TWO ROMAN PORTRAIT-BUSTS IN THE NY CARLSBERG GLYPTOTHEK.[1]

By FREDERIK POULSEN.

(Plates v—x.)

Fig. 1, on plate v, represents a female bust,[2] acquired in 1888 at Hoffmann's sale in Paris and published in Arndt-Bruckmann, *Griechische und römische Porträts*, pl. 565, from which our illustration is reproduced. The height of the bust is cm. 46, or, including the modern foot, cm. 61. It is in excellent preservation; even the tip of the nose is original, and intact save for a little break on the top. The surface is slightly weathered, and is covered here and there with calcareous deposit; but some parts have still the fine porcelain-like surface which sculptors of the second and third centuries A.D. knew how to give to their marble by polishing. The person represented is a young woman, clad in a tunic and with a mantle thrown over her shoulders. The expression is weary, too melancholy and despondent for one so young, perhaps also a little haughty with the prominent upper lip. The features are delicate and noble. The head is quietly turned towards the left shoulder. The hair is separately carved and loosely added. Such wigs in stone appear frequently in portraits of the end of the second and the beginning of the third centuries A.D., but in earlier times we know at present of only one example, an interesting Hellenistic portrait from Pergamon in Berlin.[3] The Glyptothek possesses also a female portrait of the beginning of the third century with removable wig, in the small head no. 733 (fig. 2, plate vi). A few years ago the French scholar Gauckler attempted to give a profound explanation of this 'trépanation en effigie,' his idea being that it owed its origin to a religious ceremony: that when the bust was made, it was desired to consecrate it by pouring holy oil into the hollow under the hair.[4] He traced this practice to the Syrian empresses of the house of the Severi, whose superstition is well known. It may be said to the credit of archaeologists that no one has followed Gauckler in these fantasies. The old explanation is obviously correct, that in the 'loose hair' account has been taken of the quick changes in the fashions

[1] The substance of this paper has appeared in the annual publication *Kunstmuseets Aarskrift*, ii (1915), Copenhagen.

[2] Catalogue no. 725, *Billedtavler*, lx.

[3] Hekler, *Bildniskunst der Griechen und Römer*, pl. 75; but cf. also the heads in Boston, Dutilh, *Journ. internat. d'Arch. numismatique*, iii (1900), p. 313 and plates 15–16.

[4] *Comptes rendus de l'Académie des Inscriptions et des Belles-Lettres* (1910), p. 403. [Since the present article was in type the whole question of *capita desecta* and marble coiffures has been discussed by J. R. Crawford (in *Memoirs of the American Academy in Rome*, vol. i), who also rejects Gauckler's theory, and offers various technical explanations.—Edd.]

of doing the hair. Even older women, like our head (fig. 2, plate VI), or a toothless old lady in the Louvre (no. 1028), demanded a loose wig from their sculptor, in order to avoid the choice between being vexed at seeing themselves represented with an antiquated coiffure or having to renew the whole portrait. There is sound economy in this; it is a bit of old Roman parsimony which we should not expect to find at so late a date as the third century A.D. The practice also shows better than anything else the importance of the hair in the female society of Rome. That is to say, while ladies' dress in Rome was not subject to many changes of fashion, in respect of the hair both fashion and personal taste and fancy had rich opportunity of expanding. Consequently, the fashion of the hair means far more than in modern times; it is the one sure guide in the dating of Roman female portraits. Even the short hair of men shows a different treatment from emperor to emperor, frequently within the reign of the same emperor. For example, we know Septimius Severus both with and without spiral locks on the forehead; and a portrait of this emperor in the museum of the Thermae at Rome has also a loose wig.[1] Even Gauckler's theory of the influence of the Syrian empresses on the development of this practice is upset by the female bust in the Copenhagen Glyptothek, which is the starting-point of this investigation. Her coiffure is older than the dynasty of the Severi. A comparison with coins shows that the fashion is that prevalent in the age of Commodus.[2] The hair, parted in the middle, flows almost without undulation in fine silky locks, entirely covering the ears down to the knot in the neck. In so far the arrangement of the hair agrees with that of Faustina the younger on coins of A.D. 160–170. But the knot on the neck is bigger and flatter (fig. 3, plate VI) and is done up as in the case of Crispina, wife of Commodus, on a coin which can be dated very exactly, viz. after 180, by reason of the inscription 'Augusta,'[3] and before 183, in which year she was banished and executed (fig. 4, plate VI). It must be noticed that Crispina wears her hair in two other fashions on imperial coins: she seems really to have made good use of her two or three years as empress. That which is common to our bust and one coin-type is evidently the old inherited fashion from A.D. 180.

In Carl Jacobsen's catalogue the lady is called Iulia Domna, not, it is true, without a mark of interrogation. The identification is rejected by Arndt, who, however, agrees that the period is suitable, and that in the arrangement of the hair there is a resemblance to a coin of this empress. This is not correct: Iulia Domna has, as a common feature in all her various coiffures, a strong sharp-edged undulation. On the other hand, Arndt is certainly right in finding

[1] Gauckler, op. cit. p. 410, pl. 8.

[2] Pauly-Wissowa, *Realencyklopädie*, s.v. *Haartracht* (Steininger).

[3] Commodus, who was first acclaimed imperator in 176, only becomes *Augustus* in 180 on the death of his father.

a resemblance between the female bust of the Glyptothek and a bust in the Capitoline museum (fig. 5, plate VI). This bust also goes under the name of Iulia Domna and is so described in Hekler's work on portraits.[1] But, properly speaking, it is only the treatment of the hair that is alike ; it is that of Iulia Domna on the coins of Caracalla's reign : beyond this there is no question of resemblance, as is shown by a comparison with the certain portrait of the empress (fig. 6, plate VII).[2] Amelung proposes to regard the Capitoline bust as a youthful portrait,[3] but this is not possible either, for there is no difference of age, and the identical treatment of the hair shows that the two portraits are absolutely contemporary.[4] That the Capitoline bust represents a famous lady or one of high position is confirmed by there being at least one certain replica, in the British Museum[5] : and possibly there is a third in a bust of a woman in the provincial museum at Hanover.[6] If one compares carefully the female bust in the Glyptothek with the Capitoline portrait, one finds such a striking likeness that there can be no doubt that the same woman is represented at two separate ages. The mouth seems a little larger, the expression has become more self-conscious, less dreamy in its melancholy, more noble and severe; but the features agree, especially the long narrow-lidded eyes with the prominent pupils, and the very characteristic under-lip with its slight swelling under the middle of the edge of the lip. Note further the shape of the head and outlines of the face.[7]

Who, now, is this woman, a bust of whom is known to us from the time of Commodus, as is shown by the dressing of the hair in the Glyptothek example, and who even at the transition from the reign of Septimius Severus to that of Caracalla about A.D. 211 was immortalised by the sculptor's art ? Out of the women of the time we can only think of one who is in close relation to the court, and whose position was not affected by the frequent changes of dynasties and rulers. One might be tempted to suggest the wife or daughter of the emperor Pertinax, who both survived his short reign of a few months, and might well have been represented under Septimius Severus, who kept the memory of Pertinax in honour and

[1] Bernoulli, *Röm. Ikonogr.* ii, 3, pl. xviii, and p. 42; Hekler, *Bildniskunst der Griechen und Romer*, pl. 288b.

[2] Other portraits in Bernoulli, op. cit. plates xv–xvii, and Von Sacken, *Die antiken Skulpturen in Wien*, pl. 29.

[3] Helbig, *Führer*, i. p. 454, n. 52.

[4] The narrow, specially treated edge of the hair on the forehead and temples in the Capitoline portrait is reproduced on coins of Iulia Domna as empress-dowager, but is there combined with a flatter treatment of the hair on the neck. The treatment of the hair in the Capitoline bust is thus transitional, from about the time when Caracalla came to the throne. See Steininger, loc. cit.

[5] Max. Ahrem, *Das Weib in der antiken Kunst*, p. 306, fig. 290.

[6] Küthmann, *Katalog*, n. 38.

[7] The head of the Capitoline type on statues (*Museo Torlonia*, pl. 72, n. 289) is, I dare say, like the bust (*M.T.* pl. 146, n. 567), a modern forgery. We have perhaps a replica, with the same method of dressing the hair as the bust of the Ny Carlsberg Glyptothek, in the Vatican head, Amelung : *Vatik. Katalog* i, pl. 77, n. 601 (p. 716). There is a female head with exactly the same dressing of the hair at Toulouse, Espérandieu : *Recueil général des Basreliefs de la Gaule* ii, p. 78, n. 979.

made his son flamen in the temple and cult of his own father[1]; but this is impossible in view of the coiffure of the bust in the Glyptothek, dating from the early years of Commodus' reign, when neither of these two ladies was a public personage. The fashion of the hair in the year 193, when Pertinax had his brief reign, is known as usual by coins, and may be illustrated by the pretty head in the Ny Carlsberg Glyptothek, which generally passes under the name of Manlia Scantilla, wife of Didius Iulianus (fig. 7, plate VII).[2] Here the arrangement of the hair is quite different, both in front and over the neck. It is more natural to think of a woman of the family of Marcus Aurelius, honoured in her youth under Commodus, surviving the fall of the dynasty and in her later days closely connected with the court of the Severi. Such a lady we know of in the daughter of Marcus Aurelius, Commodus' sister Cornificia, of whom the contemporary author Herodian (iv, 6, 3) relates that she was honoured by the successive emperors, until she was put to death in the year 212 by Caracalla, because in the presence of his mother Iulia Domna she shed tears at the murder of Geta. The account suggests an intimate connexion with the powerful and astute Iulia Domna, and thus a position which would account for loyal Romans erecting statues of her as late as the beginning of Caracalla's reign. And if we cast a glance at her youthful portrait in the Glyptothek, we must be reminded of the tradition, how highly Commodus honoured his sister Lucilla in the first year of his reign, before she organised a conspiracy against him in 183.[3] This conspiracy marks a turning point in the life of Commodus, as does the conspiracy of Agrippina and her sister in the life of Caligula. At first, both these young emperors had loved their sisters and showed them honours granted only to reigning empresses: disappointment at their treachery brought about the reigns of terror which have determined the reputations of the brothers with posterity.

But is this interpretation of the female portrait as representing the daughter of Marcus Aurelius and Faustina the younger supported by any measure of family resemblance? In the Glyptothek, where the bust is now set up between the heads of her mother Faustina (fig. 8, plate VII) and her sister Lucilla (fig. 9, plate VII), better than by illustrations any one can note the obvious resemblance in feature especially to the mother; compare particularly the shape of the eyes and lines of the lips.[4] Further there is a striking resemblance to the brother Commodus in the noticeably slanting profile.

[1] Iulius Capitolinus (Pertinax, ch. 13 and 15).

[2] *Billedtavler*, Ix, 717; Arndt-Bruckmann, *Porträts*, plates 767, 768; Hekler, *Bildniskunst*, pl. 287.

[3] Herodian i, 8, 3–4; Aelius Lampridius, *Commodus*, ch. 4.

[4] It may be observed that Faustina the younger and Lucilla can now be safely identified: the descriptions of the busts in the Glyptothek catalogue are wrong. See on this point Delbrück, *Antike Porträts*, text to pl. 47: cf. *Arch. Jahrb.* xxviii (1913), p. 301, fig. 9. The convincing ground of identification is given by the portrait-statue of the younger Faustina at Olympia (*Olympia*, iii, pl. lxviii, 1; lxix. 5).

How captivating in her melancholy and spirituality is this woman, whom we know both as the little princess and as the last sorrowful survivor of the proudest imperial family of the second century! Her expression, even in mature age, resembles closely that which was universal in the age of the Antonines. A common feature of the portraits of the ladies of that age is their lack of the joy of life. The expression may vary from the tender resignation of Faustina and the dull stare of her daughter Lucilla to the haughty defiance in one and the bitter arrogance in the other of the female portraits in the Glyptothek of that period, which are both incorrectly called Lucilla in the catalogue (figs. 10 and 11, plate VIII).[1] How different is the expression of Iulia Domna (fig. 6), content and benevolent, inquisitive and affectionate! Without difficulty we can picture her in the circle of scholars and 'beaux esprits' she had assembled at her court, where all the wonders of existence and the other life were examined, while the voices of the men according to Philostratus were full of the sweetness and harmony of the song of nightingales. Notice her features. The brows are raised, while she is pondering a cleverly calculated courtesy, and the mouth is pointed to utter a delicious question.

The Glyptothek contains also other female heads from the age of Iulia Domna. Thus the clever tranquil society-lady, who in the catalogue is wrongly dated to the middle of the third century (fig. 12, plate VIII), and the little roguish woman, with an almost Leonardo-like smile on her narrow mouth (fig. 13, plate VIII).[2] Pleasure and tranquil comfort shine from these countenances. The noble ladies of that age had the same freedom and the same pretensions as American women of to-day: they were imperious and energetic as Romans, learned and spiritual as Greek hetairai, graceful and sensual as Orientals, and they resembled the ladies in the diplomatic circles of to-day by uniting cosmopolitanism with narrow-minded bigotry.[3] In their portraits they seem really as well-nourished and consequently as amiable and contented as the leaders of society of our great cities. This impression of the contrast between the women of the age of Marcus Aurelius and those of the period of the Severi will be confirmed in every museum which contains abundant representation of the types of the two periods.[4]

But Cornificia does not belong to the society of the Severi. She keeps the rather repellent melancholy of her youthful days and the lonely science of her old age which is more spiritual and sad than anything that was found in the nightingale choir of the salons.

[1] *Billedtavler*, lix, 710–711; Arndt-Bruckmann, *Porträts*, 759.

[2] *Billedtavler*, lxiii, 753, 14; *Tillaeg* (supplement) *til Billedtavler*, xii, 732b.

[3] J. Réville, *La religion à Rome sous les Sévères* Paris, 1885), p. 190 ff.

[4] An exception is e.g. the ailing and intellectua young woman of the period of the Severi; Hekler, *Bildniskunst*, pl. 303; Arndt-Bruckmann, 570; and a lady with soft and amiable expression of the time of Marcus Aurelius; Amelung: *Vatik. Katalog* i, pl. 8, n. 55 (p. 75).

II.

PORTRAIT-HEAD OF THE EMPEROR GORDIAN I.

In 1890 the Glyptothek acquired from Rome a marble head of an elderly man : it is published both in Arndt's work (plates 51, 52) and in von Reber and Bayersdorfer's *Klassischer Skulpturenschatz*, no. 200. The height is cm. 35. The top of the nose and part of the left ear are restored in marble, but otherwise the preservation is excellent and the old surface polish is retained. The finish of the neck shows that the head (fig. 14, plate IX) was inserted in a toga-statue (catalogue no. 769).[1]

Style and technique permit the date to be fixed as the middle of the third century, close to the reign of Maximinus Thrax (235–238). There is the same treatment of the hair as in Maximin's own portrait (fig. 15, plate X).[2] The mass of hair fits on the crown like a flat cap, and the hair is indicated by feeble modelling, chiefly, however, by incised lines. Long elegantly sweeping lines furrow the beard, and extend over the neck and end in small wave-crests. The eyebrows, which meet over the root of the nose, are broadly dotted. The pupils are incised but without ' bright light ' (i.e. without little points projecting down from above in the hollow). This omission gives a peaceful and mild expression. The Romans in the third century were masters in the art of characterising the expression by small variations in the rendering of the pupils. The modelling is simply marvellous. In the structure of the skull we note the peculiar predilection of that age for a rather flat crown with marked rounding over the ears. The short period from Caracalla to the middle of the third century shows new progress in anatomical knowledge, a last outburst of the interest of antiquity for delicate variety in rendering individual forms. By the time of the emperor Gallienus' portrait (c. 260) we see a new style created, the monumental mask, which became characteristic for Byzantium and the Middle Ages (fig. 16, plate X).[3] In our head of a man of advanced years the taste for the technique of incised lines does not, as in the portrait of Maximin, interfere so disturbingly with the modelling of the softer parts of the countenance. Compare in fig. 14 and fig. 15 the characteristics of the lower eyelid and of the lines from the wing of the nose to the angle of the mouth.

The rendering of the spiritual character is executed with great ability. It is an old man with deep lines on the forehead, but the firmness of the cheeks and mouth speaks of a fresh and energetic old age. The slightly raised brow, side-glance of the eyes and in-

[1] *Billedtavler*, lxv.
[2] ibid. lxiii, 744.
[3] ibid. lxv, 768.

clination of the head, taken together, suggest peaceful contemplation, and the mouth, in spite of the tightly closed thin lips, bears witness to gentleness of character.

In the 1907 catalogue of the Glyptothek an identification with Florianus, an emperor who reigned in the years 275 and 276, was proposed. Quite apart from the style, which, as we have seen, points to an earlier date, it is impossible to find a resemblance between the features of the head and the coins of Florianus: this emperor, fat, short-nosed, and without any hair on the neck, looks quite different.[1] Arndt and Bernoulli are right, therefore, in rejecting the identification. The latter proposes instead another, Trebonianus Gallus, who reigned 251–253. So far as style goes, that would fit better, but here again the coin-type is different[2]; a steep, strongly distorted forehead, a tall upper lip, a fuller mouth, a heavier chin and no beard on the neck. Moreover, Trebonianus Gallus has now been recognised in a magnificent bronze statue in New York, which has only been properly published since the appearance of Bernoulli's work.[3] That the bronze statue, almost 2½ metres in height, does not represent the same person as the male head in the Glyptothek requires no detailed proof.

I should not propose any fresh identification with an emperor if the resemblance to one of the coin-portraits of the period were not so striking. But doubt is simply excluded, and one can only wonder that the discovery was not made long ago. If the right profile of our head (fig. 17, plate x) is compared with the coin-type of Gordian I (fig. 18, plate x), the identity can be traced feature by feature, the same hair and outline of hair, the same low slanting furrowed forehead with brow which is slightly depressed at the root of the nose, the same long narrow hook-nose, short upper lip and oblique closed mouth, and finally complete agreement in the shape of the chin, side hair and neck hair.

Even without replicas, I should regard the reference as certain. But there is a replica in the Vatican, a bronze head, which Visconti described as Trebonianus Gallus.[4] In spite of damage and restoration, which have amongst other things made the nose shorter and straight, the same face can be recognised with a more realistic emphasis on the old age of the person represented.

Gordian I or, as his full title runs, Marcus Antonius Gordianus Sempronianus Romanus Africanus, was of noble birth; on his father's side he traced his descent back to the Gracchi, on his mother's to the emperor Trajan. His youth falls under Marcus Aurelius,

[1] Bernoulli, *Römische Ikonographie*, ii, 3, coin plate vi. 16.

[2] Bernoulli, op. cit. coin plate v, 1–2, and pp. 160 and 187.

[3] Gisela M. A. Richter, *Greek, Etruscan and Roman Bronzes* (New York, 1915), p. 154; R. Delbrück, *Bildnisse römischer Kaiser*, plates 34–35.

[4] Indistinctly reproduced in Hekler's *Bildniskunst der Griechen und Romer* (pl. 294b). For the bibliography see Helbig, *Führer* (3rd ed.), 673.

whom he loved and admired; he wrote a poem on the Antonines in thirty cantos, and composed speeches in their honour. His noble descent and literary tendencies made him popular in cultivated circles at Rome, and, under the emperor Caracalla, Philostratus dedicated to him his book on the lives of the Sophists. He had made himself popular with the masses by magnificent exhibitions in the circus, when he was quaestor and aedile; he was very rich and could afford it.

In Rome the emperor Maximinus Thrax was equally unpopular with all classes: with the senate as the rude barbarian, who in his youth had been a herdsman, and had only come to the throne by great physical strength and the favour of the soldiers; with the people, because, in preference to circus-games, he would rather apply the state money to the improvement of the country roads and military objects. Even Gibbon naïvely mentions the latter fact as a proof of the badness of Maximin's government.

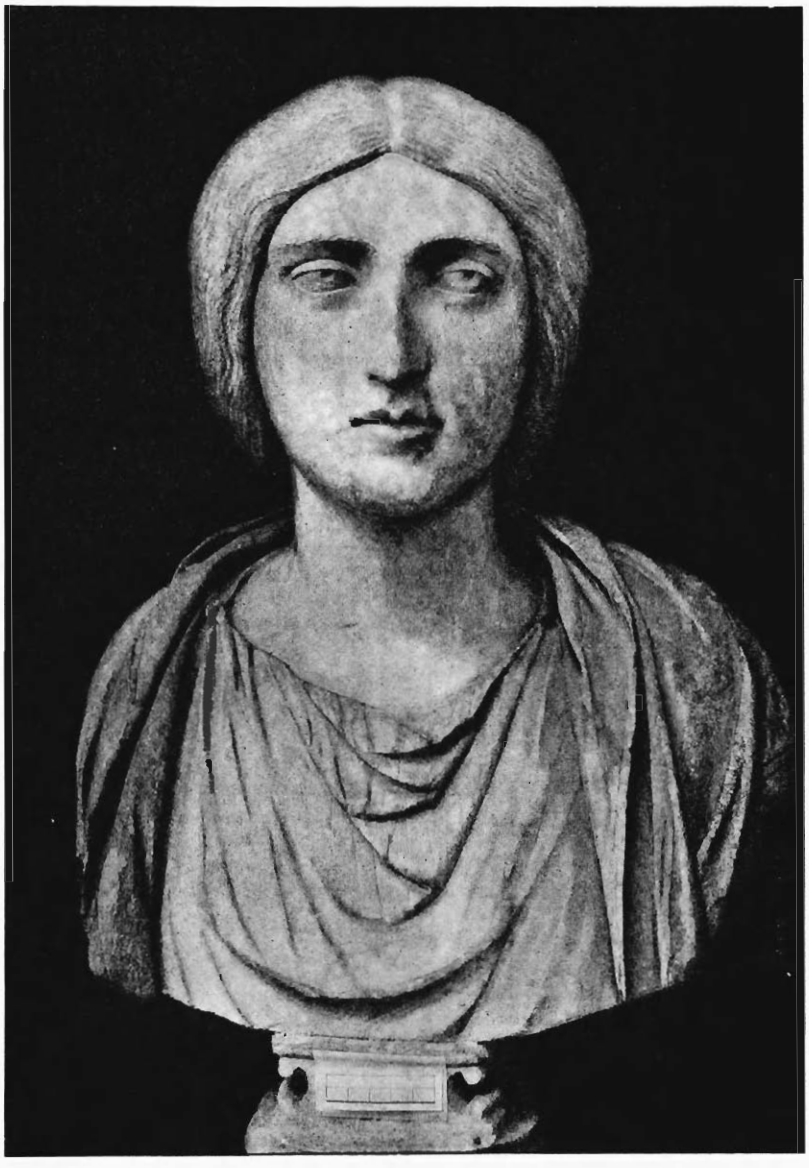
In the year 238 the legions in North Africa had killed Maximin's severe procurator, and in fear of punishment forced Gordian, who was proconsul there and popular because of his amiability, to assume the purple. Tradition reports that Gordian, who was eighty years of age, resisted vigorously, and even threw himself down on the ground when the soldiers pressed on him, but one of our sources remarks that the resistance was only feigned, because his life was already threatened by Maximin. So, together with his son, Gordian II, he had himself proclaimed as emperor, and marched from Thysdrus, where these events took place, to Carthage, where the inhabitants greeted father and son with rejoicings. From Rome came enthusiastic manifestoes of senate and people, while Maximin, who was detained in Gaul, foamed with rage, and in a speech to the soldiers described his antagonist as 'so broken down with age that he could hardly stand on his legs.'

The whole glory lasted only twenty to twenty-two days. The governor of Mauretania marched against the partisans of Gordian, defeated the son, who fell, and the father, when he received this message at Carthage, knew no other expedient than to take his life by hanging.

We should probably have had no portraits of this emperor, whose reign was so brief, had not the nephew of Gordian II come to the throne as Gordian III Pius and reigned six years (238–244). He took his title because he proclaimed the deification of his two predecessors. Thus there followed both cult and the erection of statues. The possibility is open that the bust of Gordian I, which we have in the Glyptothek head, is executed on the basis of an earlier portrait and thus does not quite accurately represent him as a man of eighty. One more thing may be explained by the later 'consecratio,' that there may be a certain disagreement in the time of life represented between the heads in the Vatican and the Glyptothek:

it would otherwise be peculiar for an emperor who reigned three weeks. On the other hand it is not out of the question that the head in the Glyptothek may be regarded as a slightly idealised representation of a vigorous man of eighty. And this Gordian evidently was; on coins he has a luxuriant growth of hair, while his son is bald, and in his biography [1] it is reported that he was a very sound sleeper, and also his fresh complexion is emphasised. From the point of view of art, the excellent head in the Glyptothek has not gained by our discovery. But Gordian I is surely an intellectual personality, whose wise and gentle features the historian will regard with interest.

[1] *Historia Augusta*, ch. 6.



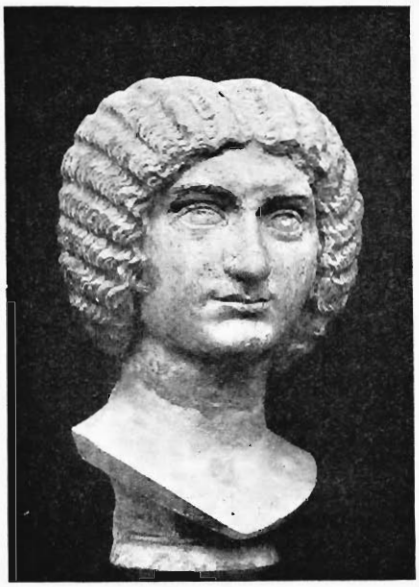
NO. I. FEMALE BUST IN THE NY CARLSBERG GLYPTOTHEK.

NO. 3. PROFILE VIEW OF NO. 1.

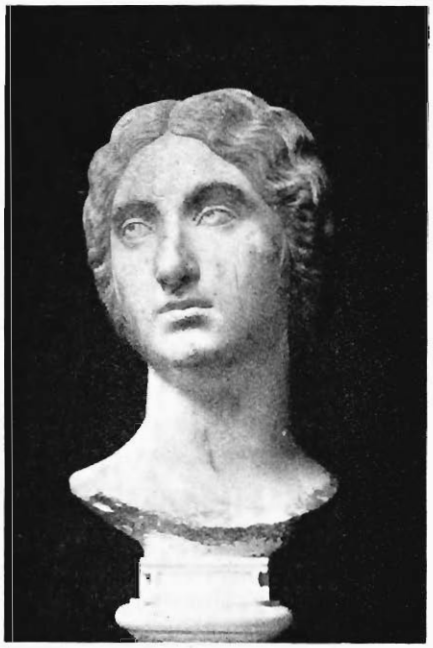
NO. 2. FEMALE HEAD WITH REMOVABLE WIG (NY CARLSBERG)

NO. 4. COIN OF CRISPINA.

NO. 5. FEMALE BUST IN THE CAPITOLINE MUSEUM.



NO. 6.
JULIA DOMNA (NY CARLSBERG).

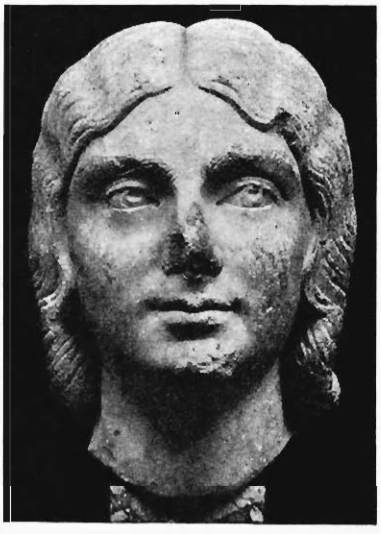


NO. 7.
SO-CALLED MANLIA SCANTILLA (NY CARLSBERG).

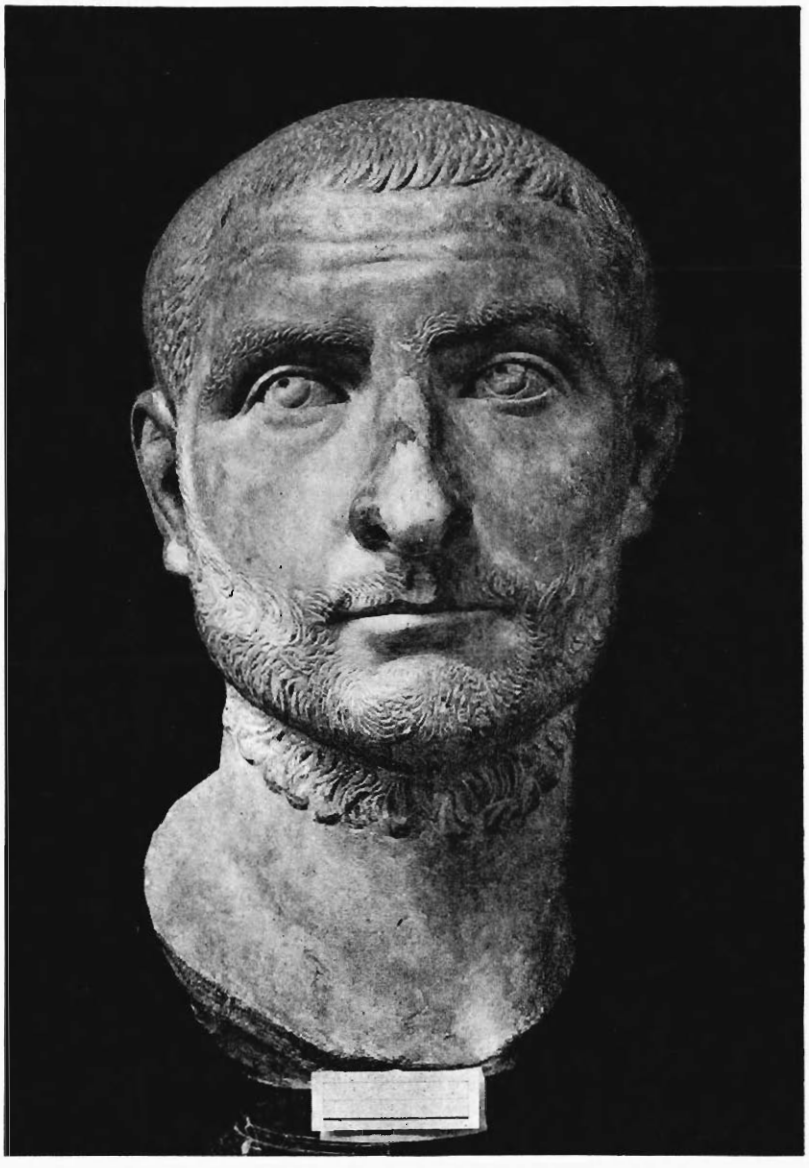
NO. 8.
FAUSTINA JUNIOR (NY CARLSBERG).

NO. 9.
LUCILLA (NY CARLSBERG).

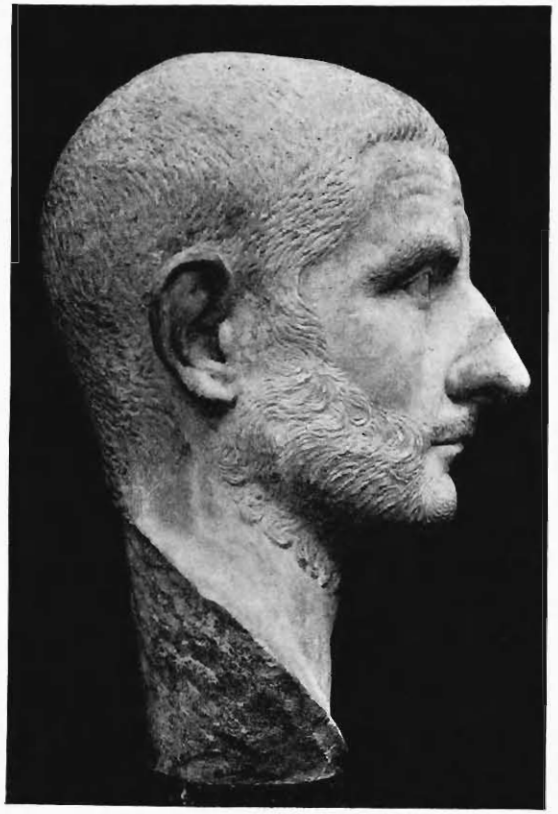
NOS 10, 11. PORTRAITS WRONGLY CALLED LUCILLA (NY CARLSBERG).



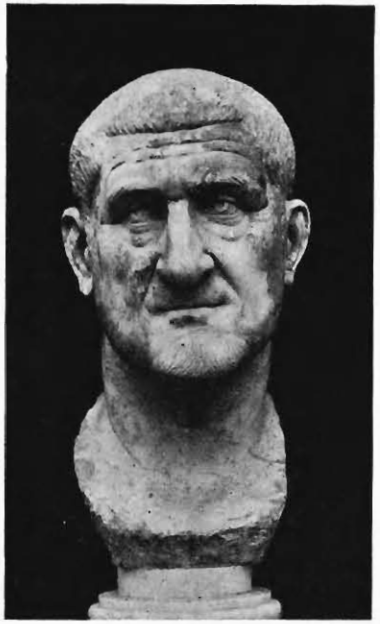
NOS. 12, 13. PORTRAITS OF THE AGE OF JULIA DOMNA (NY CARLSBERG).



NO. 14. MALE HEAD IN THE NY CARLSBERG GLYPTOTHEK.

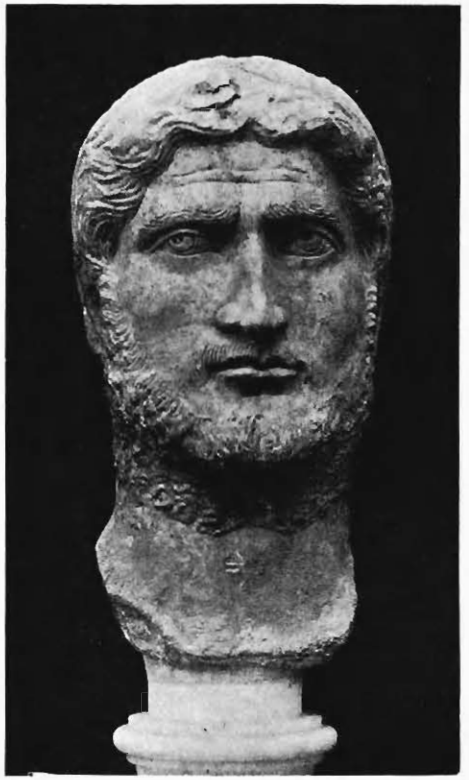


NO. 17.
PROFILE VIEW OF NO. 14.



NO. 15.
HEAD OF MAXIMINUS I (NY CARLSBERG).

NO. 18.
COIN OF GORDIAN I.



NO. 16.
HEAD OF GALLIENUS (NY CARLSBERG).