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A Cultural History of Hair, Volume 1: A Cultural History of Hair in Antiquity

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Chapter 2: SELF AND SOCIETY
Katherine A. Schwab and Marice Rose

Introduction

Self is generally defined as the condition of an individual's existing, together with a combination of characteristics that distinguish the individual from others.[1] This chapter will examine the role of hair (or its absence) as a mutable part of the body that defined various aspects of ancient Greeks and Romans' individual and collective self-identities.[2]

The work of sociologist Anthony Synnott provides a useful frame for this inquiry into hair, self, and society. He codified a system of internally and externally-regulated oppositional meanings for hair that he recognized specifically in mid to late twentieth-century American/Canadian/British cultures, yet they can be applied to ancient Greek and Roman societies.[3] For this chapter, the relevant oppositions are: men and women groom head and body hair in opposite ways (e.g., when women wear long hair, men wear short; when women have elaborate hairstyles, men have simple), and opposing social ideologies feature opposing choices with regard to hair (e.g., in antiquity male philosophers rejecting urban society wore long, ungroomed hair in contrast to the conventional short-haired fashion), as do "opposite states" (e.g., mourning, when head and facial hair were changed from how they were usually worn).[4]

In the *Hair and Identity* section, we consider gender, age, leadership qualities, and morality. *Hair as Social Organization* addresses how hair indicated one's role within or outside society, including marital status and profession. *Materialization of Power* looks at hair as symbol of authority and foreign-ness, and its manipulation as punishment. *Hair Practice and Cultural Milestones* examines how hair cutting, styling, and accessorizing were linked to birth, adolescence, marriage, warfare, and death.

Hair and identity

Whether or not it was cut or grown long, exposed or veiled, hair was an essential means of communicating a person's identity in ancient Greece.[5] Hair texture, from loose waves to tight curls, formed a distinctive characteristic of Greek identity which, in turn, was strongly contrasted with portrayals of non-Greeks. As such, Greek hairstyles were an essential component of how people recognized one another and understood who they were within society. With a majority of finds from ancient Athens, we have a better idea of Athenian attitudes, especially from the Classical period, than elsewhere, due in large part to the preservation of sculptures and vase paintings. A number of recent studies reveal the significance of hair and its arrangement to mark gender, age, and rites of passage across the life course.[6]

It is perhaps noteworthy that Greek maidens reveal more of their hair, often worn long, as a sexually appealing feature. Maidens shown with abundant hair include the many 6th c BCE Athenian Acropolis *korai* dedications and grave markers, as well as the preserved figures of Philippe and Ornithe, from the elaborate Genelaos family dedication on Samos, whose hair length and thickness are conspicuous.[7] These 6th c BCE maidens are shown at what was an optimal time in their adolescence when their sexuality and fertility was portrayed as ideal for marriage. While abundant long hair described the ideal for these maidens, in reality such hair had

far more to do with genetics than elite status and associated nutrition. Even in elite families, boys received better nutrition than girls.

Adolescent boys were clean-shaven and wore their hair long, only to grow a beard and cut their hair shorter upon reaching maturity. The god Apollo remained an eternal adolescent by maintaining long hair and smooth cheeks. In contrast, Zeus, the father of the gods, is always shown with a full beard, and thick well-groomed hair. His brother Poseidon often had more tousled hair, probably to evoke the wild sea and his role as earth-shaker. Hair rituals, growing and cutting for dedication were both sides of the act for a god, for youths in Greek society were complex and multi-layered because they needed to account for family status, gender, age, social class, transition point, cults to associations in clubs and organizations, etc., each with its own initiation expectations.[8] On reaching maturity beards were grown and the long head hair was cut shorter. Hairstyles could be used to evoke political statements as well as reflecting fashion trends. One such example is laconizing hairstyles—higher status youths in Athens wore their hair in the Spartan style in the late 5th c BCE as a rebellion against their parents' generation and the ongoing Peloponnesian war. Spartan warriors grew their hair long and groomed it carefully before battle. Tresses were expected to look good, especially if one died on the battlefield.[9]

The great diversity of the Roman empire means that its inhabitants would have known a range of hair colors and textures, worn in a variety of styles. Despite—or because of—these possibilities for variety, certain head and facial hair styles were considered appropriate for men and women of particular identities. Although specific styles came in and out of favor, hair was always an important part of the Roman notion of *cultus*—the cultivation of the body and the self which included dress and grooming. The attention which an individual devoted to *cultus* could indicate both morality and degree of civilization.[10] An important distinction was hair worn in its natural state versus hair that was manipulated in some way, including coloring, cutting, combing, and controlling by various means.[11]

Head hair length played a large role in representing Roman gendered identities.[12] Women after adolescence were expected to wear their hair long (but off their necks and shoulders) (fig. 2.3). [13] Boys' short hairstyles would continue into adulthood for most civilized Roman men. In a rare ancient first-person account of hair loss, philosopher Synesius of Cyrene's treatise on baldness protests his hair loss by calling it a "terrible thing," and asks what he did to deserve being unattractive to women, showing not only the perceived importance of hair to an appearance of virility to the opposite gender, but also that making emotional connections to one's hair is not a modern phenomenon.[14]

Imperial portraiture used the degree of the hair's fullness to communicate information about the emperors' personal identities and their reigns. For instance, until the end of his life, the emperor Augustus' (32 BCE – 14 CE) portraiture depicted him as having abundant, wavy hair with curling locks on his forehead, imitating the iconography of Alexander the Great and thus, by implication, emulating his qualities of heroic leadership. (fig. 2.1 and 2.2).[15]

Portraits of later emperors recalled the fullness and style of Augustus' hair to show familial links (e.g., busts of his great-grandson Caligula, 37–41 CE), or similar imperial strength (e.g. Constantine, 306–337 CE).[16] In contrast, Vespasian's (69–79 CE) portraiture featured Republican-style verism, including baldness, to emphasize the return to 'traditional' Roman values after the disaster of Nero's suicide and the 68–69 CE civil war.[17] Hadrian (117–138 CE) and the Antonine emperors (138–192 CE) who followed him, were depicted with full, curly hair, which probably reflected their hair's true texture while communicating youthful virility in the manner of Augustus. Caracalla (198–217 CE) began a trend of emperor portraits displaying

clipped hair evocative of soldiers, again a style which reflected the trend of empire at this point in time (see also figs. 3.9, 3.10, 9.1 and 9.3).[18]

Length and neatness of facial hair, or its removal, were important components of Roman male *cultus* and masculinity, and also identity relating to the wearer's native culture and religion.[19] Jewish men, for example, followed religious law and custom and did not shave.[20] After several clean-shaven emperors, Hadrian's choice of growing a short curly beard was part of a widespread fashion trend probably associated with beards' becoming markers of masculinity and masculine virtues.[21] Shaving now became associated with excessive adornment and effeminacy. This concept was echoed by Early Christian writers who saw shaving as sinful emasculation.[22] In the Antonine period, emperors were depicted with long beards and balding heads similar to images of Greek philosophers, thus communicating both manliness and intellect.[23]

For Roman women, if and how hair was dressed played a crucial role in identity formation, especially regarding virtue and status.[24] The regulation of a woman's long hair—as opposed to its being unbound—represented her decorum and chastity, as hair was considered to be erotically charged.[25] There is little evidence for women in Roman society choosing to cut their hair, the exception being Christian ascetic women who shaved their heads or cut their hair short, probably in a renunciation of worldly society.[26]

One example of a style that was used to communicate different aspects of Roman and female identity is the *nodus*.[27] This native Roman style was adopted by Augustus' sister Octavia and his wife Livia, possibly to emphasize their Roman-ness in contrast to the popular Hellenistic styles associated with the enemy Egyptian queen, Cleopatra.[28] Imperial women used the *nodus* to demonstrate familial and dynastic connections. When non-imperial women in the late first and early second centuries wore the *nodus*, it was symbolic of its wearer's modesty and chastity, because Livia was considered an exemplar of female virtue. In this portrait of an unidentified girl the *nodus* likely expressed her suitability as a future bride and mother, as well as her elevated social status.. When worn by freedwomen and by women in provinces, the *nodus* communicated membership in Roman society., and an active choice to adapt to the now dominant culture, or simply, perhaps, an effort to fit in?[29]

Hair as social organization

Much of the social organization of hair in the ancient Mediterranean related to the patriarchal views and structures of Greek and Roman societies. Hair was considered to be an important locus of female sexuality; hair's control, therefore, was seen as necessary for those who felt threatened by the possibility of unrestrained female sexuality.[30] Art and texts written by men (including satires, epitaphs, and moralizing texts) present models of acceptable appearance and behavior that included references to hair for men and especially for women. Married women were cautioned in male-penned literary sources to cover their hair to protect their modesty and prevent male attention.[31] In the first century CE, Valerius Maximus reported that Republican statesman Sulpicius Gallus divorced his wife because she left the house without a headcovering.[32] Physical attractiveness was considered a virtue, and differentiating one's self from foreigners was important, yet male writers criticized grooming regimens (of both men and women) as superficial, deceptive, and a waste of time and resources.[33]

Control of hair length, arrangement, and style were all contributing factors to social organization in ancient Greek society. Greek convention displayed opposing traits for those standing outside of societal norms, whether in mythic space or daily life. The most distinctive example of this opposition is the maenad, a follower of Dionysos (fig. 2.4). Her ecstatic state was signified, in part, by unbound hair flying around as freely as her flowing dress. Unbound, uncontrolled or unarranged hair was associated with categories on the fringes of society.[34]

In contrast to the mythological maenad and emblematic of differences in status in real life, the grave stele of Hegeso shows servant and mistress in a quiet domestic scene preparing for the day by selecting jewelry from a box.[35] (fig. 2.5) Both females wear their hair covered, but the hair wrap is different to designate status. Hegeso, the seated woman, wears her thick wavy hair bound up in a *sakkos*, a wrapped style with cloth to partially cover and hold her long hair gathered in a bun. A delicate and thin veil covers part of her head and is faintly visible in the background near her bun and profile. The servant wears a snood, to cover her hair and to keep it out of her face while she goes about her daily tasks. The female servant wears a long-sleeved chiton associated with foreign (barbarian) dress. In this instance, the servant holds a small box or *pyxis* containing jewelry while Hegeso lifts up a piece. Their relationship, while intimate, is separated by their actions, clothing, and how they wear their hair. The servant's appearance, from snood to long-sleeved barbarian dress, is frequently included in the iconography of Athenian grave stelai. Servant and mistress share domestic space while living within separate spheres of Athenian class and status.[36]

As in Greece, for ancient Romans the degree to which hair was groomed communicated information about its wearer's situation within or without society. Close-cropped hair was the hallmark of soldiers, as illustrated on victory monuments like the Columns of Trajan and Marcus Aurelius, and as worn by Germanicus on the *Gemma Augustea* (fig. 2.6).

Very long hair on men could describe barbarians.[37] On public monuments and private artworks like the gem, fighting and captive figures are shown by their long, messy hair to be non-Roman enemies.[38] Philosophers and farmers were also represented with long, unkempt hair as indicative of their existing outside the urban social structure.[39] Lengthy, matted hair was a mark of Early Christian male hermits, representing not only their lack of *cultus*, gender and societal liminality, and similarity to Jesus and the Nazarenes, but also symbolizing to their followers the hermits' liminal existence between earth and heaven.[40] Long but neat hair was worn by some Roman priests.[41]

Similar to Greek culture, long, loose hair on a woman had a variety of connotations with regards to social identity, usually associated with the individual existing outside society permanently or temporarily, and closeness to nature.[42] Loose hair characterized barbarians, maenads, Amazons, and sorceresses in art and texts (figs. 2.4, 2.6). [43] On specific occasions, Roman matrons were shown or described with unbound hair; these included childbirth and mourning, or when engaged in gestures of supplication or gratitude.[44]

Roman expectation of respectable women's covering their hair is debated, and probably depended on geographical and religious customs. Jewish women, for example, had to wear veils.[45] It was likely common practice for most women in Greece and the Near East to cover their heads when out in public.[46] Although several surviving texts by both pagan and Christian men tell women to cover their hair in order to signify modesty and married status, the degree to which such advice was followed does not seem to be great in Italy and western provinces.[47]

Materialization of power--crime and punishment, social inclusion and marginalization

During his lifetime and for centuries following, portraits of Alexander the Great wore a distinctive hairstyle and clean-shaven face, in sharp contrast to the beard worn by his father Philip II and earlier political and military leaders. The dramatic change inaugurated by Alexander would mark his achievements and those of his successors, who chose this visual association to further their own reputations. Even the addition of ram's horns, symbolic of the Egyptian god Ammon to bestow divine status, was perpetuated by his Greek successors.[48]

Alexander's short-cropped tousled hairstyle included a cowlick at his hairline, which created curling locks of hair framing his face.[49] Added to this hairstyle is the novelty of a clean-shaven face.[50] This combination generated a new image of a powerful Greek military and political leader. Alexander began the clean-shaven fashion in 331 BCE before going into battle with the Persian king. It must have been a surprise following centuries of political and military leaders wearing a beard. The decision to shave seems to be associated with Alexander's emulation of Greek heroes, especially Herakles, and his own quest of an ideal heroic image both youthful and beardless.[51] To that end, Alexander committed his men to shaving their beards in support of their commander before battle. This proved a turning point in the history of beards, which largely disappeared from the faces of political leaders until Hadrian revived the style in the second century CE.

Greek rulers after the death of Alexander in 321 BCE selected variants of his portrait in profile more than any other image for the coins they issued. Distribution of coins guaranteed awareness across a wide region of the Mediterranean, Asia Minor and Central Asia, and a means of establishing or confirming legitimate rule.[52] Among these rulers is King Lysimachus of Thrace, who exemplifies and perpetuates the deified Alexander. The obverse of a Thracian coin of Lysimachus, 305 BCE, shows Alexander, adorned with the ram's horns of Ammon.[53] (fig. 2.1) This continuous use of one image established or perpetuated legitimacy during the Hellenistic period. Alexander's portrait finds further life in the Roman Julio-Claudian dynasty, especially with portraits of the emperor Augustus (see figs 1.6, 2.2 and 3.8).[54]

Portraits of Augustus incorporate the clean-shaven face and a visual reference to Alexander's unique hairstyle, including the arrangement of locks of hair framing the forehead caused by a cowlick. Augustus was masterful in his use of recognizable imagery, and it was no accident that his selection of Alexander the Great for a clean-shaven face and tousled hairstyle were used to forge his own achievements and legacy with a military leader from the Greek past.[55]

In contrast to social inclusion and power, exemplified by images of Alexander the Great, Greek society was acutely observant of non-Greek peoples. Hair was an immediate and recognizably identifying marker of a foreigner, as can be seen in the Pergamene victory monument. This large group sculpture commemorated victory by showing the defeated Gauls and, at the same time, exalting the victor's status. As part of the Pergamene monument, the Trumpeter (Dying Gaul) received distinctive treatment in the carved hair: thick tufts project outward from the scalp with tips cut off.[56] (fig. 2.7) The Trumpeter's facial hair is exclusively a mustache, but no beard, which was unknown as a combination in Greek art. Part of this group monument included a standing male Gaul committing suicide while holding up the arm of a dead female. The male's hair is mid-length hanging in clumps, contrasting with the female's hair, which has been cut abruptly to chin length marking her defeat. In this victory monument head and facial hair emphasize the defeated enemy as outside Greek society.

One of the more astonishing images relates to a story from Herodotus, who recounts a Scythian tradition of cutting the enemy's scalp, an image of which may appear on an Attic red-

figured cup fragment in Malibu.[57] A Greek warrior wears a scalp on his helmet, bowl-cut just as Herodotus has described it. The scalped hair texture is coarse and straight, unlike the warrior's thickly textured hair bursting through openings in his helmet.[58] Perhaps no other example brings such divergent hair textures in close proximity, sharpening the difference between what is known and familiar as Greek with what is unfamiliar and barbarian.[59]

The Roman Republic and Empire did not mandate hairstyles as a manifestation of its power, although aspects of women's hairstyling can be interpreted as reflecting the power of Roman men and women's subjugation to them. The controlled and confined nature of some female hair styles may have stemmed from the patriarchal fear of women's sexuality and desire to symbolically control it.[60] No evidence supports the popular contemporary assertion that prostitutes were required to shave their heads.[61] Paul's pejorative reference to a woman's shaved head (1 Cor. 11:5) probably alludes to a punishment for adultery. This punishment was cited by Tacitus (in reference to Germans), and in a text formerly attributed to Dio Chrysostom which reports that adulteresses in Cyprus had their hair cut off.[62]

Female slaves—especially blonde slaves from the Northern provinces—would have their heads shorn, and the hair would be made into wigs for Roman women.[63] Art often depicts Roman soldiers pulling conquered peoples' hair, as in the *Gemma Augustea* (fig. 2.6) and the Column of Marcus Aurelius. The long, loose hair of barbarians was proof of their lack of *cultus*, and a visual justification of Roman domination. The imagery makes a vivid statement of non-Roman identity and Roman power through evoking the pain associated with this action.[64]

Foliate wreaths and diadems worn in the hair materialized a role of power for their wearers.[65] The Senate and Roman people granted the right to wear wreaths as symbols of victory, as originally worn in Greek athletic competitions. Julius Caesar often wore the *corona triumphalis*, made of laurel leaves, in public after he was awarded the privilege, although this might have been to cover his receding hair line.[66] The oak-leaf *corona civica* was awarded to soldiers for saving a citizen's life in battle by killing an enemy.[67] Pliny describes the grass crown, made of grass and flowers from the battlefield and awarded to a commander who saved a legion.[68] Other crowns included the mural crown and the naval crown. Imperial portraits from the empire's eastern provinces depict jewels within the leaves.[69] Foliate wreaths, both vegetal and imitated in gold, came to symbolize authority, and were sometimes given to emperors by conquered rulers. For empresses, crowns did not become a signifier of imperial rank on portraiture until Empress Flacilla in the late fourth century.[70] Early in the empire, Roman leaders avoided gold diadems and were criticized if they did wear them, because of their associations with Hellenistic monarchs. In contrast, in late antiquity, Constantine I (c. 272–337 CE) made the jeweled diadem part of the emperor's official regalia.[71] The length and beauty of the diadem's *pendilia* (jewels hanging from the crown), symbolized the emperor's strength.[72]

Hair practice and cultural milestones (birth, death, marriage)

Cultural milestones in ancient Greece were closely tied to the practice of growing and cutting hair, with specific and separate traditions developed for boys and girls in childhood, adolescence and adulthood. Parents controlled the length, appearance and decision to cut hair for their children. Locks of hair were carefully grown and later cut as dedications and thank offerings to mark major transitions within the course of life. In Greek society these specific moments

succeeded in keeping the family bound together as well as binding the individual to the society as a whole.

Greek children often grew and wore braids that would be later cut and dedicated to a divinity as a thank offering of protection, as discussed in Chapter One.[73] The same concept was repeated, as if crossing a threshold while leaving childhood behind, when girls would sometimes dedicate a short braid, in addition to toys and clothing, to a goddess prior to their weddings.[74] This lock more typically would be grown from the hairline and worn in a fishtail braid, as some of the Caryatids wear.[75]

Upon marriage, Spartan brides shaved their heads as part of the rituals.[76] In contrast, the Athenian bride kept her hair and followed several steps in preparation for her marriage, from washing to binding up her hair for the wedding. Once the hair was bound, she would wear a crown or *stephane* over which she would place a special wedding veil. The veil was worn to cover the bride's face until she was introduced to the groom. Examples in Greek art tend to show the bride's face revealed as she meets the groom.[77] In mythological representations Hera is often shown wearing her veil pulled to the side in the *anakalypsis* gesture, perpetuating her status as bride of Zeus. An Athenian bride was expected to look her best by wearing the most splendid clothing and accessories to enhance her sexual appeal to the groom. This included partly concealing her hair in modesty while still drawing attention to it with veil and *stephane*.[78] At least in Athens, the transition from childhood to bride served as a means of reintegrating the female within the fabric of society where her identity becomes wife and eventual mother.

On the Athenian Acropolis, the unique hairstyles worn by the *korai* (maidens) or Caryatids from the south porch of the Erechtheion allude to the past. Their hairstyles, intentionally old fashioned by 430-420 BCE when these figures were carved, are worn in combination with the peplos and shoulder-pinned back mantle to form a unique combination. These stone maidens represent maidens from elite Athenian families who were given the privileged position to lead a religious procession.[79] (fig. 2.9) On the brink of a major life transition, these elite maidens are leaving behind childhood and entering marriage where their roles as bride, then wife and mother will weave them back into society with this new adult identity. Perpetuating a distinctive old-fashioned hairstyle supports the idea of social control, using a unique and specific Athenian identity and tradition and served as a symbolic means of connecting the current generation with those from the past.[80] The Erechtheion maidens' status on the brink of marriage is further emphasized by the central fishtail braid extending back from their forehead to disappear under the capital crowning the head. The hair texture for each of the six *korai* varies widely, from loose waves to tight curls, and is ideal for the massive fishtail braid worn down the back of each figure. Hair texture in this case is inextricably connected to the resulting hairstyle—the braid and organization of hair worn by these maidens are enhanced by their richly textured hair.[81]

The prominence of these *korai* or Caryatids on the Athenian Acropolis gave rise to their fame, which generated a cultural memory—a means of forging continuity and associations across centuries while the original meaning changes.[82] Of all the Greek female imagery, it is the Erechtheion *korai* who generated a link from Greece to Rome, in some ways similar to the hairstyle of Alexander the Great perpetuated by Augustus discussed above.

The use of the 'Caryatids' in the Roman Forum of Augustus was explained by Vitriuvius, a contemporary of Augustus. He claimed that the statues were the women of Caryae, enslaved as punishment for the town's betrayal of Greece during the Persian wars.[83] A selection of 'Caryatids' adorning the Forum of Augustus, intended as exact replicas of the Athens group

including the fishtail braid, were emulated again at Hadrian's Villa at Tivoli more than a century later, again at a time when a Roman emperor had strong ties to Athens. In reality, the Roman variants of the Erechtheion hairstyles were modified and lacked the details found in the source group.

Similar to girls, boys also cut their hair during childhood as dedicatory offerings. They grew their hair long during adolescence, sometimes cutting the front of the hairstyle while allowing the back hair to grow long.[84] Occasionally, a substitute for the real hair is dedicated, as with a painted terracotta braid at Corinth.[85] A larger dedication, with the inscription preserved on a Thessalian marble sculpture of the fourth century BCE, shows two prominent and exquisitely carved fishtail braids, a gift to Poseidon by two brothers.[86]

In some instances warriors cut locks of their hair before battle, as attested on two lekythoi: MMA and Cleveland lekythoi, both of which likely refer to the *Seven Against Thebes* by Aeschylus, where the warriors tied their locks of hair to a chariot with the hope of being the one who would return alive. The rulers of the Seleucid dynasty, for instance, grew short beards to be cut and dedicated in anticipation of a successful military campaign, hence the alternating appearance of clean-shaven cheeks and short beards on Seleucid coinage.[87]

One famous account describes the unusual odyssey of thick long locks of light colored hair adorning the head of Berenike II. Her husband Ptolemy III considered her beautiful hair a desirable attribute. When he left Alexandria to lead a battle in Syria, Berenike II prayed to a goddess for his safe return. She promised to cut off her long hair if her husband returned alive. Upon his safe return she fulfilled her promise and dedicated her cut hair in the temple. When Ptolemy discovered her action he rushed to the temple with the priest, but the lock(s) of her hair had disappeared. The story, first described by Callimachus, whose poem survived in fragments and later preserved by the Latin writer Catullus, was written from the point of view of the lock of hair. It provides an explanation for the presence of the constellation known as Berenice's Lock.[88]

In the mortal realm, hair was a tangible display for both males and females in the state of mourning, again marking a transition as discussed above with children. In the Greek world, the inverse of normative behavior provided the outward sign. Women tossed aside their veils to expose their cut, torn or disheveled hair, whereas men might cover their head with part of their himation.[89] At times, even intentionally exposed patches of bared scalp became an outward sign of mourning. When Romans mourned, they dressed in opposition to the societal norm, including their hair—women's was unbound and unkempt, and men who were normally clean shaven grew a beard to show grief.[90] Propertius' cited practice of a lover's dedicating a lock of hair at a beloved's tomb likely was not common, as there is no epigraphic or other evidence.[91]

Few formal hair rituals associated with Roman pagan, Jewish, or Christian rites of passage are recorded, but because the empire was so large and multicultural, it is likely that local practices existed for which no information survives. Soranus (1st–2nd c. CE), a medical writer from Ephesus, wrote a treatise advising that pregnant women should unbind their hair during childbirth for health reasons, as they should also unbind their garments and relax their bodies by taking frequent warm baths.[92] Adult women who converted to Christianity unbound their hair before their baptisms, a ritual that was equated to rebirth.[93]

Most pagan evidence for the use of hair to mark cultural milestones is in relation to boys' coming of age and to female behavior at weddings, for which traditions also likely varied. Literary sources mention that a young man's entrance to manhood was marked not only by his donning of the *toga virilis*, but also by a shave and dedication of the clippings to a god followed by a festive celebration (as recorded for Augustus, Caligula, and Nero), although how

widespread the practice was among ordinary Romans is not known.[94] A bride's hair was parted with a spear before the wedding, and she wore a veil called a *flammeum*. During the wedding, both bride and groom may have worn floral wreaths which connoted beauty and celebration.[95] There is evidence that crowns, probably floral, were worn by Roman Christian and Jewish couples at their weddings as well.[96]

Conclusion

Ancient Greek and Roman societies maintained an acute awareness of identity by gender, age, class or status through their hair. Even though the span of time and geography is extensive, identity formation is closely aligned with how much hair is revealed and how it is worn. In both cultures there is a strong sense of identification within the society in contrast to those people inhabiting realms outside of it. Given the breadth of time and space, it is remarkable to see how successful these societies were in perpetuating traditions and their meanings for identity formation both for the individual and for collective self-identities. Oppositional meanings, defined and developed by Anthony Synott, have provided a means of examining the surprisingly consistent practices with hair in ancient Greek and Roman cultures to highlight difference between genders, age from childhood through adulthood, and status within society. In some instances examples from ancient Greece carry over into the Roman sphere, such as the Erechtheion *korai* or 'Caryatids,' with their complex hairstyles and portrait iconography of Alexander the Great, where their fame and legacy suited the new Roman usage. More typically, the use of hair (head and facial) assumes specific connotations for the culture and society its serves, and for those who wear it.

[1] "Self," *Oxford English Dictionary*. Oxford University Press, 2014. Recent inquiries into the notion of the self in classical antiquity include Richard Sorabji, *Self: Ancient and Modern Insights about Individuality, Life, and Death* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2006); Shadi Bartsh, *The Mirror of the Self*: *Sexuality, Self-Knowledge, and the Gaze in the Early Roman Empire* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2006); Christopher Gill, *The Structured Self in Hellenistic and Roman Thought* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006).
[2] In most societies, hair plays a role in visually defining aspects of an individual's personal, social, and cultural identities; Geraldine Biddle-Perry and Sarah Cheang, "Introduction: Thinking About Hair," in *Hair*: *Styling, Culture and Fashion*, edited by Geraldine Biddle-Perry and Sarah Cheang (Oxford: Berg 2008), 3–12.
[3] Anthony Synott, *The Body Social*: *Symbolism, Self, and Society* (London: Routledge, 1993), 104–106.
[4] Synnott, *The Body Social*, 125. His categories depend upon a binary male/female gender identification. In antiquity, those choosing to negate their gender identities, such as Christian ascetics, would choose an opposite hair style to the social norm (men with long hair, women with short), see below.
[5] "Hairstyles," in *Greek and Roman Dress from A to Z*, eds. Liza Cleland, Glenys Davies, Lloyd Llewellyn-Jones (London and New York: Routledge, 2007); Marice Rose and Katherine A. Schwab, in *Hair in the Classical World*, Bellarmine Hall Galleries, Fairfield University Art Museum, Exhibition Brochure, Fairfield University, 2015.
[6] Jenifer Neils and John Oakley, *Coming of Age in Ancient Greece* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2003); Nikolaos Kaltsas and Alan Shapiro, eds. *Worshiping Women. Ritual and Reality in Classical Athens* (New York: Alexander S. Onassis Public Benefit Foundation USA, 2008); John Oakley and Rebecca Sinos, *The Wedding in Ancient Athens* (Madison, WI.: University of Wisconsin Press, 1993). Substantial groundwork in the Aegean Bronze Age has been published by Robert Koehl, "The Chieftain Cup and a Minoan 'Rite of Passage'," *Journal of Hellenic Studies* 106 (1986) 99–110), Ellen Davis, "Youth and Age in the Thera Frescoes," *American Journal of Archaeology* 90 (1086) 399–406, and Florence Hsu, "Ritual Significance in Mycenaean Hairstyles," *Chronika* 2 (2012) 92–102. See Patrick Olivelle, "Hair and Society: Social Significance of Hair in South Asian Traditions," in *Hair, its power and meaning in Asian cultures*, edited by Alf Hiltebeitel and Barbara Miller (Albany NY: State University of New York Press, 1998) 11–51, for South Asian treatment of hair in Hinduism and its use as a social control. See also Chapter 1 this volume.
[7] For examples see G.M.A. Richter, *Korai: Archaic Greek Maidens* (London: Phaidon Press Ltd, 1968). For a selection of Acropolis korai, see cat. no. 109 (figs. 328-331) Acropolis Museum no. 669, cat. no.110 (figs. 336-340) Acropolis Museum no. 681, cat. no. 111 (figs. 341-344) Acropolis Museum no. 671, cat. no. 112 (figs. 345-348) Acropolis Museum no. 678, cat. no. 113 (figs. 349-354) Acropolis Museum no. 679, cat. no. 116 (figs. 362-367) Acropolis Museum no. 682. For examples from the Genelaos dedication at Samos, see cat. no. 67 Philippe (figs. 217-220), cat. no. 68 Ornithe (figs. 221-224).
[8] David Leitao, "Adolescent Hair-Growing and Hair-Cutting Rituals in Ancient Greece: a Sociological Approach." In *Initiation in Ancient Greek Rituals and Narratives: New Critical Perspectives.* Edited by David Dodd and Christopher A. Faraone, 109–29. London and New York: Routledge, 2003), hair-cutting rituals, 111; Neils-Oakley, "Coming of Age," 153. See also Chapter

1.

[9] Herodotus, *Histories*, 7.209. For Spartan hair see also Chapters 6 and 7 this volume. On 'laconizing style' see also Chapter 3.

[10] Maria Wyke, "Women in the Mirror: The Rhetoric of Adornment in the Roman World," in *Women in Ancient Societies: An Illusion of the Night,* edited by Léonie Archer, Susan Fischler, Maria Wyke (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1994), 135; Kelly Olson, *Dress and the Roman Woman: Self-Presentation and Society* (London and New York: Routledge, 2008), 8.

[11] Elizabeth Bartman, "Hair and the Artifice of Roman Female Adornment," *American Journal of Archaeology* 105:1 (2001), 5–7. See also Chapters 3 & 4 this volume.

[12] Dress, including hair, is one of the first communications of gender to others; see Joanne B. Eicher and Mary E. Roach-Higgins, "Definition and Classification of Dress: Implications for Analysis of Gender Roles," in *Dress and Gender: Making and Meaning*, edited Ruth Barnes and Joanne B. Eicher (New York: Berg, 1992), 17, 23.

[13] Alexandra Croom, *Roman Clothing and Fashion* (Stroud and Charleston: Amberley, 2010), 115.

[14] *On Baldness* 1.1. Text and translation by A. Fitzgerald from Migne's *Patrologia Graeca.* http://www.livius.org/sources/content/synesius/synesius-eulogy-of-baldness/synesius-eulogy-of-baldness-1/. See Introduction this volume for discussion of Synesius' treatise.

[15] As did Pompey before him; Paul Zanker, *The Power of Images in the Age of Augustus* (Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan Press, 1990), 10. Diana E.E. Kleiner, *Roman Sculpture* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1992), 61–69 for Augustus' hairstyle types in portraiture.

[16] Kleiner, *Roman Sculpture*, 43, 127.

[17] A.J. Boyle, "Introduction: Reading Flavian Rome," in *Flavian Rome: Culture, Image, Text*, edited by A.J. Boyle and W.J. Dominik (Leiden: Brill, 2003), 34.

[18] Susan Elliott Wood, *Roman Portrait Sculpture, 217–260 AD: The Transformation of an Artistic Tradition,* vol. 12 (Leiden: Brill, 1986), 27–28.

[19] Christopher Oldstone-Moore, *Of Beards and Men: The Revealing History of Facial Hair* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2015) 45–48. Nero wore a curly beard on his neck, as did soldiers and middle-class citizens; R.R.R. Smith, "Cultural Choice and Political Identity in Honorific Portrait Statues in the Greek East in the Second Century A.D." *The Journal of Roman Studies* 88 (1998): 89–91. Citizen Roman men did wear facial hair of various lengths and types, see J. J. Arnold, "Theodoric's Invincible Mustache," *Journal of Late Antiquity* 6 (2013), 152–183 for descriptions of styles.

[20] Leviticus forbids the shaving of the "side-growth of beard" (19:27, 21:5). The practice was interpreted in various ways over time, but a Jewish man's wearing a beard in classical antiquity indicated purity and devotion. Oldstone-Moore, *Of Beards and Men*, 36.

[21] Oldstone-Moore, *Of Beards and Men*, 49–62; Caroline Vout, "What's in a Beard? Rethinking Hadrian's Hellenism," in *Rethinking Revolutions through Ancient Greece*, edited by Simon Goldhill and Robin Osborne (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2006), 96–123. On beards see also Chapters 3 and 9 this volume.

[22] Maria E. Doerfler, "Coming Apart at the Seams: Cross Dressing, Masculinity, and the Social Body in Late Antiquity," in *Dressing Judeans and Christians,* edited by Kristi Upson-Saia, Carly Daniel-Hughes, Alicia J. Batten (Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2014), 41–43.

[23] Paul Zanker, *The Mask of Socrates: The Image of the Intellectual in Antiquity* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1996), 222–4.

[24] Bartman, "Hair and the Artifice," 1. On status, see Chapter 8 this volume.

[25] Molly Myerowtiz Levine, "The Gendered Grammar of Ancient Mediterranean Hair," in *Off With Her Head! The Denial of Women's Identity in Myth, Religion, and Culture*, edited by Howard Eilberg-Schwartz and Wendy Doniger (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press,1995), 91–2; Bartman, "Hair and the Artifice," 5.
[26] Upson-Saia, Kristi. "Hairiness and Holiness in the Early Christian Desert," in *Dressing Judeans and Christians in Antiquity*, edited by K. Upson-Saia, C. Daniel-Hughes, A.J. Batten (Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2014), 170–171.
[27] Elizabeth Bartman, *Portraits of Livia*: *Imagining the Imperial Woman in Augustan Rome* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 37. On the *nodus* see also Chapter 3 this volume
[28] Bartman, *Portraits of Livia*, 36–38; Diana E. E. Kleiner *Cleopatra and Rome* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2005), 246.
[29] Bartman, *Portraits of Livia*, 38.
[30] Myerowitz-Levine, *Gendered Grammar*, 91–96.
[31] Lloyd Llewelyn-Jones, *Aphrodite's tortoise: The Veiled Woman of Ancient Greece* (Oakveille, CT and Swansea, Wales: Classical Press of Wales, 2003); Karen Hersch, *The Roman Wedding*: *Ritual and Meaning in Antiquity* (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 2010), 95.
[32] Valerius Maximus, *Memorable Deeds and Sayings,* 6.3.10.
[33] Alicia J. Batten, "Neither Gold nor Braided Hair (1 Timothy 2.9; 1 Peter 3.3): Adornment, Gender and Honour in Antiquity," *New Testament Studies* 55 (2009): 484–501; Maria Wyke, "Women in the Mirror," 134–151.
[34] Lillian Stoner, "Mourners, Maenads, and Madness: 'Crazy' Hair on Greek Vases," presented at *Hair in the Classical World Symposium*, Fairfield University, November 6, 2015. See also Chapter 6.
[35] Kaltsas-Shapiro, *Worshiping Women*, 156–7, Athens, National Archaeological Museum, inv. no. 3624.
[36] For more on status see Chapter 8 this volume.
[37] Zanker, *Mask of Socrates*, 233–242. See Chapter 7.
[38] Sheila Dillon, "Women on the Columns of Trajan and Marcus Aurelius and the Visual Language of Roman Victory," in *Representations of War in Ancient Rome*, edited by Sheila Dillon and Katherine E. Welch (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2006), 246–249.
[39] Jerry Toner, "Barbers, Barbershops and Searching for Roman Popular Culture," *Papers of the British School at Rome* 83 (2015): 99, 101. Livy compares a man's messy hair and beard to that of wild animals; Wyke, "Women in the Mirror," 135.
[40] Kristi Upson-Saia, *Early Christian Dress: Gender, Virtue, and Authority* (New York and London: Routledge, 2011), 80; Upson-Saia, "Hairiness and Holiness," 158.
[41] Zanker, *Mask of Socrates*, 262.
[42] Charles H. Cosgrove, "A Woman's Unbound Hair in the Greco-Roman World, with Special Reference to the Story of the 'Sinful Woman' in Luke 7:36–50," *Journal of Biblical Literature* 124, no. 4 (2005): 681.
[43] Cosgrove, "A Woman's Unbound Hair," 684; Lori Touchette, *The Dancing Maenad Reliefs: Continuity and Change in Roman Copies* (London: University of London Press, 1995). For examples of amazons, see Guntram Koch and Hellmut Sichtermann, *Römische Sarkophage* (Munich: Beck, 1982). This is a contrast to Greek iconography, where amazons usually wore helmets, Phrygian caps, or bound hair.
[44] Cosgrove, "A Woman's Unbound Hair," 675–692. See also Chapters 1 and 6 this volume.

[45] Myerowitz Levine, "The Gendered Grammar," 104. There is no consensus as to whether this obligation was based in custom or derived from the Torah; Leila Leah Bronner, "From Veil to Wig: Jewish Women's Hair Covering," *Judaism* 42.4 (1993): 467–468.
[46] Llewelyn-Jones, *Aphrodite's tortoise.*
[47] Roman texts tended to be prescriptive with regard to dress, including hair; Olson, *Dress and the Roman Woman*, 11.
[48] Colin M. Kraay, *Greek Coins* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1966) pl. 176.
[49] The authors are grateful to Milexy Torres, professional hairstylist with the *Caryatid Hairstyling Project* for this observation. On the formation of curls, placement and keratin packing of cells, see Kurt S. Stenn, *Hair: A Human History* (New York and London: Pegasus Books, 2016) 82.
[50] Oldstone–Moore, *Of Beards and Men*, 41–48. The clean-shaven fashion gained popularity in the 20th century with the invention of the disposable razor blade in the 1930s. Beards have regained a prominence and acceptance since the early 21st century, whether or not this new trend is associated with masculine authority, as in ancient Greece and Rome, can be debated.
[51] Oldstone-Moore, *Of Beards and Men,* 44–45. See also Chapter 9.
[52] Coin circulation was the fastest means of spreading imagery across the widest geographical expanse in the Greek-speaking world. Both portrait iconography and fashion trends reached a wide audience.
[53] British Museum 1919,0820.1.
[54] Andrew Stewart, *Faces of Power: Alexander's Image and Hellenistic Politics* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1993); Zanker, *The Power of Images.*
[55] Stewart "Faces of Power"; Andrew Stewart, *Art in the Hellenistic World* (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 2014; Jerome J. Pollitt, *Art in the Hellenistic Age* (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 1986.
[56] Stewart, *Art in the Hellenistic World*, 75–83. See Chapter 7 for further discussion on hair as ethnic differentiator.
[57] Herodotus, *Histories*, 4.64.
[58] Densely textured Greek hair, as with the warrior on the Onesimos fragment, compared to the petals of a hyacinth, Homer *Od*. 6.229–231. The authors thank Helaine Smith for this reference.
[59] Dyfri Williams, "Onesimos and the Getty Iliupersis," *Greek Vases in the J. Paul Getty Museum 5. Occasional Papers on Antiquities* 7 (1991) 47.
[60] Myerowitz Levine, "The Gendered Grammar," 91–6.
[61] Curtis E. Montier, "Let Her Be Shorn: Corinthians 11 and Female Head Shaving in Antiquity," (Master's thesis, North Texas State University, 2015), 12–23.
[62] David W.J. Gill, "The Importance of Roman Portraiture for Head-Coverings in 1 Corinthians." *Tyndale bulletin* 41 (1990): 256; Montier, "Let Her Be," 26–31.
[63] Bartman, *Portraits of Livia*, 39.
[64] This may be part of a Mediterranean iconographical tradition of victory; the Palette of Narmer, from Predynastic Egypt, c. 3000–2920 BCE, depicts the king pulling the hair of a defeated foe.
[65] Vanessa Rousseau, "Emblem of an Empire: The Development of the Byzantine Empress's Crown," *Al-Masaq: Islam and the Medieval Mediterranean* 16 (2004): 6; Cleland et al., "Crowns," *Greek and Roman Dress from A to Z*, 43-44; Stout, Ann M. "Jewelry as a Symbol of Status in the Roman Empire," in *The World of Roman Costume*, edited by Judith L. Sebesta and Larissa Bonfante (Madison, WI: University of Wisconsin Press, 1994), 82.
[66] He may also have used it to distract from his baldness. Kleiner, *Cleopatra and Rome*, 127.

[67] Cleland et al., "Corona," *Greek and Roman Dress from A to Z*, 40.
[68] Pliny, *Natural History* 22:6–13. Rev. ed. Edited by H. Rackham. Loeb Classical Library (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1952).
[69] Stout, "Jewelry as a Symbol of Status," 82.
[70] Stout, "Jewelry as a Symbol of Status," 93.
[71] Stout, "Jewelry as a Symbol of Status," 83.
[72] Rousseau, "Emblem of an Empire," 6.
[73] Neils-Oakley, *Coming of Age*, 152. This practice of tonsure, for initiation ceremonies as well as dedications, is found in many cultures and continues through today in some parts of the world, e.g., India. See Emma Tarlo, *Entanglement: The Secret Lives of Hair*, (London: One World Publications, 2016) 73–74; see also Olivelle, "Hair and Society."
[74] Kaltsas-Shapiro, *Worshiping Women*, 88, 291. Pausanias 2.11.6, was unable to see Hygieia's cult statue inside her temple at Titane due to the number of hair dedications. Pausanias also remarks on hair dedications by both maidens and youths prior to marriage throughout his travels in Greece (e.g., 2.32.1). See also Jennifer Larson, *Greek Heroine Cults* (Madison, WI: University of Wisconsin Press, 1995).
[75] Marble female head from Argive Heraion, Athens, National Museum, inv. no. 1571, Nikolaos Kaltsas, *Sculpture in the National Archaeological Museum* (Athens: Kapon Editions, 2002), 115.
[76] Myerowitz Levine, "The Gendered Grammar," 81; Plutarch, *Vitae Lycurgus* 15.3. See also Chapter 5.
[77] Oakley-Sinos, *Wedding*, 14–16, and fig. 23, an Attic red-figured *lebes gamikos* attributed to the Washing Painter, Athens, National Archaeological Museum inv. no. 14790.
[78] Oakley-Sinos, *Wedding*, 19–20.
[79] For the unique combination of dress and mantle, see Linda Roccos, "The Kanephoros and Her Festival Mantle in Greek Art," *American Journal of Archaeology* 99 (1995) 641–666. An example of experimental archaeology led to *The Caryatid Hairstyling Project*, directed by Katherine A. Schwab at Fairfield University in 2009, see www.fairfield.edu/caryatid for resources, images, and a short clip from the film. The experiment proved for the first time that these hairstyles were based in reality and could be reproduced.
[80] The Caryatids, statues as columns for the south porch of the Erechtheion, were not the only examples of attention given to hair on Acropolis Monuments. Lead locks of hair were attached to the heads of at least two Parthenon south metope figures. Given the quantity of Parthenon metopes badly damaged or entirely destroyed, it is plausible to assume that other heads were equally adorned with lead locks of hair, a technique at once conspicuous and expensive. The idea of this adornment was already in use by the early 5th century BCE, at the Temple of Aphaia at Aegina. See Olga Palagia, "Classical Athens," in *Greek Sculpture: Function, Materials, and Techniques in the Archaic and Classical Periods*, ed. Olga Palagia (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 2006) 128, 155 n. 106.
[81] Naturally tightly curled to pin straight hair can be arranged in a fishtail braid. Textured hair (wavy to tight curls) is easiest to braid and is ideal for the fishtail. One complete Caryatid hairstyle can be recreated, if the hair is long, thick, and textured, within 40 minutes and without modern products or tools. The Erechtheion maidens wear extra thick fishtail braids to strengthen the neck since they supported the roof covering the south porch. The most comprehensive study on these maidens with numerous photographs remains Hans Lauter, *Die Koren des Erechtheion. Antike Plastik* 16 (Berlin: Walter H. Schuchhardt, Felix Eckstein, 1976).

[82] Karl Galinsky, "Introduction," in *Cultural Memories in the Roman Empire*, edited by Karl Galinsky and Kenneth Lapatin (Los Angeles: J. Paul Getty Trust, 2015) 1–22.
[83] Vitruvius *On Architecture*, 1:1–5, until Vitruvius, the Erechtheion statues were known as maidens or *korai*; Zanker, *The Power of Images*, 256–257. Katherine A. Schwab and Marice Rose, "Fishtail Braids and the Caryatid Hairstyling Project: Fashion Today and in Ancient Athens," *Catwalk: The Journal of Fashion, Beauty, and Style* 4 (2015): 1–24.
[84] Leitao, "Adolescent Hair-Growing and Hair-Cutting Rituals," 113–114.
[85] Carl A. Roebuck, *The Asklepieion and Lerna. Corinth: Results of Excavations Conducted by the American School of Classical Studies at Athens* XIV (Princeton: ASCSA, 1951), 118, no. 116.
[86] Fragmentary marble relief from Thessaly, British Museum 1839,0806.4. See also Leitao, "Adolescent Hair-Growing and Hair-Cutting Rituals," 115.
[87] Panagiotis Iossif and Cathy Lorber, "Seleucid Campaign Beards," *L'antiquité classique* 78 (2009), 87–115.
Panagiotis Iossif and Cathy Lorber, "Seleucid Campaign Beards," *L'antiquité classique* 78 (2009), 91.
[88] Fragments of a poem, *Coma Berenices*, by Callimachus are preserved in a poem made famous by Catullus (66), written from the point of view of the lock of hair; the queen's beautiful locks of hair, before the dedication are depicted on a garnet intaglio ring c. 246-222 BCE by Nikandros, in The Walters Art Museum, no. 42.1339
http://art.thewalters.org/detail/20290/intaglio-ring-with-berenike-ii/
[89] See Chapter 1 this volume; Cleland et al., "Mourning," *Greek and Roman Dress from A to Z*, 127.
[90] Synott, *The Body Social*, 126; Cosgrove, "A Woman's Unbound Hair," 682–3.
[91] Luke B.T. Houghton, "Death Ritual and Burial Practice in the Latin Love Elegists," in *Memory and Mourning: Studies on Roman Death*, edited by Valerie Hope and Janet Huskinson (Oxford/Oakville, CT: Oxbow Books, 2011), 68.
[92] Maurizio Bettini, *Women and Weasels: Mythologies of Birth in Ancient Greece and Rome* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2013), 71.
[93] Cosgrove, "A Woman's Unbound Hair," 685.
[94] Jerry Toner, "Barbers, Barbershops and Searching for Roman Popular Culture." *Papers of the British School at Rome* 83 (2015), 97–8. The term *depositio barbae* is a modern phrase used to describe this ritual; Iossif and Lorber, "Seleucid Campaign Beards," 88. See Chapter 1 this volume for further discussion of the first shave.
[95] Hersch, *The Roman Wedding*, 80–84, 90–1. See also Chapter 1 this volume.
[96] Textual evidence is spotty, but they are depicted on fifth and sixth century Byzantine artefacts that depict couples. The Mishnah records that Jewish grooms and brides were forbidden to wear crowns after the destruction of Jerusalem (perhaps owing to pagan associations), although it is debated whether the prohibition referred to gold or vegetal crowns. Jewish nuptial poems and recordings of customs indicate that crown-wearing was a traditional aspect of weddings in the medieval period; Erwin R. Goodenough, "The Crown of Victory in Judaism," *The Art Bulletin* 28, no. 3 (1946), 158 note 155; Laura S. Lieber, "The Piyyutim le-Hatan of Qallir and Amittai-Jewish Marriage Customs in Early Byzantium," in *Talmuda de-Eretz Yisrael: Archaeology and the Rabbis in Late Ancient Palestine*, edited by Steven Fine and Aaron J. Koller (Boston: Walter de Gruyter, 2014), 286; Alicia Walker, "Numismatic and Metrological Parallels for the

Iconography of Early Byzantine Marriage Jewelry: The Question of the Crowned Bride," *Travaux et Mémoires* 16 (2010): 1–14.