

Nenad Cambi

Glava Sokrata iz zbirke Brangwyn u Arheološkome muzeju u Splitu The head of Socrates from the Brangwyn Collection in the Archaeological Museum in Split

Nenad Cambi
Zoranićeva 4
HR, 21000 Split
nenad.cambj@st.t-com.hr

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U radu se objavljuje nadnaravno velik Sokratov portret iz zbirke Brangwyn koji navodno potječe iz Splita (sada u Arheološkome muzeju u Splitu). Izrađen je od vapnenca, a pripadao je cijelom kipu. Najbliži je tipu B Sokratovih portreta (original je iz doba oko godine 320. pr. Kr.), ali je doživio i neke promjene u odnosu na arhetip, osobito u oblikovanju kose. Rimska kopija je iz tetrahijskog doba i moguće je da je pripadala dekoraciji Dioklecijanove palače.

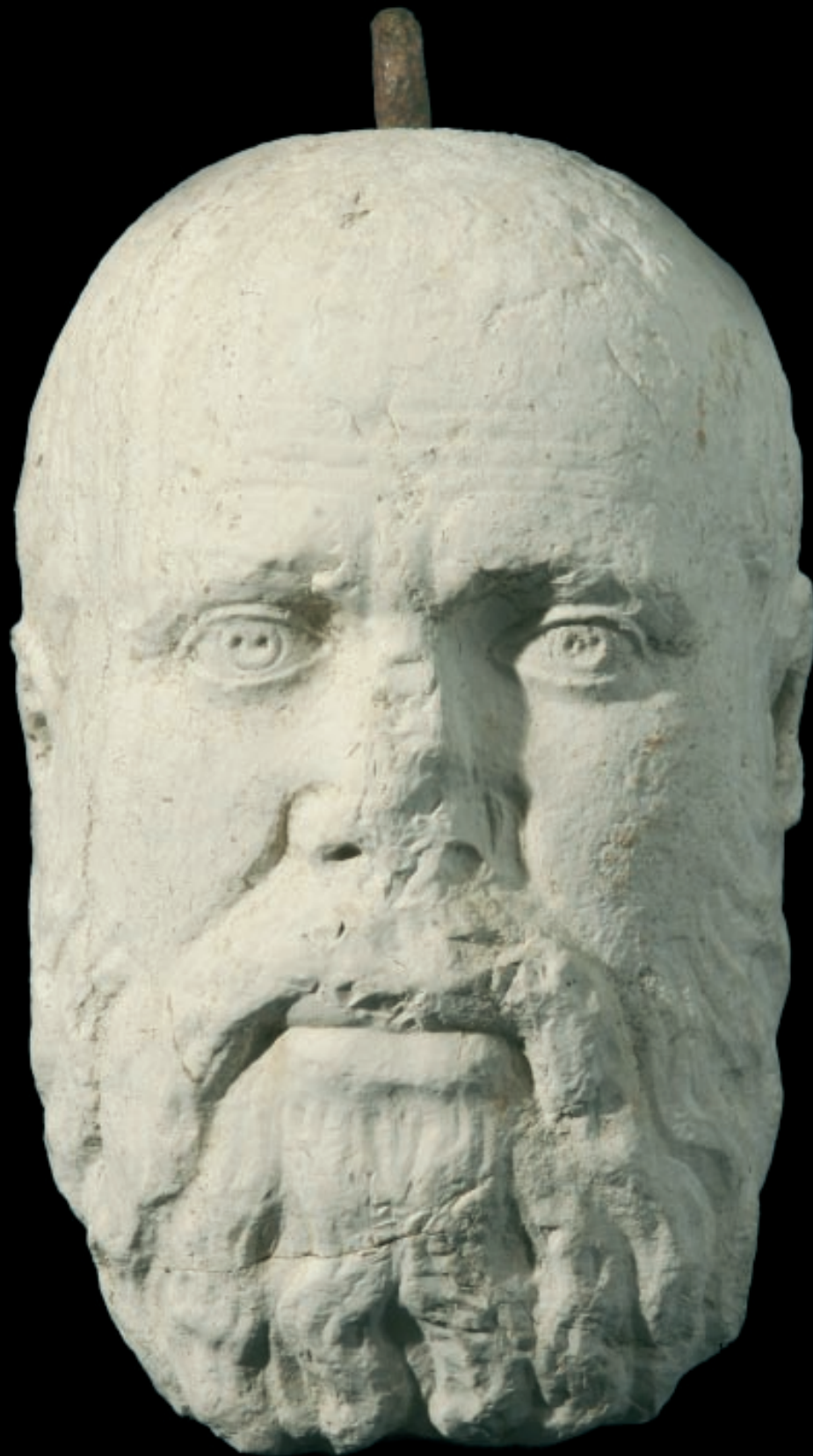
Ključne riječi: Sokrat, Brangwyn, Split

Nenad Cambi
Zoranićeva 4
Croatia, 21000 Split
nenad.cambj@st.t-com.hr

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This work contains publication of the unnaturally large portrait of Socrates from the collection of the artist Sir Frank Brangwyn (1867-1956), which is purportedly originally from Split (now held in the Archaeological Museum in Split). It is made of limestone, and it once belonged to an entire statue. It is most akin to the type B Socrates (the original is from approximately 320 BC), but it had undergone some modifications in relation to the archetype, particularly in the formation of the hair. The Roman copy is from the time of the Tetrarchy and it may have been a component of the décor of Diocletian's Palace.

Key words: Socrates, Brangwyn, Split



Slika 1.
Sokratova glava (Brangwyn) od vapnenca, en face (foto: T. Seser)

Figure 1.
Socrates' head (Brangwyn) made of limestone, en face (photo by: T. Seser)



Slika 2.
Skica upotrebe Sokratove glave
kao sidra (crtež: D. De Verre Cole)

Figure 2.
Sketch of the use of the Socrates
head as an anchor (sketch by: D.
De Vere Cole)

Na britanskom tržištu umjetnina nedavno se pojavila muška glava starije ćelave osobe duge brade i brkova, nadnaravne veličine, koja je bila u posjedu gospođe Diane de Verre Cole, a ona ju je naslijedila iz kuće Jointure u Ditchlingu, u Sussexu, u Engleskoj. Ta je glava ponuđena Arheološkome muzeju u Splitu na otkup (sl. 1). Iz dokumentacije koju je vlasnica podastrla zainteresiranom kupcu proizlazi da je skulpturu u Veneciji kupio profesor Antonio Fradeletto, koji ju je primijetio u čamcu nekog venecijanskog ribara. Glava je ribaru služila kao uteg (sidro) na koji je vezivao brodicu. Na tjemenu glave je, naime, očito sekundarno bio olovom čvrsto uglavljen željezni kolot kroz koji se provlačio konop ili lanac koji se vezivao kroz drugi kolot, vjerojatno pokretni prsten, na pramcu broda. Glava je služila kao uteg na obali da brod ne otplovi. Tu bizarnu funkciju duhovitim je crtežom predočila gospođa Diana de Verre Cole (sl. 2).

Fradeletto je glavu otkupio i postavio kao ukras u vrt svoje venecijanske kuće. Sir Frank Brangwyn, britanski slikar, dekorater i grafičar, nekoliko se puta za boravka u Veneciji susreo s Fradelettom i prijateljio s njim. Raspravljali su o umjetnini, jer se ona Brangwynu neobično svidjela. Brangwyn je glavu naposljetku dobio u posjed kao dio honorara za uređenje postava Britanskog paviljona na Venecijanskoj izložbi godine 1907., koja je poslije prerasla u Venecijanski umjetnički bijenale.

Fradeletto je bio jedan od utemeljitelja te manifestacije. Sir Frank Brangwyn umjetninu je ponio sa sobom u Englesku i smjestio je u svoju unajmljenu kuću. Godine 1918. preselio se u tudorsku kuću Jointure u Ditchlingu, u Sussexu, gdje se trajno nastanio. Za glavu je načinio cementni postament (ukrašen plastičnim križem) i smjestio je u posebno dograđen i na talijanski način uređen vrt kao njezino novo izložbeno mjesto (sl. 3).

Poslije Brangwynove smrti (1956.) kuću je kupio njegov asistent Crosby Cook. Unatoč promjeni vlasnika glava je ostala na svome



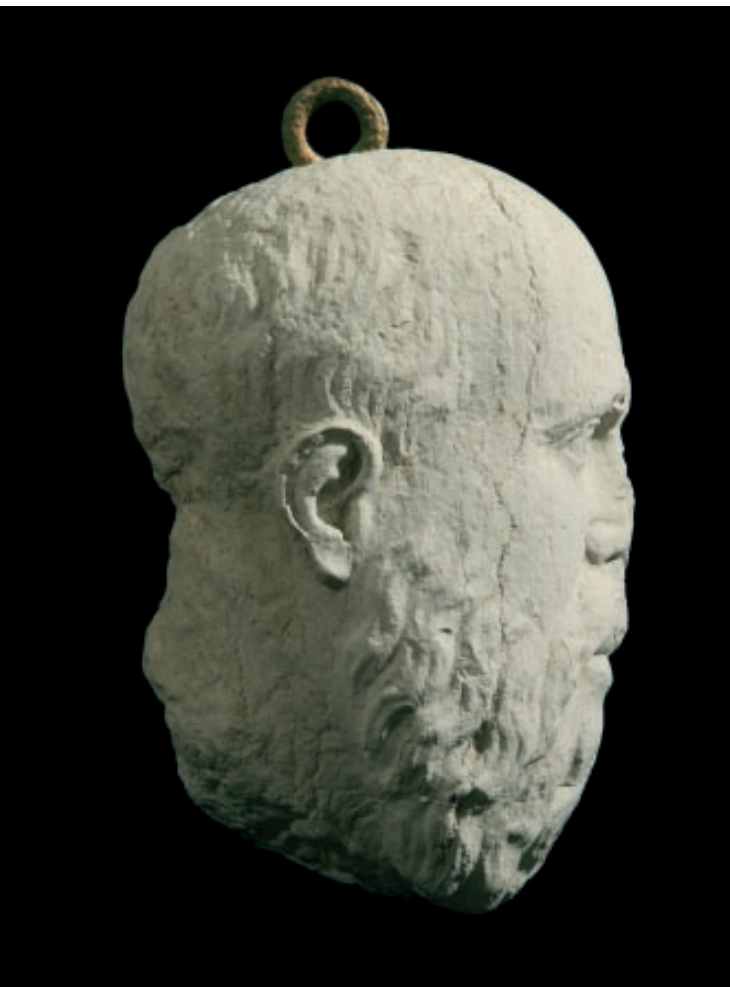
Slika 3.
Sokratova glava u vrtu
Brangwynove kuće (iz knjige:
Bellerocche de, W. Brangwyn talks)

Figure 3.
Socrates' head in the garden of the
Brangwyn house (from the book by
W. de Bellerocche, Brangwyn Talks)

Recently an outsized head of an older bald male with moustache and beard was brought to the attention of Split Museum by Michael Vickers of the Ashmolean Museum on behalf of Mrs Diana de Vere Cole. It had been acquired by Diana's father the artist Crosby Cook in 1956 when he bought 'The Jointure' the former home and studios of Sir Frank Brangwyn in Ditchling, Sussex in England. The head was then offered to the Museum by Diana on behalf of the Crosby Cook family for fundraising (Fig 1). Based on documentation provided by Diana the sculpture had allegedly originated from the Emperor Diocletion's palace, but after the partial destruction of the palace it was, at some point, brought to Venice as part of a shipment of Dalmation limestone to be ground down and used as mortar in the construction of Venice.

There it had been discovered and rescued by Professor Fradeletto, MP of Venice, who found the head being used by a fisherman as a useful anchor, or mooring weight, to keep his boat from floating away. The pate of the head has an obvious secondary affixed iron manacle. applied firmly with lead, through which a rope or chain was pulled to tie it to another manacle, probably a movable ring, on the boats bow. This bizarre function is illustrated in an amusing sketch by Diana (Fig 2). Fradeletto then displayed the head as an ornament in the garden of his house in Venice. There it was admired by Brangwyn, Britain's leading decorative artist in the Art and Crafts tradition, who visited Venice in 1905 and 1907 to design the British Pavilion for the Venice International Exhibition and, with others, to exhibit his work. Fradeletto was one of the founders of the exhibitions which later became known as the Venice Biennale, and he gave Brangwyn the head in part payment for his design work.

Brangwyn then took the piece back to London where it was displayed in the garden of his rented house and studio until 1918 when he bought The Jointure, a large Tudor house with large adjoining studios for his mural work. There Brangwyn landscaped a small enclosed garden in the Italian style in which to exhibit the



Slika 4.
Sokratova glava, desni profil (foto:
T. Seser)

Figure 4.
Socrates' head, right profile
(photo by: T. Seser)



Slika 5.
Sokratova glava, lijevi profil (foto:
T. Seser)

Figure 5.
Socrates' head, left profile (photo
by: T. Seser)



Slika 6.
Sokratova glava, stražnja strana
(foto: T. Seser)

Figure 6.
Socrates' head, rear view (photo
by: T. Seser)



Slika 7.
Sokratova glava, poluprofil (foto:
T. Seser)

Figure 7.
Socrates' head, semi-profile
(photo by: T. Seser)

izvornom mjestu kao poseban naglasak vrta. Crosby Cook umro je 1989. Njegova kuća prodana je 1999., ali glava nije pripala novom vlasniku, nego je ostala u posjedu Cookove kćeri gospođe Diane de Vere Cole, u njezinoj novoj kući u Salisburyju, gdje više nije bila pod otvorenim nebom, izložena atmosferilijama. Gospođa de Vere Cole je smatrala kako bi glava zavrjeđivala da bude dostojno izložena i da bude dostupna pogledu šire javnosti, što u njezinom novom domu nije bilo moguće. Vlasnica je tražila načina da glavu proda *Ashmolean Museum* u Oxfordu. Vrsni poznavatelj antike Michael Vickers, međutim, smatrao je kako bi bilo prikladno da se glava vrati u Split, s obzirom na Fradelettovu (po svojoj prilici logičnu) pretpostavku da je glava podrijetlom iz Splita. Tako je preko hrvatskog veleposlanstva u Londonu uspostavljen kontakt s Arheološkim muzejom u Splitu te je Sokratova glava otkupljena godine 2010., i danas se čuva u Arheološkome muzeju u Splitu.¹

head, it was supported by a handcrafted base made of concrete, moulded by Brangwyn with a cross decoration. (Fig. 3).

Crosby Cook assisted Brangwyn with his posters and graphic work and, after Brangwyn's death in 1956, bought the Jointure. The head remained in its original position and was much venerated by Crosby, his wife, the artist Elizabeth Porteous, and their four daughters.

When Crosby and Elizabeth had both died, the Jointure house and studios were sold as separate dwellings, the studios becoming an art gallery. The head was not required and henceforth remained indoors in the care of Diana, where for the first time in its history it was no longer exposed to the weathering of wind and water.

Mrs. de Vere Cole felt that the head deserved to be properly exhibited and available to the public at large, which was not possible in her new home. She attempted to sell it to the Ashmolean Museum in Oxford. However, given its possible origin in Split, Michael Vickers, a renowned expert on Antiquity, believed that it would only be correct to return the head to Split, given Fradeletto's (rather logical) assumption that it was originally from Split, and he also notified the Museum's director of this. Contacts were therefore established with the Archaeological Museum in Split via the Croatian Embassy in London, and the head of Socrates was purchased and is today held

Glava (inv. br. AMS-71881) je nadnaravne veličine (sl. 4-7), visine 0,30 m, širine 0,22 m, težine 30 kg. Izrađena je od kompaktnog vapnenca bijele boje. Nekoć je pripadala čitavom kipu. Naime, jasno je vidljivo da je na vratu bio načinjen prsten za oslanjanje na drugi segment kipa, tijelo, tj. na ovratnik odjeće (po svojoj prilici himationa). Ispod prstena bio je nasad za umetanje u odgovarajuću rupu na tijelu, kojeg, naravno, nema. Nasad je dokaz da je glava pripadala čitavom kipu, izrađenom u dijelovima koji su se međusobno spajali. Prema kasnoklasičnom kanonu kip je morao biti približno visok 2,10 m, što je, dakako, znatno više od prosječne ljudske visine. Nagib vrata pokazuje da je glava bila nagnuta naprijed, što upućuje na zaključak da je kip prikazivao starog pogrbljenog čovjeka, bez obzira na to radi li se o stojećoj ili sjedećoj figuri.

Površina je neznatno oštećena. Glava je krupna i gotovo kao da čini jedinstveni kubični blok koji je neznatno profiliran. Čelo je visoko i pri dnu ima četiri tanke i lagano uparane vodoravne bore, a malo iznad nosnog sedla su dvije kratke, također plitko uparane okomite bore. Iako su čelo i tjeme prilično oštećeni, nedvojbeno je da na tjemenu uopće nije bilo kose. Dakle, lik je imao kratke pramenove sa strane, iznad uha, što jasno svjedoči linije njihova protezanja. Na takav način često čelave

in the Archaeological Museum in Split.¹

The head (inv. no. AMS-71881) is larger than life-sized (Fig. 4-7): 0.30 m high and 0.22 m wide, weighing 30 kg. It is made of compact white limestone. This is the head from what was once a statue of the entire body. For on the neck there is a clearly visible ring for placement on another segment of the statue - the body, i.e. the collar of clothing (probably a himation). Below the neck there was a socket for insertion into the corresponding hole on the torso which, of course, is now missing. The socket proves that the head belonged to an entire body, made of mutually interlocking parts. According to the Late Classical canon, the statue had to be roughly 2.1 m high, which is, naturally, much higher than the average human height. The gradient of the neck indicates that the head protruded forward considerably, implying that the elderly man had bent posture, regardless of whether it was a standing or sitting figure.

¹ U svrhu nabave glave načinio sam na zamolbu ravnateljice Zrinke Buljević ocjenu opravdanosti kupnje. Kolegici Z. Buljević zahvaljujem što mi je također povjerila i objavu glave. O visini otkupne cijene ne bih raspravljao, jer je tržište antikviteta prilično nestabilno i podložno trenutačnoj ponudi i potražnji.

¹ The Museum's director, Zrinka Buljević, requested that I prepare a feasibility assessment for the purpose of purchasing the head. I would like to thank my colleague Ms. Buljević for also entrusting me with publication of the head. I will not discuss the purchase price, as the antiquities market is quite unstable and subject to momentary supply and demand.

Ljudi u podmakloj dobi. Pramenovi kose razmjerno su kratki, valoviti i naznačeni plitkim urezima na obje strane (što se dobro vidi iz profila). Obrve su oštećene, ali ostatci upućuju na zaključak da su bile samo neznatno zalučene i razmjerno tanke. Oči su lijepo izrađene. Očnu jabučicu uokviruju kapci jednake debljine. Oko očiju nema bora, što bi se očekivalo s obzirom na vremešnost prikazane osobe. Unutar očnih jabučica izrađene su šarenice i zjenice. Šarenice zatvaraju gotovo puni krug, tako da neznatno ulaze ispod gornjeg kapka. Naprotiv, obje su malo iznad gornjeg ruba donjeg kapka. Obris šarenice uparan je uskom, ali razmjerno dubokom brazdom, a njezina je površina neznatno reljefno izdignuta. Zjenice su izrađene kao dvije svrdlom izbušene rupice koje su međusobno povezane neznatno sniženom površinom. Tim postupkom postiže se dobro uočljiv kontrastni naglasak očiju u odnosu na svijetlu površinu svih ostalih detalja glave. Nos je oštećen, što je čest slučaj kod antičkih glava. Uz korijen nosa zapažaju se kratke plitko urezane labionazalne bore kojima krajeve pokrivaju brkovi. Nosnice su naznačene okruglim rupicama načinjenim brzorotirajućim svrdlom, tako da i one predstavljaju tamne detalje na svijetloj glavi. Lice je oblo i očito je da je osoba bila odeblja, jer se ne vide jagodične kosti i za starost karakteristično prilijeganje epiderme uz koštanu strukturu glave. Brada je razmjerno duga, njezini vrhovi, koji su šiljato završavali, su oštećeni. Onaj dio brade koji nedostaje, nije mogao biti još duži od 1 cm, jer nedostaje samo vrh. Dijeli se na šire pramenove koji su međusobno odvojeni nešto dubljim kanalom, a unutar svakog većeg pramena odijeljeni su još plićim kanalom uži pramenovi. Pramenovi brade valoviti su i zrakasto poredani, što se dobro vidi iz profila, a izrađeni su brzorotirajućim svrdlom. Brada je s kosom povezana jedva primjetljivom tankom linijom uskog i neznatno plastičnog pramena. Brkovi su veoma dugi, a izrađeni su na isti način kao i brada. I pramenovi brkova su valoviti, a ležali su iznad brade. Uške su male, pravilne i iznimno kvalitetno izrađene. Kosa ne pokriva obris uha, što je važan detalj za identifikaciju. Ušne vijuge su realistične i tanke. Zatiljak je zaobljen i izbočen. Stražnja strana glave nemarno je izrađena, bez završne dorade.

Nema pramenova kose, premda je očito da taj dio glave prikazane osobe nije bio ćelav. Takva nedorađenost česta je kod rimskih kipova, za razliku od grčkih, a taj bi detalj upućivao na zaključak da je kip bio postavljen u nišu ili uza zid, tako da se nepravilnosti ne vide, što je čest slučaj kod rimske skulpture, zbog racionalnosti, odnosno smanjivanja vremena rada.

S obzirom na prije spomenutu upotrebnu funkciju glave, kao svojevrsnog sidra, i s obzirom na dugotrajan utjecaj mora, glava i nije odveć oštećena. Riječ je, s obzirom na realističan prikaz i individualne crte, o portretu neke starije prignute osobe, punašnih obraza, bistra, pronicava pogleda, potpuno ćelavog tjemena i dugih brkova te duge i pune brade. Ovakvi prikazi u rimskoj plastici obično se svrstavaju među portrete povijesnih osoba: filozofa, govornika i pisaca. Takvi portreti najčešće su rekonstruirani, jer su rijetko nastajali za života osoba.

The surface of the head has sustained negligible damage. The man's head is large and almost appears to be a single cubic block which only underwent minor moulding. The forehead is high, and at its bottom there are four thin and lightly gouged horizontal creases, while just above the bridge of the nose there are two short, also shallowly gouged vertical creases. Although the forehead and crown of the head are quite damaged, there can be no doubt that there was no hair on the scalp. Thus, the man had short locks to the sides of his head above the ears, which is clearly indicated by the lines along which they extend. This is the manner of balding among men at an advanced age. The locks of hair are relatively short, wavy and indicated by shallow incisions on both sides (which can be seen well in profile). The eyebrows are damaged, but the remains indicate that they were slightly arched and relatively thin. The eyes are nicely rendered. The eyeball is framed by lids of equal thickness. There are no creases around the eyes, which would otherwise be expected on the portrayal of such an elderly man. Irises and pupils are rendered inside the eyeballs. The irises form almost complete circles, so that they go under the upper eyelids slightly. By contrast, both are slightly above the lower eyelids. The contours of the irises are formed by a narrow but rather deep groove, while their surfaces are raised very slightly in relief. The pupils were rendered by means of two small drilled holes mutually connected by a slightly depressed surface. This procedure on the eyes facilitated an easily visible contrast accent in relation to the illuminated surface of all remaining details on the head. The nose sustained damage in the manner most frequent on sculpted heads in Antiquity. Short, shallow nasolabial creases are visible alongside the base of the nose, with ends covered by the moustache. The nostrils are indicated by round holes made with a fast-rotating drill, so that they are also dark details on the illuminated head. The face is round and it is obvious that the person portrayed was somewhat corpulent, for the cheekbones and the typical, for the elderly, hanging of the skin against the skull's bone structure cannot be seen. The beard is rather long, and its tips with pointed ends are damaged. However, the length of the beard could not have been more than 1 cm, for the actual tip is missing. The beard is divided into longer strands which are separated by a somewhat deeper channel, while the inside of each lock is divided by an even shallower channel into narrower strands. The strands of the beard are wavy and arranged radially, which can be nicely seen in profile, and they were crafted with a fast-rotating drill. The beard is connected to the hair by a scarcely noticeable thin line of a narrow and negligibly sculpted lock. The moustache is also very long, and rendered in the same manner as the beard. The hairs of the moustache are also wavy and they lay above the beard. The outer ears are small, regular and very well made. The hair does not cover the contours of the ears, which is a vital detail for identification. The curves of the ear are realistic and thin. The occiput is rounded and jutting. The entire back side of the head is carelessly rendered, without finishing works. There are no locks of hair, even though it is obvious that the man was not bald here. Such lack of finish is frequent among Roman statues, as opposed to their Greek counterparts, and this detail would indicate that the statue was installed in a niche or next to a wall, so that these irregularities would not have been seen, which is often the case with Roman sculpture for the sake of rationality, to reduce the expenditure of labour hours.

U dokumentarnom materijalu koji je predočila prodavateljica, gospođa de Vere Cole, stoji i mišljenje arheologa Martina Heniga iz Arheološkog instituta u Oxfordu da je riječ o glavi slavnoga grčkog filozofa Sokrata (469. - 399. g. pr. Kr.), tzv. B tipa,² inače veoma raširenog u rimsko doba;³ arhetip je, kako svjedoče Diogen Laercije i Tertulijan, izradio veliki grčki kipar Lizip.⁴ Taj kiparski tip nedvojbeno je nastao u grčkom kasnoklasičnom (poslijesokratovskom) razdoblju. M. Henig, datirajući glavu u tetrarhijsko doba (4. st. po. Kr.) na temelju lica ukočenog poput maske i zurećeg pogleda, iznosi logično mišljenje da je posrijedi kasnorimska kopija. Svoj kratki osvrt Henig započinje konstatacijom da bi glava bila veoma pogodna za novi *Ashmolean Museum* u Oxfordu, što je s njegove strane visoko priznanje umjetničkoj vrijednosti portreta.

Henig, međutim, nije prvi koji je glavu atribuirao Sokratu. U takvu atribuciju već su bili uvjereni Fradeletto i sam Brangwyn.⁵ Naravno da njihovo mišljenje nije potkrijepljeno nikakvom analizom, paralelnim primjercima ili usporedbama, nego se temelji na njihovoj kulturi i općem poznavanju spomenika. Oba su, naime, bili intelektualci kojima je Sokratov lik bio znan i blizak. No njihovo je mišljenje, bez obzira na utemeljenost, nedvojbeno imalo utjecaja na sve one koji su glavu vidjeli i više ili manje kompetentno raspravljali o njoj.

Postoje barem dva tipa Sokratova portreta. Prvi tip, A, ili, kako ga njemački znalci nazivaju, *Urbild*, prikazuje mudraca kao starog čovjeka proćelave kratke kose koje pramenovi vode sa zatiljka prema čelu, gdje su veoma rijetki i kratki. Posebna značajka tipa A je duga kosa koja se od zatiljka svijja prema unutra i pada na vrat.



- ↑ O Sokratovim portretima usp. Laurenzi 1941, str. 91, 92, br. 16, T. V; str. 104, br. 39, T. XV; Scheffold 1943, str. 68, 69; Richter 1955-1962; Lorenz 1965; Richter 1984, str. 198-205; Kruse 1968, str. 435-446, T. 58. 1-3, T. 59. 1-3, T. 60. 1, T. 61. 1-3, T. 62. 1-3, T. 63. 1-3, T. 64. 1-2; Scheibler, Zanker, Vierneisel 1989; Scheibler 1989, str. 3-40; Blome 1999, str. 98-114; Hafner 2001, str. 253, 254; Zanker 1996; Die Geschichte 2004. Općenitu i kratku, ali izvanrednu studiju o grčkom portretu usp. Fittschen 1988, str. 1-38.
- ↑ Henigh je na upit Nicka Griffithsa što misli o glavi, odgovorio sljedeće: "It would be a wonderful centre-piece for the new Asmolean (cf. Museum Oxford). It is indeed Socrates of type B common in Roman times, but this is very late, 4th century I think and if from Split rather than Salona nearby, perhaps part of the décor of the palace (of the Emperor Diocletian) cf. Neils Hannestad, Tradition in late Antique Sculpture (Aarchus 1994) citing P.C. Bol, Forschungen zur Villa Albani. Katalog der Antiken Bildwerke II, Berlin 1990. pp 272-274, Taf 193-195 for a 4th Century Tondo of a similar Socrates - which I had always spotted in Richter, *Portraits of the Greeks*, fig. 512 no 8 at page 213 for the popularity of Socrates in late Antiquity. The large staring eyes and rather mask face mean this is no earlier than the tetrarchy."
- ↑ Diogen Laertius, *De clarorum philosophorum vitis* 2, 43; Tertulijan, *Apologeticum*, 14. Kip je bio podignut na veoma istaknutome mjestu, gdje su se ljudi okupljali i gdje se formirala panatenejska povorka (kod Pompeiona), a narudžba je povjerena slavnom kiparu Lizipu, što jasno svjedoči koliko su se Atenjani kajali zbog nepravde i nedjela koje su tek koje desetljeće prije toga učinili Sokratu.
- ↑ Beller Roche de 1944, str. 138. Očito je da su o tome obojica prijatelja razgovarali i divili se glavi. To navodi i Vere Cole de 2006, str. 101, 102.

Glava Sokrata iz zbirke Brangwyn u Arheološkome muzeju u Splitu
The head of Socrates from the Brangwyn Collection in the...

Given the aforementioned function of this head as something of an anchor and given its many years of exposure to the sea, it is not greatly damaged.

With regard to the realistic portrayal and individual lines, this is a portrait of an elderly, bent person, with full cheeks and a clear, piercing gaze, an entirely bald pate and a long moustache and long and full beard. Such portrayals in Roman sculpture are normally classified among portraits of historical personalities: philosophers, orators and writers. Such portraits are most often reconstructed, as they rarely appeared during the lifetimes of such persons.

The documentary materials provided by the seller, Diana de Vere Cole, also includes the opinion of archaeologist Martin Henig from the Institute of Archaeology in Oxford, according to which this is the head of the famed Greek philosopher Socrates (469-399 BC), of the so-called type B,² otherwise quite widespread in the Roman era,³ and for which the archetype, as asserted by Diogenes Laertius and Tertullian, was made by the great Greek sculptor Lysippos.⁴ This sculptural type undoubtedly emerged in the Greek Late Classical (post-Socratic) period. Henig, dating the head to the Tetrarchy (4th cent. AD) based on the mask-like rigidity of the face and the staring eyes, proffered the logical opinion that this was a late Roman copy. Henig began his brief overview with the assertion that the head would have been quite suitable for the Ashmolean Museum in Oxford, which was, on his part, a high assessment of the portrait's artistic value.

Henig, however, was not the first to attribute the head to Socrates. Fradeletto and Brangwyn himself had also been convinced of this attribution.⁵ Naturally, their opinions were not backed by any sort of analysis, parallel examples nor comparisons. This is something that both men concluded based on their own knowledge and



- ↑ On portraits of Socrates, cf. Laurenzi 1941, pp. 91, 92, no. 16, P. V; p. 104, no. 39, P. XV; Scheffold 1943, 68, 69; Richter 1955-1962.; Lorenz 1965; Richter 1984, pp. 198-205; Kruse 1968, pp. 435-446, P. 58. 1-3, P. 59. 1-3, P. 60. 1, P. 61. 1-3, P. 62. 1-3, P. 63. 1-3, P. 64. 1-2; Scheibler, Zanker, Vierneisel 1989; Scheibler 1989, pp. 3-40; Blome 1999, pp. 98-114; Hafner 2001, pp. 253, 254; Zanker 1996; Die Geschichte 2004. For a general and concise, but exceptional study on the Greek portrait, cf. Fittschen 1988, pp. 1-38.
- ↑ Henig, in response to Nick Griffiths' query as to his opinion of the head, responded: "It would be a wonderful centre-piece for the new Ashmolean (cf. Museum Oxford). It is indeed Socrates of type B common in Roman times, but this is very late, 4th century I think and if from Split rather than Salona nearby, perhaps part of the décor of the palace (of the Emperor Diocletian) cf. Neils Hannestad, Tradition in late Antique Sculpture (Aarchus 1994) citing P.C. Bol, Forschungen zur Villa Albani. Katalog der Antiken Bildwerke II, Berlin 1990. pp 272-274, Taf 193-195 for a 4th Century Tondo of a similar Socrates - which I had always spotted in Richter, *Portraits of the Greeks*, fig. 512 no 8 at page 213 for the popularity of Socrates in late Antiquity. The large staring eyes and rather mask face mean this is no earlier than the tetrarchy."
- ↑ Diogenes Laertius, *De clarorum philosophorum vitis* 2, 43; Tertullian, *Apologeticum*, 14. The statue was erected at a very prominent place, where people gathered and where the Panathenaic procession was formed (at the Pompeion), while the job was entrusted to the renowned sculptor Lysippos, which clearly testifies to the remorse felt by Athenians over the wrongs and injustice done to Socrates just a few decades earlier.
- ↑ Beller Roche de 1944, p. 138. It can be seen that both friends discussed and admired the head. This was also cited by de Vere Cole 2006, pp. 101, 102.

Za razliku od kose, brada je duga, puna i kompaktna (bez duboko odvojenih pramenova). Čelo je ispupčeno, oči duboko usađene među kostima lica, a na vanjskim stranama zamjećuju se dvije ili tri kratke bore. Nos je kratak, prćast i širok u korijenu. Realistički je tretman razvidan pa se stoga smije pretpostaviti da je ovaj tip bliz izvornom Sokratovom izgledu. Smatra se da Sokrat za života nije uopće bio portretiran jer bi to bilo protivno njegovu uvjerenju. Tek poslije smrti moguće je da su mu njegovi prijatelji i sljedbenici dali načiniti portret. Na temelju toga, a još više na temelju stilskog razvoja grčkog portreta pretpostavlja se da je tip nastao otprilike od 380. do 370. pr. Kr.⁶

Mlađi tip ili tip B Sokratova portreta nastao je nekoliko desetljeća poslije tipa A i pripisuje se Lizipu (oko 320. pr. Kr). Veliki majstor nije varirao prvi tip, nego je prema svojoj viziji izradio vlastiti doživljaj filozofa, koji je također satirski, ali znatno oplemenjeniji, pa stoga i mnogo prikladniji jednoj umnoj osobi. Kosa je duga, a oči zamišljenije i produhovljenije. Vlasi su mnogo plastičnije i bogatije posložene, tako da su uši posve pokrivene. Doduše, naprijed gotovo nema vlasi, ali su straga bogatije. Na vratu nema onog produženog i svijenog kraja. Kosa je nedvojbeno bila glavni plastički izazov i akcent velikog umjetnika. Plinije navodi da je to bila jedna od Lizipovih umjetničkih kvaliteta i inovacija,⁷ a o tome svjedoče i podatci Diogena Laercija, koje potvrđuje i Tertulijan. I kod tipa B zadržane su obje plitke bore uz vanjski kut očiju.

I u helenističko doba izrađivali su se Sokratovi likovi u raznim umjetničkim medijima, koji su zadržali neke značajke jednog i drugog tipa, uz stanovite specifičnosti.⁸ Zadržavaju se i neke pojedinosti ranijih tipova, osobito silenske značajke, a neke pojedinosti se pojednostavnjuju. Tako se kosi oduzima plastika i naglašava ćelavost, ali se zadržava oblik dvaju povezanih dugih pramenova brade veće ili manje dužine koji su značajka tipa B. Među tim prikazima često se može raspoznati veća prisutnost jednog tipa. Te ne osobito brojne glave helenističkog postanja svaka na svoj način razrađivale su silenski izraz, koji je zapravo jedini zajednički nazivnik Sokratove fizionomije. Katkad lik ima i groteskne naznake, kao na primjer terakotna maska iz *Antikensammlungen* u Münchenu ili koštani lik, odnosno terakota (muzej Agora u Ateni).⁹ Sokrat je tako postao opće mjesto kao filozofska i moralna vertikalaa i veoma omiljen umjetnički predložak. Sačuvan je veći broj kopija svih tipova, ali ne i tijela, koja su u grčkoj umjetnosti bila obvezna. Tijelo je moglo biti prikazano u stojećem i u sjedećem stavu.¹⁰


[[] 6 Scheibler, Zanker, Vierneisel 1989, str. 37-43, sl. 5.1, 6.1, 6.2, 6.3 i sl. 42.

[[] 7 Plinije St. *N.h.* XXXIV, 65.

[[] 8 Scheibler, Zanker, Vierneisel 1989, str. 52-56 sa slikama.

[[] 9 Scheibler, Zanker, Vierneisel 1989, str. 63.

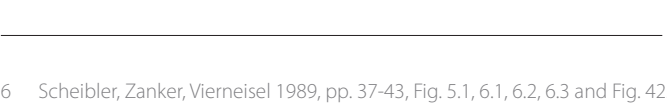
[[] 10 Nije pouzdano da je Sokratovoj glavi pripadalo tijelo sjedećeg kipa; usp. Laurenzi 1941, str. 140-141, T. XLVIII. E; Scheibler, Zanker, Vierneisel 1989, str. 48, sl. na istoj strani. Neki kipići pak prikazuju Sokrata u stojećem stavu, usp. Scheibler, Zanker, Vierneisel 1989, str. 50 i sl. na istoj strani.

general familiarity with monuments. Indeed, both were intellectuals to whom the image of Socrates was known and familiar. However, their opinion, regardless of its foundations, certainly influenced all of those who saw the head and discussed it more or less competently.

There are a minimum of two types of Socrates portraits. The first, type A or, as referred to by German experts, *Urbild*, shows the wise man as a balding elderly man with the locks of his short hair running from the back toward the forehead, where they are very thin and short. However, the specific feature of type A is the long hair curling from the back of the head inward on the neck. As opposed to the hair, the beard is long, full and compact (without deeply separated strands). The forehead protrudes, the eyes are deeply set in the facial bones, while two or three short creases are notable on the external sides. The nose is short, turned up and wide at the base. The realistic treatment is apparent, so one may assume that this type approximated Socrates’ actual appearance. It is believed that during his lifetime Socrates had never had a portrait done as this ran contrary to his convictions. Only after his death was it possible for his friends and followers to commission a portrait. Based on this, and even more so on the stylistic development of the Greek portrait, it is assumed that this type emerged between roughly 380 and 370 BC.⁶

The younger type B of Socrates portrait emerged several decades after type A and is attributed to Lysippos (ca 320 BC). The great master did not do a variation of the first type, rather he crafted his own conception of the philosopher based on his own vision, and it was also satirical but considerably more ennobled, and thus much more suited to a learned person. The hair is long, while the eyes are pensive and enlightened. The individual hairs are arranged much more richly and with greater plasticity, so that the ears are entirely covered. To be sure, in the front there are almost no hairs, but the back is richer. The elongated and curved end is absent on the neck. The hair was undoubtedly the primary sculptural challenge, constituting the greater artist’s accent. Pliny noted this as one of those artistic qualities and innovations of Lysippos,⁷ adding credibility to what was written by Diogenes Laertius, and confirmed by Tertullian, on the statue’s creator. Both shallow creases along the external corners of the eyes were also retained on type B.

Even during the Hellenistic era, images of Socrates were made in different artistic media which retained certain features of types A and B, with certain specific aspects.⁸ Some details of earlier types were also retained, particularly their Silenic characteristics, while others were simplified. Thus, the sculpted hair was reduced while his baldness was emphasized, even though the shape of the two connected long strands of the beard of greater or shorter length, a feature of type B, were retained. Among these portrayals it is often possible to discern the greater presence of an individual type. These not particularly numerous heads of Hellenistic origin each in its own way elaborated the Silenic expression which was actually the sole common denominator of Socrates’ physiognomy. Sometimes the image has


[[] 6 Scheibler, Zanker, Vierneisel 1989, pp. 37-43, Fig. 5.1, 6.1, 6.2, 6.3 and Fig. 42.

[[] 7 Pliny the Elder, St. N.h. XXXIV, 65.

[[] 8 Scheibler, Zanker, Vierneisel 1989, pp. 52-56 with illustrations.


M. Henig se poziva na tondo u *Villa Albani* tzv. Sokratova tipa B kao paralelu Brangwynovoj glavi.¹¹ Na tom mramornom tondu prikazan je čovjek s posve ćelavim tjemenom i kosom sa strane te dugom bradom. Međutim, usporedba kose i brade pokazuje uistinu veliku razliku u tretmanu u odnosu na tip B. Naime, brada je lizipovski plastična i kovrčava, s dva pramena koja se prepleću, dok je kosa tek lagano svijena, bez plastike i kovrča, što na arhetipu nije slučaj. Stoga ne bi trebalo glavu pripisati čistom, nekontaminiranom tipu B, nego kombinatorici raznih izvora, kojoj su rimskodobni umjetnici bili skloni. Rijetko su, naime, oni potpuno kopirali uzore. Njihova je sklonost bila eklektični odabir, pa je to i ovdje prepoznatljivo. Brada glave Brangwyn uistinu odgovara tipu B, ali kosa s njim nema nikakve veze. Kad se pak glava na tondu usporedi s našom, tada su neke paralele uistinu uočljive, i to osobito fizionomijske, a znatno manje stilsko-tehničke. Te se zajedničke značajke odražavaju u istovjetnom obliku i načinu ćelavosti te u kosi iznad uha pripijenoj uz kalotu. To su one pojedinosti koje nemaju nikakve veze s izvornim tipom B. Vidjeli smo da tip B izvorno ima lizipovski plastičniju i kovrčaviju kosu, koja posve pokriva uši. Naprotiv, i na portretu Brangwyn i na tondu Albani uši su gotovo slobodne ili pak posve slobodne (ogoljene od kose). Što se pak brade tiče, razvidan je isti uzor, s tom razlikom što glava Albani autentičnije prenosi tu kasnorimsku kreaciju. Kod glave Brangwyn brada je uređena prema načelima pramenova tipa B, tj. s dva glavna pramena koji se međusobno prepleću, ali plošnije (stražnji pramenovi izišli su u prednji plan). Stoga je među očuvanim Sokratovim glavama bez ikakve dvojbe najbliža analogija tondo *Albani*. M. Henig smatra da splitska Sokratova glava jednako kao i tondo iz *Villa Albani* potječe iz 4. st. S Henigom sam suglasan da je naša glava iz tetrarhijskog doba,¹² ali tondo *Albani* je stariji, prema mnogim stilskim i tehničkim značajkama. Uostalom, i u spomenutom Katalogu datiran je u 3. st. Za tondo se nikako ne bi moglo reći da ima pouzdanih elemenata za tako kasnu, tetrarhijsku dataciju. Međutim, postoji velika mogućnost da je bilo još takvih kasnih paralela, jer je Sokratova popularnost dugo trajala,¹³ što osobito potvrđuju brojne kopije iz ranijeg doba. S druge strane, ljudi se nisu skanjivali ni prikazivanja u božanskom obličju, posebice u sepulkralnom kontekstu,¹⁴ a nekmoli u odjeći i u nošnji filozofa.¹⁵


[[] 11 *Forschungen zur Villa Albani* 1990, str. 272-274, T. 193-195. Ta je glava prema piscu jedinice (E. Voutiras) Sokratova glava tipa B s modificiranom kosom.

[[] 12 To je navodni citat iz knjige Hannestad 1994. (navedeno prema M. Henigu).

[[] 13 Na primjer glava iz Efeza, iz doba oko godine 300. Usp. Zanker 1996, str. 322, sl. 174. Treba međutim upozoriti da se ova prilično razlikuje od glave Brangwyn i stilski se povezuje sa specifičnom maloazijskom portretistikom.

[[] 14 Wrede 1981, str. 7-158, T. 1-40.

[[] 15 O tome usp. Marrou 1938 i Ewald 1999.

Glava Sokrata iz zbirke Brangwyn u Arheološkome muzeju u Splitu
The head of Socrates from the Brangwyn Collection in the...

grotesque contours, as in the example of the terracotta mask from the Museum of Antiquities (Antikensammlungen) in Munich, or the wax figure and terracotta from the Museum of the Ancient Agora (Athens).⁹ Socrates thus became a general point of reference as a philosopher and a moral giant and very favoured model for artistic portrayals. A number of copies of all types have been preserved, but not their bodies as well, which was mandatory in Greek art. It is possible that the body was portrayed standing, but also in sitting posture.¹⁰

Henig referred to the tondo in the Villa Albani, the so-called type B Socrates, as a parallel to Brangwyn’s head.¹¹ A man is depicted on this marble tondo who has a completely bald pate and hair to the sides and a long beard. However, a comparison of the hair and beard show a truly great difference in treatment compared to type B. Namely, the beard is curly and has more plasticity à la Lysippos, with two strands which intertwine, while the hair is only lightly bent, without curls or the plastic quality, which is not the case with the archetype. Thus the head should not be ascribed as a pure, uncontaminated type B, but rather a combination of different sources which Roman-era artists favoured. However, they rarely copied their models faithfully. Their affinities included an eclectic selection, and this is apparent here. The beard on Brangwyn’s head truly correspond to type B, but the hair has nothing in common with it. When the head on the tondo is compared to the one under examination here, then the parallels truly come to the fore, particularly the physiognomic elements, and stylistic-technical elements less so. These common features are reflected in the identical form and balding pattern and the hair clinging to the cranium above the ear. These are details which have nothing in common with the original type B. It was shown earlier that type B originally had curlier and more plastic hair entirely covering the ears in the Lysippos style. By contrast, on the Brangwyn portrait and the Albani tondo, the ears are almost free or almost entirely free (no contact with the hair). As to the beard, the same source is evident, with the difference being that the Albani head conveys this Late Roman creation more faithfully. On the Brangwyn head, the beard is arranged in line with the principles of type B strands, i.e. with two main strands which intertwine, but flatter (the rear strands have moved to the fore). Thus, among the preserved Socrates heads, the Albani tondo is without any doubt the closest analogy. Henig believes that both the head of Socrates from Split and the Villa Albani tondo date to the fourth century. I agree with Henig that the head discussed herein dates to the Tetrarchy,¹² but the Albani tondo is from an earlier period based on many stylistic and technical


[[] 9 Scheibler, Zanker, Vierneisel 1989, p. 63.

[[] 10 It is not certain that the head of Socrates belonged to a sitting statue; cf. Laurenzi 1941, pp. 140-141, P. XLVIII. E; Scheibler, Zanker, Vierneisel 1989, p. 48, fig. on the same page. Some statuettes show Socrates standing, cf. Scheibler, Zanker, Vierneisel 1989, p. 50 and fig. on same page.

[[] 11 *Forschungen zur Villa Albani* 1990, pp. 272-274, P. 193-195. According to the entry’s author (E. Voutiras) this is the type B head of Socrates with modified hair.

[[] 12 This is an alleged citation from the book by Hannestad 1994 (cited based on M. Henig).

Unatoč svemu iznesenom, smije se postaviti i pitanje prikazuje li “splitska” glava uistinu Sokrata. Naime, moda i oponašanje izgleda istaknutih ljudi poznata je pojava u portretistici običnih ljudi, sa svrhom da se pojedinac, bez obzira na društveni status, predstavi u određenom vanjskom obličju. U njemačkoj literaturi dobro je razrađena pojava vremenskog izraza, ne samo stilskog nego i formalnog, modnog i drugog odraza vremena (*Zeitgesicht*).¹⁶ Možda je zgodan primjer za ilustraciju portret rimskog cara Pupijena (*Marcus Clodius Pupienus Maximus*), koji je kratko vladao i ubijen je godine 238. Na novcu, a osobito na mramornom portretu (usput rečeno, jedna od najljepših rimskih portretnih kreacija općenito) prikazan je s dugom gustom bradom s dva srednja pramena koja se prepleću (*nota bene*, u to doba u modi je kratka brada, koja kao da je tek iznikla iz svog korijena) kao u Sokrata.¹⁷ S druge strane, kosa mu je iznimno kratka, u skladu s običajem druge četvrtine 3. st. Iako pitanje odstupanja od modnih standarda u literaturi nije dovoljno razrađeno (barem koliko je meni poznato), za to je morao postojati dublji razlog. Po svoj je prilici Pupijen, vojnik po profesiji i iz obitelji obrtničkog podrijetla koja je bila recentno uzdignuta u senatski stalež, bio filozofski obrazovan.¹⁸ Premda je i izrazom i izgledom sasvim različit od Sokrata, Pupijen je ipak dao naslutiti “sokratovsku” poveznicu. Upravo zbog povođenja za vanjskim obličjem istaknutih osoba, događaju se i u znanosti pogrešne atribucije. Čini se da se čak zamjećuju značajke koje bi možda i osporavale atribuciju Sokratu. Naime, interpretacije Sokratova lika u svim inačicama pokazuju mršavo lice s epidermom koja priliježe uz koštanu strukturu lica na kojemu se ističu zigomatične kosti. U našem slučaju glava je loptasta, a oči nisu uske i zakošene. Međutim, to bi moglo biti prije stilsko obilježje negoli fizionomijske značajke, kakve se javljaju upravo na primjeru mnogih istaknutih osoba na hermama iz znamenite rimske vile iz Welshbilliga u Njemačkoj, gdje se pojavljuje i sam Sokrat u jednoj još kasnijoj stilskoj inačici.¹⁹ Usporedba kose priljubljene uz glavu i pramenova guste brade, od kojih se dva središnja prepleću, upućuje na zaključak da bi to ipak prije bio lik slavnog filozofa negoli osobe koja se sokratovski predstavlja, kao što su neke osobe svoj životni i filozofski


^[16] Zanker 1982, str. 307-312.

^[17] Wegner, Wiggers, 1971, str. 243-245, T. 74, 76, 77. Dugu bradu imao je i car Makrin (217. - 218.), usp. Wegner, Wiggers 1971, str. 136-140, T. 30-33. Na koga se Pupijen ugledao, nije moguće ni pretpostaviti, ali na tog uzurpatora sigurno nije. Pupijen je bio od rimskog Senata legalno izabran, za razliku od Makrina.

^[18] Zanimljiva je usporedba glava suvladarâ Pupijena i Balbina. Oba su proistekla iz senatskog staleža, ali je Balbin (*Decimus Caelius Calvinus Balbinus*), za razliku od prvog, iz stare senatske obitelji. Balbinov portret pokazuje i uz tjeme podšišanu glavu kao i veoma kratku kosu, kakvu nosi najveći broj tzv. vojničkih careva, dok Pupijenov ipak odstupa. Za Balbina usp. Wegner, Wiggers 1971, str. 246-249, T. 75, 78, 79.

^[19] Wrede 1972, str. 46, 47, T. 1. 1-3.

characteristics. Even in the aforementioned Catalogue it is dated to the third century. One cannot say there are any reliable elements for such a late dating to the Tetrarchy. However, there is a significant possibility that there were more such late parallels, for Socrates’ popularity persisted for a considerable time,¹³ and this is particularly confirmed by the numerous copies from earlier periods. On the other hand, people did not even hesitate to depict him in divine form, particularly in the sepulchral context,¹⁴ to say nothing of the attire and dress of a philosopher.¹⁵

Despite the arguments made above, it is also permissible to raise the question of whether the “Split” head is indeed a portrayal of Socrates. For the mode and imitation of appearances of well-known personalities was a phenomenon not unknown in the portraiture of ordinary people. This reflects the desire of an individual, regardless of social status, to be presented in a specific external form. In the German literature, the phenomenon of the current fashion of a given time, not just stylistic but also a formal, fashionable and other expression of the time (*Zeitgesicht*), has been quite thoroughly examined.¹⁶ Perhaps a suitable example for illustrative purposes is the portrait of the briefly-reigning Roman Emperor Pupienus (Marcus Clodius Pupienus Maximus), who reigned briefly and was killed in 238. His coins, and particularly his portrait in marble (incidentally one of the finest Roman portraits in general), show a long, thick beard with two middle strands that intertwine (*NB*: in this period the short beard, appearing to have just emerged from its root, was in fashion), just like that of Socrates.¹⁷ On the other hand, his hair was exceptionally short in compliance with the custom of the second quarter of the third century. Even though the question of deviation from fashion standards has not been sufficiently covered in the literature (at least to my knowledge), there had to be a deeper reason for this. In all likelihood, Pupienus, a soldier by profession from a family of artisans that had recently been elevated to senatorial status, had received a philosophical education.¹⁸ Although different from Socrates in both appearance and expression, Pupienus nonetheless seemed to indicate a “Socratic” link. It is precisely this imitation of


^[13] For example, the head from Ephesus, from the time around the year 300. Cf. Zanker 1996, p. 322, Fig. 174. However, it should be pointed out that this one differs considerably from Brangwyn’s head and it is stylistically linked to specific Asia Minor portraiture.

^[14] Wrede 1981, pp. 7-158, P. 1-40.

^[15] On this cf. Marrou 1938 and Ewald 1999.

^[16] Zanker 1982, pp. 307-312.

^[17] Wegner, Wiggers, 1971, pp. 243-245, P. 74, 76, 77. Emperor Macrinus (217-218) also had a long beard, cf. Wegner, Wiggers 1971, pp. 136-140, P. 30-33. One cannot even speculate as to whom Pupienus was modelled after, but it was certainly not this usurper. Pupienus was legally elected by the Roman Senate, as opposed to Macrinus.

^[18] A comparison with the head of Pupienus’ co-emperor Balbinus is interesting. Both hailed from the senatorial caste, but Balbinus (Decimus Caelius Calvinus Balbinus), in contrast to the other, was from an old senatorial family. The portrait of Balbinus shows a head with hair cut very short, as worn by most of the so-called military emperors, while that of Pupienus deviates. For Balbinus, cf. Wegner, Wiggers 1971, pp. 246-249, P. 75, 78, 79.

ideal i vizualno prilagođivale izgledu i izrazu svog ideala, što je u drugoj polovici 3. st. (u doba vrhunca plotinske filozofije) čest slučaj. Uostalom sam tip Plotinova portreta mješavina je Platonove i Sokratove fizionomije.²⁰ Na dataciju u kasno 3. st. glave iz kolekcije Brangwyn upućuje kubično strukturirani portret s usječenim zjenicama i šarenicama unutar jabučice koje imaju ukočen i u daljinu upravljen pogled. Te bi značajke, dakle, upućivale na vrijeme tetrarhije, i to prije prodora transcendentne bezizražajnosti, okrupnjivanja glave (osobito vrata) i napuštanja fizionomijskih crta lica. U kasnom 3. stoljeću dolazi do ikonografskog pojednostavnjivanja portretne umjetnosti u svrhu isticanja maestoznosti i neprolaznosti. Stoga je mišljenje engleskih stručnjaka ispravno, unatoč mogućnosti da je riječ o privatnom portretu sokratolikog čovjeka. Bez obzira na moju početnu sumnju, znatno sam (nakon studije) uvjereniji da je posrijedi uistinu portret velikog filozofa.

Kako su tipovi portreta (A i B) nastali nakon Sokratove smrti, sličnost sa stvarnim izgledom filozofa je problematična. Svi portretni tipovi Sokrata nose silenske značajke, što je, dakako, prenijela usmena predaja, a likovno se prenosila, osim pomoću poznatih portreta, i putem silenskih maski koje su se javljale na različitim utilitarnim ili umjetničkim predmetima (metal, keramika, staklo itd.). Zbog toga ne čudi što su svi do sada jednoglasno glavu pripisivali slavnom filozofu, antičkom idealu filozofskog i moralnog savršenstva, koji je bio nepravedno optužen i umoren te time postao još znamenitiji.

U Dalmaciji se očuvalo nekoliko Sokratovih portreta.²¹ Fragment prednjeg dijela lica glave približno prirodnih ljudskih dimenzija (ukupna vis. 0,31 m) iz zadarske zbirke Danieli, sada u Arheološkome muzeju u Zadru (sl. 8), prikazuje Sokrata rimskoga mješovitog tipa (A+B); ta se glava, kao i Brangwynova, uglavnom oslanja na tip B. Kosa je kratka i pripijena uz glavu, ali ujedno pokriva i uši. Na tjemenu jedva da ima kose, a brada i brkovi gotovo su istovjetni onima na tipu B. Ostali detalji lica tipično su sokratovski. Ovaj je portret znatno raniji i nema kasnoantičke značajke ukrućenog pogleda, a nema ni kiparski izrađene šarenice i zjenice. Stvarno podrijetlo glave nažalost nije poznato.²²


^[20] Usp. L’Orange 1973 (rad Plotinus-Paul), str. 32-42, sl. 5-6. U takvu ikonografiju uklapa se i izgled apostola Pavla, koji je također ćelav. Usp. i Wood 1986, str. 82, 83, T. 50.

^[21] Kolega 1989, str. 28, kat. br. 10, T. XIV; Cambi 2000, str. 57, kat. br. 79, T. 105.

^[22] Zbirka Danieli sastojala se od dvije zasebne zbirke. Prva je pouzdano dalmatinskog podrijetla i pripadala je dr. Antoniju Danieliju, a druga njegovom bratu dr. Jakopu Danieliju, koji je bio liječnik u Padovi. Poslije smrti ovog potonjeg zbirka je došla u posjed “zadarskog” brata i tako su se fuzirale. Padovanska zbirka očito nije isključivo prikupljena na dalmatinskom terenu. Nažalost, nije poznato u kojoj od dvije spomenute je izvorno bila Sokratova glava. O te dvije zbirke usp. Cambi 1990, str. 100-104.

Glava Sokrata iz zbirke Brangwyn u Arheološkome muzeju u Splitu
The head of Socrates from the Brangwyn Collection in the...

external traits of distinguished personalities that leads to erroneous attributions in scholarship. For in all variants of the interpretation of Socrates’ image, there is a thin face with skin hanging from the facial bone structure, on which the zygomatic bones stand out. In this case, the head is ball-shaped, and the eyes are narrow and slanted. However, this may be a stylistic feature rather than physiognomic trait, as appeared on the example of many distinguished figures on the hermae from the renowned Roman villa in Welschbillig in Germany, where Socrates himself appears in an even later stylistic variant.¹⁹ A comparison of the hair pressed against the head and the strands of the thick beard, of which the two middle strands intertwine, indicate that this would in fact be the image of the great philosopher rather than a person who is ‘Socratically’ presented, as some adapted their own visual appearance and expression to match that of their philosophical idol, which was often the case in the latter half of the third century (at the height of Plotinian philosophy). After all, the Plotinus portrait type is itself a combination of the physical features of Plato and Socrates.²⁰ Dating to the late third century for the head from Brangwyn’s collection is indicated by the cubically structured portrait, on which the pupils and irises are incised inside the eyeballs, which have a fixed and distant gaze. This would therefore be the time of the Tetrarchy, prior to the inroads made by transcendental expressionlessness, enlargement of the head (especially the neck) and abandonment of the physiognomic lines of the face. An iconographic simplification in portrait art appeared in the later third century for the purpose of highlighting maestosity and permanence. Therefore, despite this, the opinion of the English expert is correct, i.e., despite the possibility that this could be a private portrait of a Socratean individual. Regardless of my initial suspicions, I am (after further study) much more convinced that this is truly a portrait of the great philosopher.

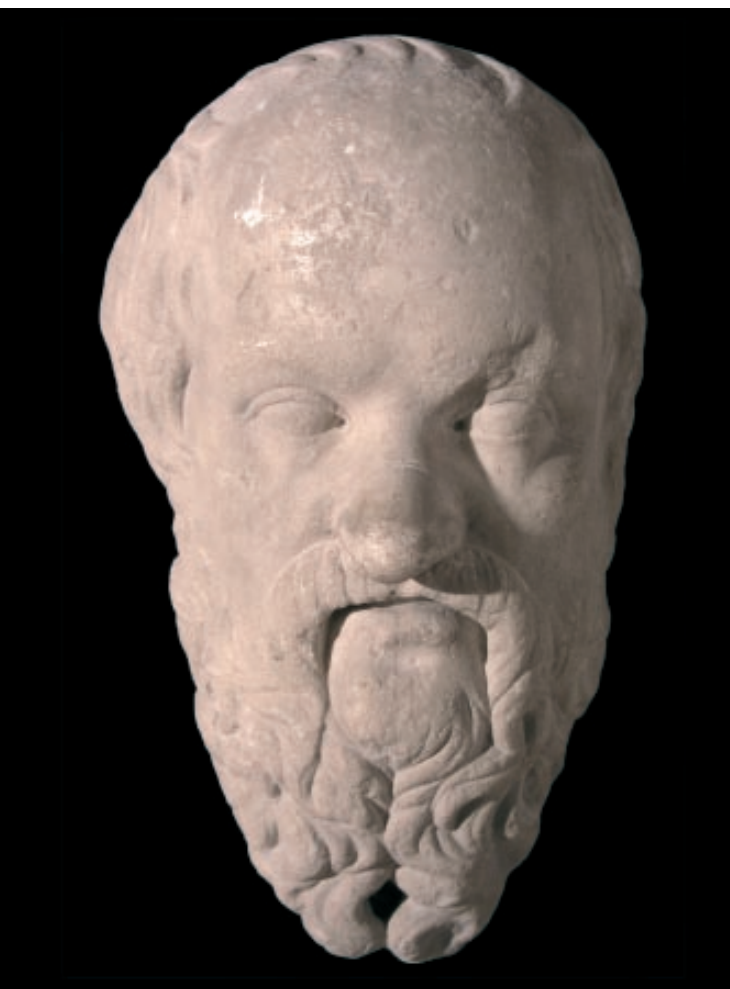
Since both portrait types (A and B) appeared after Socrates had died, the matter of their similarity to the philosopher’s actual appearance is problematic. All portrait types of Socrates bear Silenic characteristics, which was certainly handed down by oral tradition, while artistically it was conveyed not only with the help of well-known portraits but also through the Silenic masks which appeared on various utilitarian and artistic objects (made of metal, ceramic, glass, etc.). Thus it is not unusual that everyone so far unanimously ascribed the head to the famed philosopher, the Antique ideal of philosophical and moral perfection who was unjustly persecuted and executed, thereby becoming even more significant.

Several portraits of Socrates have been preserved in Dalmatia.²¹ A fragment of the front facial portion of a head with roughly normal human dimensions (total height 0.31 m) from the Danieli Collection in Zadar, now held in the Archaeological Museum in Zadar (Fig. 8), depicts a Socrates of the Roman combined type (A+B) which, as in the

^[19] Wrede 1972, pp. 46, 47, P. 1. 1-3.

^[20] Cf. L’Orange 1973 (Plotinus-Paul paper), pp. 32-42, Fig. 5-6; the appearance of the Apostle Paul also fits into this iconography, as he was also bald. Cf. also Wood 1986, pp. 82, 83, P. 50.

^[21] Kolega 1989, p. 28, cat. no. 10, P. XIV; Cambi 2000, p. 57, cat. no. 79, P. 105.

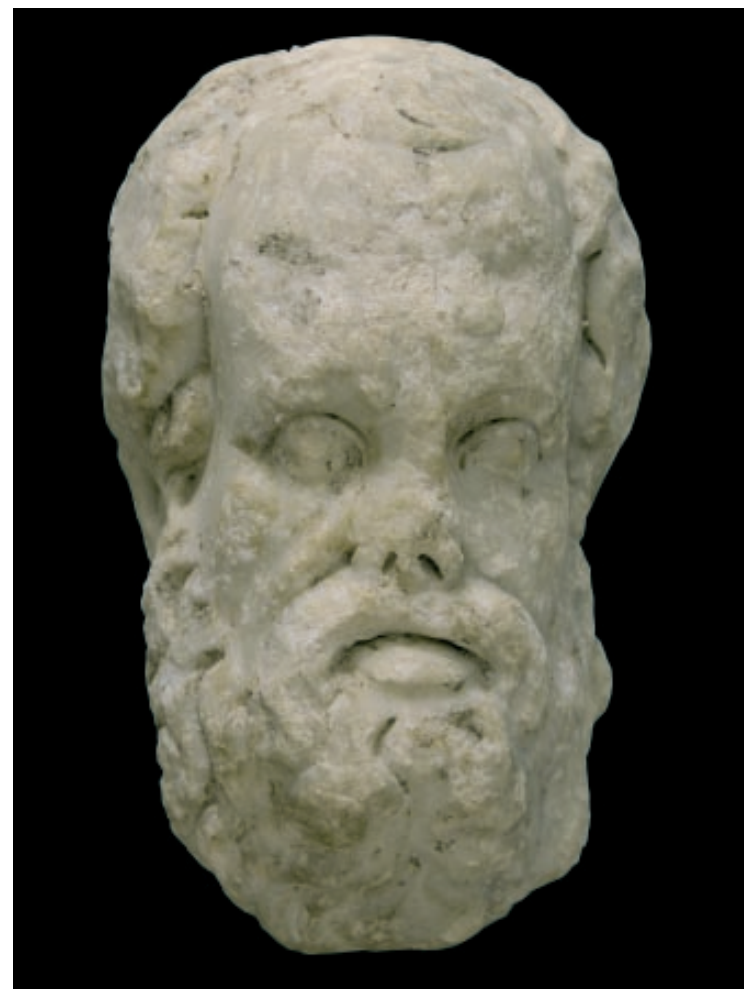


Slika 8.
Sokratova glava od mramora iz
zbirke Danieli, Arheološki muzej u
Zadru (foto: Kornelija A. Giunio)

Figure 8.
Marble head of Socrates from the
Danieli Collection, Archaeological
Museum in Zadar (photo by:
Kornelija A. Giunio)

Druga glava, koja se, doduše, ne može sa znatnom pouzdanošću pripisati Sokratu, čuva se u Arheološkome muzeju u Zagrebu (sl. 9), a potječe iz Dalmacije (nepoznata lokacija).²³ Ta je glava također izrađena od mramora. Na prvi pogled nije jasno je li prikazivala samog Sokrata ili pak nekog drugog nepoznatog filozofa, sa sličnim fizionomijskim značajkama. Nakon još jednog temeljitog proučavanja Sokratovih portreta, sad sam znatno uvjereniji da je ipak posrijedi portret velikog filozofa. Naime, glava pokazuje jasna obilježja ovdje višekratno spominjanog tipa B. To se više očituje po tretmanu kose, koja je obilata i kovrčava i ima nešto više pramenova na tjemenu, a uši su dobrim dijelom pokrivene, negoli po samim crtama lica. Bradu i brkove karakteriziraju dva prednja pramena, svijena i duga, međusobno prepletena, koji su nedvojbeno oblikovani na način tipa B. No, i crte lica su sokratovske (visoko čelo, uske oči, bore uz vanjske kutove

23 Usp. Brunšmid 1905, str. 40, br. 64, sl. 64; Cambi 2000, str. 57, kat. br. 77, T. 102-103.



Slika 9.
Sokratova glava od mramora
(nepoznato nalazište u
Dalmaciji), Arheološki muzej u
Zagrebu (autor: I. Krajcar)

Figure 9.
Marble head of Socrates
(unknown find-site in Dalmatia),
Archaeological Museum in
Zagreb (by I. Krajcar)

Brangwyn artefact, is generally rooted in type B. The hair is short and clings to the head, but it also covers the ears. There is scarcely any hair on the pate, while the beard and moustache are almost identical to type B. The remaining facial details are typically Socratic. This portrait is of a considerably earlier date and does not bear the Late Antique feature of a rigid stare, nor are there any sculpturally crafted irises and pupils. Unfortunately, the actual origin of the head is not known.²²

Another head which, to be sure, cannot be ascribed to Socrates with any greater certainty, is held in the Archaeological Museum in Zagreb (Fig. 9), and it originated in Dalmatia (unknown

22 The Danieli Collection actually consisted of two separate collections. The first is irrefutably Dalmatian in origin and it belonged to Dr. Antonio Danieli, while the second belonged to his brother, Dr. Jakopo Danieli, who was a physician in Padua. After the latter's death, the collection came into the possession of the "Zadar" brother and thus the two were merged. The Padua collection obviously was not assembled solely in Dalmatia. Unfortunately, it is unknown to which of these the Socrates head originally belonged. On these two collections, cf. Cambi 1990, pp. 100-104.



Slika 10.
Gema od karneola sa Sokratovom
glavom, nepoznato nalazište
(vjerojatno ipak Salona),
Arheološki muzej u Splitu (foto:
T. Seser)

Figure 10.
Carnelian gem with Socrates'
head, unknown find-site
(probably Salona), Archaeological
Museum in Split (photo by: T.
Seser)

očiju i usko mršavo lice s istaknutim jagodičnim kostima), samo ponešto karikaturalne.²⁴ Očito je da majstor nije bio vješt portretist pa nije umio vjerno prenijeti predložak. Ovdje bih upozorio na kiparski tretman s obilatom upotrebom brzorotirajućeg svrdla u naborima kože, rubnim linijama kose i brade, što bi prije upućivalo na kasno 2. st., dakle na vrijeme kasnije negoli sam to pretpostavio kad sam prvi put raspravljao o tom dalmatinskom portretu.²⁵

Ostale Sokratove glave u Arheološkome muzeju u Splitu zabilježene su na tri gema. Jedna je od karneola, druga je od stakla, a treća također od karneola. Na prvome karneolu (sl. 10) zamjećuje se lik Sokrata s istaknutim prčastim nosom i golom lubanjom, koja više podsjeća na helenistički tip.²⁶ Kosa se vidi samo straga, na zatiljku i vratu. Na staklenoj gemi javlja se također tzv. helenistički tip, s karikaturalnim crtama, s izrazito kratkim nosom i dubokim nosnim sedlom, usađenim očima i kratkom kosom (sl. 11).²⁷ Ovaj portret izrađen je u skromnom materijalu, u strukturi kojega se zapažaju tragovi lijevanja, ali je, unatoč tomu, kvaliteta prikaza razmjerno dobra. Treća gema od karneola (sl. 12) gotovo je u cijelosti reproducirani tip B, osim što je kosa reducirana i lubanja je ćelavija negoli na izvornim primjercima.²⁸ Sve su gema veoma visoke umjetničke kvalitete, s tendencijom izražavanja i pojedinosti (pramenovi kose i brade) te s brazdom na čelu.

24 Slično oblikovanu glavu usp. u kopenhaskoj Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek: Johansen 1992, str. 56, 57 sa sl.

25 Usp. Cambi 2000, str. 57, kat. br. 77, T. 102-103.

26 Bulić 1886, str. 182, br. 238 (inv. br. I 238).

27 Identificirao ju je Bulić 1893, str. 182, br. 1204 (inv. br. I 1204). Objavljene su bez ilustracija. O njoj usp. Cambi 2000, str. 60, kat. br. 89, T. 118.

28 Identificirao ju je Bulić 1901, str. 14, br. 1662 (inv. br. I 1662).



Slika 11.
Staklena gema sa Sokratovom
glavom iz Salona, Arheološki
muzej u Splitu (foto: T. Seser)

Figure 11.
Glass gem Socrates' head from
Salona, Archaeological Museum
in Split (photo by: T. Seser)

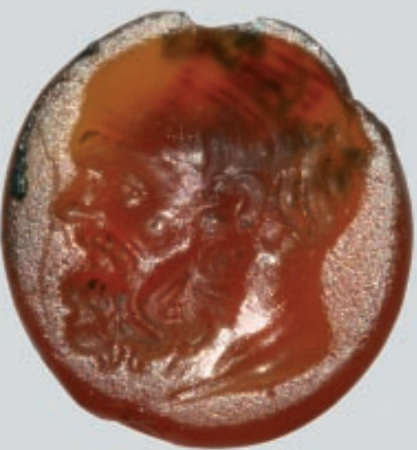
location).²³ This head is also made of marble. At first glance it is not clear as to whether it portrays Socrates himself or some other, unknown philosopher with similar physical traits. Now, after another thorough study of portraits of Socrates, I am much more convinced that this is in fact a portrait of the great philosopher. Namely, the head exhibits the unambiguous features of the herein oft-mentioned type B. This is reflected more in the treatment of the hair, which is abundant and curled and which has more locks on the crown of the head, while the ears are largely covered, than in the contours of the face itself. The beard and moustache are characterized by two frontal curled strands which intertwine, and which were undoubtedly formed in the fashion of type B. However, even the facial contours are Socratic (high forehead, narrow eyes, creases at the corners of the eyes and a narrow, thin face with prominent cheek bones), only they are somewhat caricatural.²⁴ It is obvious that the sculptor was not adept, so he could not faithfully convey the original. Here I would point out the sculptor's abundant use of a fast-rotating drill in the folds of the skin and the edge lines of the hair and beard, which would more strongly indicate a point later in the second century than I had originally assumed when I first discussed this Dalmatian portrait.²⁵

The other heads of Socrates in the Archaeological Museum in Split have been registered in three gems. The first is made of carnelian, the second is glass, and the third is also carnelian. On the first carnelian (Fig. 10), the image of Socrates can be seen with

23 Cf. Brunšmid 1905, p. 40, no. 64, Fig. 64; Cambi 2000, p. 57, cat. no. 77, P. 102-103.

24 For a similarly formed head, cf. in the Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek, Copenhagen: Johansen 1992, pp. 56, 57 with illustrations.

25 Cf. Cambi 2000, p. 57, cat. no. 77, P. 102-103.



Slika 12.
Gema od karneola sa Sokratovom
glavom iz Buškog blata,
Arheološki muzej u Splitu (foto:
T. Seser)

Figure 12.
Carnelian gem with Socrates'
head from Buško Blato,
Archaeological Museum in Split
(photo by: T. Seser)

Mramorni likovi, osobito gema, pokazuju da je poštovanje prema velikom filozofu bilo izrazito prisutno kako u javnoj, tako i privatnoj sferi, da je njegov lik bio veoma omiljen. To posebno potvrđuje treća gema, koja potječe s Buškog blata, u dubokoj dalmatinskoj unutrašnjosti, gdje su klasični utjecaji znatno slabiji negoli na priobalju.

U dokumentaciji o glavi koja je podastarta splitskoj strani, nalazi se i spomenuta izjava M. Vickersa iz *Ashmolean Museum* da bi glavu bilo uputno vratiti na izvorno mjesto, a to znači u Split. Vickers se o drugim značajkama portreta ne izjašnjava. Od ostalih informacija koje je dostavila engleska strana, značajna je još samo ona kipara Rogera Stephensa da je glava izrađena od dolomitskog vapnenca. Dakle, riječ je o vapnencu (ne o mramoru), materijalu od kojeg je zapravo sačinjeno tvrdo tlo istočne obale Jadrana. Kipar upućuje i na potrebu petrografske analize materijala, što ne bi bilo loše, ali u ovom trenutku načinjena je samo makroskopska analiza, koja pokazuje da je riječ o vapnencu znatne gustoće i tvrdoće.

Na moguće splitsko podrijetlo Sokratove glave upozoravao je A. Fradeletto. Zapravo, iako se čini da nije imao čvrstog uporišta za to, on je bio uvjeren u ispravnost svoje pretpostavke. Nije isključeno da je imao i jače argumente osim što je načelno znao da su s dalmatinske i istarske obale prema Veneciji putovali brodovi nakrcani kamenom, dakako, otrgnutim iz zidova velikih građevina kao što su primjerice pulski amfiteatar ili pak Dioklecijanov palača u Splitu. Naime, tijekom više od tri i pol stoljeća odvijala se živa pomorska trgovina između Pule, Zadra, Šibenika i Splita, s jedne, i Venecije, s druge strane. Nakon iskrcanja robe brodovi su se često nakrcavali kamenom za Veneciju, kojim je taj grad oskudijevao, te bi se prodavao za gradnju ili za izradu vapna. S tim kamenom u Veneciju su stizali i vrijedni spomenici. Među njima je mogla biti i Sokratova glava (Brangwyn). Fradeletto se o glavi mogao propitati na raznim

the prominent upturned nose and the bare skull which recalls the Hellenistic type to a greater degree.²⁶ The hair is notable only on the back of the head and neck. The so-called Hellenistic type also appears on the glass gem, with caricatural contours and a very short nose and deep nose bridge, inset eyes and short hair (Fig. 11).²⁷ This portrait was made on a modest material, in a structure in which traces of casting are apparent, but despite this the quality of the image is quite good. The third gem made of carnelian (Fig. 12) bears what is almost an entire reproduction of type B, except the hair is reduced and the skull is more bare than in the original examples.²⁸ All of the gems exhibit a very high artistic quality, on which one may see tendencies of expression and details (locks of the hair and stands of the beard) and creases on the forehead.

The marble images, particularly the gems, show that respect for the great philosopher was considerable both in the public and private spheres, and that his image was quite favoured. This is particularly confirmed by the third gem, which is originally from Buško Blato, deep in the Dalmatian interior, where the Classical influences were much weaker than on the coastal belt.

The documentation on the head that was submitted to Split contains the aforementioned statement by M. Vickers from the Ashmolean Museum that it should be returned to its place of origin, meaning Split. Vickers did not take a stance on any of the portrait's other features. The only other important information submitted by the English side is that provided by sculptor Roger Stephens that it is made out of dolomite limestone. Since it is limestone (and not marble), it is worthwhile noting that this is the material which actually forms the hard foundation of the eastern Adriatic seaboard. The sculptor points out the need for a petrographic analysis of the material, which is not a bad idea, but at this point only macroscopic analysis has been conducted, which has shown a limestone of considerable density and hardness.

Fradeletto underlined the possible origin of the Socrates head in Split. In fact, although it would appear that he had no firm grounds for this, he was convinced in the rectitude of his hypothesis. It cannot be discounted that he had even stronger arguments over and above his general knowledge that ships travelled from the Dalmatian and Istrian coasts into Venice laden with stone, certainly torn from the walls of large structures such as, for example, the Pula amphitheatre or even Diocletian's Palace in Split. For over the course of more than three and a half centuries, a lively trade proceeded between Pula, Zadar, Šibenik and Split on the one hand and Venice on the other. After their cargo was unloaded, these ships were often loaded with stone for Venice, as this city had a shortage of this material. The stone was sold either as a construction material or as a raw material for lime production. Together with the stone, valuable monuments also made their way to Venice in this manner. The head (of Brangwyn's) Socrates may have been among them. He could

26 Bulić 1886, p. 182, no. 238 (inv. no. I 238).

27 Identified by Bulić, 1893, p. 182, no. 1204 (inv. no. I 1204). Published without illustrations. On it, cf. Cambi 2000, p. 60, cat. no. 89, P. 118.

28 Identified by Bulić 1901, p. 14, no. 1662 (inv. no. I 1662).

mjestima u svom gradu. Čak i ribar je o tome mogao imati nekih saznanja. No bilo kako bilo, jedino što o podrijetlu znamo, jest Fradelettovo uvjerenje koje je preuzeo i dalje proširio Brangwyn, a potom Cook, njegova kći Diana de Verre Cole pa i mi u Hrvatskoj.

Dioklecijanov palača u Splitu je kao carska rezidencija nedvojbeno bila urešena mnogim kipovima, i to ne samo onima iz njegova doba nego i starijima. U izboru djela u to doba nisu postojali jasni ikonografski i kronološki kriteriji. Kiparska djela su se izrađivala, prikupljala i izlagala u prostorima kasnoantičkih palača, na jednak način kao i u starijim zdanjima. Tetrarhijski vladari nisu imali tako rafiniran odnos prema slavnoj grčkoj skulpturi kao na primjer Hadrijan, koji se u svojoj vili u Tivoliju (stari Tibur) dao okružiti kopijama slavni grčkih originala, kao i klasicističkim novotvorenjima.²⁹ Za tetrarhijsko doba najbolji su primjer kipovi, nažalost, preostali najčešće u većim i manjim fragmentima iz Galerijeve rezidencije Romulijane (Gamzigrad kraj Zaječara u Srbiji³⁰) ili Šarkamena.³¹ Prežitelji su samo neznatan dio onoga što je bilo izvorno izloženo.

Zbog toga maštu golica mogućnost da je ovaj portret, ako uistinu potječe iz Splita, pripadao dekoru Dioklecijanove palače koja je na više mjesta (vrata, mauzolej, ogradni zid mauzoleja, hramovi, ulice itd.) imala niše za kipove, a kipovi su mogli biti i izvan niša. Na žalost, od tog dekora preostali su samo neznatni tragovi. Moguće je da je Dioklecijan bio poštovatelj Sokrata, iako se, često i nekritično, tom caru, kao i ostalim tetrarhijskim vladarima, pripisuje neukost. No, bez obzira na njihovo nisko podrijetlo i vojničku karijeru, ipak su bili, barem u izvadcima, odgajani na baštini rimske civilizacije kojoj su željeli pripadati i koju su žestoko branili. Glava se u bitnim dijelovima podudara sa Sokratovim tipom B, ali je ipak pokazuje i neke izmjene, što također nije nepoznato u rimskom kiparstvu, sklonom eklektizmu. U svakom slučaju, kip Sokrata dobro je pristajao dekoru Dioklecijanove palače. Osobito je važno istaknuti da je Sokratova glava bila nadnaravne veličine, što znači da je imala posebno istaknuto mjesto unutar neke monumentalne, vjerojatno palacijalne arhitekture. Na to da Sokrat u kasnoj antici nije bio zaboravljen, već smo upozorili. Njegova je glava resila vrh jednog stupića ograde perivoja u izvanrednoj palači u Welschbilligu iz nešto kasnijeg 4. st. To potvrđuje da je Sokrat unatoč već kršćanskom razdoblju bio omiljen lik, koji bijaše moralna vertikala tijekom mnogih stoljeća i poslije svog tragičnog kraja. U Dioklecijanovoj palači nađeno je malo kiparskih djela

29 Usp. Hadrian 2009, str. 130-165, osobito 164, 165.

30 Usp. Roman Imperial Towns 1993, str. 243, br. 76, str. 244, br. 78, str. 245, br. 77. Sve te skulpture nedvojbeno su starije od same palače. Usp. i Živić 2003, sl. 17, 18, str. 77, kat. br. 1-16.

31 Čini se da je skulpturom bila znatno siromašnija palača sličnog karaktera u Šarkamenu, koja se pripisuje caru Maksiminu Daji. Ondje su nađeni fragmenti porfirnog kipa na tronu nekog tetrarha (Maksimina Daje?) kolosalnih dimenzija. Usp. Tomović et al. 2005, str. 51-56, sl. 40.

have sought answers on the head at many places in his city. Even the fisherman might have had some pertinent information. Whatever the matter, all that we know on its origin is Fradeletto's conviction, which was assumed and disseminated by Brangwyn, and then Cook, his daughter Diana de Vere Cole and by ourselves here in Croatia.

Diocletian's Palace in Split was the emperor's residence, which was undoubtedly decorated with numerous statues, and not only those from his own time but those from previous eras as well. During that time, there were no clear iconographic nor chronological criteria dictating the selection of works. Sculptural works were made, collected and exhibited in the premises of Late Antique palaces, the same as in earlier buildings. The Tetrarchy's rulers did not have as refined an attitude toward the renowned Greek sculptures as, for example, Hadrian, who arranged to have his villa in Tivoli (old Tibur) surrounded by copies of the famous Greek originals, as well as new classicist pieces.²⁹ Unfortunately, all that remains of the best statues of the Tetrarchy era are the larger or smaller fragments from the residence of Galerius, the Felix Romuliana (Gamzigrad near Zaječar in Serbia)³⁰ or Šarkamen.³¹ These pieces are only an insignificant portion of what had been originally been on display.

Therefore, the imagination is fired by the possibility that this portrait, if it truly originated in Split, belonged to the décor of Diocletian's Palace which at many places (gates, Mausoleum, Mausoleum's dividing wall, temples, streets, etc.) had niches for statues, while there may also have been statues outside of these niches. Unfortunately, only negligible vestiges of this décor now remain. It is possible that Diocletian was an admirer of Socrates, even though this emperor, like the remaining Tetrarchy rulers, is often uncritically described as having been unlearned. Even so, despite their humble origins and military careers, they were nonetheless raised, at least in part, on the heritage of Roman civilization to which they wished to belong and which they defended fiercely. The head largely corresponds to the type B Socrates, but it nevertheless reflects some alterations, which was also not unknown in Roman sculpture, prone as it was to eclecticism. In any case, the statue of Socrates fit into the décor of Diocletian's Palace quite well. It is particularly important to stress that the head of Socrates is unnaturally large, which means that it occupied a prominent position inside some monumental, probably palatial, building. It has already been noted that Socrates had not been forgotten in Late Antiquity. His head adorned the top of a small column of the garden wall in the extraordinary palace in Welschbillig from the somewhat later fourth century. This confirms that Socrates, despite this already Christian period, was a favoured figure who served as a moral anchor even in

29 Cf. Hadrian 2009, pp. 130-165, esp. 164, 165.

30 Cf. Roman Imperial Towns 1993, p. 243, no. 76, p. 244, no. 78, p. 245, no. 77. All of these sculptures are undoubtedly older than the palace itself. Cf. also Živić 2003, Fig. 17, 18, p. 77, cat. no. 1-16.

31 It would appear that the palace of similar character in Šarkamen, attributed to Maximinus Daia, was much poorer in sculpture. Fragments of a porphyritic statue on the throne of a tetrarch (Maximinus Daia) of colossal dimensions were found there. Cf. Tomović et al. 2005, pp. 51-56, Fig. 40.

koja su izvorno ukrašavala njezine ambijente. Uglavnom je riječ o arhitektonskoj skulpturi.³²

Držim, unatoč ne odveć čvrstim argumentima, kako nema razloga ne vjerovati da glava potječe iz Splita. Ta tradicija još uvijek živi u obitelji gospođe Diane de Verre Cole. Naime, da je obitelj kanila varati i tako postići veću cijenu za umjetninu, tražila bi podrijetlo slavnije od dalmatinskoga. Mogli su mirne duše kazati da je portret iz Rima, Nikomedije, Antiohije, Aleksandrije itd., i tko bi u to posumnjao. Držim da bi se glede podrijetla teško postigao neki rezultat petrografskom analizom, jer nema dovoljno uzoraka za Dalmaciju, premda jedno takvo istraživanje nikako ne bi bilo naodmet.

the many centuries following his tragic demise. Few of the sculptural works which had originally adorned Diocletian's Palace were found there. Generally all that remains is architectural sculpture.³²

Despite these not quite solid arguments, I maintain that there is no reason not to believe that the head is from Split. This tradition still lives in the family of Mrs. Diana de Vere Cole. For if the family had intended to stage a deception and thus secure a higher price for the piece, they would have sought a more lofty origin than Dalmatia. They could have just as easily claimed that the portrait was from Rome, Nicomedia, Antioch, Alexandria and so forth, and nobody would have suspected. I believe that with reference to its origin, petrographic analysis would yield little, for there are insufficient samples for Dalmatia, although such an examination would by no means be a superfluous exercise.

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