RALF VON DEN HOFF AND PETER SCHULTZ

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EARLY HELLENISTIC PORTRAITURE
AN INTRODUCTION

This book is about portraits produced in the Greek world during one of the most turbulent and exciting times in human history, the early Hellenistic period (ca. 350–200 B.C.E.). In addition, this book is about something else: the intellectual tools and models that we use to examine and interpret archaeological evidence – what Ian Hodder has called the "frameworks of meaning" – and how these tools and models inform our understanding of the portraits produced during a key period of artistic transition.[1] The nature of the volume is thus art historical, archaeological, and methodological. Indeed, the fifteen chapters of this book are unified not only by their common concern with the portraiture of the fourth and third centuries but also, paradoxically, by their commitment to individual approaches and radically diverse methodologies. The volume can thus be read as an introduction both to a number of specific problems within the field of portrait studies and to the dominant frameworks of archaeological thought as applied to a controversial and exciting body of evidence: portraits produced at the dawn of the Hellenistic age.

Before turning to these problems and approaches, a definition of our primary subject – the early Hellenistic portrait – is in order. The early Hellenistic period, in particular the middle of the fourth century, is often seen as the moment in which artists in the Western tradition became concerned with the "re-presentation" of physiognomic likeness. For this reason, studies of ancient Greek portraits take this moment as their starting point. But is it certain that *likeness* should be (or was) the defining attribute of an ancient Greek portrait in the first place? It does not seem so. Indeed, students of ancient portraiture have consistently used three loosely defined, sometimes overlapping, concepts as criteria for "portraiture" as a genre.

For some scholars, as we shall see, the traditional notion of likeness is, in fact, fundamental. For others, however, a "true portrait" should communicate something of the inner psychological life of the "sitter." Still others favor a genre definition based solely on epigraphical evidence with no reference to an image at all. Complicating the picture is the fact that these criteria are modern and thus problematic for defining the genre as it may have been seen by the early Greeks. In other words, even though each of these criteria might be useful for determining whether any given image would have been considered a "portrait" by an ancient audience, there

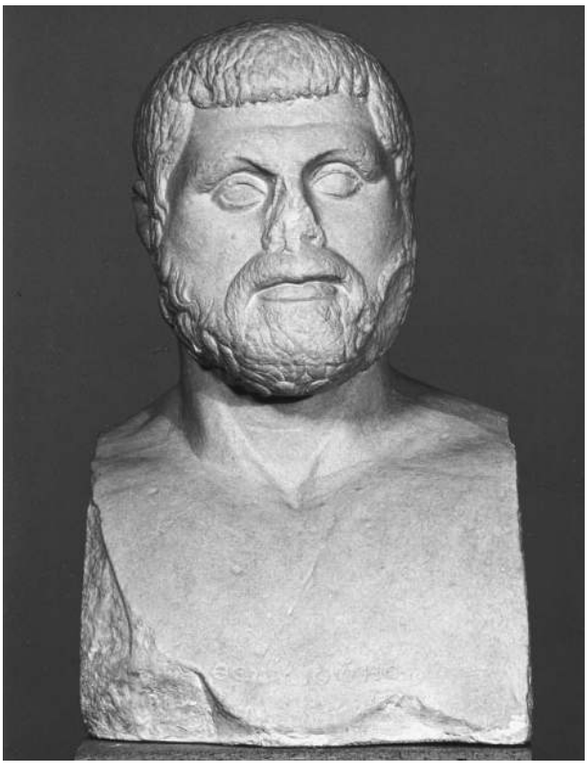
1. Kroisos from Anavyssos, Attica, ca. 530 B.C.E. Athens, National Museum inv. 3851. Marble. The base is inscribed: "Stay and mourn at the tomb of the dead Kroisos, whom raging Ares destroyed one day as he fought in the foremost ranks." Photo: Olga Palagia.

2. Phrasikleia by Aristion of Paros, ca. 550 B.C.E. Athens, National Museum inv. 4889. Marble. The base is inscribed: "The tomb of Phrasikleia. Maiden I will always be called, since instead of marriage this is what the gods have allotted me." Photo: Olga Palagia.

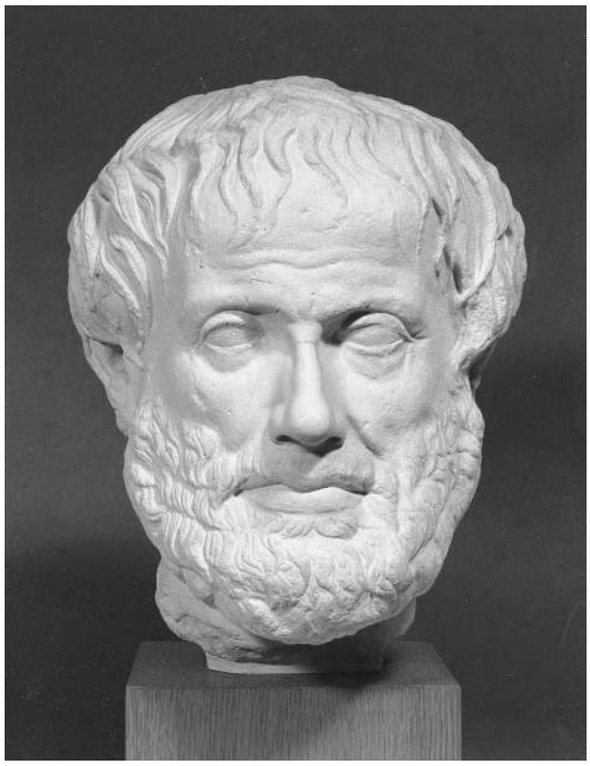
remains a conceptual problem with their applicability to ancient visual culture. This point that has recently been raised by Graham Oliver:

> The ancient historian might be less anxious whether the statue of an honorand was what an art historian might describe as a portrait statue, or a proto-portrait statue, or simply a statue identifiable as a particular individual by its inscribed base but not necessarily by the sculpted physiognomy. In fact, these distinctions made by art historians concerning portrait statues is not at all obvious from the [epigraphical] evidence. . . . [T]he use here of "image" *and* "statue" *and* "portrait" *and* "portrait statue" [thus] implies not separate classes of object but rather the intentional blurring of modern distinctions.[2]

This is a key point. How is the art historian to respond? We believe that the most straightforward answer is an appeal to ancient *intentionality,* a move already made by Ernst Buschor in 1947 and 1960 and more recently by Jerome Pollitt in 1986.[3] For Buschor, Pollitt, and others, the portrait was defined as *an intentional representation of a person that included*



3. Herm of Themistokles from Ostia. Roman copy after a bronze original of ca. 470 B.C.E. Marble. Ostia Antica, Museo Ostiense. Inscribed: "Themistokles." Plaster cast. Munich, Museum für Abgüsse Klassischer Bildwerke inv. 353. Photo: Heide Glöckler.



4. Portrait of Aristotle. Roman copy after a bronze original of ca. 320 B.C.E. Marble. Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum. Plaster cast. Munich, Museum für Abgüsse Klassischer Bildwerke inv. 113. Photo: Heide Glöckler.

a sufficient number of specific features to make the image recognizable to viewers. For us, it is the *intention* on the part of the ancient artist or patron to create a recognizable image of an individual that is of fundamental importance for the identification of a portrait as such. Why? Because an appeal to ancient intentionality encompasses the three common criteria for portraiture noted above and because the presence of this particular form of intentionality (or agency) can be archaeologically documented. Indeed, if these three criteria – likeness, psychological depth, and epigraphical testament – are seen as interconnected components of visual culture, then they can serve as a framework of meaning that allows us to understand a given image as a "portrait," as an *eikon* – an image that resembled, replaced, or duplicated the represented subject.

Under this broad definition, the specific features of an image that qualifies it as a "portrait" might include a name inscribed on its base, as is the case for most Greek portraits and for many Archaic *kouroi* and *korai* such as Kroisos from Anavyssos (Fig. 1) or Phrasikleia from Merenda (Fig. 2); an attempt to capture the individual's unique personality, like the early fifth-century portraits of Themistokles (Fig. 3) or Pindar (see Fig. 38); an attempt to capture a physical likeness of a "sitter," like the well-known fourth-century portrait of Aristotle (Fig. 4); or a combination of all three, like the famous early Hellenistic Demosthenes of Polyeuktos (see Figs. 35–37). If artistic intent to produce a recognizable image of an ancient personage can be demonstrated via *any* of these three criteria, then it should probably be acknowledged that we are looking at an image that was considered a "portrait" by its ancient maker and patron.

This definition allows a change of focus within the field of portrait studies. Indeed, the primary questions asked in this book do revolve not around the traditional concerns of identification and classification of images but rather around how concepts like individuality, realism, and likeness can be understood at precise moments within the history of early Hellenistic culture and how artistic intent (with all its attendant social and political associations) can be recognized, reconstructed and – most important – interpreted by students of ancient Greek art.

TRADITIONS

Within the history of art, the study of ancient portraits has a long tradition. Indeed, early works such as Pirro Ligorio's *Antichi heroi et huomini illustri* (1550) and Fulvio Orsini's

Imagines et elogia virorum illustrium (1570) show that ancient portraiture has been studied as a specific body of evidence – with its own particular challenges – for more than four hundred years.[4] For historians of ancient art, this tradition is both a blessing and curse. On one hand, early interest in ancient portraits ensured that a vast body of literature and evidence would be preserved for future study. On the other hand, the majority of scholarship on portraits produced until the 1970s was very traditional in nature, focusing exclusively on the identification of "sitters" and on the canonization of certain views regarding the development of style.

For the Renaissance humanists, well before Ligorio and Orsini, the corpus of portraits of Roman emperors provided a visual record of ideal rulers.[5] The portraits of the Greeks were equally praised as icons of admired literati and esteemed politicians of the past.[6] The fact that these historical personalities were seen as moral and cultural exemplars, combined with the pervasive curiosity as to what these famous ancient Greeks and Romans actually looked like, provided the basis for early interest in ancient portraits. These concerns were pervasive, and for this reason later work – specifically that taking place in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries – saw no methodological change. Scholars at this time were concerned with the discovery of new images, the collection of ancient portraits, and the controversies over the portraits' identities. Thus Orsini's work remained standard until Visconti's *Iconographie grecque* was published, well over two hundred years later in 1811.[7]

The nineteenth and early twentieth centuries saw little change within this established tradition. While new concerns set within historicist and positivist frames refocused questions directed at ancient portraits, the foci remained fairly similar. One change was that scholarly attention was directed at portraits' internal development as independent artistic products. Greek portraits produced between the fifth and first centuries B.C.E. were given particular consideration. In accordance with Jacob Burckhardt's dictum concerning portraiture in the Italian Renaissance, the rise of interest in the individuality of a given "sitter" was taken as the key underlying *movens* of the genre's development.[8] Additionally, in order to address the ever-present question of chronology, the notion of relatively consistent *Zeitstile* – constructed sets of formal characteristics believed to be shared by objects sculpted in the same milieu – provided the methodological framework for contemporary discussions. This particular conceptual apparatus was established and developed, especially in Germany, before and after the Second World War.[9] Even with these developments, the traditional collection and reconstruction of these portraits' histories, in terms of date and identification and style, were the main achievements of the period.[10]

In 1965, Gisela Richter's groundbreaking study *The Portraits of the Greeks* synthesized the current state of knowledge and changed the field forever. Richter's range extended from the first representations of poets, philosophers, and politicians of the fifth century B.C.E. to the last portraits of the independent Ptolemaic kings of the end of the first century B.C.E. and beyond.[11] Although her principles of organization differed little from those of the Renaissance antiquarians, it was Richter's brilliant insight that only a complete catalog of evidence – both literary *and* artistic, both Roman copies *and* Greek originals – could lay the foundation for further research. Chronologically, Richter's work stands as a turning point. It is no coincidence that soon afterward the study of ancient portraiture underwent a massive paradigm shift, with the hitherto dominant stylistic, antiquarian, and art-historical approaches being transformed by a newfound interest in broader, sociocultural critiques.

In terms of sheer volume, it was the study of Roman portraiture that set the pace for inquiry in portrait studies at this time. Indeed, the study of Greek portraiture owes much of its development to questions asked of the portraits of Rome. This methodological point – with all its implications – is key to understanding the evolution of scholarship over the past three decades. During this time, the process of production and dissemination of portraits in the Roman empire via copies was studied intensively. Picking up the methodological thread first spun by such earlier scholars as Ranuccio Bianchi Bandinelli and Otto Brendel, interest in portraits as self-conscious and propagandistic representations embedded within very specific social contexts became increasingly important.[12] Since many of these Roman portraits were set on inscribed bases, the interaction between text and image – a complex and long-neglected relationship – became the subject of intense study.[13] Also of growing importance at this time was the analysis of the interdependence between Roman portraiture and wider cultural values. This included issues of public and private settings, fashion, and modes of representation.[14] The traditional position of portraiture within art-historical discourse as a set of objects that simply preserved physical likeness was transfigured. Indeed, the faces of the ancients became the ideal surface upon which social and political histories might be written. Of equal importance at this time was a new attention to language and its attendant complexities, which produced an innovative concentration on modes of communication and on the often problematic relationship among patronage, intent, and reception in the ancient world.[15]

In the field of Greek portraiture, art historians borrowed these methodological tools and began using similar conceptual frames to study images of Greek rulers. A seminal change in the study of Greek portraits was Tonio Hölscher's *Ideal und Wirklichkeit in den Bildnissen Alexanders des Großen,* published in 1971. In this key work, Hölscher's primary concern was to discern the manner in which Alexander consciously shaped his *actual* public appearance by way of his portraits and to arrive at an understanding of how these por-

traits visually communicated political messages at the end of the fourth century.[16] Following the lead set by Romanists, the question became, "How did ancient Greek statesmen and kings construct their visual identities, and how were their images meant to be received by their audiences?" Soon afterward, Hölscher himself asked this question of the fifth-century portrait of Perikles, taking into account the programmatic setting of this image in order to reconstruct its original meaning.[17]

Even though Hölscher drew new attention to the contextual issues that surround ancient portraiture, it is interesting that this new interest in context was (and has been) limited to the study of Greek *rulers.* Helmut Kyrieleis's *Bildnisse der Ptolemäer* (1975), for example, treated questions of typology and style within the frame of Hellenistic Egypt, and Bert Smith's *Hellenistic Royal Portraits* (1988) discussed a wide variety of different problems surrounding the phenomenon of royal images.[18] Two recent treatments of Hellenistic royal portraits in Egypt have focused on the relationship between traditional Pharaonic and Greek features in royal representation.[19] A new bibliography, specific to the study of Greek ruler portraits, was published in 1990.[20] Robert Fleischer's book on the portraits of the Seleukids (1991), Andrew Stewart's *Faces of Power: Alexander's Image and Hellenistic Politics* (1993), Marianne Bergmann's *Die Strahlen der Herrscher* (1998), and François Queyrel's *Les Portraits des Attalides* (2003) all represent prominent examples of the diverse approaches being brought to bear on ancient portraits – and all deal exclusively with official images of kings and queens.[21] What can be said about other forms of portraiture?[22]

In marked contrast to Hellenistic ruler portraits, other periods and problems of Greek portraiture have received far less attention. Indeed, only two other periods in the history of the genre have been explored with comparable intensity: the fifth and the first centuries B.C.E.

The early Classical period marks a crucial point in the history of Greek portraiture. Inspired by the new positivism of the nineteenth century, early scholars of the period attempted to define the nature of fifth-century portraits as purely art-historical phenomena and to question the origins of visual "individuality" in the genre. Controversy has raged over this issue since Ernst Pfuhl and Franz Studniczka's famous discussion in 1927–9.[23] Pfuhl argued for the rise of "individual portraits" in the late fourth century, whereas Studniczka recognized individual features in earlier images, possibly those belonging to the late Archaic and early Classical periods. Interest in this notion of "origins" has not faded since.[24] Indeed, although it is now acknowledged that the early fifth century saw the rise of a new type of portrait in which individual (but not necessarily realistic) features and physiognomic characterization played an increasingly important role, and that these developments formed the basis for further evolution of the genre in the fifth century, the reasons and meanings for these radical changes have not been discussed.

With regards to the first century B.C.E., focus has settled upon the interdependence of Greek and Roman portraiture, with Delos as a distinct point of contact.[25] This concern – a legacy of earlier debates on the character and development of Roman portraiture as a whole – has produced some interesting results. Indeed, it is now widely accepted that the well-known "realism" of first-century Roman portraits must be understood as a part of the broader phenomenon of Hellenism in both the East and West. At the same time, the success of realism in Italy did, in fact, depend on particular values held in high esteem by Roman society itself, like *severitas* or the prestige of old age, for example. Roman "realism" is thus not a simple sign of interests in outside appearance or likeness, let alone a typically Roman phenomenon, but rather a mode of representation with its own set of independent values and meanings. The connection between these values and the Greek Mediterranean deserves further treatment.

Other current problems are worth noting. In terms of vocabulary, for example, it is now common within portrait studies to carefully distinguish among *likeness*, *realism,* and *individuality* as distinct aesthetic concepts.[26] *Likeness* – the physical resemblance that (might) exist between the sculpted image and any given "sitter" – is both the most intriguing of the three and the most difficult to prove given the lack of independent visual records. Also important in this discussion of likeness is the fact that Greek and Roman portraits depended not on semblance for identification but rather on inscriptions. If portraits were identified by inscription, then why the development of likeness? And if we assume that likeness was demanded from patrons at certain times, we are then put into the troublesome position of explaining this factor as a cultural phenomenon (with its own particular causes) without actually being able to demonstrate the correspondence of any given image to its "sitter"![27]

Realism too is a problematic term. Since the nineteenth century, realism has been defined as a means of social critique; and yet social critique seems to have been a rare concern for ancient portrait makers. If, on the other hand, we allow realism to apply to particular features of ancient portraits alone – separating it from its nineteenth-century sense – then the word can be used to denote nothing more than the surface naturalism and the lifelike appearance of an image. Critical here, however, is the fact that this idea of surface naturalism and lifelike appearance is not the same as *likeness.*[28] In other words, an image can reflect a sense of realism and still not be an actual likeness of anyone.[29]

Finally, it is now acknowledged that the *individuality* of any given portrait can be seen as quite distinct from both the portrait's apparent likeness or realism. A portrait can quite easily be at variance with either common visual experience or typological norms without being a likeness of an individ-

ual and without being realistic. In antiquity, physiognomic features and attributes could be and were used to characterize the individuality of a sitter without necessarily mirroring his or her true appearance.[30]

Besides these periods and problems of vocabulary, other conceptual perspectives have engendered a recent and growing interest in other genres of Greek portraits, such as images of philosophers, intellectuals, and statesmen.[31] Portraits have also been studied as elements of social practice and means of symbolic action.[32] Even more recently, particular functions and contexts of portrait statues have been analyzed, such as portraits of family groups and portraits as votives.[33] The key concepts of *pathognomics* vs. *physiognomics* – the seemingly unchangeable physical composition contrasted with the actual facial expression of a portrait – have also been explored in detail.[34] The body language and habits of statues have been taken into account as normative and significant features of representation.[35] The unifying principle in this wide body of work is the fact that portraiture from all periods of Greek art has been subjected to a new sort of scrutiny: These studies do not dwell on style alone or on the importance of rulers; rather, they treat setting, message, and iconography together as an inseparable whole – the *medium of portraiture* in the broadest sense.

During the past fifty years, new finds have also expanded our knowledge of portraits in nearly all periods of Greek art. The fifth-century bronze head from Porticello (see Fig. 100), its later colleague from Brindisi, Fittschen's revolutionary identification of the third-century portrait of Poseidippos (see Figs. 77, 102), the final identification of the portrait of Chrysippos, a new inscribed portrait of the orator Antiphon, and the now nearly complete Hellenistic statue of a poet from Klaros in Izmir are only some of the new discoveries.[36] On the other hand, other portraits have been removed from the corpus of ancient works, like the seventeenth-century group of bronze heads from Livorno, which until recently had been viewed as Roman copies of fourth- and third-century Greek originals.[37] The stage has thus been set for new developments.

NEW DIRECTIONS

Due to the abundance of recent evidence and the revolutionary changes in interest and method over the past fifty years, the need for a new overview of Greek portrait studies is growing. A comprehensive and up-to-date introduction to Greek portraiture is missing; only Susan Walker's important *Greek and Roman Portraits* begins to deal with the problems and issues now being raised.[38] To be sure, handbooks have contributed chronological or thematic overviews, but these are mostly reissues of older scholarship. In 1984, R. R. R. Smith provided a new edition of Richter's *The Portraits of the Greeks;* in 1988 Klaus Fittschen published a collection of seminal older articles on Greek portraits; and Karl Schefold in 1997 revised his 1943 book *Bildnisse der antiken Dichter, Redner und Denker.*[39] Though these important publications brought new light to the ongoing discussion, all are necessarily retrospective in that they are reeditions or revisions of older publications. The way forward is thus open. But where to go?

Despite the huge interest in the field of ancient Greek portraiture, gaps remain. Important periods and phenomena of the history of Greek portraiture have been neglected. This is especially true of the early Hellenistic age. A large number of portraits (often, unidentified) from this period remain practically unpublished, and questions of chronology remain deeply problematic. It is also uncertain how portraits from this era should be understood when seen against the backdrop of the equality enforced by Athenian democracy, a phenomenon so well attested in Attic grave reliefs.[40] The relationships between form and function of portraits as votives and honorific monuments have been addressed only recently, and the relevance of material and format of Greek portrait statues has barely been treated.[41]

Equally interesting is the fact that the study of inscriptions on statue bases – one of the defining characteristics of ancient portraiture – has received almost no serious attention within Greek portrait studies. Here, epigraphy and art history are often viewed as distinct disciplines.[42] In antiquity, however, no statue was perceived without its inscription, which was, of course, far more than a means of identification. Indeed, more inscriptions than portraits have been preserved for us. Since we very often know their original setting, this class of evidence is of the highest importance if our goal is to recontextualize portraits in their ancient settings. The overall contribution of portraits to the design of public space in a broader sense has also been neglected, insofar that Tonio Hölscher's key study on the statue of Perikles has not been taken as a starting point for further research.[43]

In this particular context, it is also worth remembering "that there is more to portraiture than likeness, style and iconography."[44] Indeed, recontextualizing Greek portraits within new frames of meaning must become increasingly important. Because Greek portraiture was central to the development of Greek art, especially after the fourth century, a better understanding of it necessarily moves the history of Western art forward as a whole. This is especially true in terms of understanding broader aesthetic phenomena, appreciating changes in society and visual culture, and recognizing comparisons between different genres and real habits of practice.[45] With this new range of options open, it is still worth asking what the methodological abilities of the "old-fashioned" iconographic, formal, and stylistic analysis might be. How can more "conservative" methods contribute productively to the modern study of Greek portraits and to what these images convey as cultural history?

Hence, in addition to the obvious need to publish new *testimonia* and to reexamine carefully the images themselves, it is critical to push research into unexplored methodological territory. If it is agreed that a fully contextual approach has the most to offer and that portraits were, in fact, active ingredients of a thriving and complex social matrix, such exploration can probably produce best results when carefully focused on a particular, relatively brief period.[46] Such a close reading opens the door to deeper understanding of the material, and a tight chronological focus allows the majority of evidence belonging to a specific historical and social context to be compared relatively comprehensively.

The importance of the early Hellenistic period for the development of Greek portraiture is obvious in more than one sense. The period was defined by radical changes in social and political orders and by a series of corresponding changes in visual culture.[47] It has been considered to be the starting point of individual portraits (*Individualporträts*) in the modern sense and a turning point in the interest in realistic appearance comparable to the revolution in portraiture during the Italian Renaissance.[48] In addition, it marks not only the rise of the importance of kings in Greek culture but also a new differentiation of representation of status groups and a boom period within the genre as a whole.[49] The first portraits of living human beings on Greek coins also belong to this time frame. Of equal importance is the ubiquitous spread of Greek culture to the east, allowing the development of new patterns of representations in foreign realms.[50] Considering the significance of early Hellenistic portraiture in the development of Greek art generally, it seems decidedly unusual that this period has never been the subject of concentrated study. It is the purpose of this collection of essays to fill this gap in the research to some extent, to raise new questions for future exploration of the genre, and to provide a diverse set of conceptual frames through which this material may be seen.

This book is divided into four parts, each of which treats a distinct set of issues and problems. In Part I, "The Transformation of the Classical Legacy," two chapters treat portraits that mark a transition away from the world of Classical Greece. Indeed, it is becoming increasingly clear that the early Hellenistic cannot be understood without taking developments of the previous century into account: The blossom of portraiture in the early Hellenistic period finds its roots in the middle of the fourth century. Artists like Lysippos were still held in the highest esteem in the first years of the Hellenistic, and the sons of Praxiteles partially dominated the production of portraits in Athens during this time. This Classical legacy and how its traditions were transformed in the late fourth and third centuries in the workshop of Praxiteles are the subject of Chapter 2 by Aileen Ajootian. Equally relevant to this notion of the transformation of the Classical are the Attic grave reliefs of the fourth century. Although grave reliefs ceased in ca. 317–307, this set of evidence remains an important record for the role and character of portraits in Athens in the first years of the Hellenistic period, especially if these portraits are taken as broad cultural illustrations of Athenian democratic ideology; in Chapter 3, Johannes Bergemann assesses the complex relationship that existed between these key monuments and fourth-century portraiture.[51]

Part II of this book, "Styles and Patterns of Representation," comprises six chapters that attempt to grapple with particular problems of genre and style. Ralf von den Hoff discusses naturalism as a new variety of formal language and the nature and means by which notions of the "Classical" and the "natural" intertwined to produce modes of viewing portraits in the early Hellenistic period. Next, in Chapter 5, Sheila Dillon treats the important issue of women's dress and portraiture during this time frame. As she shows, the generalized view of women's portraits in the fourth and third centuries was marked by its own set of formal conventions, conventions that are only now beginning to be understood. Dress also plays a major role in the following chapter by Wilfred Geominy, who treats the famous Daochos Monument in Delphi. Geominy shows how style, setting, and costume all worked together to create a group of portraits the meaning of which was utterly dependent upon deep contexts. Stefan Schmidt follows with an important chapter on a fascinating subgenre within the field of portrait studies: portraits of artists and literati. Here he shows how particular iconographic conventions were at work within a specific set of early Hellenistic portraits. In Chapter 8, Jack Kroll demonstrates how portraits on coins obeyed their own medium-specific conventions and how the Hellenistic kings crafted a select set of portrait images for wide public consumption. Andrew Stewart, on the other hand, grapples in his chapter with the famous new fragments of Poseidippos and the direct ramifications these new lines have on our understanding of "realism" and "truth" in early Hellenistic portraits.

Problems of "Patrons and Settings" form the focus of Part III, which comprises four papers that address various issues of patronage, viewing, and space in the early Hellenistic world. Chapter 10 is written by Catherine Keesling, who examines the setting – and resetting – of early Hellenistic portraits on the Athenian Acropolis. Ralf Krumeich addresses issues of setting in his essay too, though now in an attempt to recontextualize the religious nature of early Hellenistic portraiture as a whole. Graham Oliver is also deeply concerned with setting and context, providing in Chapter 12 for the first time a comprehensive list of portraits commissioned in Athens during the early Hellenistic period and a detailed analysis of how and why these images were erected. Part III concludes with a chapter by Peter Schultz, who reexamines the original appearance, meaning, and setting of Leochares'

Argead portraits set up in Olympia after Philip II's triumph over the Greeks at Chaironea.

Finally, Part IV, "Out of Athens: Egypt and the Spread of Hellenistic Styles," presents two chapters that treat early Hellenistic portraits produced away from Athens. Olga Palagia discusses the identity of a controversial marble portrait found in Athens, concluding that Berenike II is represented; and in Chapter 15, Marianne Bergmann focuses on the style and iconography of the famous group of philosophers and poets in the Serapieion in Memphis.

This brief summary of chapters is revealing. Indeed, as the range of scholars included in this book makes clear, this volume has another goal related to the history of research in ancient Greek art. Publication in the field of ancient Greek portraits frankly exposes the national preoccupations of academic interest. In Germany, for example, the compilation and analysis of material in terms of style, typology, and iconography has for long dominated, despite Hölscher's early pace-setting study on Alexander. On the other hand, it might be fair to say that American and British scholars more often focus on broader phenomena in their cultural contexts. This is not to suggest that the study of portraiture is confined to these nations, nor that such methodological borders have remained impenetrable. Rather it is to acknowledge that, despite a wide and growing range of crossover studies and the revolutionary change of interests in the past thirty years, such academic borders still exist between English and German speaking scholars.[52] These borders are the product of academic traditions established before World War II and are enforced by problems of language.[53]

We want to explode this divide. Indeed, we believe that crossing these long-standing boundaries is crucial and represents a chance to expand the range of methodological approaches and to compare these approaches within the academic frames outlined above. Bringing together chapters that do not deny their methodological traditions allows critical discussion of method and material to be initiated across boundaries. As the present volume intends to demonstrate, the result is a broader understanding of Greek portraiture of the early Hellenistic period.

NOTES

1. Hodder and Hutson 2003, 156.
2. See Oliver, Chapter 12 in the present volume, § "Location: The Control of Space."
3. Buschor 1947, 1960; Pollitt 1986, 59. Schweitzer 1957/1963, 169, added individual facial features to this definition; cf. Fittschen 1988a, 2.
4. Sections of Pirro Ligorio's previously unpublished 1550 manuscript specifically treating ancient portraits are now published in two fine volumes edited by B. P. Venetucci (1992, 1998). For Orsini 1570, see the revised edition published in 1606. Smith 1988, 147, gives the fundamental summary. *Current overviews of the genre:* Voutiras 1980, 11–18; Pollitt 1986, 59–78; Fittschen 1988a, 9–15; von den Hoff 1994, 11–15; and Bažant 1995, as well as its review by Giuliani 1998b. The imitation and the re-creation of portraits of ancient Greeks and Romans in the modern periods is also widespread; see Fittschen 1985.
5. Fittschen 1985; Haskell 1993, 26–36; Haskell 1995, 37–48. The most important earlier studies were Giovanni Mansionario's *Historia imperialis* (published around 1320) and Andrea Fulvio's *Illustrium imagines* (published in 1517).
6. Haskell 1993, 36–41, and 1995, 50–3.
7. Fittschen 1988a, 10. See also, e.g., Venetucci 1992. A good discussion about the "who is who" discussions is presented in Frischer 1982, 132–74. Visconti 1811.
8. Pfuhl 1927/1988; Studniczka 1928–9/1988; Richter 1955; Schweitzer 1963, 115–97; Boehm 1985; Burke 1995; Burckhardt 2000, 139–281.
9. Pfuhl 1930; Krahmer 1936; Horn 1937; Kleiner 1940; Curtius 1944; Buschor 1949/1971; Alscher 1957.
10. Arndt and Bruckmann 1891–1942; Bernoulli 1901; Hekler 1912a,b; Lippold 1912; Poulsen 1931; Paribeni 1934; Hinks 1935; Laurenzi 1941; Poulsen 1942; Schefold 1943; Buschor 1947, 1949/1971. See also the articles reprinted in Fittschen 1988b, 39–278. During the nineteenth century, Visconti (1811) was the basis of research.
11. Richter 1965.
12. *Copies and typology ("Bildnistypen"):* Fittschen 1969, 1970, 1971 (esp. 219–24); Trillmich 1971. See also Fejfer 1998 for a discussion of the trends. *Portraits and propaganda messages:* Brendel 1931; Zanker 1973, 1975, 1976; Bergmann 1978; Zanker 1979; Weber and Zimmermann 2003. (Studies on imperial family groups and dynastic propaganda have been particularly important: Rose 1997; Boschung 2002.) For Bianchi Bandinelli, see Bažant 1995, 103–5. Generally, also see Bažant 1995, 133–48.
13. *Inscriptions:* Zanker 1979, 367–8, with Fejfer 1998, 51–2. For the relevance of inscribed bases and their settings, see Zimmer 1989; Witschel 1995; Fejfer 1998, 51–5; Sehlmeyer 1999; Lahusen 2003.
14. See, e.g., Zanker 1979, 1982, 1987, 1989; Balty 1991; Gazda and Haeckl 1993; Fejfer 1999; Schneider 2003. Ridgway (1986, 13, 22), observing a "sterile" and "fossilized" stagnation in the research on Roman portraits in that the field that "still follows German guidelines established a century ago," does not recognize these developments. For Roman statuary, see Stewart 2004.
15. Bažant 1995, 133–48.
16. Hölscher 1971. Gauer (1968) and Metzler (1971) also demonstrate the new interest in similar questions.
17. Hölscher 1975/1988.
18. Kyrieleis 1975; Smith 1988; Himmelmann 1989. In Walker (1995, 50–60; 1999, 55–66), for example, this subfield is the only genre of Greek portraits studied in a separate chapter.
19. Albersmeier 2002; Stanwick 2002.
20. Queyrel 1990.
21. Fleischer 1991; Stewart 1993; Bergmann 1998. Cf. Laubscher 1985, 1988, 1991, 1992; Smith 1993, 1996; Stewart 1997, 208–12; Thomas 2002.
22. *Critiques of stylistic analysis:* Smith 1991, 17–18; 1997, 415; Zanker 1995d, 474; see also Stewart, Chapter 9 in the present volume. *Use of style as a chronological criterion:* Fittschen 1992a,b; cf. Zanker 1995d, 474 (in connection with the radical up-dating of Poseidippos). See also the discussion regarding the date of the so-called Therme Ruler: Himmelmann 1989; Meyer 1996b. In Roman period research, style is still seen as the means by which a single portrait head or copy might be dated; see n. 12 above. The idea of establishing dates by stylistic means has been revisited in the field of Hellenistic portraits; see, e.g., von den Hoff 1994; Brown 1995; Meyer 1996b; Kunze 2002.
23. Pfuhl 1927/1988; Studniczka 1928–9/1988.
24. Schweitzer 1939/1963, 1957/1963; Richter 1961–2; Gauer 1968; Metzler 1971; Voutiras 1980; Himmelmann 1994, 49–88; Giuliani 1998a; and, most recently, Himmelmann 2003; Raeck 2003; Bol 2004a; Vorster 2004; and Bergemann, Chapter 3 in the present volume. The portrait of Themistokles, found in 1939, was a turning point for these discussions; cf. Voutiras 1980, 14–17.
25. Smith 1981, 1988; Zanker 1995d; Fowler 1996; Tanner 2000. See also Bažant 1995, 148–52.

26. For detailed treatments of these terms see the contributions by Bergemann, von den Hoff, and Dillon (Chapters 3–5, respectively) in the present volume.

27. Richter 1955. See also von den Hoff, Chapter 4 in the present volume, on the portrait of Pindar.

28. See Stewart (Chapter 9) and von den Hoff (Chapter 4) in the present volume, yet see Metzler 1971.

29. See Bergemann, Chapter 3 in the present volume.

30. Voutiras 1980. And this brings us full circle to the notion of intentionality. A depiction of a historical personage in Greek and Roman art originally identified by an inscription can be called a portrait – whether the image is a faithful physiognomic likeness or not – specifically because *intent* is indicated by the act of inscription. This definition would hold true for Archaic kouroi as well as "realistic" late Hellenistic portraits. See Buschor 1947, 1960; Fittschen 1988a, 2–5; and Walker 1995, 28–40; 1999, 31–44.

31. *Philosophers:* Smith 1993; von den Hoff 1994; Zanker 1995b; Stewart 1997, 212–16; Wrede 2005. *Intellectuals:* Zanker 1995b,d. *Statesmen and generals:* Krumeich 1997, 2002a.

32. Tanner 1992.

33. *Family groups:* Hintzen-Bohlen 1990; Löhr 2000. *Votives:* Himmelmann 2001; Keesling 2003b.

34. Giuliani 1986, 1996, 1997, 1998a; Vogt 1999.

35. Fehr 1979; Stewart 1997, 208–12.

36. *Porticello head* (Reggio Calabria, Archaeological Museum): Voutiras 1980, 121–2; Eiseman and Ridgway 1987; Fittschen 1988a, 14 pls. 34–35; Scheibler 1989, 22; Himmelmann 1994, 75–9; von den Hoff 1994, 27–8; Schefold 1997, 104–5, 491–2; Giuliano 1998a (still with impossibly late date for the head); [C.] Bol 2004, 87–92; Wrede 2005, 56. *Brindisi head* (Brindisi, Archaeological Museum): Isman 1992, 51; Andreassi 1993, and 1994, 509 fig. 569; von den Hoff 1994, 19 n. 25. *Poseidippos:* Fittschen 1992b. *Inscribed herm of Chrysippos* (Athens, Third Ephorate): Kypraiou 1997, 69 fig. 3; Kunze 2002, 96–105; Whitley 2005, 7 fig. 13 right; cf. von den Hoff 1994, 63–9. *Inscribed herm of Antiphon* (Athens, Third Ephorate): Kavvadias 2000, fig. 4; Whitley 2005, 7 fig. 13 left. *Poet from Klaros* (Izmir, Archaeological Museum 3501): Özgan 1982, 204–5 pl. 48, 4 (body); Holtzman 1993, 806 fig. 4 (body); de la Genière 1995, 41 fig. 2 (head). See also the discussions about new Hellenistic ruler portraits like the marble head in the Getty Museum (Herrmann 1993; Meyer 1996b, 174–6) and the so-called Levy Bronze (Meyer 1996a).

37. *Heads from Livorno:* Picozzi 1995.

38. Walker 1995, 1999. See also Breckenridge 1969; Sparkes 2004. R. Krumeich and R. von den Hoff are preparing an introduction into Greek portraiture.

39. Richter 1984; Fittschen 1988a; Schefold 1997.

40. *Unidentified portraits:* Voutiras 1980; Piekarski 2004; Dillon 2006; cf. Braun 1966. See also the disputed dates of Antisthenes (von den Hoff 1994, 140–5) and Lysias (Voutiras 1980, 205–10; von den Hoff 1995, 462; Bergemann 2001a). *Equality and democracy:* Himmelmann 1995, 656–9; Zanker 1995b, 40–89; Hofter 1998, 233–5. *Grave reliefs:* Bergemann 1997; Himmelmann 1999; and Bergemann, Chapter 3 in the present volume.

41. *Votives:* Himmelmann 2001. See also Krumeich, Chapter 11 in the present volume. *Size:* Gross 1969/1988; Fittschen 1994; Kyrieleis 1996, 91–101; Krumeich 1997, 89–90, 204–5; Vierneisel 1999, esp. 23–6. *Material:* Tuchelt 1979, 68–90; Lahusen 1992, 1999a,b; Lahusen and Formigli 2001; also Krumeich (Chapter 11) and Schultz (Chapter 13) in the present volume.

42. Keesling 2003b is a notable exception.

43. Hölscher 1975/1988; Worthington 1986; Fittschen 1995; Krumeich 1995a; von den Hoff 2003b. For such an approach in the field of Roman portraiture, see n. 13 above. Graham Oliver's (2000, 4–9) concept of "archaeological epigraphy," further developed in his article on the northwest corner of the Athenian Agora (Oliver 2003), is particularly important here. For the portrait of Perikles, see Keesling 2004.

44. Stewart 1993, xxxiii.

45. For similar interests in the Roman period, see Gregory 1994; Borg and Witschel 2001.

46. Stewart 1993, xxxiv.

47. See, e.g., Pollitt 1986; Smith 1991; Robertson 1993.

48. Fittschen 1988a, 25.

49. *Differentiation:* Smith 1991, 33–40; von den Hoff 1994, 189–90; Stewart 1997, 206–16; cf. Wrede 2005. *"Boom period":* Stewart 1979, 3–11.

50. Kyrieleis 1975; Fleischer 1991; Smith 1996; and see n. 21 above.

51. For relations on the level of style, see Braun 1966.

52. See, e.g., Ridgway 1986, 22.

53. Krahmer's (1923–4, 1936) and Buschor's (1949/1971) seminal studies on the artistic styles of Hellenistic portraits, for example, have never been translated into English and are thus rarely understood outside Germany on account of their hermetic language and specific characterizations of style. See also the attempt to make discussions of style in German standards understandable to the English audience by Meyer 1996a,b, although he does not refer to *communis opinio.*

In view of the increasing divide of scholarly discussion in different languages, and given our intention to encourage international discussions, we have decided to publish all the papers in the present volume in English. This is not to say or accept that English should be the only means of scholarly communication in our fields. To the contrary, such a restriction would entail a loss of plurality not only in language but also in ideas. No research on Greek portraiture is or will be possible without taking into account studies and ideas expressed in (at least) English, French, German, Greek, and Italian.