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The Second Life of the Barberini Togatus in Baroque Rome

Introduction

In a well-known passage, the historian Polybius describes the prominent role played by ancestral images in Roman society:

> "Next after the interment and the performance of the usual ceremonies, they place the image of the departed in the most conspicuous position in the house, enclosed in a wooden shrine. This image is a mask reproducing with remarkable fidelity both the features and complexion of the deceased. On the occasion of public sacrifices they display these images, and decorate them with much care, and when any distinguished member of the family dies they take them to the funeral, putting them on men who seem to them to bear the closest resemblance to the original in stature and carriage."[1]

A statue formerly in the Barberini Collection and now in the Centrale Montemartini in Rome is often cited as illustrating this passage in Polybius. This statue, known as the Barberini togatus (Figure 1), shows a man wearing a toga and holding in either arm a portrait bust.[2]

In the earliest scholarly publication of this statue, Katherine Esdaille noted that it once had been identified as the legendary Lucius Junius Brutus holding the heads of his sons whom he ordered executed for plotting the restoration of the Tarquins.[3] Esdaille herself identified the central figure as Julius Caesar holding a bust of Marius on his right, with an unknown ancestor on his left.[4] Annie Zadoks was the first to explicitly identify the statue as representing an aristocratic Roman holding busts of his ancestors, while Olof Vessberg was the first to suggest a link between the statue and the passage of Polybius cited above.[5]

Following those publications, photos of this statue have appeared frequently in introductory art history textbooks, in textbooks of Roman art, and in monographs on Roman sculpture (usually without comment[6]), to illustrate the idea that portrait busts functioned as ancestral portraits for the Roman aristocracy.[7] In effect, the statue has become a meme (an image used as a shorthand way to convey an idea) rather than being discussed as a work of art. Such a theory, however, assumes that the Barberini togatus is both intact and unaltered.

However, a re-appraisal of this statue has led me to conclude that it is a pastiche. Although the central figure dates to the early first century C.E. and the head of the central figure has long been recognized as ancient but alien to that figure, the busts held by the figure were probably created and added in the early 17. century. This statue has had two lives and three meanings: the first in ancient Rome, and the second in Baroque Rome—the third being the one commonly accepted today. I would like to first examine the Barberini togatus itself. Next I will outline the social context in which the statue first appeared in the Barberini collection. After that I will discuss what I believe was the true social context of

Figure 1: The Barberini togatus, first quarter of the 1. century C.E. and first quarter of the 17. century, H: 165 cm, Rome, Centrale Montemartini, MC 2392.

the portrait bust in the early Roman empire. Finally, I will show how the comparisons that have been cited for the Barberini togatus have been misconstrued to erroneously support the traditional interpretation of the statue.

A Problematic Ancient Context

It must be said at the outset that there are several things about this statue that set it apart from other surviving Roman statues. First, it is a very unusual statue—even odd. As I will show later, there are statues showing figures holding portrait busts but there are no comparisons for a life-sized figure standing and carrying two life-sized portrait busts. Also, it doesn't actually show what Polybius described: the central figure isn't carrying or wearing masks, he's holding two portrait busts. Finally, as someone who worked in art museums for thirty-five years and was involved in moving and handling marble and bronze sculpture, I can say that it is highly unlikely that anyone would casually carry two full-sized portrait busts in this way no matter what their material. They're heavy.[8] So the statue is rather implausible.
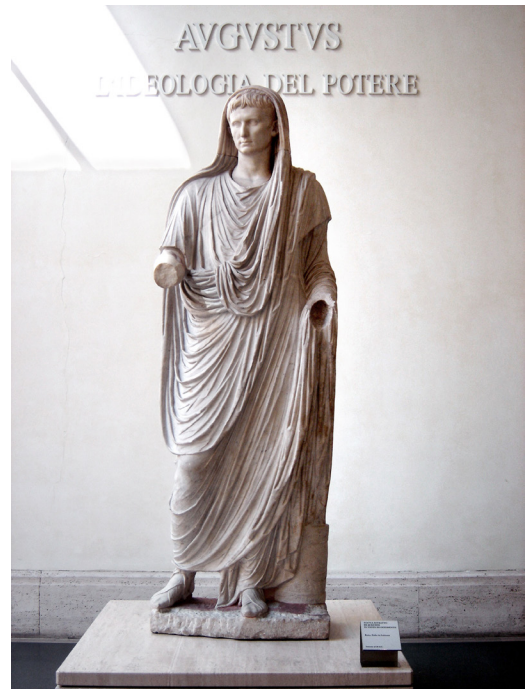

Figure 2: Statue of Augustus as Pontifex found in the Via Labicana. Rome, Museo Nazionale delle Terme, first quarter of the 1. century C.E., H: 207 cm.

It is also difficult to suggest a plausible original context for this statue. In the Roman world togate statues (figures wearing togas), like loricate statues (figures wearing armor), were commonly erected in public settings to honor public figures. The Barberini statue is unfinished in the back, which marks it as having been placed in a niche on a public building—a common practice. It is difficult to explain why a figure in a niche on a public building would be shown carrying portrait busts of his ancestors. It could be assumed that anyone honored with a public statue had illustrious ancestors—that was, after all, part of how he came to be a public figure in the first place. There would be no need to demonstrate it. If the statue was intended as tomb sculpture and thus private, it would still be an honorific statue and the portrait busts are strange additions. Why show a person carrying busts of their ancestors when the statue would likely be placed in or near a family tomb filled with the remains of those very ancestors? The meaning that has been attached to this statue is one that originated in the modern era, not one that would have made sense to a Roman viewer.

But to turn to the statue itself: A viewer's first impression is that the statue was carved from one piece of marble. If this were true, it would be unusual for the early first century C.E., the period to which the statue is commonly dated. Such a date can be verified by examining the toga worn by the central figure. The length and draping of togas changed over time, and by comparison with datable monuments these changes allow statues wearing togas to be approximately dated. If we compare the toga worn by the Barberini togatus to that worn by a statue of Augustus in the Palazzo Massimo alle
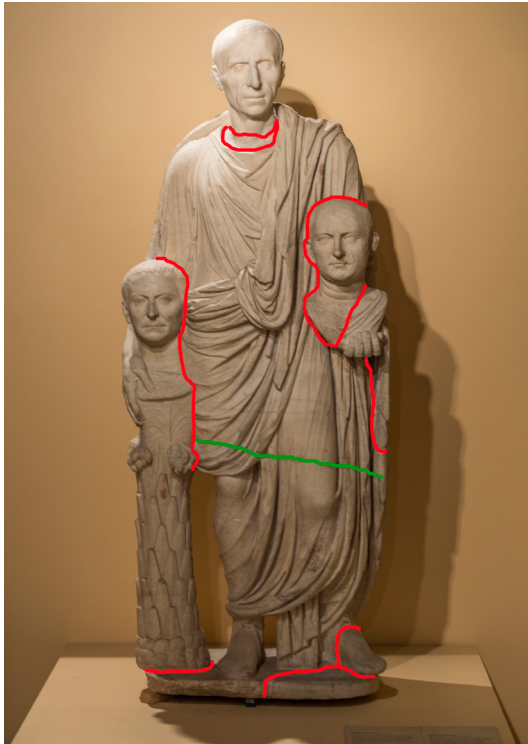
Figure 3: Breaks and joins visible on the front of the Barberini togatus. Possible repaired break is shown in green, joins in red. Compare to Talamo (as Note 12), fig. 36.

Terme in Rome (Figure 2), for example, we can see that the togas are similar in size and draping. In particular, the *sinus* or loop of cloth on the proper right side reaches to just above the knees of both figures, the *umbo*, a loop of cloth pulled out over the chest, is present in both statues, and the togas are of approximately the same length and volume. Such togas date both statues to the early first century C.E..[9]

Having established an approximate date for the central figure, it is appropriate to note that Polybius was describing the customs of the Romans of the mid 2nd century B.C.E. Roman society changed enormously in the interval between the Republic of Polybius's day and the early 1. century C.E. Principate. By the beginning of the reign of Augustus the Roman upper classes had been decimated by nearly a century of civil war and many of the old families had disappeared. It is reasonable to wonder how many of the customs of the old aristocracy would have survived. Would Polybius's description of a Roman funeral have had any relevance for a Roman official of the reign of Augustus?

Technical Considerations

But to return to the statue itself, as Amanda Claridge has pointed out, sculptural workshops of this period usually had to join together several pieces of marble to create life-sized statues. In the statue of Augustus cited above, for example, both arms and the veiled head were carved as separate pieces.[10] It is not until the second century that the wide availability of large blocks of marble made elaborate life-sized monolithic statues economically possible. From that point onwards we see statues with extended arms supported by struts or by features like palm stumps or *trophaea* (a suit of armor set upon a stake as a token of victory). It would have been unusual for the Barberini togatus to have been carved from a single block of stone during the first century.

A close examination bears out these observations.[11] The Barberini togatus was not in fact carved from a single block of stone, and it shows one possible break and join lines in several places (Figure 3).[12]

Before proceeding with an inventory of the breaks and joins, however, I would like to define a break and a join and to distinguish both of them from a carving mark. There appears to be a visible break line running across the figure just above the knees. This appears to be a clean break that was simply put back together or possibly a flaw in the stone. There is no mortar fill visible.

At the base of the statue, the figure's left foot is attached to a flat piece of marble, the upper surface of which is different in texture from the plinth under most of the statue (Figure 4). The smaller piece

is probably a post-antique addition. There is a join line between the small base and the main plinth, with a mortar fill that runs both between the foot and the drapery and between the foot and the small flat base. This suggests the foot is also alien to the main part of the statue.[13]

Note both the texture and color of the mortar fill between the various pieces of the additions and the main statue on this side of the figure. This particular mortar fill is the result of restoration reported by E. Talamo. Although it is particularly wide here, similar fill is used repeatedly wherever pieces have been added to the central figure-on this side of the statue. Also notice the narrow vertical troughs separating the folds of the toga. These were likely made with a running drill. That is a process in which the drill is held at an angle to the surface to be carved and 'runs', carving a round-bottomed trough that is different from the V-shaped trough made by repeated chisel strokes. The running drill technique was used in both Greek and Roman marble sculpture.[14] Within the deeper running drill channel here (Figure 5) you can see tooling marks that are not present in the mortar fill.

Moving from the feet to the head (Figure 6), it easily can be seen that there is a 'collar' of differently-colored marble between the base of the neck and the neckline of the toga and tunica. This has been noted by previous scholars.[15] It would have been common in the first century C.E. for a head to have been carved separately and inserted in a more or less 'stock' togate figure, but in this case the alien 'collar' suggests that the head is alien to the rest of the statue. This has long been recognized.

Notice, too, the careful mortar join between the differently-colored 'collar' and the neckline of the toga and tunica. It is particularly evident on the left in the photograph, but it continues
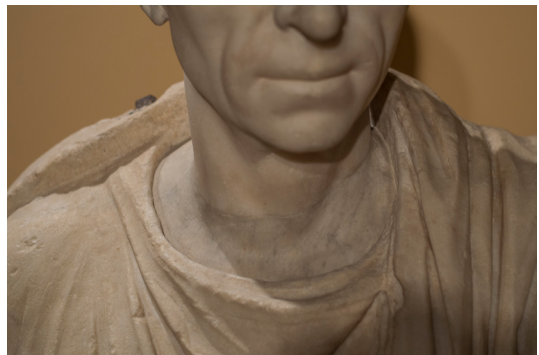

Figure 4: Proper left foot, drapery, and added section of statue base of the Barberini togatus.
Figure 5: Running drill channel (left) and mortar join (right) at the base of the Barberini togatus.
Figure 6: Neck of the (alien) head of the Barberini togatus with mortar joins visible.

around the base of the 'collar' to the right in the photo. It has the same color and texture as the wider mortar joins on the base of the statue. This, too, is part of the conservation done in the early 1990s.

Moving now to the bust held in the figure's proper left hand, it is easy to see that there is a difference in both the color of the marble and the carving of the drapery of the bust on either side of the join line.
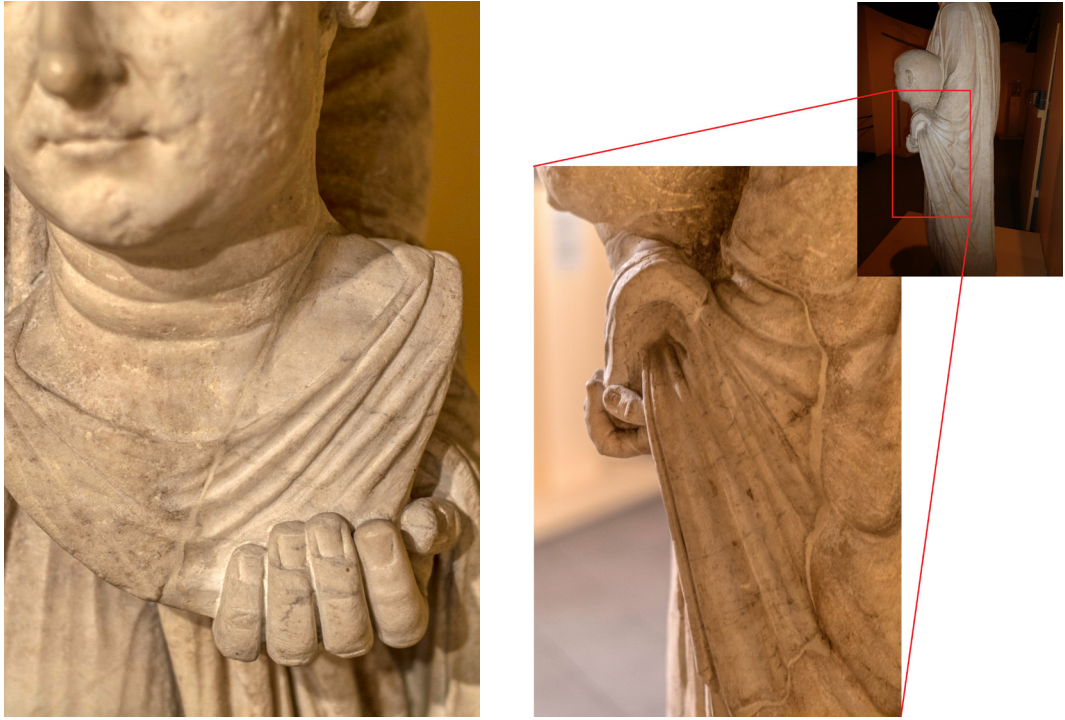
Figure 7: The bust held in the left hand of the Barberini togatus.
Figure 8: Detail of the join on the left side of the Barberini togatus.

The carving on the right side in the photo appears to be fresher, and although it may not be visible here (Figure 7), it is possible to see rasp marks in places.

When we look at an overall view of the left side of the statue (Figure 8), it can easily be seen that the newer portion of the drapery of the bust and the hand and arm holding it have been joined to the central part of the statue.[16] It is also obvious that there is something wrong with the length of the forearm, which is quite short.

Further, a careful examination of the other side of the head and bust (Figure 9) shows a careful join line between it and the drapery of the central figure. There are three points to make here:

1. I would suggest that the hand, arm, drapery attached to it, and the drapery on the proper left side of the bust are post-antique but the head and the proper right side of the bust is ancient but alien.
2. Petra Cain has suggested that this bust has been recut from a female portrait. She points to the draped chest area (which would be unusual for a male portrait), and the signs of recutting in the hair from a female to a male style.[17]
3. Elaine Gazda has suggested to me in correspondence that this bust could be a reused portion of a freedmen's funerary monument.[18]

Taken together, these three ideas suggest that the bust is a reused portion of a funerary monument that was re-cut to become a male portrait and joined to the central figure to create the assemblage we see today. As I will show, in the context in which the togatus appeared in Baroque period Rome this is not as bizzare a suggestion as it might seem.
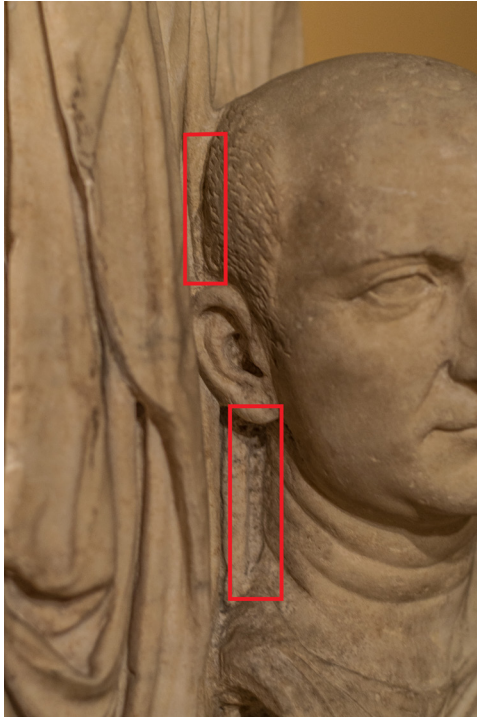
Figure 9: Join lines around the head of the bust held in the left hand of the Barberini togatus.
Figure 10: Proper right side of the Barberini togatus, showing the join line between the central figure and the bust and palm trunk.

The palm trunk and bust on the proper right side of the statue are, I believe, also added, with the join lines as shown in Figure 3. These join lines were not mentioned by Talamo as part of the conservation work done by staff at the Centrale Montemartini.[19] The gaps between the sections of marble are, however, much more narrow and less obvious than those on the proper left of the statue, to the point where the two sides of the statue appear to have been worked on by different people.

The palm trunk is an anomaly on a statue purporting to be of the first century C.E. At this time a togate statue would typically be in the pose of an orator: the right hand, free of the enveloping toga, is used for gesturing; the left hand holds a scroll or is sometimes extended with an open palm. As described above, the normal practice during the late first century B.C.E. and first century C.E. would be to carve the central figure from one block of stone, adding the projecting arms and perhaps the head as separate pieces. In that case, a palm trunk is unnecessary. By the early second century C.E. large blocks of marble seem to have been readily available and statues begin to be carved from a single block. In that case, struts of all kinds (including palm trunks) are left in place to strengthen the projecting pieces. So in this statue (which by its toga can be dated to the early first century C.E.) we see a sculptural technique commonly used about a century later.

In fact, if we examine the juncture of the central figure with the bust and palm trunk (Figure 10) we can see a narrow join line. This is not a line carved by a chisel or a running drill. There are none of the characteristic marks left by either tool. Instead, it most resembles the mortar joins on a masonry wall.

The shape of this bust is unique. In the course of firsthand examination of dozens of Roman freestanding and herm busts while researching my dissertation[20] I have not seen anything comparable. It can also be seen that the toga of the central figure has been chiseled back where it meets the head of the bust and there are rasp marks on the toga where it meets the neck of the bust (Figure 11), but no corresponding rasp marks on the neck. There is also a rather obvious mortar join visible between the hair of the bust and the folds of the toga (Figure 12).

If we look next at the right side of the statue there is a join where the arm meets the *tunica* sleeve that is difficult to capture in a photograph. More obvious (Figure 13, left) is the mortar join between the arm and the fold of the toga. The mortar has a slightly different color from the stone, and it has been smeared in places onto the fold of the toga on the left in the photo. In contrast, if we examine the juncture of the head of the bust and the arm (on the right in Figure 13), we see quite clearly a chiseled line forming a tiny V-shaped valley with flat sides.

The mortar join continues under the arm and down the back of the statue where the palm trunk

Figure 11: Detail showing rasp marks on the toga of the Barberini togatus where it meets the neck of the right bust.
Figure 12: Mortar join between the head of the bust and the toga of the Barberini togatus.
Figure 13: mortar join between the right arm and the fold of the toga of the Barberini togatus (L) and chiseled line between the head of the bust and the right arm (R).

Figure 14: Togatus Figure, H: 167.7 cm. The Cleveland Museum of Art, Purchase from the J. H. Wade Fund 1929. Because the toga worn by this figure lacks an umbo (a loop pulled out from the crossways fold), it probably dates a generation earlier than the Barberini togatus. Nonetheless, it gives a good idea what the Barberini statue looked like before the 17. century additions. The heads and forearms on both statues were carved separately and held in place with mortar and either fell off or were removed when the mortar weakened. As with the Barberini statue today, this statue was once displayed with an alien head (in this case of the emperor Vespasian), since removed.
Figure 15: Togate statues (small, medium, and large) in the Leptis Magna museum in Libya.

joins the toga. Because the statue is displayed against a wall and the back is not lit, this is difficult to see and impossible to photograph.

Petra Cain notes that the bust on this side of the statue is draped, as is the bust on the statue's left side (see above). There is no sign that this bust was re-cut from a female portrait and Cain cannot see a convincing explanation. If my suggestion is accepted that the bust on the other side is ancient but alien, the explanation is simple. The bust on the statue's right side dates to the 17. century. The Baroque sculptors merely copied the drapery on the ancient bust they had already put in place.

If we compare the Barberini statue to other togate statues (Figure 14) of roughly the same period, the original appearance of this statue and the additions to it become apparent. A common pose for to-gate figures in the early empire is one in which the proper left hand is held close to the body at waist level, while the right arm is extended. As mentioned earlier, during the early empire both arms of such a statue would have been carved separately and mortised into sockets. The Barberini togatus emerged from the workshop of its original creator as such a togate statue. Long after its creation, however, when the original arms had been lost, the core of the figure was joined with new pieces to produce the statue we now see.

The additions and alterations are visible when the statue is examined closely, but are they Roman or post-antique?

It is difficult to explain why such a pastiche would have been made during the Roman period, even during the late Empire There is no ancient comparison for a togate statue holding two portrait busts—and anomalies in ancient works of art without clear provenances are suspicious. It would also be an anomaly for a statue joined together in this way to have survived intact into the modern period. There are instead numerous togate figures in museums and excavation storerooms missing their arms and heads to testify that ancient mortar joins rarely survive (Figure 15).

Figure 16: Statue of Carlo Barberini, the Elder in the Palazzo Senatorio, Rome. Loricate torso is Roman; the head and limbs are by Gianlorenzo Bernini and Alessandro Algardi, after 1630.

So when were these alterations made, and why? To answer that question we must look at the context in which the togatus first appeared in historical records.

The Acquisition of the Togatus by the Barberini Family

As the name indicates, prior to its acquisition by the Italian government in 1937 the togatus was part of the Barberini collection.[21] The earliest known record of the togatus appears in an inventory of the collection of Cardinal Francesco Barberini compiled between 1626 and 1631.[22] Entry number 112 reads, "Adi e fu a 6 Decbr 1627 Una statua did marmo bianco, alta p.mi 8 d'un Console Rom.o che tiene due teste in mano cioé una con la mano destra, e l'altra conla sinistra, donate dal S.r Conte Stabile Colonna."[23] This obviously refers to the togatus statue under discussion.

The Conte Stabile Colonna was Filippo I Colonna (1578-April 1639), who was the hereditary Gran Connestabile at the court of Naples.[24] It is certainly not a coincidence that on October 14, 1627 Anna Colonna, the daughter of Filippo I Colonna, married Taddeo Barberini,[25] the son of Carlo Barberini (1562-1630), brother of Maffeo Barberini (Pope Urban VIII), who was at that time the lieutenant general of the papal army.[26] A marriage of the son and daughter of noble families in Rome in the early 17. century would not have been left to the two young people alone. This is important for an understanding of the Barberini togatus.

The Meaning of the Barberini Togatus

The marriage of Anna Colonna to Taddeo Barberini was an alliance of two powerful families in 17. century Rome and not simply a marriage. Likewise, a gift from one important family to another at that time and place was not simply a gift. There was symbolism inherent in such a gift. Particularly since we can surmise that the togatus was created expressly as a gift for the Barberini family, we can wonder what that symbolism was. What was Filippo I Colonna saying about the union between those two families?

Both the marriage and the gift of the togatus occurred after the election of Maffeo Barberini to the papacy as Urban VIII in 1623. It was during the reign of Urban VIII that the Barberini family gained its wealth and power. This ascendancy happened during a time of increased sculptural production in Rome. As a result, a large corps of trained sculptors existed in Rome during this period. These sculptors sometimes restored ancient statues in the collections of the noble families of Baroque Rome.

As Jennifer Montagu has pointed out, some sculptors even specialized in such restoration, using ancient marble or tinting new marble to match that of the Roman statue, carving new limbs where necessary, masking the joins and adjusting the polish.[27] In doing all of this, they attempted to duplicate the original carving style. All of the best-known pieces of ancient sculpture which were in the private collections of Rome at this time would have been restored in this way. For collectors of this period it was essential that such restorations be carried out before an ancient statue was put on display. It would have been highly unusual if the Barberini togatus had survived intact until the 17. century, and equally unusual if the statue had been acquired during this period but not restored.

In fact, at least one other ancient statue was altered in a similar manner for the same family and may provide some insight into the intentions of the artist or patron. After the death of Carlo Barberini in 1630, a portrait statue of him was created re-using the torso of a Roman loricate statue (Figure 16). Jennifer Montagu has pointed out that there was no pressing need to reuse an ancient statue. The restorations and the portrait head were carved by Bernini and Algardi, prominent artists of the period, and when compared to the papal building and sculptural programs being carried out in Rome at this time, it seems unlikely that cost was a factor. The reuse of the ancient statue must be significant.[28] By combining the Baroque head with the ancient torso, the Baroque sculptors assimilated the historical Carlo Barberini with the legendary Roman emperors. We can perhaps see something similar in the transformation of a Roman statue into the Barberini togatus.

Figure 17: Comparison between the right bust held by the Barberini togatus and a bust of Carlo Barberini by Francesco Mochi, after1630, H: 84 cm. Museo di Roma, Rome, MR 1097.
Figure 18: Comparison between the left bust held by the Barberini togatus and a portrait of Filippo I Colonna in the Palazzo Colonna di Paliano.

I see some resemblance between the bust held in the right hand of the togatus and a bust of Carlo Barberini by Francesco Mochi, if one adds an imaginary moustache and goatee (Figure 17). Note, for instance, the line of the nose, the broad forehead, the deep-set eyes, the prominent cheekbones with slightly hollow cheeks, the nasal-labial furrows, and the line of the jaw. What of the bust held in the left hand? Since we now know that the statue was a gift from the Colonna family, could there be comparisons there? This is problematic since we can suspect that the left bust is alien but ancient. But is there some resemblance between that bust and portraits of Filippo I Colonna (Figure 18)? In both cases we see a somewhat jowly face with a similar brow line. The chin is somewhat similar in both. The nose, which appears to be a replacement on the bust, is somewhat similar, with a similar bulbous tip. If this bust was a reused portion of an ancient funerary monument as suggested above, it could have been chosen because of its passing similarity to Fillipo I Colonna.

But perhaps there was never an intention of creating actual portraits of living individuals. Certainly if that was wanted there was talent on hand in 17. century Rome to do it. Perhaps only a generic Barberini-ness and Colonna-ness was all that was intended. And perhaps it needed to look convincingly

Figure 19: Left: Bust of a Flavian Woman, Toledo (Ohio) Museum of Art 2019.19, Gift of the Georgia Welles Apollo Society.
Right: Herm Portrait of Staia Quinta, Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek 639.

Roman, even if everyone knew it wasn't. It was really just a piece of political theater. But why—what was the message?

Although the election of Maffeo Barberini to the papacy as Urban VIII brought great wealth and power to the Barberini family, they could only trace their prominence back to Florence in the 11th century.[29] The Colonna family, on the other hand, claimed ancestry going back to the Roman gens Iulia, the clan that produced Julius Caesar and the Julio-Claudian dynasty.[30] It is intriguing that the Colonnas, a family that claimed noble Roman ancestry, gave the Barberini, relative newcomers in 17. century Rome, a statue of a toga-wearing Roman. Given the recent wedding of the children of both families, perhaps the message was that the marriage gave ancient lineage to the Barberinis going forward? In that case only a generic likeness of members of each family was needed.

Just as the acquisition of the togatus was probably related to the marriage of Anna Colonna to Taddeo Barberini, so too we can wonder whether there is a relationship between the loricate statue of Carlo Barberini and the togatus. The statue of Carlo Barberini was created reusing a Roman loricate statue only three years after the Barberini family received the togatus statue, which reused a Roman togate figure. Both statues assimilated the historical Barberini family with legendary Roman predecessors. We can perhaps see the togatus as providing a conceptual model for the heroic statue of Carlo Barberini. That would suggest that the Barberini family was fully aware that the togatus was itself an amalgam of ancient and contemporary pieces.

From the point of view of a classicist, the Barberini togatus is a fake and the loricate statue of Carlo Barberini is a kind of 'Frankenstatue'. Viewed through the lens of an artist today, however, each is a bricolage. In each case the artist and patron were creating something new by combining portions that were ancient with others that were contemporary to 17. century Rome. Today when we look at each statue we can read both meanings. For scholars of Roman portrait sculpture the Barberini togatus, which has never been included in studies on its merits as a work of art, says absolutely nothing about ancestral portraits in ancient Rome. It does, however, say something very interesting about the social environment and attitudes towards antiquity in 17. century Rome.

The Barberini Togatus and the Spurious Tradition of Ancestral Portraiture in Rome

The togatus has been accepted by scholars as ancient partly because it has rarely been examined carefully and partly because it fit prevailing ideas of the role of the portrait bust in Roman society. It illustrates a common belief about Roman portraiture: that portrait busts were primarily used by the Roman upper classes as ancestral portraits. But if the Barberini togatus is a pastiche, what other evidence is there for the social context and the function of the portrait bust in Roman society? In contrast to the usual narrative, I would argue that freestanding busts were originally used as tomb sculpture by people of very modest social status, and I would like now to outline the evidence which supports my view.

It is not generally recognized that two different types of portrait busts were in use during the late Republic and early Empire: the freestanding bust and the herm bust. These two types are often confused with each other. The type which I call a freestanding bust (Figure 19, left) consists of a head, shoulders, and portion of the chest. Such freestanding busts are raised up from their resting surfaces by an integral undersupport and were regarded as complete pieces of sculpture. Although a herm bust (Figure 19, right) also consists of a head, shoulders, and chest, it was set into a recess on top of a stone or wooden shaft. In the earliest herms from ancient Greece, the shaft was actually a highly abstracted human body, complete with stumps for arms and a penis. By the late Roman

Figure 20: Herm portrait identified as Antonia Minor, showing post-antique base and pedestal inserted into the recut underside to convert it to a freestanding bust. Paris, Louvre, Ma 1229.

Republic and early Empire, marble herm busts were attached to their shafts by means of large tenons, which sometimes resemble the undersupports of freestanding busts. If the underside of a herm bust is examined, it can usually be seen that the size and angle of the tenon would not allow the bust to stand securely upright by itself.[31] However, the undersupports of marble herm busts have sometimes been recut or even have modern pieces added so they can stand upright. As a result, when mounted on a museum pedestal, (Figure 20) a herm bust can easily be mistaken for a freestanding bust. The misidentification of herm busts has led to confusion over the roles freestanding busts and herm busts played in Roman society.

After examining many busts of all types in museum collections for my dissertation research, I came to the conclusion that there are many more herm busts dating to the early empire than there are freestanding busts.[32] If freestanding busts were standard features of aristocratic houses, we might have expected larger numbers to have survived from antiquity.

Similarly, if freestanding busts served as ancestral portraits in the homes of the Roman upper classes, we would expect to find them in the houses of the wealthiest and most important families in Pompeii and Herculaneum, two sites where the contents of the houses were preserved by the eruption of Mt. Vesuvius. Although numerous herm portraits have been found in large and luxurious houses in these cities, the only freestanding bust found in either city was excavated in the stable block of the House of the Citharist (Figure 21).[33] This bust is weathered and may originally have been placed in the exterior niche of a tomb, perhaps having been put in storage after the tomb was damaged in the earthquake of 62 CE.[34] Its discovery in a stable block does not suggest that the bust was an image of a revered ancestor. In addition,

Figure 21: Bust of a Man from the House of the Citharist, Pompeii. Naples, Museo Archeologico 6028.

Figure 22: House of the Menander, Pompeii. Plaster casts of miniature busts. Similar to the method used for obtaining casts of the bodies of the victims of Vesuvius, plaster was poured into voids found in the lararium (household altar) at the back of the peristyle of this house to produce these small figures.

the only sculpture discovered at Pompeii in anything resembling a lararium (the household altar where images of ancestors might have been kept) are the plaster casts of miniature bust-like figures found in the House of the Menander (Figure 22).

Also undercutting an aristocratic context for freestanding busts is the lack of identifiable bust portraits of upper class Romans. The members of the upper classes were often honored by full-length portrait statues. If freestanding busts were ancestral portraits for the same upper classes, we would expect to find the same faces appearing on full-length statues and freestanding busts. I know of only one possible instance where the subject of a freestanding bust was also portrayed in a life-sized full-length statue.[35] In contrast, herm busts do often carry portraits also found on statues. We can see, then, from the small numbers of surviving freestanding busts, from the lack of freestanding busts in wealthy houses and from the lack of prominent subjects for freestanding bust portraits, that there is no connection between freestanding busts and the Roman upper classes. Freestanding busts could thus not be the ancestral portraits described by ancient authors.[36]

The few freestanding busts of the first century C.E. that have been found in their original context have all been found in group tombs known as columbaria. The occupants of these tombs were predominantly merchants and bureaucrats, most of whom were freedmen. Likewise, the few unquestionably authentic freestanding busts of the first century C.E. securely identified by inscriptions are portraits

Figure 23: Figure of a Man Holding a Bust of a Woman. Rome, Palazzo Massimo alle Terme (choistro), L: 156 cm.

of freedmen. Such evidence suggests that affluent freedmen commissioned the first freestanding busts as tomb portraits.[37]

If this is true, how could the concept of the ancestral portrait bust have arisen, and how could the Barberini togatus have been identified as an aristocratic Roman holding busts of his ancestors? The concept might have been an attempt to explain the passages in Polybius and Pliny. Once the theory had been suggested, the Barberini togatus itself seemed to provide evidence in support of it. In addition, little attention has been paid to the social contexts of pieces cited as comparisons to the Barberini togatus. When examined in full, such comparisons undercut rather than support an aristocratic context for the freestanding bust. These comparisons are two statues of figures reclining on couches while holding busts and one relief showing a man holding a bust.[38] One reclining figure is in the cloister of the Palazzo Massimo alle Terme museum (Figure 23) and shows a man holding the bust of a woman;[39] the other, in the British Museum but presently off view (Figure 24), shows a woman holding the bust of a man.[40] The female hairstyles allow both of these statue groups to be dated to the end of the first century A.D. or slightly later.[41] An inscription on the Terme statue, now lost, identified the female bust as a portrait of a liberta (a freed slave).[42] In at least this case we can be certain that the group does not portray members of the nobility. Both statue groups are funerary portraits intended for the tomb.[43]

The third comparison for the Barberini *togatus* is a funerary relief in the Villa Albani (Figure 25), which can be dated to the early Empire. It shows a seated man holding a miniature bust portrait of
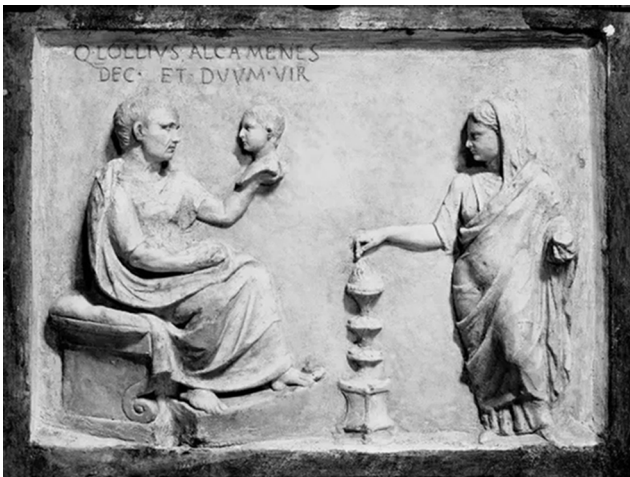
Figure 24: Figure of a Woman Holding a Bust of a Man, H: 154 cm, British Museum 1858,0819.1 (presently in storage).
Figure 25: Funerary Relief of Quintus Lollius Alcamenes. Rome, Villa Albani.

a boy. To the right, a veiled woman places incense on a burner. An inscription above the man identifies him as Quintus Lollius Alcamenes, a decurio and duumvir.[44] As with the reclining statues already described, this scene is funerary, with the deceased Alcamenes probably holding the bust of a son.[45] The Greek cognomen "Alcamenes" and the man's position as a decurio identify him as a freedman.[46]

Of three comparisons cited for the Barberini *togatus*, then, two identify freedmen rather than members of the aristocracy, and all are near members of a family rather than ancestors. Although these three comparisons were once used to support the idea that the busts held by the Barberini *togatus* were ancestral portraits kept in the house, when examined closely they in fact undercut that theory.

There are, in fact, large numbers of portraits that have survived from antiquity that fit very well the descriptions of ancestor portraits by ancient authors, especially Pliny. They are portable and could be carried in funeral processions. They could easily be hung on walls in a kind of proto-Ancestry.com family tree display (in fact, some have suspension holes). They are often startlingly lifelike and many of them are made with wax.

These are the so-called mummy portraits that have survived from Roman Egypt, often painted in encaustic (melted wax mixed with pigment) on wood panels (Figure 26). We can perhaps see them as an Egyptian version of a Roman custom. They have survived in tombs in Egypt because of the dry climate. They would not have survived in the damper and more temperate climate of Italy. And they may not have been very numerous even in Polybius's day. Ancestor portraits like those described by Polybius and Pliny would only have been found in the houses of those few old Roman families with numerous illustrious ancestors. Pliny, in fact, writes of them as having existed in the past and contrasts them to practices in his own day.[47]

Conclusion

How could it happen that such a fake could hide in plain sight for nearly 400 years and be cited repeatedly by scholars for nearly a century? To use a modern phrase, it was famous for being famous.[48]

Roman authors and the non-Romans like Polybius who wrote about Roman society were all from the affluent and educated upper classes. For the most part, their writing reflects the attitudes of their social equals. Theirs is the only point of view of Roman society to have survived in literature to the present day. It is a consistent theme among Roman writers, however, to hold up earlier generations in contrast to the supposed lesser standards of the writers' own times. So, a kind of reverence for ancestors is common in Roman literature.

At the end of the 19th and beginning of the 20th centuries when many of our ideas about the development of Roman art were being formed, the scholars who were studying and writing about Roman society were likewise from the affluent and educated parts of their societies. Both groups, ancient and modern, shared a point of view that privileged the upper classes. The concept of ancestral portraiture, which has been firmly embedded in Roman portraiture studies for nearly a century, is one result of that preoccupation. In spite of

Figure 26: Egyptian, Head of a Woman, between 130 and 160 C.E., encaustic with gilded stucco on wood panel. Detroit Institute of Arts, Gift of Julius H. Haass, 25.2.

the existence of portrait busts and herm portraits of high quality linked by inscription or context to non-elite social groups, there has been an assumed link between portrait busts and the Roman upper classes and particularly with ancestral portraiture.

Once the Barberini togatus had been offered as evidence of ancestral portrait busts and especially once it had been linked to passages in Polybius and Pliny, a level of confirmation bias set in. It seemed to fit those prevailing ideas and was repeatedly cited-without any of the scholars citing it subjecting it to the usual scrutiny given to an ancient work of art. In examining previous literature on the Barberini togatus, I have not found many indications that the authors had themselves examined the statue. It is not a particularly fine piece of sculpture and would not have appeared in art history texts on its artistic merits; it is merely a frequently-illustrated one.

There was a kind of circular reasoning: the passages in Polybius and Pliny were used to explain the togatus—even though they didn't actually match what was seen in the statue. Then the existence of the togatus itself was seen as supporting the ancient authors and thus providing a framework for order-

ing and explaining the existing mass of Roman portraits. And because it was so frequently illustrated, it took on a totally unwarranted authority in peoples' minds.

But for scholars of ancient art the story of the Barberini togatus and its second life in the 17. century raises a warning. There are almost certainly other pieces of sculpture illustrated in monographs and textbooks that look very different now than when they left the hands of their ancient creators. Ancient works of art that first came to light long ago have been subject to the preconceptions and aesthetic sensibilities of each set of hands they passed through. They all have had second lives, even if those second lives haven't been as dramatic as that of the Barberini togatus. Surfaces have sometimes been heavily cleaned with acids, damaged sections have sometimes been re-cut, ancient color has sometimes been removed, well-intentioned restorations have been added, and display mounts have been created. All of this changes (sometimes even distorts) what we are looking at today. Every ancient work of art that has been brought to light before modern archaeological methods and museum display standards is potentially a palimpsest and we should be considering its second life as well as its first one when we form opinions and theories about ancient sculpture.

Acknowledgements

Endnotes

1   Polybius, Histories VI, 53, 4-7; translation by W. R. Paton (Loeb Classical Library, London 1923), vol. 3, 389. Polybius uses the words eikoν (image) and prosvpoν (face or mask) to describe the ancestral images. Neither word refers specifically to a sculptural portrait. Also, we don't actually know that Polybius was describing something he had personally seen. He very well could have been repeating something he was told by his Roman hosts.

2   Rome, Musei Capitolini, no. 2392, H 1.65m. An up-to-date discussion of this piece and opinions concerning it, together with a bibliography can be found in Petra Cain in Klaus Fittschen, Paul Zanker, and Petra Cain, Katalog der römische Porträts in den Capitolinischen Museen und den anderen Kommunalen Sammlungen der Stadt Rom (Berlin, 2010), 48-51.

3   Katherine A. Esdaile, "A Statue in the Palazzo Barberini," Journal of Roman Studies 1 (1911) 206-211, 206. The identification as Lucius Junius Brutus is apparently an old one. In the inventory of the Barberini collection dated 1632-40 the statue is described as, "...un bruto in habbi consolare dove tiene una testa per mano..." (A Brutus in consular clothing who holds one head in [either] hand—my translation). (Marilyn Aronberg Lavin, Seventeenth-Century Barberini Documents and Inventories of Art (New York University Press, New York, 1975), 136). By the inventory of 1692-1704 any original meaning has been lost and the statue is described as simply, "Un filosofo, che tiene in mano due teste appoggiqato ad un tronco do Dattilo." (A philosopher who holds in his hands two heads, leaning on a date [tree] trunk—my translation), (Lavin, 447).

4   Esdaille (as Note 3), 211-212.

5   Annie N. Zadoks-Josephus Jitta, Ancestral Portraiture in Rome and the Art of the Last Century of the Republic (Amsterdam 1932), 45-46; Olof Vessberg, Studien zur Kunstgeschichte der römischen Republic (Lund, 1941) 101, n. 3.

6   For a rare skeptical assessment of the statue and its place in Roman art historiography, see Elizabeth Marlowe, Shaky Ground: Context, Connoisseurship and the History of Roman Art (London 2013), 71-73.

7   Petra Cain notes that there has been surprisingly little discussion of the statue itself (Cain, as Note 2, 49).

8   For the curious, from checking museum and auction websites: a terracotta bust could weigh about 11 kg (25 pounds), a marble bust could weigh between 30-50 kg (66-110 pounds).

9   Lillian M. Wilson, The Roman Toga (The Johns Hopkins University Studies in Archaeology 1, Baltimore 1924) 61-75. Hans Rupprecht Goette (Studien zu römischen Togadarstellungen, Beiträge zur Erschließung hellenistischer und kaiserzeitlicher Skulptur und Architektur 10 (Mainz 1990), 31) dates it to the late Augustan-early Tiberian period, (in the first decades of the first century C.E.).

10 Amanda Claridge, "Roman Statuary and the Supply of Statuary Marble," in J. Clayton Fant ed., Ancient Marble Quarrying and Trade. Papers from a Colloquium held at the Annual Meeting of the Archaeological Institute of America, San Antonio, Texas, December, 1986 (BAR International Series 453, 1988) 139-152.

11 My original examination of the statue in 1988 was made in very dim lighting when the statue was located in the Museo Nuovo (formerly the Museo Mussolini), part of the Capitoline Museum. A second examination was made in 2016 in the much better-lit installation in the Centrale Montemartini.

12 Paul Arndt, Griechische und römische Porträts, fasc. 81 (Munich 1910) pls. 801-804, first noted that the head, although ancient and perhaps contemporary to the statue, did not belong with it. Esdaille (as Note 3, 206) noted that a modern marble tenon and neck section fits into a cavity inside the neckline of the garment and joins the head to the body. Von Heintze (entry in Wolfgang Helbig, Führer durch die öffentlichen Sammlungen klassischer Altertümer in Rom (Tübingen 1966) 3rd edition, vol. 2, 418-419, cat. no. 1615) has noted that the Adam's apple of the neck has an odd and non-antique shape. Arndt also reported that the left portion of the left bust and the foot of the togatus were restored, and that there were minor repairs to the drapery of the togatus and the noses and ears of the busts. E. Talamo, Bollettino dell Commissione archeological comunale di Roma 95, (1993), 203 ff. Abb . 34-39, particularly Figure 36, discusses the breaks and joins but accepts the statue and its parts as completely ancient and attributes the join lines to restorations made by the Barberini.

13 Talamo (as Note 12), 203 ff., accepts the foot as post antique, part of a "restoration' by the Barberini.

14 Use of the running drill is sometimes described as a time-saving measure characteristic of later Roman sculpture. However, I have seen drill channels in the draperies of figures from the Parthenon pediments (dating to the 5th century B.C.E.).

15 Arndt (as Note 12), first noted that the head, although ancient and perhaps contemporary to the statue, did not belong with it. Esdaille (as Note 3) noted that a modern marble tenon and neck section fits into a cavity inside the collar of the garment and joins the head to the body. Domenico Mustilli, Il Museo Mussolini (Rome 1939), p. 8, described the head as ancient but alien to the statue. Von Heintze (as Note 12, 418) has noted that the Adam's apple of the neck has an odd and non-antique shape.

16 I have never seen a published photo of the Barberini togatus from this side and I can't find such a view on the internet. I suspect that explains why no one ever challenged the authenticity of the statue before now. Arndt (as Note 12), however, did report that the left portion of the left bust was restored but didn't connect that 'restoration' with the anomaly of the left bust.

17 Cain (as Note 2), 49-50. Cain does not suggest that the bust is alien to the rest of the statue. However, if we were to take the entire group of statue and busts at face value as complete and intact and with the meaning usually assigned to it, it would be puzzling that the left bust had ever been a female portrait. In the patriarchal society of ancient Rome a woman would not have been considered a revered ancestor.

18 Elaine Gazda, email July 21, 2016.

19   See diagram, Talamo (as Note 12), Figure 36.

20   Timothy A. Motz, The Roman Freestanding Portrait Bust: Origins, Context, and Early History (Diss. University of Michigan, Ann Arbor 1993), available as a pdf here: https://www.researchgate.net/publication/353656440_The_Roman_freestanding_portrait_bust_Origins_context_and_early_history_Volumes_I_and_II.

21   Mustilli (as Note 15), 7; von Heintze (as Note 12), 418.

22   Lavin (as Note 3), p. 74.

23   Lavin (as Note 3), 78-79. "Entered (?) on December 6, 1627, a statue of white marble, 8 palms tall (i.e. just under six feet) a Roman consul who holds two heads in his hands, of which one is in his right hand, the other with the left; given by Signor Conte Stabile Colonna." (my translation).

24   Literally, the count in charge of the stables: "Filippo I Colonna," in Wikipedia (https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Filippo_I_Colonna), last edited on December 14, 2020.

25   "Anna Colonna," in Wikipedia (https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Anna_Colonna), last edited February 24, 2021

26   "Carlo Barberini (1562-1630)," in Wikipedia (https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Carlo_Barberini_(1562%E2%80%931630)), last edited August 29, 2021.

27   Jennifer Montagu, Roman Baroque Sculpture. The Industry of Art (New Haven 1989),151-152.

28   Montagu (as Note 27), 157.

29   "Barberini Family," in Wikipedia, https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Barberini_family, last edited September 14, 2021.

30   "Colonna Family," in Wikipedia, https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Colonna_family, last edited September 17, 2021.

31   Of the life-sized bronze busts of which I have seen photos, none have integral supports or signs of an integral support ever having been attached. I would assume that they all were intended to be added to herm shafts, as were the bronze herm portraits from the Villa dei Papiri.

32   In addition to searching museum and exhibition catalogues and excavation reports, I was greatly aided by the microfiche publication of the photo archives of the German Archaeological Institute, DAI *Index*.

33   Franciscis, A. de, Il Ritratto romano a Pompeii (Accademia di Archeologia Lettere e Belle Arti, Napoli 1 1951); Wrede, H., Die antike Herme (Trier Beiträge zur Altertumskunde 1, Trier 1986), 76.

34   Ward-Perkins, John B., and Claridge, Amanda, Pompeii AD 79. Treasures from the National Archaeological Museum, Naples, with contributions from the Pompeii Antiquarium and the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, exhibition catalogue, Museum of Fine Arts, Boston (Boston 1978), 124, cat. no. 21. At Pompeii, portrait busts seem to have been placed in niches on the exterior of tombs as, for example, on the late Republican Tomb of the Flavii outside the Porta Nocera.

35   The one possible case is the bust of a young man, Rome, Museo Capitolino, no. 745, Motz (as Note 20), cat. no. A5. This bust, although heavily recut, does appear to have good comparisons in portraits found in Pompeii.

36   In addition to the passage in Polybius quoted at the beginning of this article, ancestral images are mentioned by Pliny the Elder, Natural History 35. 2.6: "…aliter apud maiores in atriis haec erant, quae spectarentur; non signa externorum artificum nec aera aut marmora expressi cera vultus singulis disponebantur armariis, ut essent imagines, quae comitarentur gentilicia funera, semperque defuncto aliquo totus aderat familae eius qui umquam fuerat populus. stemmata vero lineis discurrebant as imagines pictas." ("In the halls of our ancestors it was otherwise; portraits were the objects displayed to be looked at, not statues by foreign artists, nor bronzes nor marbles, but wax models of faces were set out each on a separate side-board, to furnish likenesses to be carried in procession at a funeral in the clan, and always when some member of it passed away the entire company of his house that had ever existed was present. The pedigrees too were traced in a spread of lines running near the several painted portraits."); Pliny, Natural History in Ten Volumes, IX, translation by H. Rackham (Loeb Classical Library, Cambridge, Mass. 1984). It is worth noting that in the Latin text Pliny does not explicitly refer to sculptural portraits, but to *imagines*, *imagines pictas*, and *cera vultus* (images, painted images, and wax faces). The images are not worn in the funeral procession (as the usual translation of Polybius, Histories 6.53.4-7 describes it) but carried. Significantly, the passage in Pliny occurs in the middle of a discussion on the decline of the art of painting. Winkes has suggested that ancestral images during the early empire were in the form of shield portraits (Winkes, R., «Pliny›s Chapter on Roman Funeral Customs in the Light of Clipeatae Imagines,» American Journal of Archaeology 83 (1979) 481-484).

37   See Motz (as Note 20).

38   Such reclining figures, known as kline figures from the Greek word for couch, can be seen in early engravings of the interiors of columbaria (group tombs for people of modest social status and means) placed in large niches. Much later such figures or groups came to be used as lids on sarcophagi.

39   Rome, Museo Nazionale Romano, no. 125829, Silvia Allegra Dayan, entry in Antonio Giuliano ed., Museo Nazionale Romano. Le Sculture, I, 2 (Rome 1981), 167-168, no. 58.

40   London, British Museum, no. Sc.2335. Susan Walker. Memorials to the Roman Dead (London, 1985) 26-27, Figure 17.

41   Although the male hairstyles cannot be dated as accurately as female hairstyles, they are from approximately the same period.

42   The inscription was on the cover of an urn concealed behind the reclining male figure. It read, "ossa Iuliae C. L. Attic," ("the bones of Julia Attica, liberta of Gaius Atticus." (my translation) *CIL*, VI, 20383). See Dayan (as Note 39).

43   These reclining figures can be compared to funerary reliefs of freedmen dating to the late Republic and early Empire and ulti-
      mately to the reclining figures of husbands and wives on late Etruscan cinerary urns.

44   "Q.LOLLIVS.ALCAMENES/DEC.ET.DVVM.VIR," DAI Index, fiche no. 2474, frame C2.

45   See, for comparison, the funerary relief with a bust of Aemelia Clucera (Rome, Musei Vaticani, Galleria Lapidaria, Amelung,
      Walther, Die Sculpturen des Vaticanischen Museums I (Berlin 1903), 39a (right side)) and especially the funerary relief with a
      bust of L. Vibius Felicio Felix (Rome Musei Vaticani, Museo Chiaramonti, inv. No. 2109 (center)). As I have discussed (Motz
      (as Note 20), 328-329 and 331-32) the presence of the busts of both children on those funerary reliefs may be due to the *Lex
      Aelia Sentia* of 4 CE which elevated to Roman citizenship all of the *libertus* family members if the parents produced a child who
      reached one year of age.

46   Roman funerary inscriptions for freedmen frequently insert an L (for libertus—freedman) after the name of the deceased. That
      was apparently a custom and not an obligation and it was often omitted; see Duff, A. M., Freedmen in the Early Roman Empire
      (Cambridge 1927, reprinted 1958), 55 and Peter Garnsey «Independent Freedmen and the Economy of Roman Italy under the
      Principate,» Klio 63 (1981), 359 n. 3. Duff and Garnsey suggest that the social standing of liberti was so low that they took every
      opportunity to disguise their status. Even when the telltale L is omitted, however, it is frequently possible to detect servile origins.
      Since seven out of ten slaves in Rome had Greek names whatever their actual ethnic origin and since the number of Greek-named
      freedmen exceeded by far the number of free Greeks in the city, a Greek cognomen suggests servile origin (Duff, 56). In addition,
      certain Latin cognomens (some of which are simply translations of Greek slave names), were rarely used by the freeborn popu-
      lation (Duff, 56). The identification of Quintus Lollius Alcamenes in the inscription as a decurio (in the early empire, a business
      agent who was usually a freedman) supports the idea that Alcamenes was a freedman. As do the reclining statues, the funerary
      relief of Alcamenes reflects scenes found on earlier funerary reliefs of freedmen from the late Republic and early Empire showing
      a husband and wife with a bust of their son between them.

47   See Note 36, especially the description by Pliny occurring within a discussion of painting.

48   According to Wikipedia (https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Famous_for_being_famous, last edited 12 October 2023), that phrase
      originates from an analysis of the media-dominated world called The Image: A Guide to Pseudo-events in America (1961), by
      historian and social theorist Daniel J. Boorstin.

49   Such academic folklore is not unknown and certainly not unique to classical archaeology or art history. See, for example, Laura
      Martin, «'Eskimo Words for Snow': A Case Study in the Genesis and Decay of an Anthropological Example", American Anthropolo-
      gist, 88(2), 1986, 418.

Photo Captions and Credits

Figure 1: The Barberini togatus, first quarter of the 1. century C.E. and first quarter of the 17. century, H: 165 cm, Rome, Centrale
      Montemartini, MC 2392. (photo by the author).

Figure 2: Statue of Augustus as Pontifex found in the Via Labicana. Rome, Museo Nazionale delle Terme, first quarter of the 1. century
      C.E., H: 207 cm. (photo: RyanFreisling at English Wikipedia, Public domain, via Wikimedia Commons).

Figure 3: Breaks and joins visible on the front of the Barberini togatus. Possible repaired break is shown in green, joins in red. Compare
      to Talamo (as Note 12), fig. 36. (photo and diagram by the author).

Figure 4: Proper left foot, drapery, and added section of statue base of the Barberini togatus (photo by the author).

Figure 5: Running drill channel (left) and mortar join (right) at the base of the Barberini togatus (photo by the author).

Figure 6: Neck of the (alien) head of the Barberini togatus with mortar joins visible (photo by the author).

Figure 7: The bust held in the left hand of the Barberini togatus (photo by the author).

Figure 8: Detail of the join on the left side of the Barberini togatus (photos by the author).

Figure 9: Join lines around the head of the bust held in the left hand of the Barberini togatus (photo by the author).

Figure 10: Proper right side of the Barberini togatus, showing the join line between the central figure and the bust and palm trunk
      (photo by the author).

Figure 11: Detail showing rasp marks on the toga of the Barberini togatus where it meets the neck of the right bust (photo by the au-
      thor).

Figure 12: Mortar join between the head of the bust and the toga of the Barberini togatus (photo by the author).

Figure 13: mortar join between the right arm and the fold of the toga of the Barberini togatus (L) and chiseled line between the head
      of the bust and the right arm (R) (photos by the author).

Figure 14: Togatus Figure, H: 167.7 cm. The Cleveland Museum of Art, Purchase from the J. H. Wade Fund 1929.439. (Photo cour-
      tesy The Cleveland Museum of Art (Creative Commons CCO 1.0)).

Figure 15: Togate statues (small, medium, and large) in the Leptis Magna museum in Libya (photo © Martin Bedall / Alamy Stock
      Photo).

Figure 16: Statue of Carlo Barberini, the Elder in the Palazzo Senatorio, Rome. Loricate torso is Roman; the head and limbs are by Gianlorenzo Bernini and Alessandro Algardi, after 1630; photo: Anthony Majanlahti, licensed under Creative Commons License 2.0, https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Head_of_the_Memorial_Statue_for_Carlo_Barberini_by_Bernini.jpg).

Figure 17: Comparison between the right bust held by the Barberini togatus and a bust of Carlo Barberini by Francesco Mochi, after1630, H: 84 cm. Museo di Roma, Rome, MR 1097. (left: photo by the author; right: photo by Barbara Kokoska, https://roma-nonpertutti.com).

Figure 18: Comparison between the left bust held by the Barberini togatus and a portrait of Filippo I Colonna in the Palazzo Colonna di Paliano (left: photo by the author; right: public domain from https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Ritratto_del_Principe_Filippo_I_Colonna.jpg).

Figure 19: Left: Bust of a Flavian Woman, Toledo (Ohio) Museum of Art 2019.19, Gift of the Georgia Welles Apollo Society (photo courtesy Toledo Museum of Art); Right: Herm Portrait of Staia Quinta, Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek 639 (photo by the author).

Figure 20: Herm portrait identified as Antonia Minor, Paris, Louvre, Ma 1229 (photos courtesy Musée du Louvre, https://collections.louvre.fr/ark:/53355/cl010275382).

Figure 21: Bust of a Man from the House of the Citharist, Pompeii. Naples, Museo Archeologico 6028 (photo by the author).

Figure 22: House of the Menander, Pompeii. Plaster casts of miniature busts. (photo by the author).

Figure 23: Figure of a Man Holding a Bust of a Woman. Rome, Palazzo Massimo alle Terme (choistro), L: 156 cm. (photo by the author).

Figure 24: Figure of a Woman Holding a Bust of a Man, H: 154 cm, British Museum 1858,0819.1 (presently in storage), (photo courtesy British Museum (CC BY-NC-SA 4.0)).

Figure 25: Funerary Relief of Quintus Lollius Alcamenes. Rome, Villa Albani, (photo: https://imperiumromanum.pl/en/curiosities/tombstone-relief-showing-magistrate-quintus-lollius-alkamenes/).

Figure 26: Egyptian, Head of a Woman, between 130 and 160 C.E., encaustic with gilded stucco on wood panel. Detroit Institute of Arts, Gift of Julius H. Haass, 25.2, (photo courtesy Detroit Institute of Arts).

Author's Information

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