



Some Hellenistic Portraits

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SOME HELLENISTIC PORTRAITS.

1. PTOLEMY SOTER, the general of Alexander and founder of the Egyptian dynasty, is as well known to us numismatically as any figure in ancient history. His head appears not only on the coins of all his successors up to the time of the Roman conquest, but also on his own later issues, and therefore we have every reason to suppose that the portrait is a faithful one. On this question of verisimilitude in ancient portraits there are of course great distinctions to be drawn not only between periods but also between personages of ancient history.

Hellenistic portraits are, as a class, faithful renderings of nature, but we have still to make some reservations in comparing them with modern or with Roman likenesses. Idealism never died out of Greek art, and especially in the case of monarchs an official likeness is not always faithful in detail. This applies as much to coins as to statues or busts. Provided the coin shewed an easily recognised type, there was no need to reproduce accidental details. There is a tendency in all coin-portraits to over-emphasise the distinguishing personal features and to omit the unnecessary accidentals. One might take as an instance Alexander Balas of Syria. The length of his nose and the size of his chin were the most marked features of his face, and they are reproduced on all his coins. But the exact contour of his nose was not remarkable, and it appears as aquiline on some coins and retroussé on others.¹

The coins of Ptolemy Soter differ so much between the earliest and latest Egyptian issues that, but for the intervening links, the heads would hardly appear to be the same. This is due partly to the diminishing skill of the die-cutters, but mainly to the fact that in all probability each new coin copied the last rather than went back to the original prototype. But there are certain common features in the coins of Soter which are absolutely unmistakable.² (Fig. 1, No. 1.)

The first is the high forehead, slightly bald in front, which forms a heavy projecting bar above the eyebrows; the second is the bunch of hair in front of the ear; the third the very heavy fold of flesh over the outer eye-corners,

¹ B.M. Cat. *Seleucid Kings of Syria*, Pl. XVI., XVII.; Delbrück, *Antike Porträts*, Pl. 61, Nos. 22, 23.

² B.M. Cat. *The Ptolemies*; Svoronos, *Tà*

νομίσματα τοῦ κράτους τῶν Πτολεμαίων; Imhoof-Blumer, *Porträtköpfe auf antiken Münzen*, Pl. I., No. 2.

causing a sharp angle in the profile of the brow; and the fourth the strong projection of nose and chin in front of the line of the mouth. Fifthly we might add the invariably wild hair, though that is common to many Hellenistic monarchs. These are the features emphasised in all the coins, while details as to the length or shape of the nose, or the height of lip and chin, vary freely. It is these features which we must insist upon in any portrait claiming to represent Ptolemy Soter.

A number of heads are candidates for the position, as is natural considering the great importance of the subject. Some may be immediately dismissed.

(a) Bronze bust in Naples, No. 5596, called also Ptolemy Alexander, Alexander the Great, Philip, and Lysimachus of Thrace.³ (Fig. 4, No. 4.)

This head is too young for any of the known portraits of Soter, who did not assume the royal diadem till he was 62, and the lock of hair standing straight up on the forehead is a distinctive feature. The heavy neck and



FIG. 1.—HEAD IN LOUVRE, WITH COIN-PORTRAITS OF (1) PTOLEMY SOTER, (2) PHILADELPHUS AND ARSINOË II.

double chin are unlike the Soter coins, but there is sufficient resemblance about forehead, nose, and mouth to suggest relationship. We shall return to this bust again.

(b) Bronze bust in Naples, No. 5590, now usually agreed upon as Seleucus Nicator.⁴

Since Visconti's suggestion of Soter for this bust, its identity with Seleucus has practically been demonstrated. There is no resemblance to Ptolemy in any of the essential features.

³ Six, *Röm. Mitt.* 1894, p. 103; *Bronzen von Herculaneum* I., Pl. 69, 70; Comparetti and de Petra, *Villa Ercolanense*, Pl. IX. 3; Visconti, *Icon. Greca*, iii. p. 356; Arndt-Bruckmann, Pl. 91, 92; Wace, *J.H.S.* xxv. (1905), p. 90; Hekler, *Gk. and Roman Portraits*, Pl. 69.

⁴ Rossbach, *Neue Jahrb.* 1899, p. 53; Comparetti and de Petra, *Villa Ercolanense*, Pl. XI.; Visconti, *op. cit.* iii. p. 279; Wolters, *Röm. Mitt.* 1889, p. 32; Arndt-Bruckmann, Pl. 101, 102; Wace, *J.H.S.* xxv. (1905), p. 93; Hekler, *Gk. and Rom. Portraits*, Pl. 68.

(c) Marble bust in Naples, No. 6158, also called Antiochus IV. and Soter II.⁵

This also is a quite unwarrantable attribution. The bust shews a youth in the twenties, but he wears the diadem which Soter assumed when 62 years old. On the other hand there is considerable resemblance to Antiochus IV. Epiphanes, with whom the connexion is far more probable.

(d) Marble bust in Torlonia Palace.⁶

Compared by Arndt with c.

(e) Head in Louvre.⁷ (Fig. 1.)

This head is of great importance, for it has recently been published again as Soter by Delbrück in his admirable little work *Antike Porträts*. It has also the authority of de Villefosse, Wolters, and Scheerburg, and thus is at present the accepted attribution. Mr. Wace is dissatisfied with the resemblance to the coins, but thinks it may be Soter in middle age. Now our only evidence for Soter's appearance is his coin-portrait, but one would have thought a comparison of the coins with the head was decisive at a glance. All the essential features are absent. The forehead has the heavy bar in front, which is common to most Hellenistic heads, but shews no trace of incipient baldness. On the contrary there is a fringe of short, thick locks. There is no accumulation of hair in front of the ear, and the arrangement on the head is not wild and loose, but tight and careful, rather like a lady's modern Marcel waves. These might be variants due to vagaries of fashion, but features do not change after a certain age, and we find here an absolutely straight eyebrow and a loose, rather projecting, thin-lipped mouth. The face is heavy, fat, and amiable, with enormous goggle eyes, a rather small nose and chin, and has none of the fire and energy or the keen and rather cynical glance of the first of the Ptolemies. A different identification of this head will be suggested; for the moment we may dismiss it absolutely from the possible portraits of Soter.

(f) A recently acquired fragment in Copenhagen has met with some support of late, following its publication in Arndt, especially as it comes from Egypt. (Fig. 2.)

Its claim is based on the peculiar nose. But this nose, though paralleled in some of the later and more distorted coin types, is so distinctive that, if correct, it would infallibly have been exaggerated on the coins. The coins of Soter, though they give him a heavy nose with a thick tip, usually give



FIG. 2.—HEAD IN NY-CARLSBERG, COPENHAGEN.

⁵ Comparetti and de Petra, *op. cit.* Pl. XXI. 4; Arndt-Bruckmann, Pl. 97, 98; Hekler, *op. cit.* Pl. 72 A.

⁶ Visconti, *Monumenti del Museo Torlonia*,

Pl. XI. 43.

⁷ Delbrück, *Antike Porträts*, Pl. 23; Wolters, *Röm. Mitt.* 1889, p. 33, Pl. 3; Visconti, Pl. 64 B, 5, 6.

him a perfectly straight bridge, and apart from the nose it is difficult to find any point of resemblance. The eyebrow is quite straight in profile. The chin is heavy and fat, and does not show the clear-cut profile of the coins. There is no lock of hair in front of the ear, nor is the point of the nose sufficiently drooping. The expression of the mouth is quite different. Finally one may point out that, although the head comes from Egypt, there is no sign of the royal diadem, and therefore the field for identification is considerably widened, as the head need not belong to a royal personage at all.

The portrait of Ptolemy Soter remains, therefore, an unsolved problem. There are only two heads which appear to have any real claims to represent him. One is a cast from a missing medallion⁸ in the museum of Hildesheim, shewing an elderly, stern-featured man wearing the royal tiara. Unfortunately the head is full-face and difficult to compare with the coins. But the cast came from Egypt, and most of the features of the coin-portrait are present. The other is a very mutilated head found in Thera,⁹ and published by Hiller von Gärtringen. So far as it can be tested it resembles the coins.



FIG. 3.—BRONZE BUST IN NAPLES AND COIN-PORTRAIT OF PTOLEMY PHILADELPHUS AND ARSINOE II.

2. Ptolemy Philadelphus.

The field is held by Six and Rossbach's identification of the bronze bust in Naples, No. 5600¹⁰ (Fig. 3). With this we can compare a large series of double coin-portraits of Philadelphus and his wife Arsinoe, some of which were issued in his lifetime, some under his successor Euergetes, and some later still.¹¹ We may point out a superficial similarity in the fringe and the straight line of forehead and nose. There are no other points of

⁸ Delbrück, *op. cit.* Pl. 60, No. 5; Rubensohn, *Hellenistisches Silbergerät*, p. 44, Pl. VI. 32.

⁹ Hiller von Gärtringen, *Thera*, i. p. 245, Pl. 21.

¹⁰ Comparetti and de Petra, Pl. IX. 4;

Six, *Röm. Mitt.* 1903, p. 217; Rossbach, *Neue Jahrb.* 1899, p. 50; Arndt-Bruckmann, Pl. 93, 94; Wace, *J.H.S.* xxv. (1905), p. 91, Pl. VIII. 1; Hekler, *op. cit.* Pl. 73 A.

¹¹ B.M. Cat. *The Ptolemies*, Pl. VII.

resemblance. The *differentiae* of the coin are the huge round eye, the heavy hanging chin, the small mouth, and the peculiar hair. Particular attention must be paid to the latter, as Philadelphus is the only one of the Ptolemaic kings to wear such a *coiffure* on his coins. We have every reason, then, for supposing it an individual fad of his. The hair of the Naples bust is quite different. It lies flat on the head in natural, broad locks, a treatment resembling some Lysippic statues. Philadelphus, on the other hand, wears an elaborate arrangement of waves of quite a different appearance. Even if the *coiffure* were a passing fashion and the heavier chin a penalty of old age, we must insist on the round eye of the second Ptolemy, which disqualifies the Naples bust. In general its air of youth and somewhat ascetic vigour compares badly with the *bon vivant* Philadelphus.

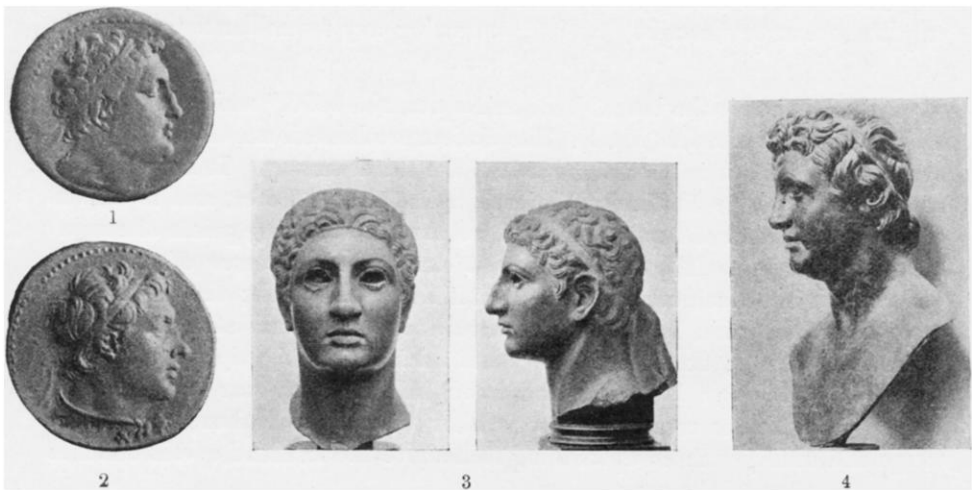


FIG. 4.—PTOLEMY III. (EUERGETES).

There is, however, one head which displays all the characteristics of the coins. This is the Louvre head already disqualified as Soter. (Fig. 1.) Here, and here only, we find on coin and bust alike artificially rolled hair, a short, thick fringe, unnaturally large round eyes, a heavy hanging chin, and a small nose. The likeness is so exact between coin and bust that it is difficult to point to any discrepancies at all. The chin of the bust is perhaps rather firmer, but that is the extent of the difference. The back of the head and neck and the tip of the nose are, of course, restorations.

3. Ptolemy Euergetes (Fig. 4) is known to us from two series of coin-portraits, one from Egypt,¹² one from Asia Minor and Cyprus.¹³ The question of his likeness is complicated by the fact that there is practically no resemblance between the two. In dealing with a distinction of this kind

¹² B.M. Cat. *The Ptolemies*, Pl. XII.

¹³ B.M. Cat. Pl. IX. Svoronos, *Νομίσματα τῶν Πτολεμαίων*, iii. P. 27.

Svoronos would have us choose the Egyptian portrait which he calls the official type, and reject the foreign type as more fanciful.

Such an argument appears very hazardous. It is far more necessary to provide a distinctive likeness for foreigners, so that they can easily recognise the coin, than for one's own country where the coin is more familiar. Just as our stamp engravers have always kept a free hand in the designs for colonial stamps, while clinging to very conservative designs at home, so the Egyptian die-sinkers always tended to produce a more or less hieratic type complicated with insignia of various kinds at home, while the best likeness appeared abroad. Now the foreign coins of Euergetes shew a very distinctive head (Nos. 1 and 2); the Egyptian coins a head of purely formal ideal appearance. In such circumstances we must take the foreign types as the basis for our investigations.

There are no strongly supported portraits of Euergetes at present, and only three can be brought forward as bearing any resemblance to the coin type.

(a) The first is the bronze bust in Naples, No. 5596,¹⁴ which has already had so many vicissitudes (No. 4). The diadem proclaims it one of the Diadochi, and its style puts it in the second half of the third century. It has sufficient resemblance to the Ptolemies to have been labelled Soter, and is almost certainly a member of that house. There are the following points of resemblance to the coin. The head is highest exactly in the centre of the skull, and there is not much occiput; the neck is fleshy and thick; the upper lip is very short; the chin is heavy; the mouth is strong and straight with a tendency to smile; the nose is heavy and thick with a big tip and a bend in the middle; the eye is strong and keen with a heavy bar at the outer corners, in which it resembles Soter rather than Philadelphus; the hair is rough and untidy with an upstanding lock above the forehead, and it bunches out on the nape of the neck.

If we could connect the Naples bust with Egypt, we should have, I think, a strong case for Ptolemy III. The two other heads provide that connexion.

(b) M. Svoronos of Athens has in his possession the cast of a small medallion found in Egypt and now lost. I believe it to present the same type as coin and bust. It appears, however, to have no diadem. This is not necessarily fatal to its connexion with the others, for, since it is clearly younger in age, it may represent Euergetes before he came to the throne. The thick neck and hair with its prominent forehead lock and bunch on the nape of the neck are similar; so are the thick nose, heavy chin, and incipient smile. The profile is rather more hatchet-shaped, and the eyebrow is straighter. As regards the latter point, however, it must be observed that the eye is much less in profile, and consequently would have to be modified in this particular. Without feeling quite convinced about this

¹⁴ Cf. p. 294.

medallion, I think there is some ground for connecting it with the other two types.

(c) In Copenhagen there is a fine Egyptian basalt head of a Hellenistic prince¹⁵ (No. 3), which appears to belong to the same type as these heads, although its character is very much modified by its hieratic appearance. Still a certain number of individual characteristics are permitted to appear. One is the bend in the nose which resembles the coins of Euergetes. On the other hand the bend in the eyebrow line is less clearly shewn. The face is more hatchet-shaped than the Naples bronze, though in this respect it compares with the medallion. The hair is neater, but the upstanding lock on the forehead is a valuable point of similarity. I am inclined to select the nose and the hair as Euergetes' most salient features, and therefore some importance must be given to this head for its obvious insistence on an unideal nose-form. Further points of interest are the very short upper lip and the full cheeks. Our difficulties in dealing with a head of this type are very great, because of the strongly conventional type of Egyptian Ptolemaic heads. But this is a Ptolemy and it is certainly not Ptolemy I., II., IV., V. or VI. whose coin-portraits are well known to us. Its strength and vigour, compared with what we know of the character of the later Ptolemies, tell strongly in favour of the great Euergetes, the conqueror of Asia.

4. Ptolemy IV. Philopator. (Figs. 5 and 6.)

The fourth Ptolemy is a monarch whose coins present us with a face as distinctive and individual as that of Ptolemy I.¹⁶ From them we can summarise the physiognomy of this first of the degenerate Ptolemies as follows:—The head is round, the cheeks fat, and the chin slightly underhanging. The hair is arranged in close flat curls of almost negroid type. The angle of crown and forehead is sharp, and the forehead is so vertical as to give to the front of the face an almost perpendicular profile except for the nose which projects strongly and is decidedly retroussé. The nose is the point seized upon by the die-sinker as characteristic, and is therefore, on the principle suggested earlier, liable to be exaggerated in the coins. We may further notice an eye widely opened but sharply angular at the corners—not round like that of Philadelphus—and finally slight whiskers.

It is possible to recognise these distinctive marks in a head in Vienna¹⁷ (Fig. 5) now labelled as an athlete, which came from Ephesus, a town in Ptolemy Philopator's dominions, but reconquered by Syria in 197 B.C. The diadem is not that of an athlete nor is it quite the ordinary flat monarch's type; it might conceivably be that of a priest. But this thicker type of fillet is not unusual for royalties, especially no doubt where they are *ipso facto* priests like the Egyptian monarchs. Similar *Wulstbinde* for instance appear on

¹⁵ Arndt, *La Glyptothèque Ny-Carlsberg*, Pl. 208.

¹⁶ B.M. Cat *The Ptolemies*, Pl. XIV., XV.; Svoronos, *op. cit.*: Imhoof-Blumer, *op. cit.*

p. 62, Pl. VIII. 9.

¹⁷ I am indebted to Professor Schrader for permission to publish this head.

coins bearing portraits of Seleucus.¹⁸ The style of the head is third-century, and our choice is practically limited to Seleucid, Ptolemaic, or Attalid dynasts. It does not bear the slightest resemblance to any of the earlier Seleucids nor to any of the Attalid sovereigns, whose coin-portraits we possess, viz., Philetairos, Attalus, and Eumenes II. We may therefore sum up the external circumstances as far as we are able as pointing to a Ptolemy, and we can confidently exclude from the discussion the three with whom we have already dealt.

For a comparison with the coins of Philopator the loss of the end of the nose is most unfortunate, since this is the most distinguishing feature of Ptolemy's face, but there is such a remarkable correspondence in all the existing grounds for comparison that the case is strong enough even without this final proof. Thus we find the same round head, the same flat curly hair, the same thick fringe and light whiskers. The angle of the forehead too gives to the head a straight facial profile. The cheek shows the same fulness, and the profile of the eye and the mouth are practically identical.



FIG. 5.—PTOLEMY IV. (PHILOPATOR).

The lip-corners turn down with just the same semi-sneering expression, and the wide-opened eyes have markedly angular corners. There are only two divergences: the under-chin is not so heavy—a fact easily explained by the youth of the head—and the forehead shews a larger apparent bulge above the nose. It is only apparent, because a glance at the full-face serves to shew that the excrescence in profile is not a real bulge of the frontal *sinus*, but two bony projections above the inner eye-corners separated by a deep cleft. Now this is a very distinctive feature, and it is most markedly emphasised in the coin, though in a different way. The swelling of the bone is shewn, but instead of projecting forward it projects more sideways, and so does not interfere with the line of the profile. The artist is thus enabled to put more emphasis on the nose. It may be argued also that the strong resemblance of the low flat nostril and the identical shape of the upper lip shew that the original nose of the bust was retroussé.

¹⁸ Delbrick, *op. cit.* Pl. 61, Nos. 15, 16; B.M. Cat. *Mysia*, Pl. XXIII. No. 12.

There is already one sculptured head widely accepted as Ptolemy IV.—the head identified by Watzinger¹⁹ in the British Museum relief by Archelaos of Priene known as the Apotheosis of Homer. (Fig. 6.)

This head occurs in the lower left hand corner of the relief on a symbolic figure called *Χρόνος* which is visible behind a symbolic female figure called *Οἰκουμένη*. The two figures are engaged in crowning Homer who sits on a throne before them between his two children *Ἰλιάς* and *Ὀδυσσεΐα*. The heads of the two figures certainly look more like portraits than ideal heads, and the male head wears the royal tiara. This caused Watzinger after a comparison with the coins to label him Ptolemy IV. and the female figure his wife the third Arsinoe.

This attribution I hold to be erroneous on the following grounds. The male head on the relief has a nose which makes a perfectly straight line with his forehead, and thus fails to conform to the most distinctive feature of Ptolemy Philopator. He seems further to have a heavier chin and rounder



FIG. 6.—DETAIL OF RELIEF BY ARCHELAUS OF PRIENE, WITH COIN-PORTRAITS OF (1) PHILOPATOR, (2) ARSINOE III., (3) PHILADELPHUS AND ARSINOE II., (4) ARSINOE II.

eye than the coin-portraits. The female figure wears a veil which is typical of the wives of Philadelphus and Euergetes, but is only found on the coins of Arsinoe III.²⁰ where she is definitely imitating Arsinoe II., the wife of Philadelphus. The length of the face and the nose correspond better with the earlier Arsinoe than with the later, who had a somewhat heavy and hatchet-shaped profile. On the other hand the male head corresponds very closely with the head of Ptolemy Philadelphus, and the crisscross cutting of the hair, though it may seem at first closer to the *coiffure* of Philopator, is a quite legitimate rendering, considering the hasty character of the carving, of the wavy hair-fashion of Philadelphus.

On *a priori* grounds it is true that Ptolemy Philopator, though not a monarch of very good reputation, is connected with Homer by the reference

¹⁹ Watzinger, 63rd *Winckelmanns Festprogramme*, 1903.

²⁰ Svoronos, *op. cit.*

in Aelian *V. H.* xiii. 22 to a temple dedicated by him to the poet. This is certainly reasonable ground for finding his portrait on this Apotheosis. But I hope to shew elsewhere that this relief belongs to a date much later than the reign of Philopator. On the other hand Ptolemy Philadelphus was the most famous of the great Hellenistic patrons of Literature, and to him was primarily due the patronage of the Homeric studies of the Museum of Alexandria. His services to Homeric study render the portrait of himself and his wife most suitable to this allegorical scene. To Philadelphus and Arsinoë I. far more justifiably than to Philopator and Arsinoë II. belong the epithets *Χρόνος* and *Οἰκουμένη*, and their two heads in juxtaposition formed the design of numerous issues of Egyptian coins.

5. Attalus I. of Pergamon. (Figs. 7 and 8.)

The coins of the Attalids are commonly said to bear in every case but one the head of Philetairos, the founder of the house, the exception being a single issue with the head of Eumenes II. Mr. Wace however published in the *Journal International d'Archéologie Numismatique* for 1903 a



FIG 7.—ATTALUS I. OF PERGAMON.

tetradrachm of Pergamon (Fig. 7, No. 3) with a head on the obverse of a distinctly different type from the well-known Philetairos head (Fig. 7, No. 1). His arguments failed to secure recognition, though the differences seem to me patent. The head is higher and less deep than the Philetairos head, the neck is thinner and the chin lighter, the eye larger, more open, and more intense. The lip-corners droop more, and do not shew the projection of the chin typical of the founder of the dynasty. The expression is far more serious and severe. One should observe too that one coin has a thin bunch of hair on the nape of the neck, the other none. The coin belongs to the end of the reign of Attalus I., and is just earlier than the personal issue of Eumenes II. It therefore falls between the Philetairos and the Eumenes issue, and would suit Attalus I., the intervening monarch. Coming as it does after the final establishment of the independence of the Pergamene kingdom it might well bear a portrait of the great king who had brought that about, Attalus I., conqueror of the Gauls. The marble head in Naples once labelled as Attalus

and Aratus²¹ is a purely arbitrary suggestion. The marble appears to be Pergamene, but there is no royal diadem, and the sword-belt suggests a general.

Since the publication of Mr. Wace's article, a head has been found at Pergamon and transferred to the Museum of Berlin, which shews a Hellenistic monarch of the earlier Hellenistic period. This has been published as Attalus by Delbrück somewhat tentatively (Fig. 7, No. 2; Fig. 8, No. 1.)²² He appears to regard it as more than dubious whether it is not really a Seleucus owing to its resemblances to the Naples Seleucus bust. There may be a certain resemblance in the profile of these heads, but this is very largely due to the later addition of a Seleucid *coiffure* to the originally short-haired Pergamene head, shewn in Figs. 7 and 8, without the later addition. In reality Seleucus' head is very long and rises at the back; the Pergamene head is short and highest in the centre. The eyes of Seleucus are short and close together; those of the Pergamene head large and wide apart. But the distinctive features of the head of Seleucus are the heavy vertical wrinkles running from nostril to chin. These are the real evidence for labelling the Naples

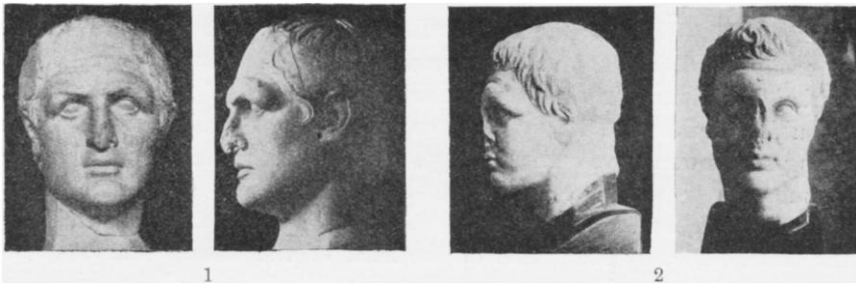


FIG. 8.—ATTALUS I. OF PERGAMON.

bronze Seleucus at all, since in other respects the resemblance to the coins of Seleucus is hardly conclusive. The Pergamene head shews no trace of these wrinkles, and will not bear for a moment comparison with the Seleucus coins. If it is not Seleucus, its date and finding-place point irresistibly to Attalus, and it is therefore of considerable interest to compare it with the possible Attalid portraits on the coins. Now this head could not be for a moment confused with the typical heads of Philetairos. Its broad forehead and slight chin bear no resemblance to the receding brow and jutting jaw of the first of the Attalids, but its resemblance to the coin published by Wace is immediately apparent. The profile with its remarkable swelling of the base of the forehead, its nearly vertical nose and down-turned mouth, slight chin and well-opened heavily-shadowed eye, are exactly reproduced on the coin. Although the hair and twisted wreath of the coin resemble Philetairos rather

²¹ Gerhard and Panofka, *Neapels Ant. Bildw.* No. 379; Arndt-Bruckmann, Pl. 109, 110; v. Bienkowski, *Darstellungen der Gallier*,

p. 26, Figs. 39, 40; Wace, *J.H.S.* xxv. 1905, Pl. X. 2; Hekler, *op. cit.* Pl. 73 A.

²² *Op. cit.* Pl. 27, pp. xxxviii-xl.

than the Pergamene head, it is much easier to explain these differences by assimilation with the earlier types than to accept the wholly divergent head as a variant of the features of Philetairos. The head too shews the same distinctive bunch of hair on the nape of the neck.

The coin and the Pergamene head thus appear to represent indubitably the same personage, who in that case can be no other than Attalus I. I can also propose a third portrait of Attalus in a youthful head from the National Museum in Athens, published by Arndt as a young Roman of Julio-Claudian period.²³ (Fig. 8, No. 2.) But the head has not the slightest resemblance to any Roman type. It is Greek and strongly affected by Scopaeic characteristics. But it is not ideal. The hair, the double wrinkle on the forehead, and the very individual mouth and cheeks leave us convinced of a portrait. The two views of this head, when compared with the original form of the Pergamene head, display the closest identity in detail combined with one most striking difference. The Athens head is that of a young man well under thirty, the Pergamene at least twenty-five years older. It will be noticed that the Attic head has no diadem, and therefore can hardly represent a reigning prince. Attalus came to the throne at the age of twenty-seven, and did not assume the royal title and diadem for a year or two later, after his defeat of the Gauls. His close connexion with Athens renders an earlier dedicated portrait of him in that city easily feasible. A detailed comparison of the two heads shews a remarkable similarity in the very individual treatment of the forehead with its double wrinkle and heavy bulge over the nose combined with a thick swelling at the outer eye- corners. Eye, nose, mouth, and chin are the same except for the greater firmness brought by age to the lips, a greater fleshiness of the underchin, and a heavier, sterner sinking of the eye. The head shape is the same, especially the profile of the back of the head. The ears shew the same projection of the top, looked at from the front, and the thick dark locks of hair are not dissimilar. The younger head shews softer cheeks, lips, and eyes, and thus gives a very different first impression, but the resemblances in detail make the identity of the subjects highly probable.

6. Eumenes II. of Pergamon. (Fig. 9.)

Eumenes II. of Pergamon is known to us from a very badly preserved coin in the British Museum.²⁴ (No. 2.) His facial type is nearer to the receding forehead and jutting jaw of Philetairos than to his father's. The head is long and high at the back; the hair is in rather disordered curls, with slight whiskers in front of the ears; the ear lies back, and the face is hatchet-shaped with a receding forehead and a long, rather Semitic nose. The corners of the lips are tucked in, and the jaw projects strongly, coming in almost a straight line from ear to chin and ending, one would say, in a point. A head in the Roman *Magazzino Comunale*²⁵ reproduces these features fairly closely (No. 3). Unfortunately the nose, which would clinch the matter here as in

²³ Arndt-Bruckmann, Pl. 399, 400.

²⁴ B.M. Cat. *Mysia*, Pl. XXIV. No. 5.

²⁵ v. Bienkowski, *Darstellungen der Gallier*, pp. 24, 25, Figs. 35-38.

the case of Ptolemy IV., is broken, and restored in modern times. The general character of this head in shape, angle of setting, in hair, profile, and especially in the strong pointed jaw, immediately suggests a connexion with the coin. It shews the same projection of the occiput, the same receding forehead, the same mouth with strong dimples at the corners of the lips. The head was found in Rome, but it bears considerable general resemblance to the Pergamene statues of Gauls dedicated by Attalus. Bienkowski has for that reason associated it with the dedication of Attalus in his recent work *Die Gallier in der griechischen Kunst*, and described it as a Greek warrior. The absence of the diadem would seem at first to tell against an identification with Eumenes, but it must be remembered that Eumenes was probably well over thirty when he came to the throne. His father died at the age of seventy-two, and he was the eldest son, while the Roman head is that of a fairly young man. Though he is quite unlike his father, there is sufficient resemblance between this head and the normal type of Philetairos, especially about forehead,

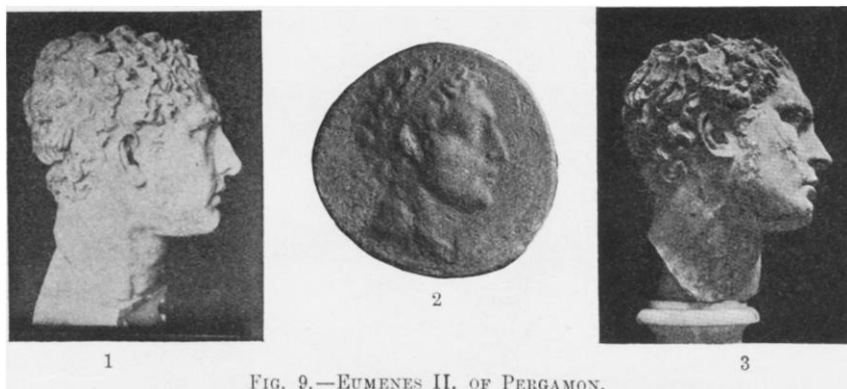


FIG. 9.—EUMENES II. OF PERGAMON.

eye, mouth, and chin, to suggest a family relationship, and thus far to support the claims of the head to represent Eumenes.

No. 3 is a Roman head in the possession of Miss Talbot of Margam, S. Wales, which has always been connected with the Pergamene Gauls, though Bienkowski first pointed out its identity with the Roman head. The head is not quite a replica, but is undoubtedly the same person. In this case also the nose is restored. It is difficult, however, to agree with Bienkowski's suggestion that the heads are merely Greek warriors, for the type is a strongly individual one; the peculiar structure of the forehead above the nose, the tucked-in lip-corners, and the very pointed jaw are personal and by no means ideal features. A glance at the full face suggests a portrait. If then we have two copies of a single portrait connected with the Pergamene Gauls by common consent and distinctly of a Greek and not a Gallic type, we are surely justified in attributing it to a prominent leader on the Greek, *i.e.*, Pergamene side. Eumenes, the eldest son and heir of Attalus, appears a reasonable *a priori* suggestion, if the likeness can be borne out by the coin-portrait.

The likeness is very fairly cogent, but I must admit that I propose the attribution to Eumenes with some reserve. The fringe in the coin seems to be freer and more wavy than on the bust, and the swelling of the brow over the nose is not nearly so marked. On the other hand the general shape of the head, the hatchet-shaped profile, the pointed jaw, the eye, and the very individual mouth are strong points of resemblance.

7. Antiochus II. of Syria. (Fig. 10.)

The Seleucidae present us with far the most complete series of coin-types, since they never tended to substitute their ancestors' heads for their own in the fashion of the Ptolemies and the Attalids. So far as the coins

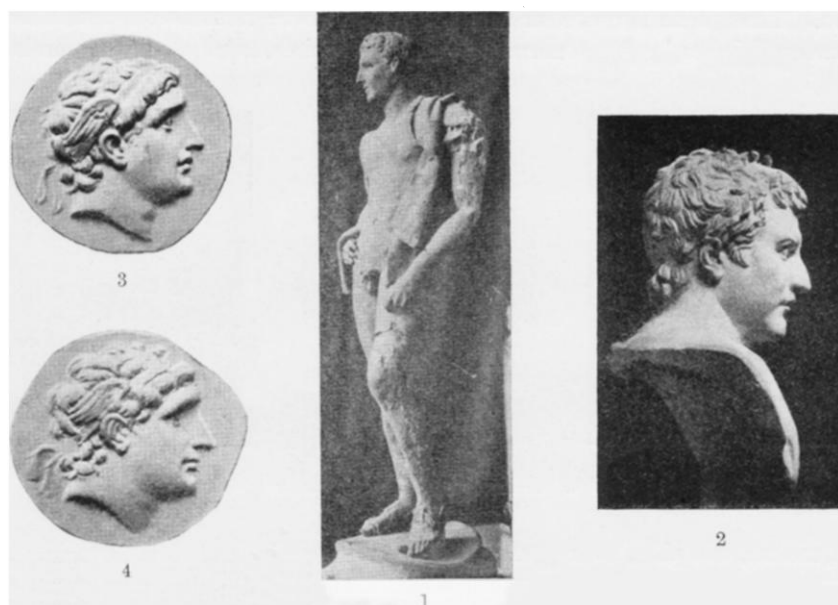


FIG. 10.—ANTIOCHUS II. (THEOS) OF SYRIA.

go, there is practically no controversy for the period down to Antiochus II. Theos, or after Antiochus III. called The Great. But between 261, when Antiochus II. ascended the throne, and 222, when Seleucus III. gave place to Antiochus III., there are a number of issues of Antiochus II., his sons Seleucus II. and Antiochus Hierax, and his grandson Seleucus III., on which numismatists are not entirely at one.

In particular there is a group of coin-portraits issued at Alexandria Troas which has lately been the subject of controversy.²⁶ They are distinguished from other Seleucid coins by the addition of a wing to the royal

²⁶ Macdonald, *J.H.S.* 1903, pp. 92 foll.; A. J. B. Wace, *J.H.S.* 1905, pp. 101-2.

diadem, which is interpreted by Dr. Macdonald as a local cult sign of Alexandria Troas, since an identical obverse issued at Ilion shews the same type without the wing. But it seems unlikely that Ilion and Alexandria Troas should have shared a mint at which the Alexandrian coins had a wing added, while the Ilion coins went without. It is surely more probable that the Alexandrian coins belong to a later issue, in which the old die was used, but on which the wing was added for the purpose, in Babelon's opinion,²⁷ of emphasising the descent of the Syrian royal house through Stratonice, daughter of Demetrios Poliorcetes, with the house of Antigonos and its ancestor Perseus. Dr. Macdonald wishes to see in some of these coins portraits of Antiochus II. Theos, and in some that of his usurping successor Hierax. But a close study of the types leaves it very difficult to detect any fundamental difference, and I believe them all to represent Antiochus II.

Turning to sculpture we have two proposed renderings of Antiochus II. One is a poor Romanised Scopaic athlete bust in Naples,²⁸ of which no more need be said, the other a very interesting bronze statuette of a Hellenistic personage with the attributes of Perseus.²⁹ (No. 1.) The *petasos*, or perhaps an arrangement of wings on the head, is lost, but we see the bands that fastened it and the ankle-wings. Schreiber suggested the identification with Antiochus II, and it stands the test of close comparison with the coins. The small, deeply-recessed eye, the thin, small, nervous mouth, the long, pointed nose, the rather underhanging chin, shew a clear likeness to the coins which is strongly confirmed by the common Perseid attributes. Mr. Wace is certainly wrong in connecting the straps with the athletic head-dress on a head in the Capitoline Museum.

With the bronze statuette and with the coins I should like to connect another bronze head in Naples known as Gaius Caesar or a Greek warrior.³⁰ (No. 2.) The profile shews too great a resemblance for the connexion to be fortuitous. We are faced, however, with the problem that there is no diadem to prove royalty. The head is very young, one would say barely over twenty, and Antiochus Theos did not become king till the age of twenty-four. If we look at the earliest of the coin-issues (No. 3, Fig. 10), which must belong early in the reign, we see the same sensitive, rather full lips, the upper one projecting beyond the lower as in the bust. Later issues, on the other hand, and the bronze statuette hold the lips more firmly.

The Seleucids had a strong family likeness, and a good claim might be made for Seleucus II., the son of Antiochus II., on the evidence of the coins. The difficulty of the diadem would, however, be aggravated, as Seleucus II. ascended the throne about the age of twenty, if not younger.

²⁷ *Rois de Syrie*, pp. lv. foll.

²⁸ Inv. No. 5594; Rossbach, *Neue Jahrb.* 1899, p. 55, Pl. I. 2; Furtwängler, *Masterpieces*, p. 296; Wace, *J.H.S.* xxv. (1905), p. 95.

²⁹ Hauser B.P.W. 1903, p. 137; Schreiber, *Studien z. d. Bildnis Alexanders*, p. 272; Wace, *J.H.S.* 1905, p. 98.

³⁰ Bernoulli, *Röm. Icon.* ii. p. 134.

8. Agathocles of Bactria. (Fig. 11.)

Agathocles was ruler of an Indo-Bactrian kingdom at some period during the first half of the second century B.C. He was sufficiently prominent to have earned the nickname of the Just, and his coins are well known.³¹ With these it is worth while comparing the fine portrait head in the Louvre, once called Caesar and also Antiochus III.³² The latter is an impossible suggestion for the head, since his portrait is well known on coins, and presents no point of comparison. He had a short upper lip, a protruding mouth, and a pronounced occipital development, features all of which are absent from the Louvre head. On the other hand a comparison with the coins of Agathocles shews an identity in the rather curious head-shape, which is highest at the back, and then a little flattened behind, in the short straight locks of the fringe—a detail reproduced in the other coin-types of this House such as those of Diodotus and Euthydemus II.—the flat locks above the diadem, and a very individual lock of hair starting above the temple and hanging in front



FIG. 11.—AGATHOCLES OF BACTRIA.

of the ear. We should compare also the thin horizontal forehead wrinkles, the marked wrinkle at the lip-corners, and the curved form of the brows. Though the tip of the nose is restored, it must also have been long like that on the coin, and the long flat upper lip and tightly pressed mouth are identical. We see the same short clear-cut chin, and a very remarkable similarity in the way in which the frontal *sinus* overhangs the root of the nose, making a pronounced angle. The high cheekbones and the modelling of the face are similar. Such points of resemblance can only lead to the conclusion that the same individual is represented on the coin and by the head.

³¹ A. von Sallet, *Die Nachfolger Alexanders des Grossen in Baktrien und Indien*. P. Gardner, B.M. Catalogue, *The Greek Kings of Bactria*

and India. Imhoof-Blumer, *Portratköpfe*, Pl. VI., No. 29.

³² Arndt-Bruckmann, Nos. 103, 104.

9. Thucydides. (Fig. 12.)

Thucydides is well known to us by the Naples inscribed herm³³ (No. 3) and the fine head in Holkham Hall.³⁴ (No. 1.) Here we have copies of an early fourth century portrait of the great historian. Like most portraits of this date the emphasis is on the type rather than on the individual. In spite of the wrinkles and incipient baldness, neither of these heads provides a really personal likeness.

There is in the museum of Corfu a hitherto unpublished head shewn between the other two (No. 2), which displays considerable similarity to the Thucydides type. Now there is one clear and obvious difference. The two well-known heads are not later than 380 B.C., while the Corfu head is certainly not earlier than 280. If, therefore, it stands comparison at all, it is a Hellenistic rendering of an earlier and more classical type.

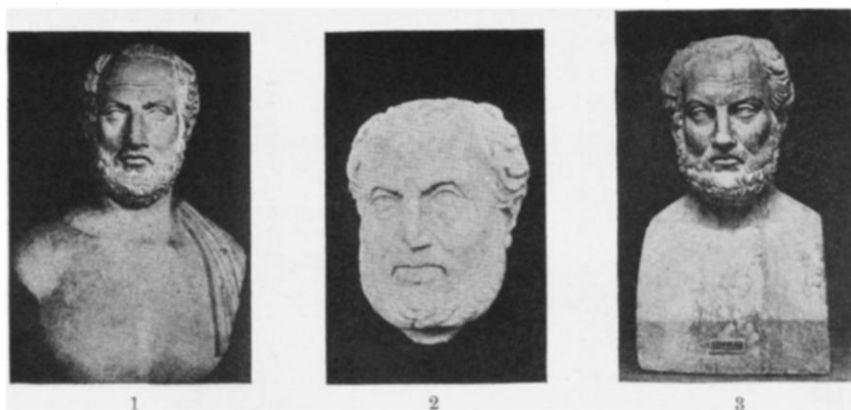


FIG. 12.—THUCYDIDES.

In comparing the heads we see at once a general resemblance in the shape and proportions, the incipient baldness, and the character of the beard; on looking closer we find a great similarity in the shape of the eyebrows and the triangle of wrinkles above the root of the nose, the horizontal forehead wrinkles, the wave of the hair back over the ear, the oblique furrows from the nostrils, and the firm down-turned mouth. The differences are simply due to two circumstances; the man is ten or twenty years older, and the portrait is a century younger. I believe that we have in the Corfu head a new and vastly more interesting portrait of Thucydides represented by a Hellenistic artist as the old and disillusioned exile on his return after the Peloponnesian war. There is a hard restraint about the mouth and a soured look in the eyes which proclaim the man whose life has been embittered.

³³ Inv. No. 6239; Arndt-Bruckmann, Pl. XVIII.; Hekler, *op. cit.* Pl. 15.
128, 130; Michaelis, *Jahrbuch*, 1890, p. 157; ³⁴ Hekler, *op. cit.* Pl. 17.
Bernoulli, *Griech. Icon.* i. pp. 159, 180, Pl.

10. Aristotle. (Fig. 13.)

The portrait of Aristotle has been satisfactorily settled by Studniczka³⁵ on grounds of the close resemblance between a large number of cognate heads and the inscribed bust of Aristotle once in the possession of Fulvius Ursinus. (No. 2). These heads are all due to a common archetype, and all have one further feature or absence of feature in common, namely, that the noses of all are missing or restored. I put forward a new claimant to this family with diffidence, since Studniczka has himself rejected this bust—a bronze bust from the Herculaneum Villa—as unlike the others.³⁶ (Nos. 6 and 8.) To me however it

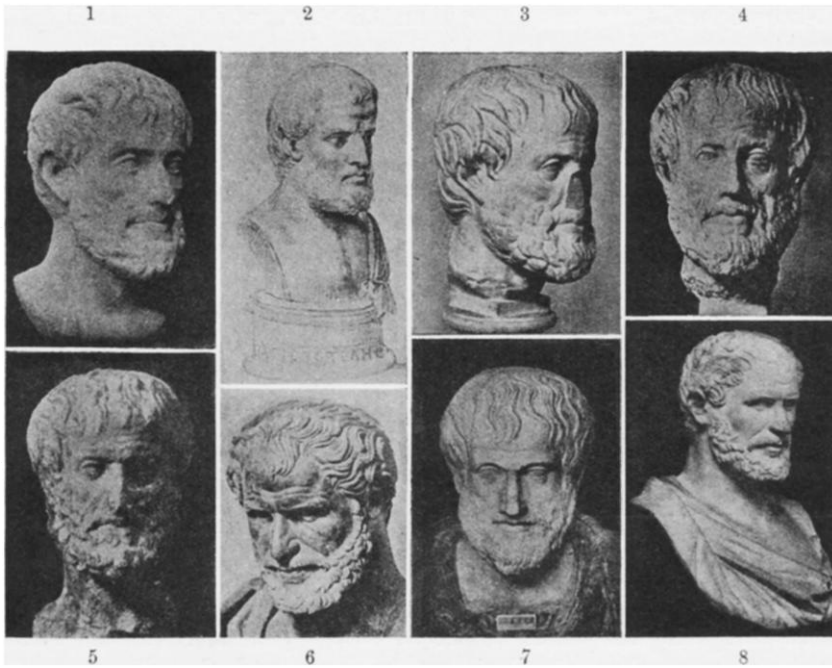


FIG. 13.—ARISTOTLE.

seems not only like them but incomparably the best of them, and it has its nose intact. The points of resemblance are the hair, the fashion of the beard, the excessive width of the upper part of the head, and the shape of the straggly locks on the forehead, the straight line of the mouth with the moustache curving over it at the corners, and a sharp angle between the forehead and the top of the head. There are only two points of difference—the eyes are more deeply sunk and the mouth does not project so far nor shut in so tight a line. In general too the expression is more anxious and less calm. However, on looking at the drawing of Fulvius Ursinus' bust for what it is worth, we see that in both these points the Naples bronze is, if anything, closer to it

³⁵ *Das Bildnis von Aristoteles*; Hekler, *op. cit.* Pl. 87.

³⁶ Arndt-Bruckmann, Pl. 671, 672, Hekler, *op. cit.* Pl. 94 B.

than the other busts. Its eyes are also deeply sunk, and its mouth is not so firmly compressed. I believe the differences again to be a matter of date. The main series of busts belong to an archetype which dates from about the same time as the Corfu head of Thucydides—about 280; the Naples bronze belongs to the later Hellenistic age with its inevitable demand for pathos and expression. The bronze bust belonged to an eminent philosopher—the owner of the Herculaneum Villa—and on *a priori* grounds one is safe in attributing considerable popularity and fame to any of the busts which he collected. The nose is a feature of some interest, as we happen to possess a description of Aristotle in which his nose is called aquiline.³⁷ Although the bridge of the nose in the Naples bronze is straight for most of its length, it does drop perceptibly at the tip and project in rather a beaky fashion over the upper lip. The same description calls him rather bald, bony, with small eyes, a thick beard, a small mouth and a broad chest. Studniczka, however, is undoubtedly right in suggesting that the description is largely due to Arabian imagination. The small eyes are vouched for in antiquity, and a great particularity in his *coiffure* and dress. His semi-baldness is also established and the fact that he stammered. The latter point ought to be of some importance in regard to the shape of his mouth.

GUY DICKINS.

³⁷ Cf. Studniczka, *op. cit.* p. 34.