historian of Roman culture who has recourse to the visual record. Even at a basic level there is the question of whether a portrait represents the person we think it does or an imitator; whether this ambiguity does not lie at the very root of its creation.[4] If on the other hand, an image departs even marginally from what we would expect from its type, we might wonder whether it is a poor provincial 'copy', an imaginative adaptation, or a likeness of a generically related (e.g. young male hero or bearded intellectual) but deceptively different individual.

The last century has seen 'typological studies' work hard to settle these uncertainties. Gradually the task of comparing the features and general demeanour of a portrait to ascertain whether it is the same subject as the next has moved towards the isolation and quantification of key visual markers which can then be used to *demonstrate* the portrait's membership or exclusion. The implication of this shift is that the subjective act of looking at and responding to an object can, and ideally should, be configured as a science. In an attempt to provide reproducible data, specialists have turned to the hairstyles of portraits in order to establish particular patterns or 'lock-schemes' (one per type or variant on a type) which they plot diagrammatically. The rationale is similar to that of Beazley or Morelli on painting: that the answer lies in the detail — that it is here that an artist's efforts to 'copy' a model are most apparent. More than this, they contend that the shape and number of individual locks are factors which withstand variables of scale or local styling, something which cannot be said for the rendering of physiognomy (although we might yet want to press the importance of proportion harder here). Thus many of the problems outlined above have been alleviated by counting.

The more exacting the system, the greater, in some senses, the margin for error. It is true that the success of the 'lock-scheme' methodology has meant that 'a general resemblance [of a portrait to its proposed type] is not enough or even necessary', thus granting a number of 'new' provincial examples, whose artists had perhaps made their eyes too small or their faces too flat, their rightful place in the corpus.[5] But in the most extreme of these cases their membership hinges entirely on the blueprint of their hair. Other examples have fallen out of favour despite their often strong 'general resemblance' to the prototype. Their exclusion rests again on the privileging of their hair. Not that the hairstyle has to be identical in every aspect: as Elizabeth Bartman writes, 'minor differences [usually additions to the coiffure] do not necessarily disqualify a statue as belonging to a type, but they must stem from the sculptor's misunderstanding or mistranslation of a form rather than represent a deliberate iconographic alteration'.[6] This introduces a little flexibility. But flexibility can be as dangerous as rigour. Exactly when does a 'deliberate iconographic alteration' become a 'simple' slip of the chisel?

Antinous will enable us to pursue the implications of these issues in detail. There is obviously a sense in which any corpus of images could have fulfilled this function: those of Rome's emperors and empresses, not to mention private individuals such as Herodes

[4] See Smith, op. cit. (n. 2), 214.
[5] Smith, op. cit. (n. 1), 32.
[6] Bartman, op. cit. (n. 2), 9.

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Atticus, have all benefited from a similar methodology.[7] But there are ways in which Antinous is particularly suitable for our purpose. First, there is the wealth of evidence: more images have been identified as Antinous than any other figure from classical antiquity with the exception of Augustus and Hadrian, and the large majority of these fall into one type for which there are examples in relief and free-standing sculpture, busts, cameos, and coinage.[8] This article will also discuss two far smaller groups of Antinous portraits, the egyptianizing and 'Mondragone' types, and touch upon the depictions of Antinous on his obelisk. But the focus is similarity and difference and the issues this raises for those in the 'Haupttypus' or main fold.

Secondly, there is the particular historiography of his images. Who was Antinous? The literary record reveals next to nothing about his life other than that he was born in Bithynia in Asia Minor and became the lover of the Roman emperor. Ancient authors fixate upon his death, although this too is clouded in speculation. Was he pushed, did he jump, or drown accidentally in the River Nile? The only certainty is that the Empire was soon flooded with commemorative images to the 'god' or 'hero' Antinous. Cassius Dio, writing in the third century A.D., claims that these were 'visible all over the known world'.[9] Archaeology supports the ubiquity of his testimony. The identified portraits aside, there are inscriptions which bear witness to divine honours to him, evidence of shrines and temples to validate and celebrate these, inscribed statue-bases from Egypt, Asia Minor, Greece, and Italy, and coins minted in his honour by over thirty provincial cities.[10]

This rare mix of biographical mystery and overwhelming physical presence invites us to see his story as his image — demands, no less, that historians learn to use the visual. It also impacts on the identification of his sculptures. The literary record leaves his defining characteristics vague: he is a handsome, young imperial boyfriend whose premature death ensures some kind of deification.[11] Such imprecision adds to the anxiety of what he looked like in art and reality. His image has no other attributes and quickly outlives its

[7] See the study by A. Datsoulis-Stavridis, 'Συμβολὴ στὴν εἰκονογραφεία τοῦ 'Ηρωδη τοῦ Ἀττικοῦ', *AAA* 11 (1978), 214–32 and the clear summary of Herodes Atticus' self-presentation by J. Tobin, *Herodes Attikos and the City of Athens: Patronage and Conflict under the Antonines* (1997), 71–6.

[8] It has also been said that, unlike so many copies of emperor portraits, the surviving replicas of the main Antinous-type reproduce the lock-scheme of the original even on the often not visible sides and back of the head: K. Fittschen and P. Zanker, *Katalog der römischen Porträts in den Capitolinischen Museen und den anderen kommunalen Sammlungen der Stadt Rom I* (1985), 59.

[9] The most extensive literary sources are Paus. 8.9.7–8; 8.10.1; Cass. Dio 69.11.2–4; SHA, *Hadr.* 14.5–7; Aur. Vict., *Caes.* 14.6–7. For modern narratives of his story, see R. Lambert, *Beloved and God: the Story of Hadrian and Antinous* (1984); A. R. Birley, *Hadrian the Restless Emperor* (1997), 235–58; R. Mambella, *Antinoo: l'ultimo mito dell'antichità nella storia e nell'arte* (1995); and the more self-consciously fictionalizing and, in my view, successful, M. Yourcenar, *Memoires d'Hadrien* (1951). Also relevant here is the innovative mix of history and fiction in E. Speller, *Following Hadrian* (2003).

[10] Temples: Paus. 8.9.7 (Mantineia); E. M. Smallwood, *Documents Illustrating the Principates of Nerva, Trajan and Hadrian* (1966), 165 = *ILS* 7212 = *Fontes Iuris Romani Anteiustiniani* III.35 (Lanuvium); *L'Année epigraphique* (1994), 1396 = *CIL* III.14358 (Germany); and for a possible temple in Serbia, *L'Année epigraphique* (1972), no. 500. The obelisk of Antinous, now in Rome but original position unknown, also refers to temples, infra (n. 15). Statue bases: H. Meyer, *Antinoos. Die archäologischen Denkmäler unter Einbeziehung des numismatischen und epigraphischen Materials sowie der literarischen Nachrichten* (1991), nos I E 9 (Antinoopolis); I E 13 = *IG* XIV.978a = *Inscriptiones Graecae Urbis Romae* I.143 (Rome); II 2 2D = *IG* V.2, 312 (Mantineia); V 1 (Argolid). Also J. H. Oliver, 'Documents concerning the emperor Hadrian', *Hesperia* 10 (1941), 361–70, at no. 33 (Athens). But note the objections to this reading in *SEG* 33, no. 140. Note also the suggested substitution of *aedem* with *statuam* in *L'Année epigraphique* (1972), no. 500. Coins: G. Blum, 'Numismatique d'Antinoos', *JIAN* 16 (1914), 33–70, pls 1–5, reproduced in Meyer, pls 115–19.

[11] Ancient authors do not tell us whether or not Antinous received a *senatus consultum*. Either he did receive one, and no mention of it survives in the sources, or he did not and was packaged as a different kind of deified figure from other 'members' of the imperial family. The archaeological evidence confirms this latter hypothesis. He is worshipped as a θέος or *deus* and not a *divus*. This titulature, combined with the success of his cult, warns of the dangers of configuring the so-called 'imperial cult' as a monolithic cult of *divi*. There is unfortunately no space here to pursue the implications of this in more detail: see ch. 2 of my forthcoming book, *Power and Eroticism in Imperial Rome*.

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dependence on Hadrian. Pausanias is the only ancient writer to give his readers any iconographic pointers: he refers to portraits of Antinous at Mantineia which he claims, 'looked especially like Dionysus'.[12] But this detail blurs matters further. As we shall soon discover, Antinous' identity as an icon, and the nature of the influence and observance he commands, rely to a large extent on his similarity to youthful deities such as Dionysus, Apollo, and Silvanus and to tragic, eroticized heroes such as Ganymede and Narcissus. Without this visual borrowing, and what it brings with it, he is arguably unremarkable: an imperial pretty-boy just like any other.

A further point of historiographical interest, however, is that, despite this visual borrowing, the features of the 'Haupttypus' have been isolated and identified as those of Antinous from at least the start of the sixteenth century when Italian antiquarian, Andrea Fulvio, included him in his *Imagines Illustrium*, a pocket-sized book of brief biographies of ancient celebrities, each with an accompanying portrait based on those on ancient medals. The small medallion at the top of Antinous' entry gives him a hairstyle which covers his neck and ears and is thus a close match to that on his coins (Pl. I, 1–2).[13] In addition to this, one of the most famous of Antinous' sculptures, the Farnese Antinous (Pl. I, 3–4), was renowned in Rome in the sixteenth century, identified presumably on the basis of coin-types, each with its identifying legend.[14] The only sculpture to survive with an identifying inscription (with the exception of the reliefs on the obelisk of Antinous now on the Pincian Hill in Rome (Pl. III, 1), the egyptianizing appearance of which regrettably excludes them from the parameters of classificatory debate and makes them unrecognizable without the accompanying hieroglyphs) did not come to light until the end of the nineteenth century (Pl. II, 1–2).[15] Unsurprisingly perhaps, given the degree of standardization among the coin-portraits, its discovery bolsters as opposed to weakens the Farnese statue's claim to belong.

The fact that the majority of recognized portraits of Antinous belong to the same type and that the iconography of his coin-portraits is so standardized makes him, for the purposes of this paper, a particular challenge. Archaeologists have made this standardization even weightier by advocating that all of these portraits were made within an eight-year period between the death of Antinous in A.D. 130 and that of Hadrian eight years later — the rationale being that no one would have wanted to honour him once free of their grief-stricken emperor. And perhaps they are right. But it is a hypothesis which suits archaeologists' needs: it provides them with a fixed point in the history of style against which they can compare other objects. Thus Antinous becomes a yardstick against which sculpture can be dated and judged.

The ensuing discussion is as much about Antinous as it is about classical archaeology and will put this standing as stylistic yardstick under pressure. It will show that there is reason to think that sculptures of Antinous were still being made as late as the third and perhaps even the fourth centuries A.D. Further threat to the consistency of the dating comes from the fact that Antinous' iconography has been known and loved, and indeed widely reproduced, since the sixteenth century. One of the quirkiest examples of this popularity is Lorenzetto's version of the head of the Farnese Antinous for Raphael's statue of Jonah in the Church of Santa Maria del Popolo in Rome (particularly when we consider that for

[12] Paus. 8.9.8.

[13] A. Fulvio, *Imagines Illustrium* (1517), LXX. For discussion of Fulvio and his cultural context, see J. Cunnally, *Images of the Illustrious: the Numismatic Presence in the Renaissance* (1999), at 52–69 and 131, and in brief, F. Haskell, *History and its Images: Art and the Interpretation of the Past* (1993), 30.

[14] Naples, Archaeological Museum, no. 6030. See P. P. Bober and R. Rubinstein, *Renaissance Artists and Antique Sculpture: a Handbook of Sources* (1986), no. 128; A. A. Amadio in A. Giuliano, *La collezione Boncampagni Ludovisi: Algardi, Bernini e la fortuna dell' antico* (1992), 164–7, at 167.

[15] For the sculpture with inscription, M. Beaudouin and E. Pottier, 'Collection de M. Péretié', *BCH* 3 (1879), 257–71; A. de Ridder, *Collection de Clercq IV* (1906), no. 35; Meyer, op. cit. (n. 10), no. I 77. The obelisk was moved to the Pincio in Rome in 1822. For a bibliography and summary of the arguments as to its original position, see M. T. Boatwright, *Hadrian and the City of Rome* (1987), appendix and H. Meyer, *Der Obelisk des Antinoos* (1994).

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early Christian writers Antinous was the ultimate symbol of pagan idolatry).[16] But many were the sculptors who were happy to reproduce the antique — happier still perhaps if people mistook their work as ancient. How many of the portraits of Antinous in collections of classical art were made in the modern period? A positive answer need not demand that any be called 'fake'. 'Fake' is an especially slippery term for a culture in which modern copies of ancient sculptures were almost as prized as the originals, recently excavated finds were routinely sent to be 'repaired' before being sold, and where the optimistic restoration of marbles was commonplace. Benevuto Cellini, for example, writing in the eighteenth century, records how he added an eagle to a classical statue 'so that it might be called a Ganymede'.[17] Whatever its status, it would be risky to use this statue as ancient evidence in an argument that rested on its identity.

Without documentation of this kind, the act of differentiating ancient workmanship from modern can prove particularly contentious. The bust of 'Clytie' in the British Museum exemplifies this nicely. Susan Walker's arguments about its antiquity have failed to end the controversy. One reason is that the tools and techniques of stone-cutting have changed so little in two millennia that the 'answer' relies on the 'eye' of the expert.[18] A second reason is that although scientific techniques can sometimes help, their application is limited: so for example, the examination under a microscope and in ultraviolet light of the thin weathering layers on the surfaces of marble objects in order to determine which were carved in antiquity and which in the modern period. Not only have many of those in classical collections been aggressively cleaned at some point in their history, but several sculptures which are known to have been made in the Renaissance have been found to display similar weathering layers to those made in antiquity.[19] All of which brings us back to the relationship of subjectivity and science. As things stand, the exclusion of a piece as potentially 'modern' regularly defies verifiable logic.

'If we look hard enough or close enough, we will find the solution.' We have to accept that we might not. This is why one of the few extant bronzes of Antinous, a head which has been known since the sixteenth century and which is now in the Archaeological Museum in Florence, could be justifiably included amongst the ancient artefacts in a recent exhibition at Hadrian's Villa at Tivoli and excluded from the latest catalogue of the corpus by Hugo Meyer. Either stance is as indefensible as the other. It is principally that the narrowness of the affinity between it and the head of the Farnese statue has led some viewers to think it a Renaissance copy.[20] This article will end by throwing suspicion on some of the most famous members of the corpus: not to reject them out of hand, but rather to warn of the dangers of building historical arguments upon them. Ideally there would be a range of certainty along which to plot authenticity and identity (and with them the realization that some of the corpus are more secure in their membership — that even in antiquity some

[16] G. Grimm, '*Antinous renatus et felix?* Überlegungen zur Statue des Antinous-Jonas in Santa Maria del Popolo', in *Aspekte spätägyptischer Kultur-Festschrift für Erich Winter zum 65 Geburtstag, Aegyptiaca Treverensia* 7 (1994), 103–22.

[17] B. Cellini, *Memoirs of Benevuto Cellini* (trans. T. Roscoe) (1906), 420.

[18] Purchased in Naples in 1722 for the collection of Charles Townley: M. Jones, *Fake?: the Art of Deception* (1990), no. 3; S. Walker, 'Clytie — a false woman?', in M. Jones, *Why Fakes Matter: Essays on Problems of Authenticity* (1992), 32–40.

[19] See e.g. R. Newman, 'Weathering layers and the authentication of marble objects', in *Marble: Art Historical and Scientific Perspectives on Ancient Sculpture* (1990), 263–82. Similar limitations exist in using stable isotopic ratio analysis of oxygen and carbon in marble, a technique to source marble to a particular quarry, to gauge authenticity. While this technique is often invaluable in showing when fragments have been wrongly associated with one another at some point in their history, a match is less conclusive. See e.g. N. Herz, 'Stable isotope analysis of Greek and Roman marble: provenance, association, and authenticity', in *Marble: Art Historical and Scientific Perspectives on Ancient Sculpture* (1990), 101–10 and J. Pollini *et al.*, 'Parian lychnites and the Prima Porta statue: new scientific tests and the symbolic value of the marble', *JRA* 11 (1998), 275–84.

[20] Florence, National Archaeological Museum, inv. 1640: J. Charles-Gaffiot and H. Lavagne, *Hadrien: trésors d'une villa impériale* (1999), no. 92.

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sculptures of Antinous are going to have looked less like Antinous than others). To return to the rules of science, a litmus test does not 'simply' split acid from alkaline, but shows which of these acids is more acidic.

II RECOGNIZING ANTINOUS

How do archaeologists recognize Antinous? Is this process articulated differently today than in earlier periods? What are the defining characteristics of the main group or 'Haupttypus'? Let us begin not with the fundamental details of 'the original' as reconstructed from the comparison of various replicas, but with a certainty: namely the only sculpture of Antinous to survive with an identifying inscription other than the representations on his obelisk (Pl. II, 1–2). Discovered in the collection of the secretary of the French consulate to Beirut in 1879, the portrait has an iconography that corresponds comfortably with that of the Farnese Antinous and his coin-portraits. Assumed to have been discovered in Syria, doubts about whether the bust originally belonged with the inscribed base are alleviated by the fact that, though fractured at the point where it narrows to join the pedestal, both it and the pedestal are of the same kind of marble.[21] The perfect match at the join between the fractions implies an innocent break.[22]

The straight, strigilated eyebrows, rounded chin, fleshy pout, and down-turned head conspire to give this example the overall sensuous but sulky air of Antinous. But today it is the hairstyle that clinches the identification. On an impressionistic level, the luscious curls form a round mop of hair which seems to sit like a cap on the crown of the head covering a series of longer, straggly locks which poke out beneath to conceal the nape of the neck. Longer locks hide the subject's ears. More specifically, the upper curls fall forwards from the crown in a soft comma formation separating just left of centre to sweep up and back towards left and right respectively. The fringe below is made up of a series of compact 'J'-shaped locks which curve for the most part to the subject's left (although a few strands fall to form a small lock over the left eye which bends in the opposite direction).[23] The locks on each side of the head curve forwards towards the temples in a series of similarly chunky 'J'-shaped curls.

According to the current state of play, any ancient sculpture which boasts these same key locks on the temples and forehead and longer hair at the back, or a limited variation on these (without, for example, the short lock over the left eye) qualifies to be classified as Antinous,[24] and is believed to derive ultimately from the same centrally-conceived model. Ideally it would also share in the facial features, posture, and overall air or 'Ausdruck' of the original as reconstructed from the detailed study of well-preserved examples — but it does not have to. This concession has allowed archaeologists to admit a number of imperfect candidates. Problems of regional variation aside, several sculptures of Antinous are severely damaged (having fallen on their faces or suffered possible mutilation either by Christian polemicists or Renaissance restorers). Many of even the best preserved have modern noses and pouts.

Thus the emphasis on 'lock-scheme' opens the corpus up to claimants who might otherwise be denied access. I shall be examining the implications of this later but want in this section to give the briefest indication of the degree of variance permitted within the corpus as it is currently configured. A convenient way of doing this is by consulting the most

[21] Although see supra (n. 19).

[22] Supra (n. 15). For suspicions about its authenticity, H. von Heintze, 'Review of *Die Bildnisse des Antinous: ein Beitrag zur Porträtplastik unter Kaiser Hadrian*, by C. W. Clairmont', *Gnomon* 43 (1971), 393–8, at 397.

[23] Called lock 'a2' by Clairmont, op. cit. (n. 22), pl. 38.

[24] See e.g. C. Evers, 'Les portraits d'Antinoüs', *JRA* 8 (1995), 447–51, at 450.

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recent catalogue of portraits of Antinous published in 1991 by Hugo Meyer.[25] As the bronze head from Florence or a celebrated find from a site associated with second-century sophist Herodes Atticus at Loukou in 1996 testify, this work has by no means had the last word on membership,[26] and it is not my intention to review its particular strengths and weaknesses here (such as its decision to abandon the division of the 'Haupttypus' into two main variants — 'variant A' with the short lock over the left eye, and 'variant B' without — in favour of one overarching typological profile).[27] But it is without doubt the most ambitious and scientific attempt at classifying Antinous' portraiture in existence, and, though perhaps more conscious of the need to take other factors into account than several works of its kind,[28] articulates its reliance on the 'lock-scheme' methodology in lengthy prose and diagrammatic format.

Meyer's examples of the 'Haupttypus' range from the Farnese (Pl. I, 3–4) or Delphi Antinous (Pl. III, 2), which appears as it did when it was discovered in 1894 to the west of the Temple of Apollo and which matches the above identikit so forcefully that even my friend's eight-year-old son recognized it as 'Antinous' when he visited the museum, to a larger-than-life-size head found in the 1960s in the reservoir of a Roman villa in Spain, today in the Museum in Tarragona (Pl. IV, 1–3).[29] Again this is unrestored and with a similar pattern of locks on the temples, forehead, and fringe. But its hair is less defined on the crown and heavier and more wig-like overall than in the previous examples. These discrepancies are perhaps inflated by the difference in the positioning of the head and in the features and expression of the face.

There is little doubt that the hair of this second example plays a more major role in the identification process than it does at Delphi. The same could be said of several of Meyer's other sculptures. But the most extreme or obvious illustration of the opportunities afforded by such inflation is evidenced by a bust of Antinous from Palazzo Altemps in Rome and a head from the Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek in Copenhagen (Pl. V). In the case of the former, the only antique component, beyond fragments of the neck and chest, is the rear section of the head from just below the crown backwards. Its face is a modern addition. But so startling is the similarity between the surviving locks at the back and over the left ear and temple and those of a surety like the Farnese Antinous that its identity could be reconstructed solely and quite literally on the basis of these as early as the sixteenth century.[30] Whether Meyer is right to catalogue this piece as an 'ancient Antinous' depends on how far we believe that a hairstyle is confined to a particular type or (to put it another way) that were the original facial features to have departed substantially from those of the 'Haupttypus', a viewer would still have recognized it as Hadrian's favourite. Similar questions can be asked of the head from Copenhagen which came to light in 1962, although this time the damage to the left-hand side and its adaptation in antiquity into the portrait of a small-mouthed, veiled woman make the impact less immediate and demand

[25] Meyer, op. cit. (n. 10) is the latest in a long line of studies of Antinous' portraiture. Most important amongst these are K. Levezow, *Über den Antinous* (1808); L. Dietrichson, *Antinoos, eine kunstarchäologische Untersuchung* (1884); E. Holm, *Das Bildnis des Antinous*, Ph.D. thesis, Leipzig (1933); F. de la Maza, *Antinoo. El último dios del mundo clásico* (1966); T. Kraus, 'Das Bildnis des Antinoos', *Heidelberger Jahrbücher* 3 (1959), 48–67; and Clairmont, op. cit. (n. 22) .

[26] Indeed see Meyer's own revisions in H. Meyer, 'Nochmals zu Antinoos — sowie zur Chronologie der hadrianischen Plastik, einigen Bildnissen kaukasischer Fürsten, dem "Siddhartha" Ortiz u.a.m', in H. von Steuben, *Antike Porträts: zum Gedächtnis von Helga von Heintze* (1999), 191–202. For notification of the find from Loukou and its identification as Antinous, see *Archaeology* 50.1 (1997), 28 and the front page of the culture section of the newspaper, Καθημερινή (29 September 1996).

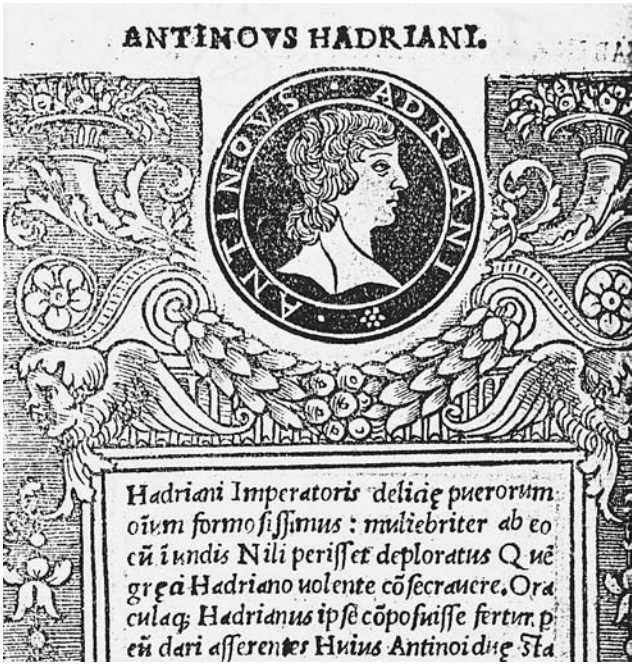
[27] Compare e.g. Fittschen and Zanker, op. cit. (n. 8), 59.

[28] See, for example, Meyer's savage attack of Evers, op. cit. (n. 26), 195.

[29] Delphi Museum, 1718: Meyer, op. cit. (n. 10), no. I 15. Tarragona, Archaeological Museum: Meyer, op. cit. (n. 10), no. I 59.

[30] Rome, Collection of the National Museum, Palazzo Altemps, no. 8620. Giuliano, op. cit. (n. 14), no. 19; L. B. Palma, *I marmi Ludovisi (Museo Nazionale, le sculture 1.4)* (1983), no. 8; Meyer, op. cit. (n. 10), no. I 54.

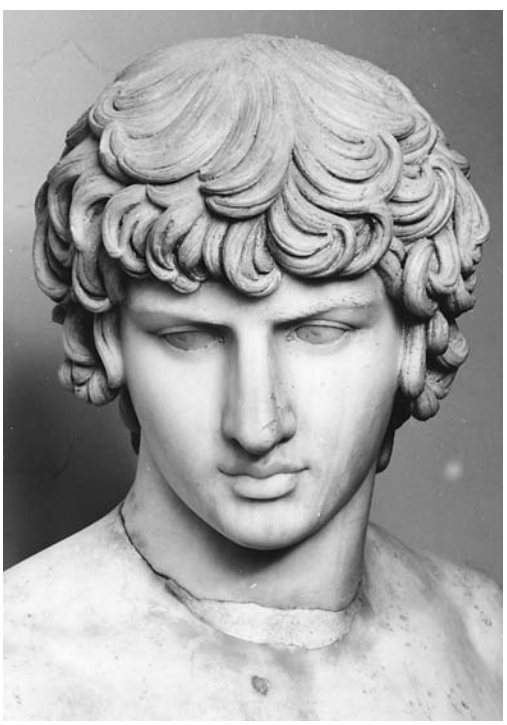
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1. Fulvio's medallion of Antinous.



2. Obverse of coin from Tarsos, showing Antinous as Dionysus-Osiris.
Photo: after Blum (1914), pl. 4.

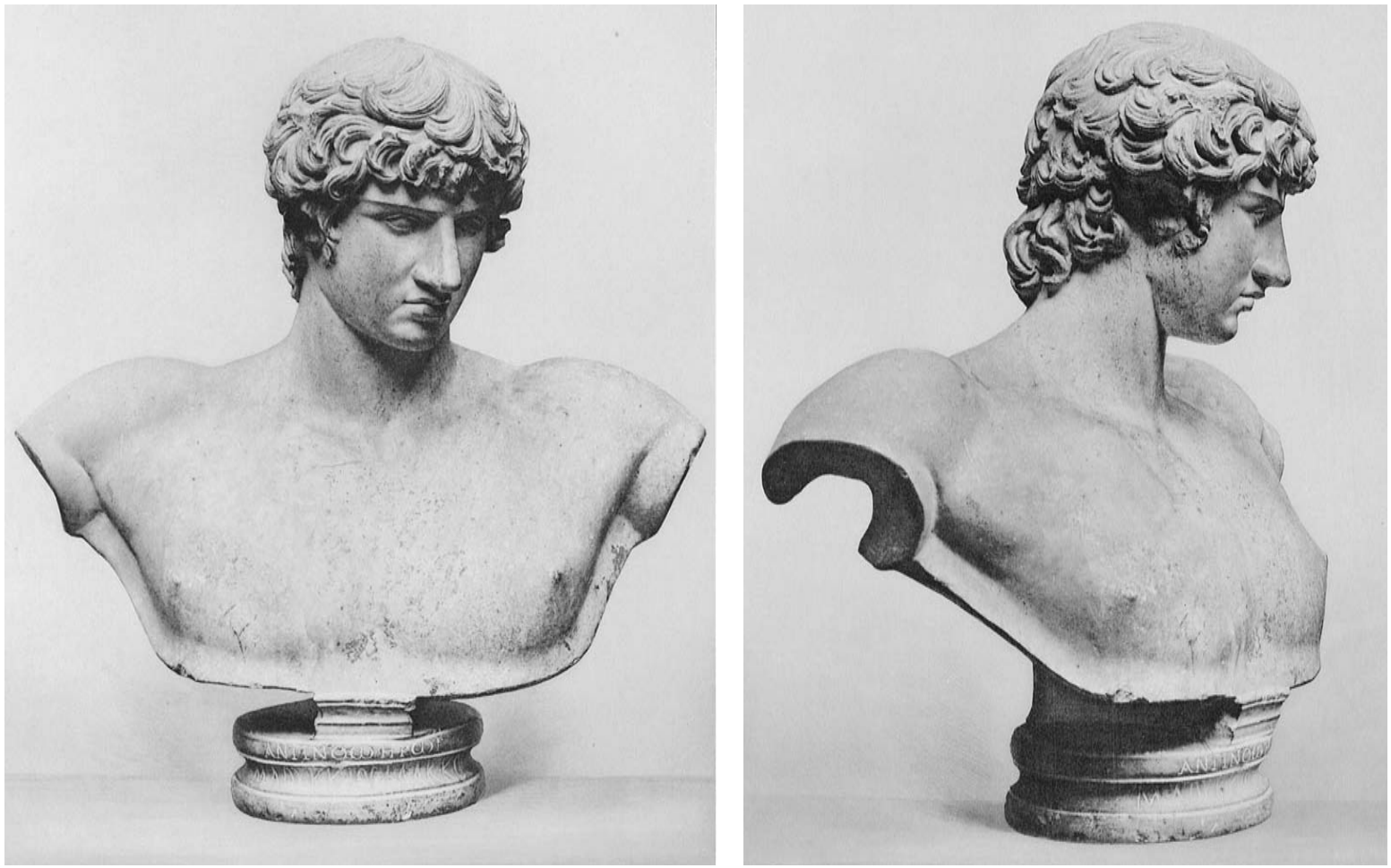




3–4. Head of the Farnese Antinous statue, provenance unknown. Archaeological Museum, Naples.
Photos: DAI Rome — Inst. Neg. 83.1893 & 83.1891.

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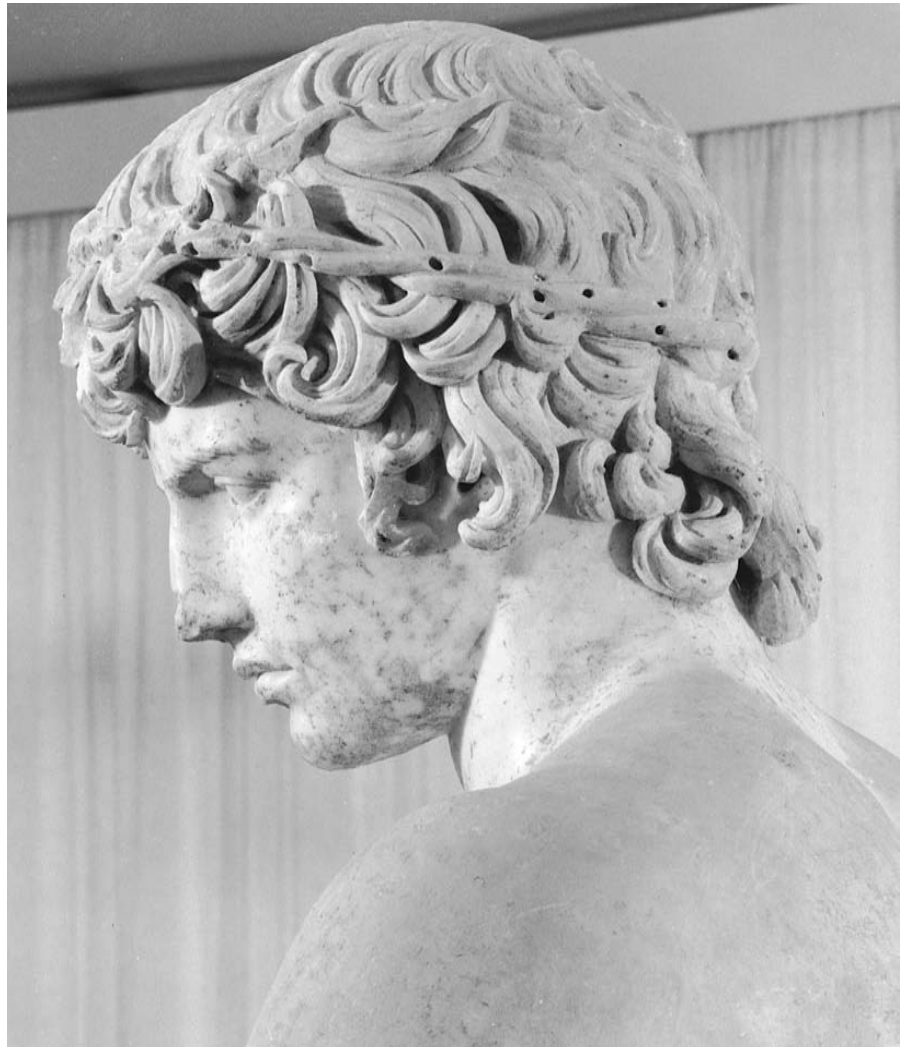


1–2. Bust of Antinous with identifying inscription, probably from Syria. The nose tip is modern and has since been removed.
Photos: after de Ridder (1906), pls 15–16.

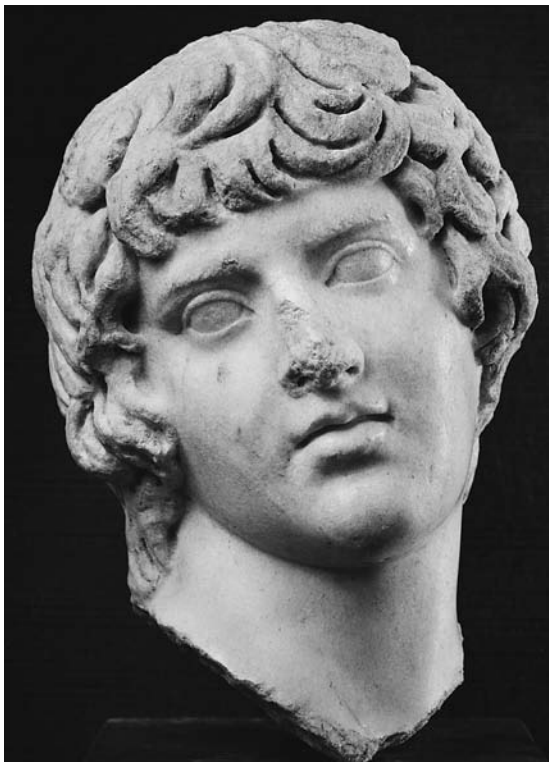
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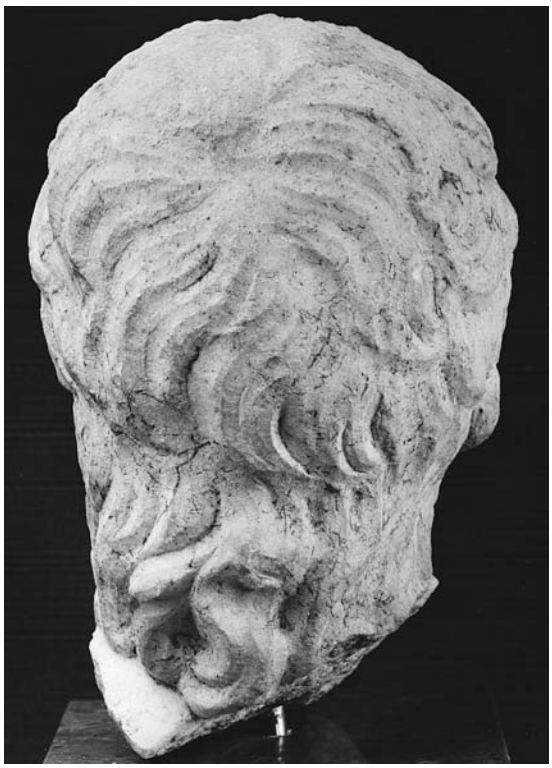
1. East side of the obelisk to Antinous, showing Antinous before Thoth. Now on the Pincio, Rome.
Photo: Dai Rome — Inst. Neg. 71.73 — Singer.



2. Head of the statue of Antinous from Delphi. Delphi Museum.
Photo: EFA, Statue d'Antinoüs, Delphes (no. du cliché 32200) — E. Sérafis.







1–3. Head of Antinous from a Roman villa at 'Els Munts', Spain. Archaeological Museum, Tarragona. *Photos: Dai Madrid — R-024-78-12; R-024-78-01; R-024-78-03 — Peter Witte.*

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1. Bust of Antinous, formerly of the Ludovisi Collection, provenance unknown. Palazzo Altemps, Rome. *Photo: author.*



2–3. Head of Antinous recut into portrait of Severan woman, provenance unknown. Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek, Copenhagen. *Photos: museum.*

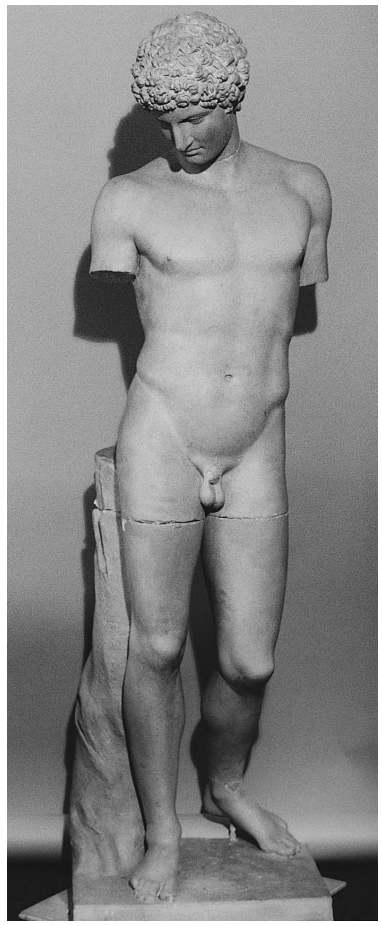


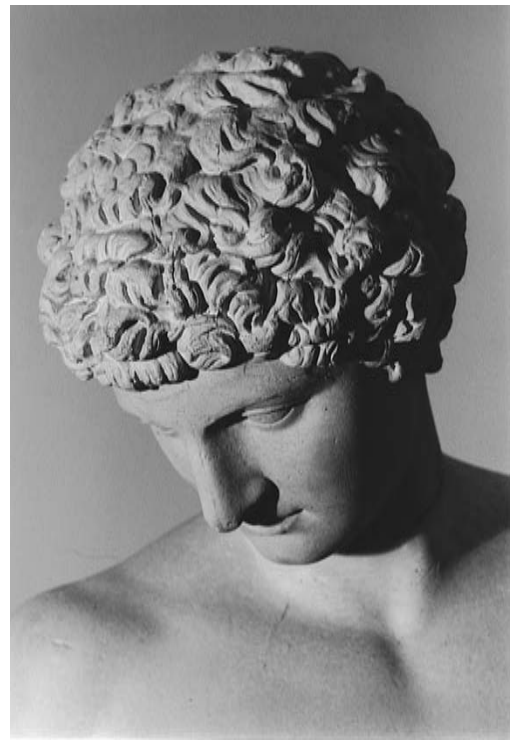
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1. 'Belvedere Antinous', provenance unknown. Vatican Museums, Rome. *Photo: DAI Rome — Inst. Neg. 92 Vat 191 — Anger.*





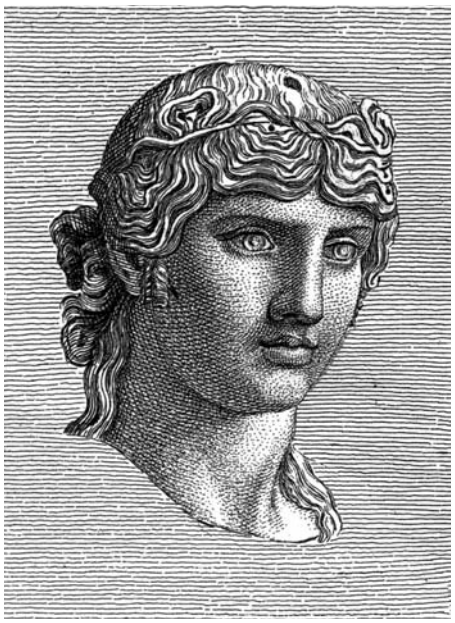
2–3. Cast of the 'Capitoline Antinous'. Museum of Classical Archaeology, Cambridge. *Photos: Nigel Cassidy.*



1. Head of Hadrian's companion from the boar hunting tondo on the Arch of Constantine, Rome. *Photo: DAI Rome — Inst. Neg. 56.969 — Sansaini.*



2. Relief of Antinous-Silvanus from the ruins of a villa near Lanuvium. Palazzo Massimo, Rome. *Photo: DAI Rome — Inst. Neg. 67.72 — Singer.*

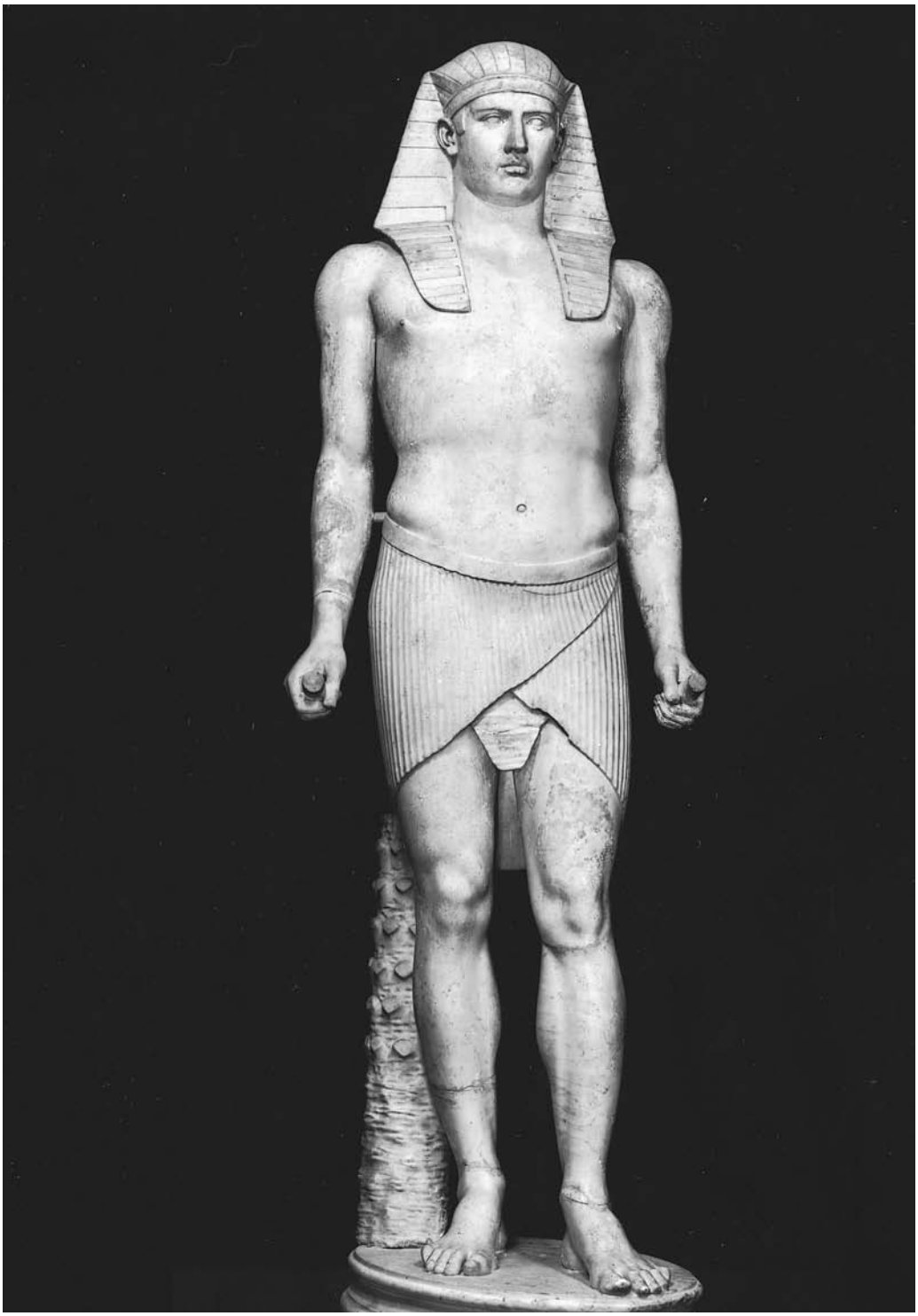


3. Mondragone head of Antinous, reportedly from Frascati. Louvre, Paris. *Engraving: after J. J. Winckelmann, Monumenti antichi inediti (2nd edn, 1821), pl. 179*



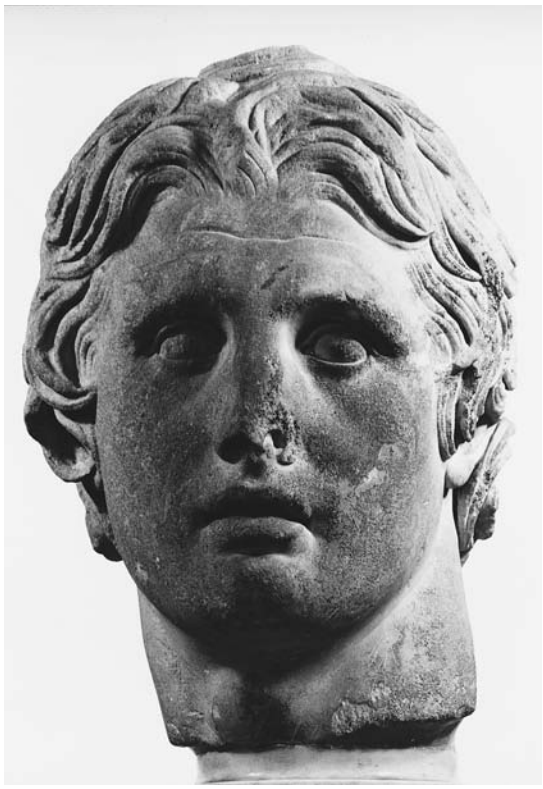
4. Head of a replica of the Kassel Apollo type, provenance unknown. Palazzo Vecchio, Florence. *Photo: DAI Rome — Inst. Neg. 62.1849 — Koppermann.*

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Statue of egyptianizing Antinous from Hadrian's Villa at Tivoli. Vatican Museums, Rome.
Photo: Alinari 23742.

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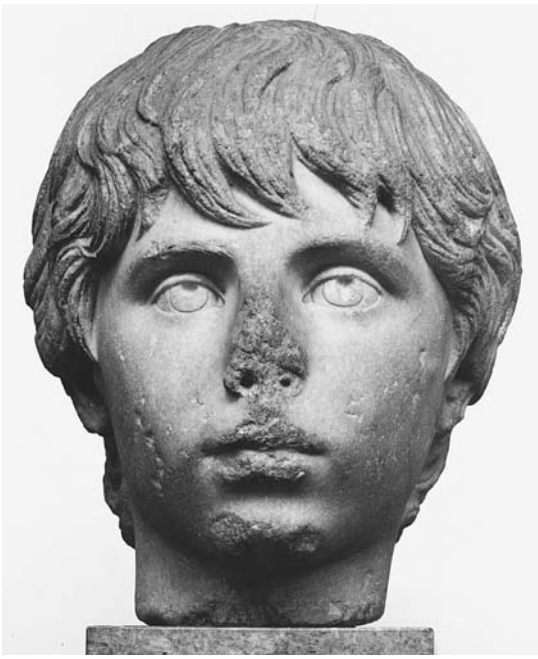


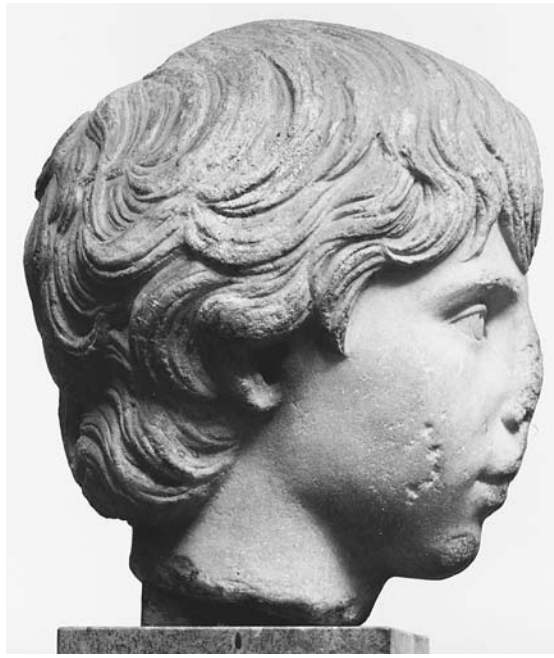
1–2. Head of Alexander from Pergamum. Archaeological Museum, Istanbul.
Photos: DAI Rome — Inst. Neg. 72.2709; 72.290L.



3. Portrait head, possibly from Dalmatia.
Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek, Copenhagen.
Photo: museum.

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1–2. Head of Polydeuces, from same series as Kephisia bust. Archaeological Museum, Palermo.
Photos: DAI Rome —Inst. Neg. 71.654; 71.655 — Singer.





3–4. Head of Antinous from Olympia. Olympia Museum.
Photos: DAI Athens — Neg. Nr. Olympia 1440 and 1451 — Wagner.

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Restored relief of Antinous, reportedly from Hadrian's Villa at Tivoli. Villa Albani-Torlonia, Rome. *Photo: Alinari 27551.*

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even greater confidence in the importance of hairstyle. Here, the comma shapes of hair on the crown which give way to longer, stragglier ones at the neck are seen as sufficient reason for resurrecting Antinous. Thus the head takes its place next to the Delphi and Farnese statues, though re-cut, probably in the Severan period, as female.[31]

This increased emphasis on hairstyle has also importantly blocked several claimants. In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries the popularity of Antinous as an image led to a high market-value which consequently led to a relaxation in the entry-requirements to his corpus. The French writer Montesquieu noted that as far as antiquities were concerned, a serious-looking man without a beard was a consul, with a long beard a philosopher, and a young boy 'Antinous'. 'Antinous' became the codename for a classicizing youth just as statues of the kouros-type were classified as 'Apollo'.[32] The best-loved beneficiaries of this success were the so-called 'Belvedere Antinous', which has been known as such since the sixteenth century, and the 'Capitoline Antinous', both of which archaeologists now label 'Hermes' (Pl. VI). The former, with its cropped head of tight curls, not to mention its thin face, pointed chin, and mature, muscular body was the first to go, but not before it had played a major role in the recognition accorded to Antinous. It was this impostor that the sculptor Bernini was referring to when he claimed to have 'turned to Antinous as the oracle', this one that influenced the drawings of Duquesnoy and Poussin.[33] The winged sandals of a second version in the British Museum lend weight to its identity as Hermes. But why not Antinous-Hermes, a god with whom Antinous is associated in an inscription discovered in the Palazzo Santacroce in Rome? Because, hairstyle aside, almost everything about this statue was already different from the other examples turning up in Rome at the time (unlike the Farnese statue, its iconography was unsupported by the coinage). It is hardly surprising, therefore, that in the eighteenth century Winckelmann expelled it, thinking it less assailable to call it 'Meleager'.[34]

The Capitoline or 'Albani Antinous' managed to maintain its position for longer.[35] Reputedly discovered in 1732 at Hadrian's Villa, a site which in a sense strengthens its assumed identity, it shares in the fleshy, puerile body, steeply inclined head and contemplative passivity of the Farnese Antinous. It is hardly surprising that Dietrichson's catalogue of Antinous images, published in 1884, before the 'lock-scheme' methodology as we now know it was developed, should still have included him. In the vein of the litmus-test mentioned above, Dietrichson's catalogue grades its entries according to certainty (so the uncontroversial Farnese statue has a heavy font and two stars, other examples which *may* be Antinous, a lighter font and one star, and the discredited 'Belvedere Antinous', a faint font and no stars). He has few doubts about the 'Capitoline Antinous'. Like the Farnese, he awards it two stars.[36]

[31] Copenhagen, Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek, I.N. 3286: Meyer, op. cit. (n. 10), no. I 27 and *NCGCat., Roman Portraits III* (1995), no. 88. Such is archaeology's investment in a particular hairstyle per person or per sculptural type of person that Fittschen argues that for Antinous' locks to have been left here, they must have been either not visible or obscured in some way: K. Fittschen, 'Die Statuen des Poseidipp und des Ps.-Menander', *AM* (1992), 238–9. For a further example of admission to the corpus on a fragment of hair alone (Athens, Acropolis Museum, 2197), see Meyer, op. cit. (n. 10), no. I 6.

[32] M. A. Masson (ed.), *Oeuvres completes de Montesquieu* (1950–5), II 1317. Similar sentiments are expressed by A. Michaelis, 'Geschichte des Statuenhofes im Vaticanischen Belvedere', *Jahrbuch des Kaiserlich Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts* 5 (1890), 5–72, at 25 and E. A. Gardner, *A Handbook of Greek Sculpture II* (1897), 519. For the Apollo-kouros equation, see W. Deonna, *Les "Apollons Archaïques". Étude sur le type masculine de la statuaire grecque au V-ième siècle avant notre ère* (1909), 9–20; A. Hermary, *La sculpture archaïque et classique* (1984), 5–8; and A. Stewart, *Greek Sculpture: an Exploration* (1990), 109–10.

[33] L. Lallane (ed.), *Viaggio del Cavalier Bernini in Francia* (1988), 139; G. P. Bellori, *Le vite de' pittori, scultori e architetti moderni* (1672), 300, 474–7. Also useful here is C. Chard, 'Effeminacy and pleasure and the Classical body', in G. Perry and M. Rossington, *Feminacy and Masculinity in Eighteenth-Century Art and Culture* (1994), 142–62.

[34] F. Haskell and N. Penny, *Taste and the Antique: the Lure of Classical Sculpture 1500–1900* (1981), 141–3; J. J. Winckelmann, *Storia delle arti del disegno presso gli antichi* (ed. C. Fea; 1783–4), II 387–8.

[35] Rome, Capitoline Museum, Stanza di Galata Morente: Haskell and Penny, op. cit. (n. 34), no. 5.

[36] Dietrichson, op. cit. (n. 25), no. 17, pp. 182–3.

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The cherubic curls of the statue or absence of long pieces of hair over the neck and characteristic comma-shapes on the forehead and temples obscuring the ears have since ruled that it is not Antinous. A similar decision has been reached regarding the young horsemen on the Hadrianic roundels of the Arch of Constantine, although one of them, in the roundel representing the boar hunt and given a tentative one star by Dietrichson, is still up for debate (Pl. VII, 1).[37] At first glance its thick curls covering the nape of the neck and ears and the fact that the head is turned backwards on the body as though to echo the frequency with which Antinous is represented as looking down to left or right nudge us to see him here also. It is only on closer inspection and comparison with other relief sculptures of Antinous, such as that from Lanuvium displayed in Palazzo Massimo in Rome (Pl. VII, 2), that we notice its messier hairstyle: that the locks on the temples appear slimier than we are used to and curl backwards as though brushed away from the face rather than pointing forwards like a 'J'.[38]

It is perhaps wiser to leave this horseman anonymous — to regard him rather as a young male figure whose conception in Rome during Hadrian's reign makes borrowing from Antinous inevitable.[39] Or is it, when the head in the Museum at Tarragona with its enigmatic, upward gaze (so much more 'hellenistic' in style than the 'Haupttypus') sits comfortably within the corpus? Or for that matter, the (for our purposes) faceless head in the Glyptotek in Copenhagen? It is worth reiterating that neither of these demonstrates the clarity of coiffure displayed by the inscribed bust or the statue from Delphi. Such is the current stress placed on 'signature locks' that typological studies can still accommodate certain kinds of diversity.[40]

This brief look at the corpus (highly selective though it has had to be) cuts to the heart of the difficulties involved in trying to constrain the complexities of viewing within a classificatory system. The last few paragraphs would read differently if I had 'simply' asked which of these versions best captured Antinous. Indeed the less precise, more subjective, 'old fashioned' approach might threaten scientific acumen: were our focus to move from the hairstyle to the overall portrait, the horseman and the 'Capitoline Antinous' would rate very highly (especially when the former was presumably designed to be displayed some distance from the ground where overall impact was more important than detailed styling). This realization puts the issue of iconographic difference under the spotlight. Archaeologists acknowledge that not all extant sculptures of Antinous are based on the same model — hence the existence of the 'Mondragone' and egyptianizing types which will be discussed presently. So why not other types that are as yet unaccepted as images of Antinous or (more slippery) images of Antinous-Hermes, or even representations that were always 'odd ones out'? Not *all* images of Antinous were necessarily based on centrally-disseminated models or their replicas.

There are always going to be some ancient portraits of Antinous that go unnoticed, either because their artist was too interpretative or feeble in his 'copying' or because he was working from a different model from those thus far recognized or from more than one source or medium (in other words failure to fit a set of iconographic criteria does not by itself deny a portrait a particular identity, merely membership of that typology). But

[37] Dietrichson, op. cit. (n. 25), 139 (on the criteria for assessment) and 170 (for his font and star key). More recently 'hedging his bets' is Meyer, op. cit. (n. 10), 131–2.

[38] Bas-relief of Antinous-Silvanus owned by the Banca Romana, Via del Corso 418 A, but on permanent loan to Palazzo Massimo: Meyer, op. cit. (n. 10), no. I 75 and Charles-Gaffiot and Lavagne, op. cit. (n. 20), no. 102.

[39] Zanker calls such stylistic diffusion from the portraiture of emperors and empresses to those of private men and women a problem of 'Zeitgeist': P. Zanker, 'Herrscherbild und Zeitgeist', *Wissenschaftliche Zeitschrift der Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin* (1982), 207–12. For a specific discussion of how this phenomenon affects Livia's portraiture, see Bartman, op. cit. (n. 2), 10.

[40] See also the coarse, damaged hair of another well-known statue of 'Antinous', now in the Capitoline collection (Inv. No. 897): Meyer, op. cit. (n. 10), no. I 50 and Hölscher, op. cit. (n. 3), 83, n. 24. Whether or not the head was originally made for its satyresque body, as has sometimes been doubted, its small scale and liveliness are undeniably odd compared to other 'Antinous' examples.

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attempts at embracing as many portraits as possible by grouping them together by virtue of their lock-schemes create peculiar problems. To recap, if a sculpture has the 'signature locks' of the 'Haupttypus', is it necessarily an Antinous? It is judicious to admit that the ancient fashion for imitating imperial hairstyles, not to mention Antinous' overlap with gods and figures such as Hermes and Narcissus, would dictate otherwise: it could be Antinous or an imitator of a similar period. And what about the facial features? Even if we are happy to downplay the importance of these and concentrate on the hair, at what point is a potential candidate denied access? Meyer relaxes his criteria slightly by allowing for a sub or 'Stirngabelvariante' category, as well as abandoning the division of the 'Haupttypus' into variants. But how confident are we in our ability to see (or indeed not to see) 'signature locks' in a damaged or divergent hairstyle?

Section III will take the head from Tarragona as its springboard for pursuing the implications of some of these questions — in particular how modern methods of classification fit with ancient viewing practices. But first I want to press the processes of reproduction and recognition a little harder by bringing on the other types of Antinous portrait to have been recognized: the 'Mondragone' type, built upon a head discovered in a villa near Frascati early in the eighteenth century and now in the Louvre, and the egyptianizing type, most famously represented by a statue from Hadrian's Villa and today in the Vatican (Pls VII, 3; VIII). For in neither case is the lock-scheme methodology a helpful gauge of identity (with only one of the latter having any locks to speak of).[41] The members of the Mondragone group, meanwhile, are identified on the basis of their similarity to the head from Frascati which was given the title 'Antinous' upon its discovery (at the same time as the 'Capitoline Antinous'). Its elaborate hairstyle is quite unlike that of the 'Haupttypus' and is usually explained as a reference to Dionysus after Pausanias' testimony and other evidence. Yet Antinous-Dionysus has the hair of the 'Haupttypus' when he is represented in additional sculptures and coins(Pl. I, 2).[42]

In these types, the initial identification rests solely on physiognomy. Not that this necessarily makes this identification less safe, although it does force us to interrogate exactly what it is about the Mondragone that makes it sufficiently like the Farnese Antinous or indeed different from an image of Dionysus proper or a Hadrianic head of the 'severe style' like the 'Kassel Apollo' (Apollo being another deity with whom Antinous was linked) (Pl. VII, 4).[43] It also invites us to demonstrate or attempt to prove our answers and perhaps to recognize that similarity and difference ultimately elude this kind of packaging. A further question to stem from this material is that, if all images of Antinous were made between his death in A.D. 130 and Hadrian's eight years later and based on centrally-disseminated models, why the need for more than one type? One response might be that the egyptianizing types, which were made in Italy as opposed to Egypt, were peculiar to Hadrian's Villa (their faux-foreignness proffering an Orientalism more suitable to a private space). But we would need to be sure that all were Antinous and not 'simply' as generically Egyptian as the images of crocodiles that decorated the villa's Canopus — that the strigilated eyebrows

[41] Mondragone head, Louvre MA 1205: K. de Kersauson, *Musée du Louvre: catalogue des portraits romains* 2 (1996), no. 63 and for additional bibliography and the other members of the type, Meyer, op. cit. (n. 10), 111–18, pls 99–104. Vatican Antinous, Museo Gregoriano Egizio 99, and other egyptianizing examples: Meyer, op. cit. (n. 10), 119–23, pls 105–8. Also relevant here is the recent re-identification of a bald 'priest of Isis' type as a possible Antinous: S. Ensoli, 'Prêtres d'Isis en marbre rouge antique: Antinoüs dans la "palestre" de la Villa Adriana', in Charles-Gaffiot and Lavagne, op. cit. (n. 20), 79–83.

[42] Coin of Antinous as Dionysus-Osiris from Tarsos: Meyer, op. cit. (n. 10), no. Mü 7.

[43] Compare e.g. head of Dionysus in Rome, Palazzo dei Conservatori, Galleria: H. Stuart Jones, *A Catalogue of the Ancient Sculptures Preserved in the Municipal Collections of Rome* (1926), no. 86. For the 'Kassel Apollo' type, see E. Schmidt, *Antike Plastik* 5 (1966).

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of the statue in the Vatican provide sufficient justification.[44] The face certainly seems familiar but the nose and lips were restored in the eighteenth century. Restoration aside, there is a chance that part of its apparent familiarity stems from seeing a Western face on an otherwise Egyptian-styled king.

What follows will examine these issues of iconographic cross-over in more detail and, in so doing, unpick the implications of deciding one way or the other about a portrait's inclusion in a particular corpus. It will explore what exactly is lost the moment we decide the image we are looking at is not Antinous but rather a Bacchus or a Ptolemy and catalogue it in a separate book. Most importantly, perhaps we misunderstand how the cults of these figures worked in practice. Epigraphic and literary evidence attests that Antinous was associated not only with Bacchus, Apollo, and Osiris (whose strongest links thus far were with Ptolemy XII) but with Belenus, Ganymede, Hermes, Narcissus, Hylas, Androkolos, and Meleager. The young Dionysus and Osiris were almost regional variants of one another: the stories and representations of all of them overlap. What this means is that the ancient understanding of what kind of deity Antinous was depended to a large extent on his images' membership of a larger visual category: that of divine, beautiful, young males (most of whom hunted like him, and died young and beautiful).[45] His distinctiveness as 'Antinous' is, in effect, only a subset.

III INTEGRATING ANTINOUS

At what point does an image of a pretty boy become an image of Antinous or, to put it slightly differently, an image of Antinous-Apollo or Antinous-Dionysus 'simply' an Apollo or Dionysus? This question is compounded by the fact that Antinous' iconography is highly classicizing (taking its inspiration from so-called 'severe-style' sculpture just as it sometimes borrowed a body-type from the Tiber-Apollo as at Delphi) and proved highly influential on Antonine sculpture broadly. The 'Mondragone' and egyptianizing types provide a different answer from the 'Haupttypus' in what separates 'Antinous' proper from influence or 'copy'.

I start this section with the colossal head in Tarragona, which was found discarded in the reservoir of a Roman villa in the 1960s (Pl. IV, 1–3). Even Meyer must admit that the angle and expression of the head are unique among extant examples, the majority of which (like the Farnese or Delphi Antinous) stare at the ground rather sulkily. Yet it may well owe its ecstatic oddity to a deliberate convergence with Dionysus.[46] This 'explanation', attractive though it may be, cannot detract from the overwhelming impact of the twisting neck, melting gaze, and heavy hair which hit the viewer harder than any facial resemblance

[44] All are documented as having being discovered at the villa with the exception of the example in Dresden (Albertinum 23) for which the findspot is unknown. For comparative material, see e.g. Z. Kiss, *Études sur le portrait imperial romain en Egypte* (1984) and E. Stanwick, *Portraits of the Ptolemies: Greek Kings as Egyptian Pharaohs* (2002). Like Meyer, op. cit. (n. 26), 197–8, I am not convinced by Grenier's identifications of five further images of Antinous at Villa Adriana (J.-Cl. Grenier, 'La decoration du "Sérapeum" du "Canope" de la Villa Adriana', *MEFRA* 101 (1989), 925–1201). However, the discovery of a new architectural complex at Hadrian's Villa in excavations led by Zaccaria Mari, complete with egyptianizing sculpture and hieroglyphic inscriptions, may yet answer some of these questions.

[45] Bacchus: Paus. 8.9.8; Apollo: Meyer, op. cit. (n. 10), nos I 15 and I 61; Osiris: Meyer, op. cit. (n. 10), 245–9; Belenus: *CIL* XIV.3535; Ganymede: Prudent., *C. Symm.* I 271–7; Hermes: Meyer, op. cit. (n. 10), I E 13; Hylas and Narcissus: *Oxyrhynchus Papyri* LXIII 4352, 4; Narcissus: *Papiri della R. Università di Milano* I 20 ii 25–iii 25; Androkolos: W. Hahland, 'Ebertöter Antinous-Androcles', *Jahreshefte des Österreichischen Archäologischen Instituts* 41 (1954), 54–77; G. M. Rogers, *The Sacred Identity of Ephesos: Foundation Myths of a Roman City* (1991), 107. The link with Meleager derives from Antinous' famous boar-hunt: Ath. 15. 677d–f; *Oxyrhynchus Papyri* VIII 1085; LIII 4352. For a careful analysis of ancient images of *pueri*, see E. Bartman, 'Eros's flame: images of sexy boys in Roman ideal sculpture', in E. K. Gazda (ed.), *The Ancient Art of Emulation: Studies in Artistic Originality and Tradition from the Present to Classical Antiquity* (2002), 249–72.

[46] Meyer, op. cit. (n. 10), 80.

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to Antinous or indeed the specifics of its lock-scheme. It is an impression which lends itself to Nigel Spivey's description of Alexander the Great's portraiture (for which there is again only one Western sculpture, the 'Azara herm', to survive with an identifying inscription) when he writes, 'most of us will soon find ourselves able to recognise the essential Alexander features: a powerful profile, full lips, a gaze which is somehow both far-off and penetrating, and above all, a head of hair that is thick and dishevelled in the most perfect face-framing fashion' (Pl. IX, 1–2).[47]

Spivey's words are vague and fail to take account of the 'anastole' or cowlick shared by all heads currently catalogued as Alexander. But they do capture what it is that makes Alexander 'Alexander'. They reinforce the difference between recognizing and anatomizing a sculptural subject. They also, by virtue of their suitability for Antinous, muddy the distinction between him, Alexander, and an imitator of either of them. They invite us to think about how many 'Alexanders' in classical collections are other aspiring young leaders. It is an invitation made more pressing by the fact that many images of Alexander, the 'Azara herm' included (though supposedly based on an original by Alexander's court artist), are contemporaneous with portraits of Antinous.[48]

So what does this realization do to the identity of the head in Tarragona? Set most store by the hair and it remains a variant of Antinous or an Antinous-Dionysus or Antinous-Alexander. The literary tradition links both Antinous and Alexander to hunting. Both died beautiful and young. But shift the emphasis away from the hair and it morphs into Dionysus or Alexander (even without its 'anastole'). Similarities in their stories might mean that new Alexanders were being given elements of Antinous' iconography. But by far the most likely option is that it represents someone else entirely. Klaus Fittschen has highlighted how young, male portrait types increased in popularity in the second century A.D., due in part to the influence of Antinous, and how this was responsible for a revival in characteristics previously peculiar to Alexander. Although the large size of our head might lead us to think that it is not a private person, there are important precedents for being less conservative. One of Fittschen's examples, a head from Dalmatia which is now in the Ny Glyptothek in Copenhagen, is also larger than life-size and with an 'anastole' and overall hairstyle similar to that of the famous Alexander Rondanini (Pl. IX, 3). Yet its cropped beard, moustache, and wrinkles defy such an identification, as well as comfortable classification as an idealizing god or hero. Since Fittschen has seen the influence of Caracalla's physiognomy in this example and Frederick Poulsen described the subject as 'a barbarian', it is perhaps safest to say that it is a private individual who has possibly borrowed traits from both of them.[49] If someone other than Alexander can have Alexander's hairstyle, then similar scope should be allowed for Antinous.

By far the best known example of Antinous' influence on another sculptural subject is the portrait type attributed to Polydeuces or Polydeukion, one of three 'trophimoi' or foster-sons of sophist and millionaire Herodes Atticus (A.D. 101–77) to have been commemorated in art and inscriptions, but the only one (as far we know) to have been honoured as a 'hero' like Antinous. About twenty-five examples have been embraced within his corpus, making him the most popular sculptural type beyond the imperial household. Although the dating of these has fluctuated on the basis of epigraphic and art-

[47] N. Spivey, *Understanding Ancient Sculpture* (1996), 108.

[48] For a sceptical view of what makes an Alexander, see A. M. Nielsen, 'Alexander and the question of "Alexander-likeness" in Greek portraiture', in T. Fischer-Hansen *et al.* (eds), *Ancient Portraiture: Image and Message* (1992), 29–43 and 'The image of Alexander — a minimalist view', in J. Carlsen *et al.* (eds), *Alexander the Great: Reality and Myth* (1993), 137–44. For the phenomenon of 'imitatio Alexandri', H. P. L'Orange, *Apotheosis in Ancient Portraiture* (1947); D. Michel, *Alexander als Vorbild für Pompeius, Caesar und Marcus Antonius* (1967); B. S. Ridgway, *Hellenistic Sculpture* (1990), 108–36; A. Stewart, *Faces of Power* (1993), 43–4.

[49] Copenhagen, Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek, I.N. 1808: *NCGCat., Roman Portraits II* (1995), no. 62. K. Fittschen, '"Barbaren"-Köpfe: zur Imitation Alexanders d. Gr. in der mittleren Kaiserzeit', in S. Walker and A. Cameron (eds), *The Greek Renaissance in the Roman Empire: Papers from the Tenth British Museum Classical Colloquium* (1989), 108–13, at 111.

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historical evidence between Antinous' death in A.D. 130 and A.D. 170, Meyer prefers, on stylistic grounds, the first half of the second century.[50]

It is logical to assume that this kind of commemoration took its lead from Hadrian — indeed there is evidence to show that Herodes established games in Polydeuces' honour as was happening up and down the Empire for Antinous.[51] But is there any iconographic overlap or are the formulae quite separate? The Polydeuces type, as represented by a bust from Kephisia which was found next to a portrait of Herodes, is characterized by a full head of hair which curls under at the nape of the neck and sweeps back from the temples over the top of the ears, together with a fork of locks above the right eye, a straighter prong over the left and two longer strands in the centre which curl leftwards (Pl. X, 1–2). This lock-scheme and its arching eyebrows distinguish it from Antinous with his straight brows and compact fringe.[52]

So why was there confusion over the identity of a head found near to the palaestra at Olympia in 1939 and now catalogued on the basis of its lock-scheme as Antinous (Pl. X, 3–4)? Because, the hairstyle aside (it differs slightly from the 'Haupttypus' of Antinous and its locks are too deeply drilled and lack the forked fringe of the bust from Kephisia), the oval face, upwardly-looking pupils, and petulant expression initially suggested the label 'Polydeuces'.[53] Such indecision is not unique, nor is the range of iconographic and stylistic difference permissible under the title 'Antinous': the question is whether the parameters of this range are the same today as they were in antiquity. But the time it takes to spot the difference between certain portraits of 'Antinous' and certain portraits of 'Polydeuces' is already enough for the viewer to associate their identities: to let the lush hairstyle and round cheeks speak of similarity. Indeed by putting up memorials to Polydeuces in public sanctuaries and images of Antinous in his villas (two of the portraits currently identified as Antinous having been found at Loukou),[54] Herodes was already encouraging his audience to confuse them. He arguably wanted them to see Polydeuces as Antinous and, by extension, himself as Hadrian.

This hypothesis dovetails neatly with what we know about the rest of his life. Not only did he erect statues of Hadrian and Sabina to accompany those of himself and his wife in an exedra at Olympia but integrated egyptianizing sculptural and architectural elements into his private building as Hadrian had done at Tivoli. In fact two of the sculptures to survive from his estate at Brexiza at the south end of the Bay of Marathon represent egyptianizing figures with headdress and kilt similar to the figure of Antinous in the Vatican. The elegant arching of their eyebrows might suggest that these are Polydeuces. But they might also be Antinous.[55] More than this, Herodes' contemporaries credit him

[50] H. Meyer, 'Vibullius Polydeukion: ein archäologisch-epigraphischer Problemfall', *AM* 100 (1985), 393–405, esp. 397–400. Also important for the portraits of Polydeuces are A. Datsuli-Stavridi, *AAA* 10 (1977), 126–48; E. Gazda, 'A portrait of Polydeukion', *Bulletin of the Museum of Art and Archaeology* 3 (1980), 1–13; Tobin, op. cit. (n. 7), 69–112. On their date, P. Graindor, *Chronologie des archontes athénienes sous l'empire* (1921), 151–2, favours the late A.D. 140s; S. Follet, *Athènes au IIe et au IIIe siècle: études chronologiques et prosopographiques* (1976), 173 and L. Robert, 'Deux inscriptions de l'epoque imperiale en attique', *AJPh* 100 (1979), 153–65, prefer A.D. 170, and W. Ameling, 'Der Archon Dionysius. Zur Datierung einiger attischer Portraits der mittleren Kaiserzeit', *Boreas* 11 (1988), 62–70, the A.D. 160s. For a reassertion of A.D. 135–150, H. Meyer, 'Zu Polydeukion, dem Archon Dionysius und W. Ameling in *Boreas* 11, 1988, 62 ff.', *Boreas* 12 (1989), 119–22.

[51] *IG* II^2.3968 and discussion in Tobin, op. cit. (n. 7), 229–31. For games in honour of Antinous, see Meyer, op. cit. (n. 10), 254–9.

[52] Kephisia, NM 4811. No portrait survives with an inscription identifying it as Polydeuces. For how the association between portrait type and subject was established, see Tobin, op. cit. (n. 7), 102.

[53] Fragments of the body were discovered later: Olympia Museum, Λ 204 and 208. See Meyer, op. cit. (n. 10), no. II 4 and H. Weber, 'Eine spätgriechische Jünglingsstatue', in E. Kunze (ed.), *Bericht über die Ausgrabungen in Olympia* (1956), 128–48, at 142–8.

[54] See supra (n. 26) and Meyer, op. cit. (n. 10), no. I 5.

[55] Nymphaeum: R. Bol, *Das Statuenprogramm des Herodes-Atticus-Nymphäums* (1984). Egyptianizing art and architecture: S. Karusu, 'Die Antiken von Kloster Luku in der Thyreati', *RM* 76 (1969), 253–65, at 255–7; and on the figures from Marathon: Tobin, op. cit. (n. 7), 255–8.

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with actions usually reserved for rulers. Philostratus, for example, notes that he constructed the biggest buildings in Athens (a claim that puts him in direct competition with Hadrian's patronage of the city). He also describes how he had his pregnant wife killed and desired to cut a canal through the Isthmus. Similar actions are attributed to Greek tyrants and thus to bad emperors such as Nero.[56]

Such was the popularity of Antinous that it is difficult to imagine that Herodes was alone in his emulation. One might even postulate that any image of a pretty boy made in the second century A.D. (whether of an established figure like Alexander or a pretender like Polydeuces) was begging to be compared to Antinous — that this comparison worked to their mutual advantage. We sometimes assume that the illiteracy of many ancients or conversely the 'paideia' of others (especially in the self-conscious 'Second Sophistic') honed their visual skills to a level lost on us today, and that all would have spotted the difference easily. But some must have been better at 'reading' images than others. Maybe the best were those who recognized the 'intertext'. Perhaps part of the impact of Polydeuces' portraiture actually relied on the assumption that most viewers would have had to check his name on the inscription.

Not that the similarities between the portrait types of Antinous and Polydeuces need dictate the date of Polydeuces' portraits or the creation of the type itself as Meyer assumes — for this would be to underestimate iconography as a carrier of meaning. Late antique pagan art suffers from a similar prejudice: curators have tended to classify anything post-second century A.D. and non-Christian in content as 'from the reign of Julian'. More nuanced is the realization that Herodes had good reason to want his foster-son to look like Antinous as late as A.D. 160 or 170: that the recognition due to Polydeuces depended on the resemblance. These dates also have implications for the assumption that all images of Antinous were made between A.D. 130 and 138. When we remember that secure examples of his 'Haupttypus' have been found on Herodes' estate, there is a chance that these and others were made later.[57]

The wider archaeological and literary record supports this suggestion. Bithynia was putting Antinous on the reverse of its coins commemorating Commodus and Caracalla but may, as his birthplace, have been untypical. It is to be expected that Bithynia saw her investment in Antinous as her largest stake in imperial power.[58] Elsewhere, however, there is evidence that games in his honour were established as late as A.D. 202 and were still being celebrated in the fourth century, while a recently discovered poem invokes Antinous to celebrate the accession of Diocletian in A.D. 284.[59] Although these last two examples both refer to Egypt (a place which had a special hold on his death rather than his birth), it is also the case that Christian authors beyond Alexandria continued to make Antinous the whipping boy of pagan worship until well into the fifth century A.D. Whenever it was erected, the statue of Antinous-Apollo from the Hadrianic baths at Leptis Magna in North Africa, a complex that was extensively renovated under Commodus, was still standing when the baths were flooded in the Justinianic period.[60]

All of this supports the proposition that not all images of Antinous were made under Hadrian. Not only does this window threaten these images as a unified body against which to compare and date other sculptures, but also it increases the probability that some of

[56] Athens: Philostr., *VS* 550–1. Isthmus: Philostr., *VS* 551; Hdt. 7.22; Suet., *JC* 44.3; *Ner.* 19.2; *Cal.* 21; Stat., *Silv.* 4.3.7–8; pseudo-Lucian, *Nero*. Wife-beating: Philostr., *VS* 555; Suet., *Ner.* 35.3; W. Ameling, 'Tyrannen und schwangere Frauen', *Historia* 35 (1986), 507–8. Also important here is N. M. Kennell, 'Herodes Atticus and the rhetoric of tyranny', *CP* 92 (1997), 346–62.

[57] Another scholar to suggest a later date for some of Antinous' portraits, although on rather different grounds, is Evers, op. cit. (n. 24), at 449.

[58] Blum, op. cit. (n. 10), nos 11–13; Meyer, op. cit. (n. 10), 139, pl. 116.18, 19 and 21.

[59] Games: *Oxyrhynchus Papyri* IV 705; Athan., *Contra gentes*, 9.39. Diocletian: *Oxyrhynchus Papyri* LXIII 4352.

[60] Archaeological Museum, Tripoli: Meyer, op. cit. (n. 10), I 61 and R. Bartoccini, *Le terme di Lepcis* (1929), 78 and 114.

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them are now unrecognizable because of post-Hadrianic stone-cutting and fashion-led diversity.

IV REMAKING ANTINOUS

This article ends with a brief coda on authenticity. Few members of the corpus have been as obviously reconstructed in the modern period as the head in Palazzo Altemps (Pl. V, 1), the remains of its hair justifying, as we saw earlier, the addition of its features. But data on the find-spots of the sculptures in Meyer's catalogue should arouse suspicion. More of them are known to have been found in the Latin West than in the South and East combined (a conclusion in conflict with the literary, epigraphic, and numismatic evidence, which suggests that the cult was strongest in Egypt, Greece, and Asia Minor).[61] More than twice as many were found in private and imperial villas as in public settings. While the large number of examples from Hadrian's Villa goes some way to explaining these, the deficit of certainties from Egypt is particularly striking. This is not to deny that some of the unsourced pieces might be from these areas (although if they are, how did they end up in Europe?) or that there might be images in Egypt which without cartouches will never be identified.[62] But this does not deaden the fact that many of the most impressive examples were found in eighteenth-century Rome.

The density of digging in Rome at this time must account for some of this. But one wonders how far pressures to satisfy the market pushed excavators like Gavin Hamilton (responsible for six of the eleven finds still in the corpus, as well as others that have since been reclassified or lost).[63] How confident are we that even (or especially) the Mondragone head, which still has traces of its eyelashes, or the famous Albani relief, supposedly unearthed at Hadrian's Villa by Count Fede in 1735, is — bar its obvious restorations — antique (Pl. XI)?[64]

The position of the Albani relief above the fireplace in the 'Antinous Room' of the private Villa Torlonia in Rome makes comprehensive analysis impossible. An engraving in Janson's French edition of Wincklemann's *Geschichte der Kunst des Alterthums*, which praised the piece together with the Mondragone head as the 'glory and crown of sculpture', shows the standard view of it pre-restoration (following the clear joins in the marble which suggest that — the left hand apart — Antinous has been cut and pasted into a larger background), while Wincklemann, who had objected to the new garland it had been given in the restorer's workshop and had overseen its installation in the room, noted that it was hollowed out in places at the back.[65] But the longer one looks at the shallowly-cut head on the bulky, three-dimensional torso, the stranger the ensemble seems. Comparison with other relief-sculptures of a similar date strengthens this impression of strangeness. In the Chatsworth relief or the panels from the Arco di Portogallo or the Arch of Marcus Aurelius, for example, the heads of the major figures are as three-dimensional as the bodies and often angled away from their background so as to stare out into the

[61] SHA, *Hadr.* 14.7; Clem. Al., *Protr.* 4.49.1–3; Origen, *C. Cels.* 3.36–8.

[62] The alabaster head in the Allard Pierson Museum, Amsterdam, 192 is the only definite example: Meyer, op. cit. (n. 10), no. I 2, although nos I 10 and I 58 (also of alabaster), both acquired in Cairo, are likely.

[63] On the eighteenth-century excavation at Villa Adriana, see J. Pinto and W. MacDonald, *Hadrian's Villa and its Legacy* (1995), 286–305.

[64] For the Albani relief and bibliography: Meyer, op. cit. (n. 10), no. I 55. On its authenticity, see J. A. Symonds, *Sketches and Studies in Italy* (1879), 73; F. Gregorovius, *The Emperor Hadrian* (1898), 349.

[65] H. Janson, *L'Histoire de l'art chez les anciens* 3 (1803), pl. 1. J. J. Winckelmann, *Geschichte der Kunst des Alterthums* (2nd edn, 1776), 842.

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viewers' space. Their arms, meanwhile, are rendered as chunky in appearance unlike the superficial left forearm in the Albani relief.[66]

These differences *might* mean that the head had been recut early in the eighteenth century. Antinous was, as we have already discussed, amongst the most popular sculptural subjects in the period with this relief itself proving a highlight of the Grand Tour.[67] Perhaps the hair and features were remodelled on those of original and indeed reproduction medallions and gems (not to mention those of something like the Farnese Antinous) to boost the piece's market-value. But even if further analysis were possible, we might be forced to reach an open verdict on its authenticity. All that is certain in this respect is that the luminous patina of the head, body, and background is the result of eighteenth-century polishing. Edward Gibbon's reaction, when he visited the villa in 1764, should thus be a lesson to all historians interested in how images of Antinous were received in antiquity: he described it as 'softly finished, well turned and full of flesh'.[68] Before we get to too carried away about how the sensuousness of the piece must have attracted the viewer and thus, through these feelings of attraction, have elicited a religious response, or indeed how this same sensuousness might afford an insight into Hadrian's feelings for the youth (found as it was at his villa), we should remember that it is this polishing as much as any ancient intention that gives this Antinous its 'erotic appeal'.[69]

Better still would be to avoid building any kind of historical argument on this example or putting too much emphasis on the work and influence of Winckelmann, whose judgement of Antinous rests largely upon it. On a scale of authenticity, it would have to rank lower than the Delphi Antinous (and also the bust in Palazzo Altemps?). So too perhaps the Mondragone head, although this time for the opposite reason — its exceptional degree of preservation rather than suspicious reconstruction.[70] The Mondragone head may also be an outsider in the identity parade, as are the examples from Olympia and Tarragona. They *may* be Antinous, although, even then, acknowledging their similarity to other types amplifies their meaning. But they may also be impostors. Over-emphasis on the lock-scheme excludes the possibility that an artist might give another subject Antinous' lock-scheme or that there might be claimants (e.g. the 'Capitoline Antinous') which by today's standards go unrecognized.

These possibilities become more real once one recognizes that like aristocratic Europe in the eighteenth century, ancient Rome was a 'copying' society, a culture of inventive imitation that benefited from fusing and playing with the similarities and differences

[66] Chatsworth Relief, Chatsworth House, Collection of the Duke of Devonshire; panels from the Arco di Portogallo and Arch of Marcus Aurelius, Museo del Palazzo dei Conservatori, Rome: G. Koeppel, 'Die historischen Reliefs der römischen Kaiserzeit IV: Stadtrömische Denkmäler unbekannter Bauzugehörigkeit aus hadrianischer bis konstantinischer Zeit', *BonnJbb* (1986), 7–8, 39–43, 47–75 and E. La Rocca (ed.), *Rilievi storici Capitolini: Il restauro dei panelli di Adriano e di Marco Aurelio nel Palazzo dei Conservatori* (1986), 21–52.

[67] See e.g. Pompeo Batoni's portrait of an unidentified aristocrat, 'Portrait of a Gentleman', Metropolitan Museum, New York, which shows its subject pointing at the relief: A. M. Clark, *Pompeo Batoni. A Complete Catalogue of his Works with an Introductory Text* (1985), cat. no. 230, pl. 213.

[68] G. A. Bonnard, *Gibbon's Journey from Geneva to Rome: his Journal from 20 April to 2 October 1764* (1961), 158.

[69] Crucial here also, as indeed it is in thinking about how portraits were actually recognized in antiquity, is the realization that many were painted — their hair and facial features covered and indeed highlighted or masked in some way by the application of pigments. Recent research by Vinzenz Brinkmann in particular has analysed paint traces to determine the precise pigments used, so as to colour casts like the originals. Again, however, science has its limitations: the density of the paint applied is difficult to determine (was it a colour-wash or solid colour? Did it enhance or occlude the quality of the marble?). See V. Brinkmann, *Die Polychromie der archaischen und frühklassischen Skulptur* (2003); and for Roman portraiture in particular, J. Pollini, 'The marble type of the statue of Augustus from Prima Porta: facts and fallacies, lithic power and ideology, and colour symbolism in Roman art', in D. U. Schilardi and D. Katsonopoulou (eds), *Paria Lithos* (2000), 237–52; P. Liverani, 'Der Augustus von Prima Porta', in V. Brinkmann and R. Wünsche (eds), *Bünte Götter: die Farbigkeit antiker Skulptur* (2004), 186–91; and V. Brinkmann *et al*., 'Die Farbfassung des Caligula-Porträts', in Brinkmann and Wünsche, 206–11.

[70] See J. Charbonneaux, *La sculpture grecque et romaine au Musée du Louvre* (1963), 165 and von Heintze, op. cit. (n. 22), 397.

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between present and past.[71] We must accept that we are often actively stopped from distinguishing an image of one individual from another or an image that is ancient from one that is modern. Stringent categorization is crucial on one level (or how would we ever find anything?) but simplifies, erases almost, the history, meaning, and idiosyncrasy of each individual image.

V CONCLUSION

This article has examined the appearance and history of a sample of images from the corpus of Antinous portraits and their different implications. It has argued that there is much to learn from emphasizing integration above division. Acceptance of the original images of Antinous in antiquity depended upon their ability to plug into, as well as outshine, the existing import of the pretty boy as embodied by Alexander, Apollo, and Bacchus. Their continued success depended upon the élite tendency to erect their own images of Antinous, establish games in his honour, and borrow from his iconography well beyond the mid-second century A.D.

Running though this discussion has been the relationship between art and science — the question of whether the act of looking or of creation can ever be captured in a formula. A final warning is provided by 'Systematics', the sub-discipline of the Biological Sciences which has attempted since the eighteenth century to order organisms by visible, morphological criteria. Even here organisms have been liable to move from category to category depending on which visible criteria are isolated. Today the tendency is rather towards typology by molecular structure, the specifics of which can be 'proven' by experimental procedure. It is perhaps wiser to admit that the search for similar objectivity in the identification of ancient portrait types is ultimately hopeless. Here the eyes really do have it. Although a technique like 'computer-aided face-recognition' is a promising development, it measures (not what the process of evolution has given its samples) only what programmers ask it. No programme can accommodate the range of possible anomalies. How the mind processes what the eye sees is too subjective. If we are to get close to the subtle ways in which portraits were made and seen in antiquity, this subjectivity must be fêted rather than subjugated.

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[71] See E. Bartman, *Ancient Sculpture Copies in Miniature* (1992); M. Marvin, 'Copying Roman sculpture: retaining the original, multiple originals, copies and reproductions', *Studies in the History of Art* 20 (1989), 29–45; idem, 'Copying in Roman sculpture: the replica series', in E. D'Ambra (ed.), *Roman Art in Context: an Anthology* (1993), 161–88; idem, 'Roman sculptural reproductions', in A. Hughes and E. Ranfft (eds), *Sculpture and its Reproductions* (1997), 7–29.

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