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‘Breaking the Mould’ Roman Non-Elite Plaster Death Masks: Identifying a New form of Funerary Commemoration and Memory

By Kelsey Madden

This paper sets out to explore the Roman non-elite plaster death masks and their place in non-elite funerary commemoration and memory preservation. The non-elite plaster death masks have been overlooked due to overall interest focused on the elite class more than their less wealthy counterparts. This research explores the timeline in which the masks belong, the provinces they belong to, technique of manufacture, evidence of uniformity, degrees of likeness, and examination of age and sex represented. The results of the analysis of these factors has determined that the non-elite plaster death masks in Rome appear in a funerary context starting in the second century AD and spread to the provinces of France and Tunisia into the late third to early fourth century AD. The earliest masks date to the first century BC to first century AD from Egypt. This practice spread through trade into the ports of Rome, simultaneously influencing the Roman plaster death masks with the elite *imagines*. Non-elite Roman citizens were not allowed to have ancestors, who comprised of prominent men in the family. The presence of women and children plaster masks concludes that the non-elite were allowing members of the family outside of the older male category to become ancestors. Therefore, the non-elite had to begin crafting their ancestry in the present through their representation in funerary commemoration.

Keywords: death masks, plaster, Roman, non-elite, memory, funerary, commemoration

Introduction

The faces of the Roman non-elite class have been left behind in the form of plaster moulds taken at the time of their death. Besides the material descriptions of the masks (Drerup 1980; Slim 1976) and the identification of specific plaster moulds of children (Dasen 2010), there has been little research conducted to answer the questions as to when the practice was established among the non-elite and why they are only being found in a funerary context. The aim of this paper will be to create a comprehensive analysis of the plaster death masks for the purpose of identifying a form of memory preservation that is unique to the Roman non-elite class and its spread into Roman provinces. This study is not about the construction of the masks, although this will be briefly discussed, but about analysing the data set collected by Drerup (1980), Dasen (2010), and Slim (1976) in terms of age, sex, the timeline of mask representation in the archaeological record, and how they are associated with memory preservation of the non-elite. This paper will also analyse the main influence of their creation, the elite ancestor masks (*imagines*), otherwise argued by Flower as ‘life masks’ (Flower 1994:38). Although

most were probably made in life, there are likely to have been some made in death as not everyone could have had a mask made before their death. Additional analysis will be conducted on the timeline into which the masks fit in the progression of likeness portrayed in funerary commemoration of the non-elite, the timeline of the masks use, and characteristics that are unique to the masks. Lastly, I will discuss possible reasons as to why the moulds were being placed into graves, tombs, or mausoleums.

The masks in this study come from Rome, Italy and the Roman provinces of Gaul (France), Portugal, Egypt, Thessaloniki, Greece, and Tunisia and date from the 1st century BC to the 3rd century AD (see Appendix III for map of mask locations). Archaeological evidence will be drawn from burial sites in Rome, Italy (Drerup 1980; Dasen 2010), the site of El Djem located in the ancient Roman city of Thysdrus in Tunisia (Slim 1976), and the masks of young children found in stone sarcophagi in France (Dasen 2010). There are twenty-one samples in total that range from small infants to adults around the age of 60 and comprise of both males and females. The sample size may be small, but the locations and timeline of use is broad and their intentional placement into graves undeniable.

This paper will set the non-elite plaster death masks into a chronological context of funerary memory preservation of the Roman people and will help to bring forth a funerary tradition that has been pushed aside, proving that the non-elite have adopted and developed death masks into a unique funerary tradition. Analysis of the manufacture and characteristics of the non-elite plaster death masks will significantly contribute to our understanding of funerary commemoration and the role of memory amongst the non-elite Roman class. In order to better understand the Roman non-elite plaster death masks, we must look at the funerary practices of the non-elite, the importance of portraiture and physical likeness, and the elite wax ancestor masks, also known as *imagines*. The way in which Romans expressed their social status, accomplishments, and ancestors was through the medium of funerary commemoration. In death, the Romans were able to tell the story of their life, controlling how and what would be remembered about them forever. When discussing the non-elite, it should be noted that the non-elite group of people are those that do not and will not ever hold a magisterial position or obtain military “glory”. “The expression of ‘lower social status’ does not exclusively refer to their financial situation but to their social position” (Dexheimer 2000: 81). The non-elite comprise Roman people from all spectrums of the financial and social strata, including the working class, urban poor, wealthy or unwealthy freedmen and their citizen born children, or slaves. It is important to remember that the fortunes, economic and status related, could rise and fall on a daily basis and that life on the lower end of the social scale (those who were not slaves or freedmen) was unpredictable (Graham 2006:55). The terms for moulds and casts needs to be clarified. According to Pointon (2014), the mould and the cast, or imprint, is each referred to as a death mask, “an elision indicative of the desire to maintain the connection between face and mask.” The mould is in direct contact with the face; the cast from the mould is at one removed, each subsequent casting increases this distance from the face.

Freedmen, Slaves, and the Urban Poor

In securing a proper burial and funerary commemoration, there is a distinction between the urban poor citizens and slaves and freedmen. Unlike the urban poor citizens, for whom survival depended on securing employment and an income to support

themselves and their family, slaves were fed, clothed, and often paid (Graham 2006:4). While this may not be true for some slaves, it should be kept in mind as a reality for most. Slaves and freedmen had the opportunity to have their burial taken care of by their patron. Freedmen and slaves would be buried in the tomb of their owner or in a *columbarium* run by a burial club they could pay to be a part of (Graham 2006:4). By this means of burial, this assured that freedmen and possibly their offspring would be granted a “decent burial and permanent monument to perpetuate their memory and display their new social status” (Carroll 2011b:135; see Borg 2012 on freedmen displaying newly acquired social status). Freedman could also develop their own funerary commemoration and burial by building a personalized tomb, mausoleum, or erect a funerary monument (Petersen 2011). Freedmen also had the opportunity to enter into an industry and become as wealthy as they pleased. According to Roman legal sources, the funerary monument was designed to preserve memory, to reflect and be appropriate to the essence and standing of an individual or family (Carroll 2011a:66). Former slaves were able to exert more control over their self-representation as newly freedmen. Archaeological evidence for self-representation of freedmen appears in Rome at the beginning of the first century B.C., bringing about the first representation unique to the freedmen class, a new genre of family portrait groups in the form of reliefs that were attached to family tombs in public cemeteries (George 2006). Moving into the first and second centuries AD, freedmen used alters with portraiture attached to them, set up in the open air or in front of or inside monumental tombs. The portrait would be placed at the top of the alter in a niche or pediment with an epitaph below, making the use of portraiture on alters exclusive to the freed class (Kleiner 1992:194; Peterson 2011). Additionally, the epitaphs revealed the families who commissioned them were always recently enfranchised slaves or their immediate offspring (Kleiner 1992:194). Freedmen were required to participate in the funeral procession of their master, were in charge of constructing their former owners tomb, and were tasked to keep up their living memory by performing rituals each year (Carroll 2011b:128). These tasks that freedmen were obligated to perform would teach them the foundation of how the ideal Roman citizen is to be buried, commemorated, and the steps necessary to keep their memory alive. The role of the freedmen in their master’s death would immerse and engrain the basics of how

funerary commemoration was done at the highest level of society.

Importance of Portraiture, Physical Likeness, and the Imago

Perhaps the most important aspect of memory preservation among the Roman population is that of portraits and the portrayal of physical likeness. Portraits served as powerful reminders to the bereaved and would be a way of meditating and coping with the grief along with memorializing the dead (Hope 2011). Tacitus (Ann. 3.5), complaining that Germanicus did not receive the proper funeral honours of an elite citizen, referred to the *veretum instituta* (ancient institutions) requiring an image of the deceased to rest on the couch (the carved top of a sarcophagus representing the deceased as lounging on a couch, also known as a Kline Monument that became popular at the beginning of the Augustan period and were placed in tombs in niches or on flat bases and were later used as lids for sarcophagi, in which the image of the deceased would be placed either on the carved body or alone in the form of portrait (Fig 1.).



Figure 1: Sarcophagus with husband and wife in the Kline position. Both faces unfinished. Scenes from the Life of Achilles, A. D. 180-200, Roman. Made in Athens, Greece. Marble, 83 1/16 in. wide. The J. Paul Getty Museum, 95.AA.80. After Megan Rosenbloom 2015.

The portrait could be carved into a stele or in a three-dimensional bust constructed to be placed on display publically or privately in the tomb. The portrait subject may have been alive when the image was commissioned since tombs, stelae, urns, alters, and sarcophagi could be constructed prior to death (Hope 2011), strengthening Flowers' argument that

wax masks were mostly moulded and cast in life. Additionally, Roman funerary portraiture aimed to idealize the dead by presenting them in the prime of life, possibly engaging in work or leisure, as well as represented with other family members (Hope 2011).

The tradition of expressing strong physiognomy as a well-known occurrence can be traced back to the third century BC with the introduction of the ancestral masks (Fejfer 2008). Ancestral masks (*imago*), made of wax, have been attributed as the main influence on Roman veristic portraiture that became popular during the late Republican period (147-30 BC) (Pollini 2007). Republican realism or verism in portraiture reflects the Roman belief that the individuality of a person lay in the facial features (Kleiner 1992; Fejfer 2008; Zanker 2010; Tanner 2000; Smith 1981; Rose 2008; Pollini 2012, 2007; Wood 1986). The strong tradition of displaying the individuality of a person continued well into the 3rd century AD with the non-elite death masks. During the late Republic only prominent men and women were considered to be eligible for portraiture, no portraits of youth or children survive (emphasis was placed more on the hair of women over their facial features, Fig. 2) . (Kleiner 1992:38). Portraiture is not to be confused with *imagines*: portraiture could be commissioned for men and women of prominent social status during the late republic, while *imagines* served to immortalize an individual to become an ancestor that represents the *honos* and prestige of the individual's life achievements. This began to change during the first century AD; the physical evidence of a plaster portraiture of a child in this study discussed below in the archaeological evidence that was found the tomb of Valerius Herma in Rome. It was under the reign of Augustus that Roman portraiture rapidly spread among the provinces in the form of imperial portraiture.

Non-elite members of society were not allowed to have ancestors (Carroll 2006; Flower 1996; Hope 2001). This meant that the highly revered wax ancestor masks designed to represent all the prominent members in a family line were out of their reach. Even though they were not allowed to obtain these honours because they have not achieved greatness in the battlefield or political arena, they do commemorate the memory of their dead loved ones or themselves in a similar fashion to the elite with the creation of plaster death masks. While there is plenty of literary evidence for portraits and the value of physical likeness, non-elite plaster death masks are excluded from literature of the Romans.

Constant Contact: Images and the Non-Elite

Images not only made a special appearance at the funeral procession of an aristocrat, but also made an appearance at elections during the Republican period. Their presence could help with acquiring votes by keeping recognition with the voters, they could be brought before the Senate in speeches before and after election, and could aid in the courtroom to use in both praise and blame of someone on trial (Flower 1996). The *imago* was a family's public face, helping to make a family known and keep its past successes alive in the minds of the non-elite citizens, although their political influence ceasing once the Republican system failed (Flower 1996). The positioning of the *imago* in the atrium of a home allowed them to be visible to all who came to call upon their patron. The atrium served to receive all callers unsorted by rank or needs, the doors of the house always open during the day, except during a state of mourning (Flower 1996). The *salutatio* (morning greeting) is when the lower classes called their patron in the morning to pay their respects in return for money, food, clothing, and other favours (Garney and Saller 1987:122). The cupboards that held the *imagines* was normally kept shut but the labels under them were always visible and legible (Flower 1996). Even though the cupboard was closed on most days, the ancestor masks were still in the atrium where all visitors could experience being in their presence. Evidence of the *salutatio* comes from the late Republic (147-30 BC) and Empire period (27-392 AD). Visitors of any rank could call on a Roman noble in the morning to transact business, gain favours, or show support (Flower 1996). This tradition was already a well-established part of life in the second century BC, continuing on until the third century AD proven by a passage from Dio (LXXVII 17.3) regarding Caracalla and a *salutatio*:

But he kept us waiting even till past midday
and often till evening, not even letting us into the vestibule

Flower (1996) states that formal and elaborate *salutatio* means more visitors spent longer periods waiting in atrium space dominated by *imagines*. With the *salutatio* open to all classes, this opens up the *imago* influence onto anyone who walks through the door, including the lower classes and freedmen. By the time of the Severans (193-235 AD) the public role of *imagines* was severely curtailed and very

limited (Flower 1996). The theme of the *imagines* is the constant contact they are in with the public in all aspects of life, funerary, political, and the *salutatio* tradition. This constant contact between the *imago* and lower classes would logically influence them in funerary memory commemoration. Evidence for the use of the *imagines* in a private setting survive at least 300 years after they were last paraded at an aristocratic family funeral, having specific mention in the house of Constantine and their part of furnishings of the house that must be passed down to an heir upon the death of his father, as mentioned in the codex of Justinian in AD 534 (Flower 1996). (See Appendix II for *Salutatio* timeline)

Archaeological Evidence

Rome, Italy

The tomb of C. Valerius Herma, a wealthy freedman, was a mausoleum in the Roman necropolis of Saint Peter in the Vatican dating in between 160-180 AD (see Hesberg and Mielsch 1995 and Calò 2007 for further discussion and study on the Vatican necropolis and the tomb of Valerius Herma). There were niches for urns in the main chamber, free standing sarcophagi, and may have contained up to 250 corpses over a 200-year period (Fejfer 2008). This tomb is one of two in this study that has inscriptions with the details of its owner and other family members who died, giving a rare opportunity to put a possible name and age to the plaster faces inside. Above the entrance is an inscription that states:

C(aius) Valerius Herma fecit et
Flaviae T(iti) f(iliae) Olympiadi
coniugi et
Valeriae Maximae filiae et C(aius)
Valerio
Olympiano filio et suis libertis |
libertabusque posterisq(ue) eorum

Valerius Herma made this tomb for himself, his wife Flavia Olympia, daughter of Titus, his daughter Valeria Maxima, and his son C. Valerius Olympianus, and for his freedmen, freedwomen and their descendants (Dasen 2010).

Other inscription fragments from this mausoleum have also survived which give us details of other family members such as: his daughter, Valeria Maxima, stating that she lived twelve years; another for his son, C. Valerius Olympianus, who died at age four;

Herma's *alumni* (someone who is nourished, brought up), Caius Valerius Asiatus who lived two years, eleven months, and three days; Caius Appaienus Castus, another *alumnus* who lived eight years, ten months, and twenty-eight days (Dasen 2010). Mask 2 in the Mask Catalogue is believed to be the eldest son, Olympianus, who died at age four before 180 AD. This mask is a modern plaster cast made after the original mould which no longer exists. The mask was poured in two layers, containing air bubbles that indicate that the cast was done quickly and carelessly (Dasen 2010). Drerup (1980) observes that the grooves and torn surface on the right side of the face suggest that the plaster had been set by force and the grooves are from the shattering of the negative. Additionally, Drerup (1980) points out that the mouth is open, which would only be possible on the negative, not during the production of the cast and states that mask 2 is the original of the plaster portrait of a boy found in the tomb (Mask 3). Dasen (2010) refutes this by pointing out that the Isiac lock and general hair style on the portrait point to the beginning of the third century AD and cannot be connected with the mask. This portrait most likely belonged to a descendent of the family freedmen, as it seems all of Valerius' children are already deceased by the second century. Mask 4 is a modern plaster cast of the original mould of a small girl, the facial expression and existing measurements pointed to a child beyond the first year of age and was moulded in two parts that were put together, allowing for an easier withdrawal (Drerup 1980; Dasen 2010). A bearded male, mask 1, is a modern plaster cast of the original mould, between 50 and 60 years of age, moulded in two separate parts, only the left part surviving (Dasen 2010). Drerup (1980) concludes that there is a resemblance of this mask to a bearded marble portrait of a man found in the tomb assumed to be Valerius Herma. This conclusion is only, however, an assumption based off of resemblance. Unfortunately, the contexts of the masks inside the tomb are unclear (Drerup 1980).

Lyon, France

The plaster mask of Claudia Victoria was discovered in a stone sarcophagus in Lyon (ancient Lugdunum), France (Mask 13). As described in the dedication found at the burial, she was ten years, one month and eleven days old and bears the feminine name of her mother, suggesting she was an illegitimate child from non-elite birth. Dasen (2010) suggest the masculine version of the *nomen*

was popular among soldiers. The inscription dates the grave in the late second to early third century AD (Drerup 1980):

D(is) M(anibus) | et memoriae |
Cl(audiae) Victoriae | quae vixit
ann(os)
X | Mens(es) I dies XI | Claudia
Severi|na mater filiae | dulcissimae |
et sibi
Viva fecit | sub ascia dedi | cavit

To the departed spirit of Claudia
Victoria who lived ten years, one
month and eleven days. Her mother
Claudia Severina made this monument
for her sweet
daughter and for herself in her
lifetime. It was dedicated sub ascia
(CIL 13.2108)

The cast is the face of a female whose nose, and upper middle part of the forehead has been destroyed by workers during its discovery (Dasen 2010). The gaunt facial features, sunken eyes and firm mouth confirm that the mould was taken after death and then placed into the grave (Carroll 2006:38). There has been much debate as to whether the mask belongs to Claudia or her mother. Crowley (2016) interprets this mask belonging to her mother, while Carroll (2006) and Dasen (2010) interpret it as belonging Claudia. The reasoning behind Crowley's interpretation will be addressed in the discussion of their provenance in graves. Henri Abbot Thedenat's description of Claudia perfectly addresses the issue of her ambiguous look of age, "Already the work of destruction is started... the death has imbued this face of ten years of a severity that leaves nothing childish; if the epitaph, the examination of the skeleton and the dimensions of the mould does not leave room for doubt, one would be tempted to see in this mask that of an older woman" (Thedenat 1885: 253).

The plaster mould of a baby (Mask 12) was found in a stone sarcophagus in Paris, France dating to the third or fourth century AD. Dasen (2010) describes a round hole in the middle of the lips as if a straw had been inserted into the mouth for breathing, suggesting that the mask was cast in life. I would argue against this idea. The area on the lip where that could be interpreted as a hole is more likely to be an accidental touch after the wet plaster had been poured or in the processes of removing the still wet plaster from the child's face. The upper lip continues in a straight line for the entirety of the mouth, and does not appear slightly open

as it would be if a straw were inserted. The mouth is stiff like the other mouths of masks that have been cast in death and the eyes are sunken. Additionally, inserting something into a baby's mouth would cause an initial reaction and scrunching up of the face or a sucking of the straw rather than emotionless, an element of the deceased. Even if the child was in a calm state during the pouring of the mould, there would be a facial expression, which this mould lacks.

North Africa: El Djem, Sousse and Egypt

Two masks found in El Djem, a male aged 40+ (Mask 14) and a female who's cast has been turned into a bust (Mask 15), both from the middle third century AD. The mask of the middle-aged male has short curly hair and an untrimmed beard. Characteristics of the face, nose and lips suggest the individual is of Mediterranean decent and analysis conducted by anthropologists of his cheekbone, forehead, eyes, and curly hair seem to indicate Berber characteristics (Slim 1976). Additionally, the features of the face are those of a dead man: hollow deep-set eyes, contracted mouth, and tight lips. His death is recorded as accidental from a blow to the face due to the indication of a nasal fracture recorded by anthropologists (Slim 1976). The female portrait is a cast that originates from a death mask placed on a bust to be blended in with the base with characteristics of death: drawn features, contracted mouth, a tense appearance of jaw and neck muscles (Slim 1976). This mask was in the middle of being touched up in its transformation to a portrait bust, as can be seen by the different colours of plaster around the neck area (Appendix I). Slim (1976) describes that the hair and eyes were drawn with the pupil dug out, but there are many finish defects and roughness of plaster and no paint applied. This may have been a rushed job due to a possible lack of funds to complete the transformation from mask to portrait. A plaster bust of a male in the prime of his age dating to the late third century AD was found in a grave chamber of the catacombs of Sousse (Hadrumentum) 100 miles south of Carthage (Mask 16). This is also a portrait bust that exudes characteristics of it originating as a death mask (tight lips, mouth contracted and drawn features). This portrait is also in the processes of being altered, the eyes and hair drawn on. Again, this may be due to a rushed job because of a lack of funds.

(See Ben Abed and Griesheimer 2001 on terracotta ceremonial masks of children and adults in the graves at the necropolis of the Roman city of Pupput).

Mask 20 is an Egyptian male found in Tuna-el Gebel dating from the first century BC to the first century AD (Frederiksen 2010). The mask is unmodified. This man's face displays the characteristics of death: sunken eye sockets, accentuated cheekbones, tense mouth and lips. Mask 21 is of a female located in the Cairo museum with a melon hairstyle and closed eyes dating sometime before the first century AD (Drerup 1980). There is no other information available for this individual. Mask 18 has been modified into a plaster portrait bust of a beardless male dating from the second half of the first century AD from Alexandria, Egypt. The continuous separation between the front locks and skull is what separates the mask from the modified hair that is added to a portrait bust and is dated based on the style of the hair (Drerup 1980). Mask 19 is of a Roman male from Alexandria, Egypt, dating from the first to second century AD and is a remodelled death mask, the skull and bust cast in two separate pieces with plaster added on top of the pieces once put together (Frederiksen 2010). Even though he has been modified with drawn eyes and hair, the face still represents a tense mouth and prominent cheek bones.

Thessaloniki, Greece:

Mask 21 was discovered in a grave in Thessaloniki and dates to the early third century AD. The mould is of an older man and is exhibited at the Archaeological Museum of Thessaloniki with a silicone cast taken from the original mould (Grecemuseumsblog 2014).

Alacer do Sal, Portugal:

This cast half mask of a young face (Mask 21) was found in an ash urn with pupil, eyelashes, eyebrows and lips in colour with missing ears and bare skull (Drerup 1980). Additionally, there was a coin of Claudius found with it dating the mask to the mid first century AD. Drerup (1980) describes it as an exhibition mask, where the ears and skull were covered by fabric or a wig and is part of a mock funeral and was formed from a negative. (see Table 1 for all of the masks discussed here)

Table 1: Catalogue of Masks in this study

Mask	Date		Country	Location	Age	Sex	Made in Death/Life	Possible Cause of Death	Notes
1	2nd c. A.D.		Italy	Rome: Mausoleum (Tomb of wealthy freedman C. Valerius Herma)	Adult (15 - 64)	Male	Death	Possible Victim of Antonne Plague	Modern cast from mould found in grave
2	2nd c. A.D.		Italy	Rome: Mausoleum (Tomb of wealthy freedman C. Valerius Herma)	Child (00 - 14)	Male?	Death	Possible Victim of Antonne Plague	Modern cast from mould found in grave
3	2nd c. A.D to 3rd A.D		Italy	Rome: Mausoleum (Tomb of wealthy freedman C. Valerius Herma)	Child (00 - 14)	Male	Death	Possible Victim of Antonne Plague	Death mask modified into a portrait. Possible 3rd c. dating comes from the Isiac lock of hair
4	2nd c. A.D		Italy	Rome: Mausoleum (Tomb of wealthy freedman C. Valerius Herma)	Child (00 - 14)	Female	Death	Possible Victim of Antonne Plague	Left Photo: Modern cast from mould found in grave. Right Photo: Original mould found in tomb (two part mould)
5	2nd c. A.D		Italy	Rome: Tomb on Via Praenestina	Child (00 - 14)	Child	Death	Unknown	Death mask modified into a portrait
6	2nd c. A.D		Italy	Rome: Tomb on Via Praenestina	Child (00 - 14)	Male	Death	Unknown	Death mask modified into a portrait
7	2nd c. A.D		Italy	Rome: Tomb on Via Praenestina	Adult (15 - 64)	Male	Death	Unknown	Death mask modified into a portrait
8	2nd c. A.D		Italy	Rome: Tomb on Via Praenestina	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Death mask modified into a portrait
9	2nd c. A.D		Italy	Rome: Tomb on Via Praenestina	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Death mask modified into a portrait
10	2nd c. A.D		Italy	Rome: Tomb on Via Praenestina	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Death mask modified into a portrait
11	2nd c. A.D		Italy	Rome: Tomb on Via Praenestina	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Death mask modified into a portrait
12	3rd c. A.D to 4th c. A.D		France	Stone Sarcophagus in Paris	Child (00 - 14)	Unknown	Death	Unknown	Modern cast from mould found in grave

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13	2nd c. A.D to 3rd c. A.D		France	Grave in Lyon	Child (00 - 14)	Female	Death	Unknown	Left Photo: Modern cast from mould found in grave. Right Photo: Original mould found in grave
14	3rd c. A.D		Africa	Tomb in Tunisia: El Djem "Thysdrus"	Adult (15 - 64)	Male	Death	Possible Violent Death	Left Mask: Modern cast from mould found in tomb. Right Mask: Original mould found in tomb
15	3rd c. A.D		Africa	Tomb in Tunisia: El Djem "Thysdrus"	Adult (15 - 64)	Female	Death	Unknown	Death mask modified into a portrait
16	3rd c. A.D		Africa	Catacomb of Sousse in Tunisia: Hadrumetum, 100 miles South of Carthage	Adult (15 - 64)	Male	Death	Possible Violent Death	Death mask modified into a portrait
17	3rd c. A.D		Africa	Tomb in Tunisia: Pupput	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Terracotta Cast. Found in a child's tomb but has not been identified as the child's.
18	1st c. A.D		Egypt	Alexandria	Adult (15 - 64)	Male	Death	Unknown	Death mask modified into a portrait
19	1st c. A.D to 2nd c. A.D		Egypt	Alexandria	Adult (15 - 64)	Male	Death	Unknown	Death mask modified into a portrait
20	1st B.c to 1st A.d		Egypt	Region Unknown	Adult (15 - 64)	Male	Death	Unknown	Original Mould: Roman Mummy Mask
21	3rd c. A.D		Greece	Thessaloniki. Currently in the Archaeological Museum of Thessaloniki	Adult (15 - 64)	Male	Death	Unknown	Left Photo: Modern silicone cast from mould found in grave. Right Photo: Original mould found in grave.
22	1st c. A.D		Portugal	Found on Ash Urn in Alacer do sal: Roman city Salacia	"Young Face"	Unknown	Unknown	Mask was formed from a negative	Death-mask

Technique of Manufacture

The first person who modelled a likeness (imaginem) in plaster of a human being from the living face itself...was Lysistratus of Sicyon... (Plin. Nat.35.153)

Wax *imagines* of the elite are presumed to be casts from plaster moulds, in which neither the moulds nor the casts have survived in the archaeological record. In the case of the non-elite masks, the plaster moulds have survived archaeologically due to their location in graves. There are two ways in which the plaster was poured on the faces in this study, on the entirety of the face creating a whole mask, or on one side of the face at a time producing a half mask. Looking to a more modern approach to creating plaster moulds of a living individual, around 1930 the Florentine Artist Cennino Cennini describes how a craftsman should make the mould by pouring plaster on the face of a well shaven and anointed client, introducing pipes into the nostrils in order to allow the individual to breathe during the process (Dasen 2010, Fig. 3).

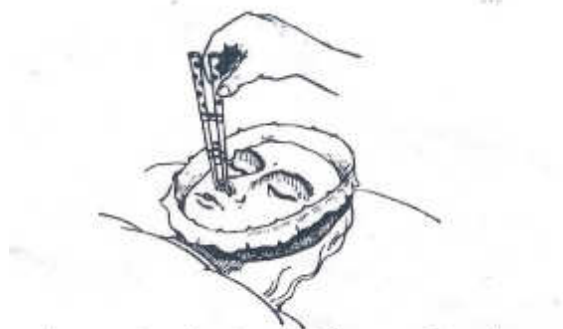


Figure 3: Cennino Cennini diagram of pouring plaster mould. After Dasen 2010: Fig. 5.1.

A similar approach would be taken with dead individuals minus a breathing aid. Drerup (1980) states the difficulty with impressions on sections of hair, stating that the eyebrows, eyelashes, and other facial hair were covered with a protective layer, an oil or gel like substance, so that the hair did not penetrate through the negative mould. The protective layer was also to prevent the hair from sticking to the plaster and/or being removed from the face when the negative was retrieved. A photograph from the 1900's shows just how sloppy and difficult the process can be (Fig. 4) In the case of the mask of Claudia Victoria (Mask 13), it seems that a shroud or covering was placed around the face so that the plaster was contained onto a specific area. When the plaster had dried, the plaster that covered the shroud was moulded with the face.



Figure 4: Anonymous photographer for Bain News Service, making a death mask, 1908? After Pointon 2014: Fig 7.

Made in Life or Death

There are specific characteristics of a mask that indicate whether it has been made in life or death, giving us the ability to classify the masks correctly as a death mask. The main feature to look for is the onset of rigor mortis. Rigor mortis sets in the body around two hours after death, showing up first in the muscles in the face, neck, arms, and shoulders (Claridge 2016). This is reflected in unopened sunken eyes deep in the sockets, high and accentuated cheek bones, and, if the mould covers the neck such as in Mask 13, the deflated and lined neck (Kliener 1992). The masks in Table 1 exhibit one or more of these characteristics and can, therefore, be classified as death masks. Portraits that were fashioned from casts of death masks can be classified as such as they bear the characteristics of a dead face. If the mould had been made in life, it would show some indication of a breathing aid placed through the plaster into the mouth or nose and bear no evidence of rigor mortis. Pointon (2014) suggests that it is often impossible to tell whether masks were made in life or death, citing the example of the life mask of William Blake in the nineteenth century as hard to discern. However, in orbital cavities of William (Fig. 5), it is evident that his eyes are not sunken-in like that of the mask of the man from Tunisia (Fig. 6). Additional characteristics that can be gleaned from the masks is the probable cause of death and facial defects. A medical professional assessed mask 4, the toddler's face. The medical diagnosis shows a swollen upper lip, a right sided cleft lip, and slightly underdeveloped jaw, with a resulting diagnosis of hypertelorism (abnormally increased distance between the eyes) (Drerup 1980). Mask 14, representing an

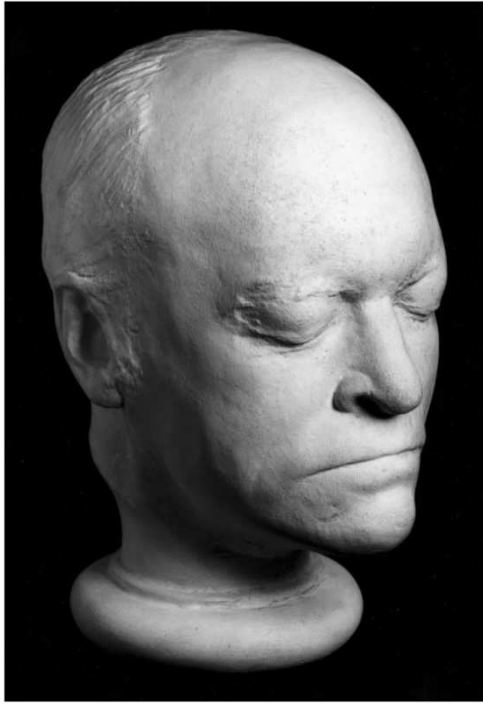


Figure 5: James De Ville, life mask of William Blake, ca. 1823, plaster. After Pointon 2014: Fig 3.

older male between 40-50 years of age, was inspected by Dr. Alewan Bel Hadj in Slimm's (1976) study of the masks from El Djem, who noted a slight protrusion of the upper jaw and the nose bridge slightly protruding with a deformation in the back of the nose. The cause of death suggested in this case was a blow to the face that resulted in the nasal fractures and possible facial palsy (Slimm 1976). Slimm (1976) suggests that it may be possible to ascertain a historical cause of death, associating the dating and trauma of the masks in question with a well-known historical event in time. This seems to be a far stretch. Even with more research involved, it would be almost impossible to ascribe a historical event to an individual's death caused by an unknown trauma, unless it was otherwise stated on a funerary inscription.

What is Likeness?

It is difficult to determine exactly what likeness is in portraiture. "If the best portrait is a like portrait, what is like? (Pointon 2014:179)." The best way to categorize these masks in this study is modified or unmodified: modified is the opening of the mouth, drawn hair and eyes, and transformation into a portrait bust, and unmodified is a mould or cast that has not been modified after its removal from the face (Table 4). As stated before, the mould is the closest removed from the face and the cast is the next step further

from the face. The more casts that are taken from the mould, the more the mould becomes worn down, since it is made of a perishable material. Therefore, the more casts taken, the less definition there is on the mould, until it may appear with little more than outlines (Pointon 2014). If we know this to be true, then we might be able to tell if the mould was cast frequently or not at all. Among artists in the eighteenth and nineteenth century, there was an ambiguity over death masks in that era

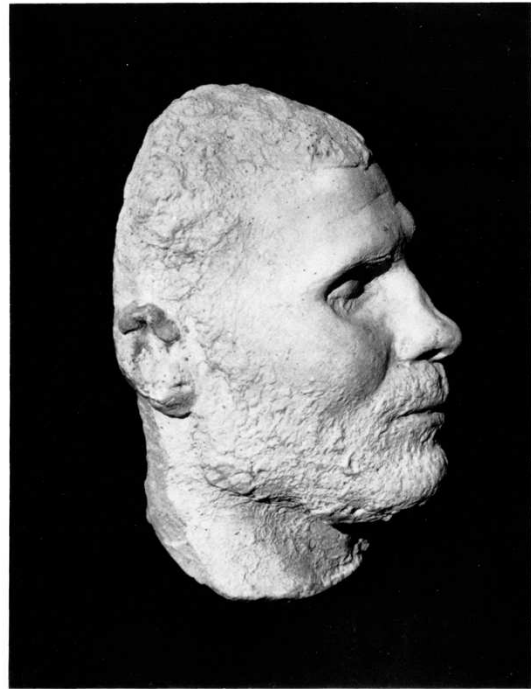


Figure 6: Cast made from Mould found in grave of man in El Jem (Tunisia). After Slimm 1976: Fig 3.

as an authentic likeness, less about modifications in the production and more about the state of the face of someone on their deathbed in relation to the public idea of their appearance (Pointon 2014:179). Could this have been the same for the Romans? With freedmen having to create their public image at the time of manumission through the public display of family and personal values expressed through funerary reliefs and portraiture, they may have not felt the need to have the state of their face at death to equal the representation of the public idea of their appearance. It was not until freedom that they were allowed to have a public idea of appearance to begin with. This idea could also be applied to slaves and other non-elite citizens. Maria Edgeworth visited Cambridge University Library in 1813 and saw three casts taken after death, Pitt, Fox, and Charles XII of Sweden. She experienced "likeness" in a

different way, unlikeness. She described the lack of artistic enhancement and the raw replication of the face after death:

We cannot help looking at casts taken after death with curiosity and interest and yet it is not probable that they should mark the real, natural, or habitual character of the person; they often can only mark the degree of bodily pain or ease felt in the moments of death. I think these casts made me pause to reflect more than anything I saw this day.

It must be, therefore, left up to the viewer of the masks to determine whether they feel they are seeing the individual in the terms of their identity either publically, privately or simply the expression on their face at the time of death.

Why only in graves?

Masks	Modified or Unmodified
1,2,4,12-14,20,21	Unmodified
3,15-18,20,22	Modified
11-May	Undertermined

Table 4: Modified and Unmodified masks in the catalogue

The question as to why the mask moulds are placed into the tomb or sarcophagus is one that is difficult to answer. By placing the mould into the grave, it ensures that no other cast could be made from the mould and puts it out of sight forever. Crowley (2016:81) poses that optical allusions and philosophical ambiguities provide an explanation for why plaster death masks may have been valued objects fitting for offerings for interment. These reasons are abstract and cannot be proven. Another explanation he puts forward is that of Roman funerary law. The law states that a *corpus*, a “body,” had to be present for a tomb to be designated as a religious place, the body generating the legal protections to which tombs were entitled (Crowley 2016:81). A corpse could only reside in one tomb but multiple corpses could lie together in the same funerary space. The “body” that was interred in the tomb could take several forms; the fleshy corpse, ashes and bones from cremation, or an image of the deceased. This law was known as the *funus imaginarium*: the burial of an image. Therefore, if there is no physical body

in the tomb, an image could serve as the “body” to generate a legally binding tomb. Crowley (2016) brings forth the excavations of Roman graves under a section of the Vatican walls which held a skeleton with its skull between its legs and a form or hollow mould of a plaster face in the place of the head. Since the tomb under the Vatican wall contained the body of the deceased, this cannot be interpreted as a *funus imaginarium*. The location of the mould could have served the purpose of representing the deceased individuals face to be as it was before it was removed from the head. The mould could perhaps have been taken in life and later placed in the tomb after decapitation.

Crowley also uses this law as the reasoning behind his interpretation of the mask in Claudia Victoria’s grave as her mother. Since she was not able to be buried with her daughter as the epitaph states, she had a mould taken of her face and placed in the tomb at Claudia’s feet. He concludes this further by stating that the jaw line seems too mature for a ten-year-old girl and the length of the face, measuring nineteen centimetres is too large. I find this interpretation unconvincing, as the genetics of the individual interred are unknown, which may have included a strong jaw line and a large face. Additionally, the bones in the sarcophagus may have been those of her mother, as they are now lost and only described by Thedenat as “de petite taille.” The stature of individuals in ancient Rome was not as tall as that of modern western populations due to diet and various other environmental factors. Bones of young children are frail and still developing, and Claudia’s bones may not have been preserved so well. Something such as disease could have cut Claudia’s life short, making her bones more susceptible to deterioration.

I reject the ideas of illusion, philosophical ambiguities, and the law of *funus imaginariam* as reasons for the moulds being placed into the grave. There is not enough evidence to back either of these claims. Their placement in the graves at this point can only be speculated and there may be a simpler explanation such as the desire to commemorate a loved one by preserving their image, rather than a law that may not always have been followed (See Table 5 for burial types in each location).

Location	Burial Type
Lyon, France	Inhumation in a Sarcophagus
Paris, France	Inhumation in a Sarcophagus
El Djem, Tunisia, NA	N/A
Sousse, Tunisia, NA	Grave Chamber in Catacomb
Thessaloniki, Greece	Burial
Rome, Italy	Tomb/Mausoleum
Alacer do Sal, Portugal	Cremation

Table 5: Burial Types

Age and Sex Representation

Out of 22 samples, 9 are children and 7 are adults (Table 4). The significant number of children can be attributed to the high child mortality rate in the ancient world. Golden (1988) states that mortality rate was 30-40 per cent in the first year of life. Furthermore, the grief of a child was expressed in a more heartfelt way due to the 'natural sense of loss of one's own flesh and blood at an early age' (Carroll 2006). The earliest masks of children in the archaeological record in Rome date to the mid-second century AD. The number of females is low (four), although this could be considered relatively high in a society in which history and memory was written by and from the male perspective. It must be remembered that this conclusion is reached only through the study of these surviving masks and portraits and that there may be more waiting to be discovered and/or published. The N/A category in table 6 represents individuals who are unable to be sexed, aged or are fragmentary pieces that do not display these variables. With the samples coming from the non-elite class, there may be less of a stigma about commemorating the females of the family and an intense need to celebrate their children. Since freedmen are not allowed to have ancestors and are having to begin their ancestral memory with the contemporary deaths of the time, they were likely to be less selective, thus letting women and children become ancestors. The family was a critical element in the formation of the Roman identity and citizenship (George 2005), so the creation of family amongst the non-elite and freedmen class was of paramount importance and expressed through funerary commemoration. The family provided protection, economic and emotional support and an institution through which wealth and property were protected and transmitted

(George 2005). The importance of family may be another contributing factor in the creation of the death masks for all members of the family, regardless of sex or age.

		Age			Total
		Adult (14 - 64)	Child (0 - 14)	Unknown	
Sex	Female	1	2	1	4
	Male	7	3	0	10
	N/A	0	3	5	8
Total		8	8	6	22

Table 6: Age and Sex Representation

Portraits Originating as Death Masks

"That the very materiality of a portrait could suggest the stillness of death as well as the spark of life is striking." (Crowley 2016)

Three portrait busts reveal their previous occupation as death masks. The portrait of the woman from El Djem dating from the middle to the late third century A.D. has been suggested by Slimm (1976) to have been a revised death mask, due to reworking the eyes to appear open. The eye sockets seem to be sunken in and the brow hanging down low, the cheek bones look to be accentuated and the mouth is stiff. It is evident in portrait 1 in Appendix I that the colour of the plaster on the mask differs from the plaster on the separate bust. In portrait 2 of a man during the Roman period described by Fredensken (2010) as being a remodelled death mask, the skull and bust being cast in two separate pieces, the face exhibits all the characteristics of a death mask, including hollow cheeks and flaccid flesh around the neck. Portrait 3 is described by Slimm (1976) as moulded from a death mask, due to the tight lips, contracted mouth, and drawn features. Portraits are made from casts of the mould with alterations made to the face to make the individual look more lifelike, such as the adjustment of opening the eyes and the addition of hair style. If this is the case with these three portraits, it is very likely that it is for others as well, but they go undiagnosed as originating as death masks due to more severe alterations. In a passage in Quintilian (6.1.40), the legal counsel of a woman presented a wax mask that had been taken from the corpse of her husband in court and the people of the court ridiculed them. The mask would have been a wax cast from the original mould taken during life or the original mould made of wax. This wax mask was probably one of many copies made and the wife wanted one to be

placed on his body for burial, representing his face as it did during life. The reaction of the elite politicians is enough to conclude that the elite did not like masks coming from a context of death, especially from a corpse. This also supports the idea that the wax masks were mostly made during life, and that the portraiture of the elite may not have originated from death masks:

Quintilian 6.1.40:

tum ille, alioqui vir facundus,
inopinatae rei casu obmutuit et
infantem suam frigidissime reportavit.
XL. Alius imaginem mariti pro rea
proferre magni putavit, at ea risum
saepius fecit. Nam et ii quorum officii
erat ut traderent eam, ignari qui esset
epilogus, quotiens respexisset
patronus offerebant palam, et prolata
novissime deformitate ipsa (nam senis
cadaveri cera erat infusa) praeteritam
quoque orationis gratiam perdidit.

There was another advocate who was defending a woman who thought to secure a great effect by producing the portrait of her husband, but sent the court into repeated peals of laughter. For the persons entrusted with the duty of handing in the portrait had no idea of the nature of a peroration and displayed it whenever the advocate looked their way, and when at last it was produced at the proper moment it destroyed all the good effect of his previous eloquence by its hideousness, for it was a wax cast taken from an old man's corpse (Translation by H.E. Butler 1921).

The elite seemed to have a dislike even for the display of someone recently dead. Pliny the Younger denounced the public display of grief by the senator Marcus Aquilius Regulus upon the death of his son and his commissioning of the numerous portraits of his son in all different kinds of materials, including wax (*Letters* 4.7.2.).

Timeline

The decline of the *imagines* in public begins around AD 165, their use being restricted to funeral processions of emperors continuing into 300 A.D., and the practice of the *Salutatio* continuing until the third century A.D. (Flower 1994). The non-elite construction of death masks starts to pick up during the second century A.D. about the same time of the public

decline of the *imago*. Now that the practice had fallen out of favour among the elite, the prices had dropped, and the non-elite could adopt this practice of memory commemoration. The practice is picked up by the non-elite in the provinces of North Africa outside of Egypt; El Djem, Sousse, Pupput, while simultaneously ceasing in Rome after the second century. This may be due to lack of preservation among the masks in Rome, masks still waiting to be discovered, or lack of publication. There is a complete lack of presence in the late 4th century onwards, the cause of which is difficult to substantiate until further data is published.

The first masks dating to the Roman period in the first century A.D. are located in Egypt. The Egyptian tradition of plaster death masks can be traced back to a plaster death mask of an unknown man found in the mortuary temple of King Teti at Saqqara dating to the 6th Dynasty (2354-2181 B.C.) (Fig. 9). While this is probably of an elite citizen, the ancient Egyptian custom of the death mask has been one that survived all the way until the Roman period. The non-elite masks coming from Egypt were more than likely influenced by the Egyptian elite's tradition of preserving physical likeness.

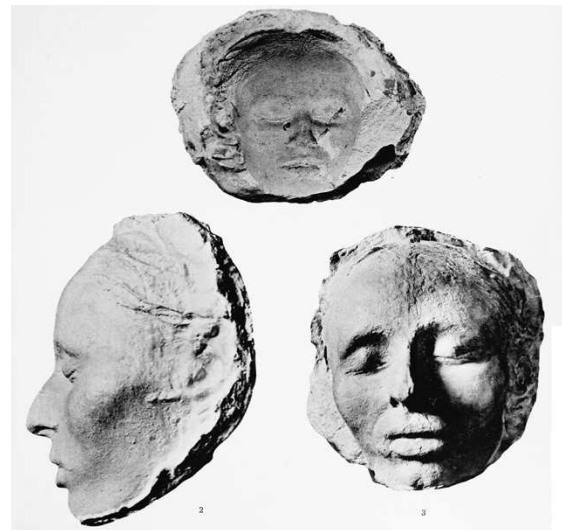


Figure 9: Plaster mould and casts of a death mask of unknown man found in King Teti mortuary temple. 6th Dynasty. Cairo Museum. Photo is public domain.

Masks and Memory

Pliny the Elder states that ‘memory is the boon most necessary for life’ (Pliny, *Naturalis historia* 7.24). In order to formulate this ‘boon most necessary for life,’ the Romans perfected the art of remembrance in the form of copying physical likeness. From the second half of the second century BC, the likeness of the deceased’s facial features was depicted in a realistic way (Carroll 2006). Each medium progressively increased the capacity for the storage of memory with each new technological advancement acting as a more efficient prop for human memory (Jones 2007). The plaster death masks replicate and display a likeness (or unlikeness) of a person that cannot be matched through any other medium. Every single wrinkle, blemish, smoothness, curve and line is preserved. A wax mask could have been made from the mould before it was placed into the grave so that from the wax mask a portrait could be made from a more durable material (Carroll 2006). This portrait or cast of the mould would have been for the personal use of the individual in mourning, allowing them to touch the face, remembering the loved one on a deeper level. The interaction between people and things occurs at the sensual and physical level bringing about a desired action, the material culture actively accelerating remembrance (Jones 2007; Fig. 10).

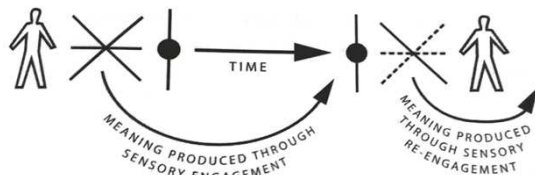


Figure 10: The sensory relationship between people and objects. After Jones 2007: Fig. 2. Pg. 25.

The mask gives the bereaved the ability to touch or kiss the face of their deceased loved one, allowing them to remember how their face felt. The image acted as a focus for affection and emotion, reminding the loved one of the character and personality of that person (Carroll 2011b). Epigraphic evidence demonstrates the relationship between the bereaved and the image of a deceased loved one. A foster parent grieving for his child in northern Italy says, “I often imagine your face to comfort myself” (CIL XI.3771) and with the commissioning of a physical image by Cornelia Galla from Ammaedara in North Africa demonstrating the sensory memory that a

physical image evokes, “she put up a marble portrait of him...to keep the memory of their earlier life alive...his noble face will comfort her eyes and soul for a long time...” (CIL VIII.434). The mask enables the deceased to play an active role in life, continuing to have a presence in the “urban fabric, social life, memories and identity-formation processes usually associated with the living” (Graham 2009:67).

Further epigraphic evidence is revealed on the epitaph of the freedwoman Allia Potestas found on the Via Pinciana in Rome dating to the second century AD gives a direct testimony from the patron of the creation and use of an image of her (CIL VI 37965; Fig.11). In line 44, the patron of Allia Potestas notes that he ‘Effigiem pro te teneo solacia nostri’ (CIL VI 37965; Bourne 1916) which directly translates as ‘I hold a likeness/portrait of you that is our relief in sorrow,’ the ‘our’ is referring to the two men she was in a relationship with at the same time. Hope (2011) states that the use of the word ‘hold’ (teneo) may suggest that the image was small and light enough to be moved around and that the focus on the image and fears for its fate suggest that it was the only one created, therefore not having one at her tomb. It is possible that this image was a plaster mould of her face, and since there were no other copies, this mould could have been directly transformed into a portrait or destroyed after a cast had been made to create a portrait. Regardless of the production of the image, it has become a personal gem to the patron, an object with which he can interact, access the sensory memories of his loved one and to bring comfort during mourning (Hope 2011). The commissioners of the plaster masks involved in this study must have felt similar feelings as the foster parent grieving for their

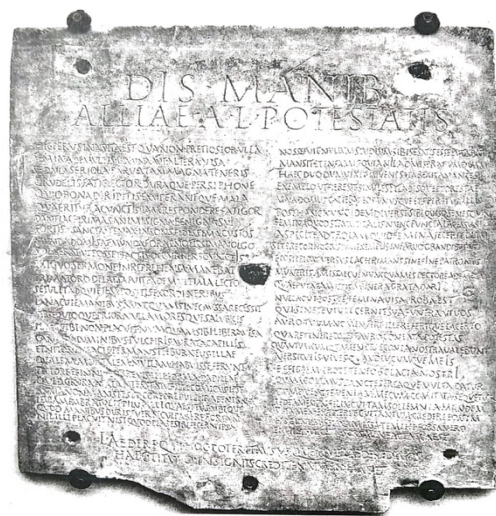


Figure 11: Epitaph of Allia Potestas (CIL VI 37965), Rome. After Hope 2011: Fig. 10.1. Pg. 178

child in northern Italy, the marble portrait set up by Cornelia Galla in North Africa, and the patrons of Allia Potestas, placing the masks into a context of bereavement, love, and memory preservation.

Material culture connects individual memory to a collective memory (Jones 2007; Hope 2003; Connerton 1989), placing the individual memory of each mask into the collective memory of the non-elite class. When it comes to the construction of memory preservation through funerary memorials and tombs, images and décor become standardized, concealing any real sense of individuality, making them “part of a collective world in which the accepted codes must be observed” (Hope 2003). The creation of plaster masks enabled the non-elite to break free of this standardized form of memory preservation, and commemorate a loved one in a way that broke free of the standards set by society. The act of remembering is selective; when an object is created it captures both the ideal of remembering and the reality of forgetting, in its construction memories can be left out (Jones 2007; Hope 2003). After the mould was created, a decision was made about whether the cast taken from the negative was kept the same, or transformed into a plaster portrait which was altered to represent the person in life rather than in death, erasing memories that are connected with the image of death.

Conclusion

The non-elite plaster death masks, mould or cast, are captivating objects and full of meaning. This study has dove deeper into that meaning by looking at their cultural influences, timeline of use, age and sex, reasons for placement into graves, and how likeness should be interpreted. Non-elite Roman plaster death masks from Rome have been proven to be influenced by the elite wax ancestor masks (*imagines*) and their constant contact and interaction with the practice through the *salutatio*, public funerals, and election. The *imagines* date from the second century BC, begin to decline publicly in the second century AD, and are constricted only to the funerals of emperors in the third century, and finally from the mid-fourth to mid-sixth century are constrained to the home. The Roman non-elite death masks first show up archaeologically in Egypt in the first century BC to first century AD and these from Egypt have to be influenced by the Egyptian elite practice of death masks. It is possible that practices travelled across the Mediterranean with the trade of goods and slaves who brought

their cultural practices into the ports of Rome such as Ostia. The non-elite plaster death masks in Rome began in the second century AD. The spread of this kind of memory preservation into at least seven provinces is a testament to the local cultures adopting a Roman tradition of commemorating a loved one in a unique way. The question as to why the masks were only placed in graves as stated before, a difficult one to answer. I reject Crowley’s (2016) position on allusion, philosophical ambiguities and *funus imaginarium* as the explanation for the placing of the masks into graves. I believe the answer is simpler such as the desire to preserve the image of a loved one. However, none of these reasons can be proved archaeologically.

Likeness has been established as an abstract term, and therefore can only be interpreted subjectively through the eyes of the beholder.

The decline in the presence of non-elite plaster masks in the fourth century AD could represent a decline in practice, a lack of data yet published about masks in this period, or masks still waiting to be discovered. To understand the reasoning for the creation of the masks is to understand the non-elites desire to establish a public image for their family and what they wished to use the mould for. It could be for the purpose of making copies of the image for mourning, to commission a portrait, or to simply place the original mould into the ground with the deceased as part of the burial ritual, being seen as the deceased taking their image with them to the afterlife. Both function to preserve the image of their face at the time of death while burying it prevents to copy of the image forever. In the case of a financial situation, it may have been the only affordable way to commemorate a loved one, as the erection of a stone monument would be costly.

The presence of women and children indicates that the non-elite, who do not have the ability to have ancestors as they were reserved only for the elite class, are having to begin their ancestor line with their recently deceased, thus allowing women and children to become ancestors rather than limiting the honour to male family members.

This research has proven that creation and intentional placement of plaster death masks into graves is specific and unique to the Roman non-elite. There have been no other comprehensive studies of this kind which to establish these aspects for the Roman non-elite plaster death masks. This research can be the base for the further discovery of plaster death masks that will be able to be easily placed into the timeline of the practice.

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Appendix 1

PORTRAITS	CHARACTERISTICS LINKING TO DEATH MASK
 <i>Plaster portrait bust of female from death mask. Middle 3rd c. AD. El Djem. After Slim 1976 Fig. 4</i>	CLEAR DISTINCTION AT THE NECK BY LOOKING AT THE COLOR DIFFERENCES BETWEEN THE MASK AND BUST ADDITION, AS WELL AS THE BREAK LINE SEPARATING THE TWO. MANY FINISH DEFECTS AND ROUGHNESS, NO PAINT (SLIM 1976).
 <i>Plaster cast of death mask mould, modified into portrait bust. Alexandria, Egypt. 1st to 2nd c. AD. After Frederiksen 2010 Fig. 1.6</i>	SKULL AND BUST PUT TOGETHER SEPARATELY, THE HANGING OF THE FLESH AROUND THE MOUTH AND LIPS
 <i>Plaster portrait of male originating from death mask. Late 3rd c. AD. Catacombs of Sousse. After Slim 1976 Fig.</i>	TIGHT LIPS AND MOUTH. NO INDICATION OF SEPARATE CONSTRUCTION BUT THIS COULD BE DUE TO A BETTER JOB AT CONSTRUCTING THE MASK TO THE BUST.

Appendix II

Timeline of the *Salutatio* Tradition

200-101 B.C..
Salutatio
already well-
established
part of life

A.D. 69- 79: Pliny
the Elder had
morning
salutations with
Vespasian

A.D. 201-300:
Survival of custom
into 3rd century
A.D. proven by
passage from Dio

4 B.C- A.D.
65: Seneca
states that
practice were
still standard
in his day

A.D. 98-117: Trajan
had *amici*

Appendix III

Map of Provinces Masks are Located

